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THE INSTITUTS FAMILIAUX OF QUEBEC

Religious Nationalism and the Education
of Girls for Domestic Life
1900-1970

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Graduate Studies of the University
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INTRODUCTION

Most domestic science schools of the twentieth century have been vocational institutions dedicated to the teaching of domestic science as professional training. The existence in Quebec up to the 1960's of domestic science schools almost exclusively concerned with education for marriage and motherhood appears, then, to be a striking anomaly. Indeed, there have been few parallels to such schools, or Instituts Familiaux as they were called, either in the present century or the previous one.

Despite their singularity, the Instituts Familiaux have inspired little curiosity and no historical study.¹ At least a part of the neglect has to do with the belief that such schools require little explanation in a province where the family and motherhood assume such tremendous national importance. In fact, the importance of the family in nationalist ideology and the corresponding "mythologisation de la mère"² merit attention because they are deeply entrenched cultural ideals. Attempts to study their evolution in ideology have been rare.³ Furthermore, the question of how ideological images, of woman in particular, are reflected in education has received even less consideration.

The Instituts Familiaux were the last schools of a tradition of domestic education institutions or écoles ménagères in the province of Quebec. While they shared the most important attribute of schools of this kind, namely their loyalty to

an ultramontane nationalist ideal of woman, the Instituts Familiaux were unique in their own right. Unlike the écoles ménagères, they did not claim to serve, nor did they primarily appeal to the daughters of the rural poor. Furthermore, they accommodated Catholic nationalist values within a sophisticated curriculum that was by far the most ambitious attempt in Quebec to foster an ideal of woman through domestic education. Add to this their emergence and success in a decade when changes in education and woman's role in society seemed to threaten their very existence, and one is faced with an intriguing example of the strength of an ideal and the tenacity and skill of those who promoted it through education. These two themes will form the basis of this study.

The belief that the family, particularly the rural family, was the foundation of the nation inspired ultramontane thinkers in Quebec to place considerable emphasis on woman's role within the family. As wife and mother, woman preserved the religious, cultural and rural traditions of the nation. Ultimately, of course, she gave meaning to la survivance canadienne française in a purely physical way by assuring the numerical strength of the race. Out of this ideological construct, a feminine ideal took shape that placed in each woman moral and familial responsibilities of national import.

This feminine ideal had an influence on education for girls. Moral, domestic and agricultural education for girls

of the rural poor enjoyed the sanction of Catholic educators early in the history of education in the province. This thesis will begin by exploring, briefly, woman's image in ultramontane ideology and its promotion through the école ménagère. The école ménagère before 1937 functioned as an agricultural domestic science school for rural girls. Subsequent chapters will elaborate on the central concern of the thesis: the transformation of the école ménagère after 1937 under Abbé Albert Tessier.

New conditions in society and in education threatened the survival of the rural école ménagère in the twentieth century. Chapter two will examine the response of conservative clergymen and some lay educators to these changes as it was manifested through a campaign to revitalize the école ménagère. In an effort to render the school more contemporary and appealing without sacrificing traditional values, Tessier provided the école ménagère with a new image and initiated new pedagogical methods.

The Instituts Familiaux of the 1950's and 1960's represented the culmination of Tessier's promotional and pedagogical energies. Chapter three discusses how psychology, religion, specially adapted French, history and English programmes and domestic education were used to inculcate in adolescent girls a feminine personality that took its form from Catholicism and traditional nationalism. In the Instituts Familiaux, the promotion of a traditional ideal became a fine art.

The schools acquired, in the process, a middle class character. That is, they sought to prepare girls solely for the cultured management of a non-agricultural home. Their strong commitment to female education for domestic rather than working life and the predominance of religious and traditional nationalist sentiments in the curriculum provoked criticism in the form of submissions to two Royal Commissions and public discussion in the pages of contemporary periodicals. Chapter four examines this criticism and the eventual dissolution of the Instituts Familiaux.

Sources pertaining to the promotion, refurbishment and philosophy of the écoles ménagères and Instituts Familiaux were chosen from the voluminous papers of Albert Tessier, held in the Séminaire de Trois Rivières and the Archives des Soeurs des Saints Noms de Jesus et de Marie at Outrement. These collections included private correspondance, educational bulletins to teachers, official school records, the school paper, records of pedagogical congresses and a wide variety of personal and published sources relating to the development of domestic education between 1937 and 1968.

The records of the Department of Education, later the Ministry of Education, furnished considerable material on the growth of the écoles ménagères, pedagogical changes and official attitudes to rural domestic education. In particular, the Annual Reports of the superintendent of education were examined for the years 1882 to 1962. The briefs and final

reports of the Tremblay Royal Commission on Constitutional Problems and the Parent Royal Commission on Education supplied information about the character and decline of the Instituts Familiaux. Action Nationale, Collège et Famille and La Famille were all useful for an understanding of how women and female education in general, and the Instituts Familiaux in particular, were regarded by contemporaries.

This thesis examines how an ideal of femininity was sustained and energetically fostered through education. Two conclusions emerge. The promoters of rural Catholic domestic education for girls, notably Albert Tessier, were remarkably adept in providing a traditional mode of education with contemporary appeal. Their efforts transformed the école ménagère from an agricultural domestic science school to a sophisticated finishing school for the more well-to-do of the rural population. In the course of this transition, the curriculum became intensely devoted to fostering the mental attributes of the perfect wife and mother. The history of rural domestic education in Quebec affords an illustration of the strength of an ideal and its influence on education.

There are several limitations to a study of ideals in education. Foremost among these is the problem of linking theory to reality. Specifically, to what extent were the Instituts Familiaux institutions for the more well-to-do of the rural population? Tessier's statistics on class and the character and aims of the curriculum provide only a partial answer. Similarly, how were Tessier's values and

ideals accepted by his pupils, their parents and society at large? An oral history would answer some of these questions. In the conclusion of this thesis, some considerations of the relationship of the Instituts Familiaux to their society will be advanced.

Despite the drawbacks of a thesis which concentrates on how and why an ideal is fostered, there is an important advantage to this approach. It is too often assumed that woman's image in ideology originates in and corresponds to reality. While this thesis will not disprove this notion, it will demonstrate that a considerable amount of energy is expended to foster a certain ideal of femininity through education. If the single-minded devotion and skill of Albert Tessier are an indication, ideals may have a pervasive impact on reality through education.

INTRODUCTION NOTES

¹Mona Josée Gagnon comments on the Instituts Familiaux in her book Les Femmes vues par le Québec des hommes (Montreal: Editions du Jour, 1974), pp. 22-30; Many non-critical memoires exist which were written by the students of the Instituts de Pédagogie Familiale (see bibliography).

²Gagnon, Les Femmes, p. 18.

³Nadia Eid's study Le Clergé et le pouvoir politique au Québec (Montreal: Editions Hurtubise, 1978) is one recent exception which considers, briefly, woman's role in ultramontane ideology.

CHAPTER IIDEOLOGY AND ITS INFLUENCE ON DOMESTIC EDUCATION:
THE ECOLE MENAGERE BEFORE 1937

Early nationalists accorded to the French Canadian woman a position of central importance in ideology. Entrusted with the guardianship of religious and cultural values, and responsible, moreover, for the numerical strength of the French community, woman shouldered a great part of the burden of Survivance.

This ideological position profoundly influenced the character of education for girls. The rural école ménagère grew out of the conviction that girls trained for their moral, domestic and agricultural responsibilities protected the survival of a Catholic, French and rural society. In the early twentieth century, traditional nationalism faced a challenge in a changing, increasingly urban and industrial society. When the cultural ideal espoused in ideology seemed to be at odds with reality, the école ménagère was itself challenged. The public school system expanded to complement the needs of the new society and old values had to be accommodated within a framework of academic and vocational education. Like the ideology to which it was linked, however, moral and domestic education for urban and rural girls survived the challenge of the first three decades. Eventually, the rural école ménagère found its own special position within the rapidly evolving school

system.

In Quebec, woman's role in nationalism began to be articulated by ultramontane thinkers of the mid-nineteenth century. In 1866, Abbé Laflèche published a small volume outlining the relation of the family, to church and nation.¹ While Laflèche's Considérations was devoted mainly to an argument for the pre-eminence of church over state in education, it offered several statements on the role played by women in maintaining French Canada as a Catholic and French bastion in North America. These thoughts sufficed to lay the foundation for a religious nationalist image of woman for a century.

Laflèche's consideration of woman's role began with familiar ultramontane precepts on the family. The family was a patriarchy, a divinely-ordained form of power. Woman was a vital element in this principle of authority. Endowed with special feminine qualities which made her at once man's complement and his inferior, she lent substance to his role in the family. Both the church and the nation were patriarchies patterned after the natural principle of authority demonstrated in the family. Thus, woman, as the "aide semblable" to man, made viable a relationship of power on which rested the authority of Pope over King and King over man.² Woman played, however, a more direct role in sustaining the hierarchical construct. As the educator of her children, a position once again inherited by virtue

of her natural aptitudes, she ensured the endurance of religious values over generations.³

To this base of ultramontanism, Laflèche added a few Québécois elements. Religion, he noted, was inseparable from nationhood; "unité de foi" was the sole guarantee of the survival of French Canada.⁴ Woman, already important to the principle of papal and paternal authority and to the endurance of religious values was now expressly linked to the survival of the nation. Her role in la survivance was an explicit one. The feminine qualities of "dévouement" and "intelligence du coeur,"⁵ characteristics which had been the foundation of her role in patriarchy, enabled her to be particularly effective in the preservation of culture. As the educator of children, she passed on language and cultural traditions, the two other elements of nationality.⁶

Nationalists who followed in the wake of Laflèche continued to emphasize that woman, as wife and mother, was the guardian of religious and cultural values. They added the French Canadian woman's remarkable fecundity as her major contribution to the survival of the community. Henri Bourassa and Abbé Groulx stand out as the most lyrical of nationalists of the early twentieth century who preached, among other things, the importance of woman in the maintenance of a Catholic, rural and French collectivity.

Bourassa was seldom so eloquent as when he spoke on the topic of woman's role in the family. On this, he once

declared:

L'homme sans doute, et c'est l'ordre voulu par Dieu, est le chef de la famille, mais la femme en est l'âme, le cœur, le noeud vital. Sans la femme, et la femme épouse et mère, et seulement femme, la famille n'a plus de vie ou elle n'a qu'une vie incomplète, incohérente. 7

Abbé Groulx was no less insistent than Bourassa that woman was the pillar on which the family rested. Extolling the virtues of the women of New France, Groulx saw in their strength the survival of the entire nation.⁸

Both Bourassa and Groulx felt strongly that woman was the source of the highest good. Conversely, they eventually came to believe that woman's abdication from her moral and familial responsibilities caused the disintegration of traditional society. Their view struck responsive chords among many Catholic Quebecers of the 1920's. Participants at the Semaine Sociale in 1923, for instance, saw in a falling birth rate, rising infant mortality, feminism and woman's work outside the home, woman's inability and refusal to fulfil her obligations and the eventual decay of French-Canadian society.⁹

Although woman's role in ideology was often no more than an abstract ideal, many religious nationalists sought to foster it through education. While Laflèche spared little thought to the question of female education, many of his contemporaries felt strongly the importance of the proper moral and domestic education for girls. Churchmen

such as Bishop Bourget accommodated a traditional view of woman within a philosophy that held the preservation of the social hierarchy as the central goal of education. Hence, Bourget and others determined that a religious, rudimentary and agricultural education would keep the masses devout, respectful of their position in society and well-equipped for their agricultural calling. For girls of the poorer classes, education had as its objective the training of good housekeepers and farm wives. (Girls of the upper classes, on the other hand, needed a more sophisticated domestic training complementary to their position as wives and daughters of the elite.)¹⁰

In the early twentieth century, Bourassa and Groulx were untiring propagandists for moral and domestic female education. Their belief in the importance of the proper education for girls was strengthened by the conviction that education would remedy some of the ills of contemporary woman. Feminism and woman's work outside the home, for instance, were signs to both men that woman was not only unprepared for marriage and motherhood but unwilling to limit herself to the fulfilment of her domestic and moral obligations. With this in mind, Bourassa proposed for girls

un régime de vie simple et saine, une forte éducation morale, également simple et saine, où elles apprendraient à bien lire et à bien écrire,

à compter exactement, à coudre
 et raccommoder leur linge; où
 elles prendraient également
 des notions vécues et habituelles
 de savoir vivre, de bonne terre,
 de modestie... 11

For his part, Groulx warned teachers to discourage any belief in the equality of the sexes or in the similarity of their spheres of activity. He roundly condemned education for girls which overwhelmed "le crâne de connaissances," proposing instead education more directly linked to domestic life.¹²

Some of the earliest efforts to educate Catholic girls in Quebec reflected the bias of religious nationalism. In 1882, Ursuline nuns founded the first rural domestic science school in the province of Quebec. The école ménagère at Roberval embodied one fundamental principle: "Pour assurer la grande entreprise colonisatrice, il faudrait des femmes, des épouses, des ménagères capables de comprendre, d'aider et de compléter le travail de l'homme, colon et agriculteur."¹³ Horticulture, agriculture, dairying and weaving, taught with a view "to accustom young girls to farm work" made up one half of the curriculum while the domestic sciences, religion, reading and writing made up the other.¹⁴ Tied as it was to agriculture, domestic education for girls acquired a rural and class character which it did not lose for several decades.

That rural girls should receive a heavy diet of the agricultural and the domestic arts in their education

remained the firm conviction of Catholic educators for the rest of the nineteenth century. Roberval remained the only domestic science school but convents offering the first four grades of the newly developing public education system tried, wherever possible, to teach agricultural and domestic science to rural girls. The great problem, however, as the superintendent of education frequently noted in his Annual Report, was funds. The facilities required for domestic and agricultural science were expensive. A certain amount of instruction could be given in the classroom, and was usually assigned an hour of each day, but practical training depended on the use of equipment.¹⁵ If preparation for home and farm life did not play a greater role in the education of rural girls in the late 19th century, it was perhaps largely due to this problem.

In the early twentieth century, the rapid emergence of an increasingly urban society made it less easy to maintain traditional practices in education. Rigid class-defined modes of education gradually became anachronistic as did a school system oriented solely to the needs of a rural community. The public school system expanded sufficiently to ensure most children an opportunity for elementary school education. In 1905, the school system encompassed the écoles élémentaires (grades 1 to 4), the écoles modèles (grades 5 and 6), the écoles académiques (grades seven and eight) and an ever-expanding network of independent Catholic

schools offering specialized programmes. The collèges classiques and écoles ménagères fell into this last group.

For the first two decades of the century, most Quebecers did not progress beyond grade four. By 1923, however, reforms were undertaken to improve and modernize school programmes beyond grade six, an indication that patterns of school attendance eventually lengthened. The character of school curricula had also changed, by this time, to complement the new industrialized society. After 1923, students beyond grade six, enrolled in the newly-designated écoles complémentaires, enjoyed the choice of technical, commercial, agricultural or domestic science options along with the mandatory academic programme.¹⁶

In this gradually maturing school system, rural domestic science programmes held their own, although the curricula changed sufficiently to reflect contemporary trends in education. In 1910, a programme combining academic studies with domestic education was officially instituted in some public schools. This course of study, described as "classico-ménagère"¹⁷ was offered for the six elementary school grades. Country and city schools tailored their programmes according to the needs of the population. Since most of the six schools offering the classico-ménagère course were located in rural areas, the skills taught resembled those offered in the école ménagère at Roberval. They included:

Filer, carder, tisser, coudre
à la main, crocheter des tapis,
faire le ménage, faire la
cuisine, dresser une table à
manger, faire du feu à la
cuisine, entretenir poêle et
ustensiles, blanchir et
amidonner le linge, traire
les vaches, faire le beurre,
conduire un jardin potager,
conduire un poulailler, tresser
de la paille, préparer les
remèdes domestiques, tenir une
comptabilité domestique. 18

Eventually, several more convents were financially able and willing to offer such a programme. By 1930, 149 schools, located mostly in rural areas, were "officially recognized as subsidized primary schools in household science."¹⁹

The classico-ménagère programme represented the accommodation of traditional female education within a school system increasingly geared to the needs of an urban-industrial society. It assured girls of an academic formation while at the same time it offered them a rural and domestic preparation for home life. It was, in effect, a compromise of old values and ideals and new trends in education, acceptable to traditional educators as well as to those who boasted fondly of the "democratization" of education.

The école ménagère, unlike the classico-ménager programme of the public school system, remained an independent Catholic school offering a very specialized training. Public school programmes contrived to render this institution somewhat superfluous while the rapid

urbanization of the province limited its appeal. Hence, its transition into the twentieth century was a difficult one, made possible only by changing its original character and function.

Early in the new century, the inadequacies of the traditional école ménagère resulted in the first adaptation of the domestic science school. In 1905, a large école ménagère was built at St. Pascal in the county of Kamouraska. It offered teacher-training programmes, industry-related vocational training as well as the more traditional agricultural domestic science formation.²⁰ Two years later, another école ménagère was opened in Montreal under the patronage of the St. Jean Baptiste Society.²¹

From their inception, these schools were different in function and character from the traditional école ménagère. They offered diplomas and were oriented to providing training for the labour market. For example, the Montreal school offered a course with accreditation in dairying.²² Furthermore, they came under the aegis of a controlling body other than the department of agriculture. By 1936, there were twelve 'vocational' écoles ménagères, easily distinguished from the more traditional domestic science schools by their courses, controlling body and by the addition of générale, spéciale or municipale to their names. By and large, they were large, urban schools but there were also a few small rural schools offering vocational training in one skill.²³

The vocational écoles ménagères had grown out of the recognition that there was a female school population, primarily urban, some of whom were destined for the labour force.²⁴ The 'urbanization' of domestic science, or its transition to the status of vocational training, was characteristic of most other provinces in Canada. In Ontario, for example, the director of household science had written a book in 1918 advising his colleagues to reform domestic science schools in order to accommodate the "woman in industry" problem.²⁵ In Quebec, however, the impetus for such change had come largely from groups other than the Catholic school board. The trend was not, then, an indication of the declining influence of traditional ideology in education for girls. On the contrary, to many churchmen and lay educators, the only legitimate education for girls remained that which prepared future wives and mothers for home and farm life. This was a conviction they were prepared to defend with all the means at their disposal.

All new programmes of domestic education, whether academic, teacher-training or vocational, continued to include moral education for marriage and motherhood. The Règlements du Comité Catholique for 1930 advised teachers of domestic science teacher-training programmes to this effect:

On insistera dans les leçons
du cours normal ménager sur
la formation morale de la

jeune fille au foyer, sur ses devoirs dans la société. On traitera des questions de vocation religieuse, de vocation au mariage. On traitera aussi du rôle, des devoirs, des qualités d'une bonne mère de famille chrétienne faisant bien ressortir surtout les obligations du foyer... 26

Furthermore, there were complaints from clergymen who felt that recent changes in domestic science schools had already gone too far. Abbé Martin, the director of domestic education in 1920, for instance, would like to have seen fewer alternatives to the traditional preparation for home and farm life. Reassuring the readers of Almanach de l'Action Catholique that the public still saw the validity of traditional domestic education, he noted that new vocational domestic science programmes were of little account since "ce n'est pas la masse qui en profiterait." Moreover, the Abbé opined, he hoped that even the classico-ménagère programme would eventually become "moins classico et plus ménager."²⁷

Perhaps the best indication that official sympathies lay with traditional domestic education was the effort which was made to revitalize the traditional école ménagère. Until 1928, there were only six traditional domestic science schools and these came under the Ministry of agriculture. While they received annual grants, these schools remained relatively ignored from the point of view of academic

standing. In 1929, the first real attempt was made to bring them into the path of modern education. First, they were transferred to the department of education.²⁸ Second, the programme of studies was revised and standardized. By 1930, the schools were renamed écoles ménagères régionales, a gesture which indicated their new status as schools offering a more academic curriculum within the traditional framework of agricultural and domestic education for the home. Henceforth, the traditional subjects such as religion, agricultural, household science and child-rearing practices were offered in conjunction with anatomy, nutrition and chemistry at the level of grades seven to nine. In addition, graduates were qualified to teach domestic science to pupils of grades 1 to 6 attending housekeeping schools.²⁹

It is possible that graduates of the école ménagère régionale were allowed to teach domestic science because of the acute shortage of teachers at the time. However, this option along with the upgrading of the curriculum which came with it also provided the schools with more contemporary appeal. More important, the improvement did not compromise the original purpose of the school. Because graduates were only allowed to teach in the lower grades of housekeeping schools, they did not need as solid an academic formation as pupils of normal school. This meant that the programme was still legitimately "un cours de perfectionnement" dedicated to the initiation of young

girls "à la vie du foyer."³⁰ For the purists such as Abbé Martin, who might be tempted to view the change in the curriculum as a concession to girls who worked outside the home, it could always be argued that students disseminated moral, domestic and rural values through teaching.

The belief that the école ménagère, as a rural institution of domestic science for the home, had a legitimate role to play in the educational system was reinforced after 1930 by a general movement to promote all rural education. In 1930, the Comité Catholique opened the school year with the resolution to improve rural education in the province.³¹ For boys this measure brought renewed emphasis on the manual arts; for girls it meant an intensified domestic and agricultural education. The resolution of 1930 appeared to have remained in the minds of school inspectors for the next few years since they regularly reported the progress of both subjects consistently commenting that rural life was immeasurably enhanced by boys and girls educated for their rural responsibilities.

Household science, optional for younger pupils, became compulsory in 1933 for girls of grades 7 to 11 and the first three years of normal school.³² The annual reports of inspectors glowed with tributes to convents that had enthusiastically joined the movement to promote rural life through domestic education. As one inspector described

the new zeal for domestic education,

convents took the lead; they had always taught domestic science for the young girls' personal benefit, now they see in each young candidate for a diploma dozens of country youth to be brought up in the love of God, country life and labour. 33

The depression was, of course, an additional reason for emphasizing domestic education. As the director of household science explained,

The training therein given, (in household science schools) answers a need more pressing in these troubled times. A woman with ideas of domestic economy can better balance the family budget and thus help to make the home, especially the farm home, a success. 34

That the traditional écoles ménagères enjoyed the loyalty of Catholic educators was clear by the progress of the schools after 1930. In that year, no less than five new schools were built bringing the total number of schools in 1931 to 12 with an overall enrollment of 2633.³⁵ By 1935, the director of household science could still boast that 17 out of the 22 large household science schools trained their pupils to assist "their fathers in agriculture, handicraft and various activities."³⁶ Clearly, then, the age of the rural domestic science school was not yet over.

Rural domestic science schools successfully met the challenges of the first three decades of the twentieth century. The growth of alternative options for female

education did not, in fact, mean that the école ménagère became an anachronism. Indeed, had not the depression temporarily curtailed the budget in 1933, the expansion and improvement of schools might have been even greater. Part of the reason why the school successfully met the challenges of the times must be found in the determination of Catholic educators to promote rural domestic education for girls. As one inspector put it, "thousands of young girls in rural household science schools are a guarantee of successful farming."³⁷ The école ménagère, and all programmes of domestic education for home life, were warmly supported by the clergy and some of the laity as well because of their ideological conviction that young girls, educated morally and technically for home life, might help to counteract some of the disturbing social conditions of the age. It was not to be the last time that traditional feminine education would be looked to as an avenue to salvation.

Despite its position as a favoured and protected form of female education, the école ménagère régionale did not enjoy overwhelming public support. The growth of vocational schools of domestic science and the expansion of public education were indications that traditional modes of education were anachronistic. More important, the école ménagère was intimately linked to agricultural life. As such, its survival was threatened by the march of industry.

and urban growth. By the late 1930's, this much was alarmingly clear to the promoters of moral and domestic education for girls. When the full budget was reinstated in 1937, the course of action was clear: promote with even greater zeal, rural domestic education for the home.

CHAPTER I NOTES

¹Abbé Laflèche, Quelques Considérations Sur les Rapports de la Société Civile et la Religion (Montreal: Eusèbe Senecal, 1866).

²Ibid., pp. 86-89.

³Ibid., p. 20.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p. 99.

⁶Ibid., p. 29.

⁷Henri Bourassa, "La Famille Canadienne, Ses Périls, Son Salut", Semaine Sociale Montréal 1923, IVe Session (Montreal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française, 1924), p. 282.

⁸Susan Trofimenkoff, "Les Femmes Dans l'Oeuvre de l'Abbé Groulx", Revue d'Histoire d'Amérique Française, 32, No. 3, (December, 1978), pp. 385-398.

⁹Relevant articles were

i. R.P. Rodrigue Villeneuve; "La Famille, Cellule Sociale", pp. 40-60.

ii. Dr. Joseph Gauvreau, "La Mortalité Infantile", pp. 161-162.

iii. Léon-Mercier Gouin, "Le Divorce", p. 162-240.

Semaines Sociales du Canada, IVe Session... Montréal 1923 (Montreal: Bibliothèque de l'Action Française, 1924).

¹⁰Naïdia Eid, Le Clergé et le Pouvoir Politique au Québec (Montreal: Editions Hurtubise, 1978), pp. 223-226.

¹¹R.P. Archambault on Henri Bourassa, "Un Grand Apôtre de la Famille", Action Nationale, XLII, No. 1, (January, 1954), p. 159.

¹²Abbé Groulx, cited in Bulletin Mensuel des Ecoles Ménagères, (September, 1954), p. 5.

¹³Alphonse Désilets, "Les Ursulines de Roberval", l'Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique, 17ième année, 1933, p. 70.

¹⁴ Boucher de la Bruyère, Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Province of Quebec 1896 (Ottawa: Printer to the King, 1897), p. vii.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Louis Philippe Audet, Histoire de l'Enseignement au Quebec, Vol. II (Montreal: Holt, Rinehart et Winston ltée., 1971), pp. 273-274; pp. 279-280.

¹⁷ Boucher de la Bruyère, Annual Report 1910-11, p. xvi.

¹⁸ Abbé O. Martin, "Les Ecoles Ménagères, Quelques Statistiques", Almanach de l'Action Sociale Catholique, 4ième année, 1920, p. 119.

¹⁹ Cyrille Delâge, Annual Report 1930-31, p. xii.

²⁰ Reported in Ecole de Bonheur, No. 1, (April, 1956), p. 5.

²¹ Alphonse Désilets, Annual Report 1932-33, pp. 172-173.

²² Ibid.

²³ A list of the vocational écoles ménagères and their controlling body appears in table 1, Appendix I.

²⁴ Female participation in the labour force was as follows: In 1910, 15% of girls over ten years old worked. In 1910-21: Rate of growth: 39.09%; increase: 20.86%. In 1921-31: Rate of growth: 46.71%; increase: 30.60%. Francine Barry, Le Travail de la Femme au Quebec (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Quebec, 1977), p. 2.

²⁵ Albert H. Leake, The Vocational Education of Girls and Women (Toronto: The MacMillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1918), p. 34.

²⁶ Conseil de l'Instruction Publique, Règlements du Comité Catholique 1930, p. 263.

²⁷ Abbé Martin, "Quelques Statistiques", p. 119.

28 Association des Diététistes du Québec, Mémoire Sur l'Enseignement Ménager (Montreal: Mémoire Présenté à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur l'Enseignement, June, 1962), p. 13.

29 Règlements 1930, p. 227.

30 Report of Inspectors of Urban Districts, Annual Report 1934-35, p. 106.

31 Cyrille Delâge, Annual Report 1930-31, p. xii.

32 Report of Inspectors of Urban Districts, Annual Report 1934-35, p. 106.

33 Paul Hubert, Annual Report 1932-33, p. 93.

34 Delâge, Annual Report 1931-32, p. xii.

35 See table 2, Appendix I for a list of the écoles ménagères régionales.

36 Alphonse Désilets, Annual Report 1935-36, p. 163.

37 Désilets, Annual Report 1934-35, p. 155.

CHAPTER II

ALBERT TESSIER AND THE REVIVAL OF THE ECOLE MENAGERE

In the late 1930's and 1940's, the école ménagère was a threatened institution. The improvement of education and its movement towards more job-oriented training foreshadowed the end of schools which were neither vocational nor academic and which had the reputation of offering education inferior to the one received in the public school system. Moreover, the école ménagère had come out of a tradition of offering agricultural and religious domestic education to the rural poor, a practice increasingly challenged by the needs and democratic ideals of an urban industrialized society.

Although the traditional école ménagère was threatened by urban industrial conditions, it was also protected by the consistent support of the Catholic church. Clerical response to the urban 'challenge' was at best one of disapproval, at worst one of active resistance. In seeking to protect rural and traditional French Canada from the disintegration brought on by urbanization, most clerics were hostile to change in the province's education system. Not the least of their concerns was the fear that such changes might mean the end of church control in education. Female education which departed from traditional guidelines by becoming either more job-oriented or more academic emphasized both the breakdown of traditional life and the potential loss of clerical power. As a response to the times,

and as a measure of self-defense, one section of the church, led by the indomitable Albert Tessier, began to promote the école ménagère with unparalleled zest.

For clerics and lay persons who believed in the religious and national importance of the family, and of woman's central place within it, the late 1930's and 1940's were grave times indeed. Industrialization, long perceived by some to be the enemy of traditional French Canada, continued to arouse anxiety, much of which coalesced around concern for the fate of the family. Articles in religious and nationalist publications proclaimed, as did one writer, that "la révolution industrielle au Québec a été de premier chef une révolution anti-familiale."¹ Evidence of a continuing rural exodus towards the cities accelerated by the depression, and the war experience, added fuel to the conviction that traditional family life suffered assaults on all sides.

Few contemporary trends gave rise to as much anxiety as the increased participation of women in the labour force. War industries which employed nearly 350 of every 1000 female workers in Quebec and Montreal², served to accentuate what had been feared as early as the 1900's: woman's departure from her traditional sphere. Writers of the time filled their columns with expressions of outrage and gloomy prognostications on the question of woman's work outside the home. Andre Laurendeau of Action Nationale, for instance, feared that the experience of earning money might well convince women to abandon domestic life

permanently.³ Another writer felt that paternal authority was diminished in the home because of woman's role as co-worker.⁴ In sum, there was little which did not seem challenged by woman's work outside the home.

The disintegration of traditional family life was only the first consequence of woman's participation in the work force. The second was its effects on the survival of the French collectivity. The family had rendered to French Canada "un service qui n'a pas de prix: celui de sauver nos différences françaises sur ce sol américain, celui de nous multiplier à ce point que nous nous imposions comme la deuxième minorité du pays."⁵ The survival of the nation, therefore, depended on the preservation of the family in its traditional form. Monseigneur Valois echoed the feelings of many of his contemporaries when he wrote "c'est pour éviter à notre nationalité et à notre religion, «l'étiollement sinon la mort» que nous voulons faire cette croisade envers la famille chrétienne."⁶ How the family could be saved, of course, was in large measure a question which involved women.

Just as it was clear that woman's departure from her traditional sphere imperilled the family, the church and the nation, so too it was obvious that her return to domestic life and to the fulfilment of her moral and patriotic responsibilities was the key to preserving traditional society. Dismayed by contemporary problems such as woman's work and prostitution, Abbé Tessier declared, "une

des meilleures façons de reagir, c'est d'abord et surtout de garder la mère en famille."⁷ If the first step was to keep woman in the home, the second was surely to ensure that she received a sound moral and domestic preparation for her responsibilities.

The proper female education seemed all the more necessary for women tempted by the lucrative rewards of war-time work. With this in mind, Marie Langlois of Action Nationale proposed that adequate preparation for marriage be a mandatory part of each girl's education.⁸ Her colleague, Roger Duhamel, added French to the list of compulsory subjects since, he felt, mothers were responsible for bringing up their children patriotically.⁹ Perhaps the director of household science said it best when he called for "a timely technical education and an enlightened intellectual and moral training" for girls in order "to maintain domestic and family life within its normal frame-work according to the best national and religious traditions."¹⁰

Enthusiasm for traditional domestic education grew out of a reaction against urban-industrial and war conditions. Such a response, often clothed in the rhetoric of nationalism, obscured a more immediate reason contributing to reawakened interest in domestic education: alternate forms of female education were taking shape proposing job-oriented and academic training. These options flew in the face of traditional values and also competed directly with the

école ménagère. Furthermore, they were objectionable because they portended the declining influence of the Catholic church in what seemed to be education for a new, technological society.

Prior to and during the years of the second world war, educators in Quebec, as their colleagues elsewhere, were engaged in the democratization of education; a process begun early in the century but acquiring a new urgency in the economy of post-depression Canada. The availability of education to a larger section of the population and the improvement in standards throughout the province gave rise to the building of a great many new facilities¹¹ and to the reformulation of curricula. Attention which had been devoted to the problem of providing a certain minimum education for all now turned to the question of higher secondary education. While school attendance for the lower grades had certainly become less of a problem, most Quebecers still did not acquire more than the very minimum amount of education. In one estimate, 77% of all Quebecers did not progress beyond grade seven and only .9%, as compared to 19.8% in Ontario, completed the 12th grade.¹²

School enrollment was only one part of the problem. Opportunities for higher education for students who did continue were sadly lacking. Quebec's deficiencies in this area were, in some respects, typical of all of Canada. In an important way, however, they were the unique heritage

of a province whose education system was dominated by the Catholic church. The collèges classiques, the only route to university, had traditionally served only a small minority of the population. Moreover, they had provided some of their best pupils to the priesthood rather than to a commercial and industrial elite so urgently demanded by the economy.

Opposition to the character and restrictions of institutions of higher learning in Quebec was present throughout the 20th century. With the exigencies of the economy and the changing currents of nationalism, this grew more vociferous in the 1930's and 1940's. Survivance argued some, could not be assured through a small, classically-trained elite. Instead,

le meilleur, le seul moyen
d'être maîtres dans notre pays,
c'est de nous arranger pour
qu'il n'y ait pas de porte
pour lequel ne se trouvent en
nombre suffisant des Canadiens
français hautement qualifiés.
C'est un peu plus que la
survivance: c'est la croissance,
c'est l'épanouissement et seul
l'enseignement universitaire
peut nous en assurer. 13

The realisation by some Quebecers that higher education should not be limited to an elite lent support to the proposition that the province had need of more scientific and commercial programmes, at the high school and university level. Although the general reluctance of the church to implement changes in this direction often stalled reform

measures, some changes were implemented in 1937. Since educational programmes for girls became more and more like those for boys, the reforms of 1937 opened new options for both sexes.

The Comité de Coordination, the body responsible for drafting and implementing educational reforms in 1937, initiated several changes in the education system. Among these was the recommendation that all students of the elementary school system specialize after grade nine. New programmes were made available and old ones were revised at this level to facilitate access to vocational or to classical schools of higher education and to provide students with skills useful in the labour market. For boys, this measure brought more opportunities for specialization in science and commerce. For girls, programmes began to take into account their participation in the labour force and in institutions of higher learning. Options for them included a general course suitable for "those who simply seek a solid average culture suitable to the middle class" or a preparation for teacher training; a commercial section which stressed the acquisition of marketable secretarial skills; a classical course of latin; and la section ménagère, a programme which combined the classical course with domestic science and which was now designed to prepare future teachers of domestic science.¹⁴

Evidence that female education progressed along

the lines suggested by the Comité de Coordination was apparent in the growth of independent Catholic schools offering vocational education and in the expansion of the female collèges classiques during the 1930's and 1940's. For example, vocational domestic science schools, which prepared students "to play an immediate part in the world of social work and technical trades,"¹⁵ recorded 4982 students by 1936 and over 21,000 in 1950.¹⁶ The female institutions of classical education experienced a remarkable period of growth between 1932 and 1947 when no less than 22 new institutions were opened.¹⁷

Promoters of domestic education for the home had some cause for anxiety in 1937. The écoles ménagères régionales were fast becoming anachronisms in an age of improvement of standards and new opportunities for technical or academic specializations. Moreover, although the vocational écoles ménagères and the collèges classiques were often urban institutions and hence not direct competitors of the traditional écoles ménagères, they posed a threat as independent Catholic schools which competed for funds and religious personnel.

Clergymen who believed in the value of female education for the home were soon spurred to action. In 1937, Cardinal Villeneuve is reported to have issued a directive to the new inspector of domestic science schools:

Servez-vous de la plume, de

la presse, de la radio, du cinéma. Visitez les écoles, les collèges, les séminaires, les ministères et insistez sur cette idée que la femme est l'heureuse reine du foyer heureux mais que le métier de reine s'apprend dans la patience. 18

With these words, a campaign was launched to popularize and improve domestic science programmes for the training of good wives and mothers. The new inspector, Abbé Albert Tessier, was a young priest who had begun to earn a reputation as a poet, writer and film maker.

The appointment of Abbé Tessier to the post of inspector aroused illuminating comments. Fadette, female journalist of Le Devoir's woman's pages, complained that the position should have gone to a woman since Tessier was manifestly incompetent in the domestic arts.¹⁹ But the journalist in Le Nouvelliste displayed a more astute understanding of the purpose of domestic science when he emphasized Tessier's qualifications as a propagandist of traditional rural and Catholic values.²⁰ Indeed, Cardinal Villeneuve's instructions in 1937 made it abundantly clear that the new inspector was not called upon to oversee the teaching of technical skills; rather, he was to promote the écoles ménagères and leave the practical matters to female teachers.²¹

Albert Tessier was eminently qualified for the task of revitalizing domestic education. Prior to and during his involvement with education, Tessier ardently preached

a philosophy which went well with the plan to reform education for the home. His message, communicated in films made, as he put it, "pour des fins très nettement définies de propagande religieuse et nationale,"²² and in his writings, was a simple one: "Faire aimer l'Eglise, faire aimer la terre!"²³ and French Canada would survive to fulfil "le rôle que la Providence nous confie."²⁴

Women were of vital importance to Tessier's vision of la survivance. He wrote profusely of la mère canadienne, eventually completing a historical work and several articles dedicated to the theme "nos mères ont sauvé le pays après les malheurs de 1760."²⁵ For Tessier, as for other religious nationalists, this philosophy was complemented by a vision of the ideal home and the ideal wife and mother. He never tired of preaching a return to "l'idéal familial que nos mères ont élevé à un si haut degré."²⁶ Moreover, he invested much of his considerable energy in defining this ideal and later, in formulating the female education which would best foster it. It was this concern that made him an excellent choice as the architect of the revival of traditional domestic education. In 1937, he brought to that task the zeal of his personal beliefs and experience in promoting them by means of written and spoken words and film.

Tessier undertook his task with the support of most members of the clergy and several lay educators.²⁷ The superintendent of education in 1938, for example, spoke

enthusiastically of the revitalization of the écoles ménagères as a movement to "bring back the family to normal life in the city and maintain its traditional form in the country."²⁸ In later years, he continued to extoll the domestic education which would give a girl "the family knowledge and virtues required by her position as guardian of the home."²⁹ Support for domestic education was also expressed in more tangible gestures. In 1937, household science became a compulsory subject in all programmes of female education in the Catholic public school system.³⁰ Schools which hired a specialist in domestic education were eligible for special grants.³¹ A number of domestic science establishments were opened including an Institut de Pédagogie Familiale in Outremont which trained teachers for the écoles ménagères.³²

Under Albert Tessier, the écoles ménagères underwent a structural change. In 1938, the écoles ménagères régionales were renamed and upgraded. As écoles ménagères régionales d'enseignement supérieures, they began to offer a programme which covered grades ten to twelve.³³ In 1941, grade thirteen was added as a supplementary year for students who desired a course which would enable them to teach domestic science in elementary schools.³⁴

The new status of the écoles ménagères régionales left younger pupils without an opportunity for a non-academic, domestic education. With this in mind, Tessier

instituted the école ménagère moyenne, an intermediate programme for girls of grades eight and nine.³⁵ In many respects, the école ménagère moyenne assumed the traditional characteristics of the école ménagère régionale. For example, the course was intended for "girls who may not complete their high school course" but who desired "a systematic training and experience in the fundamental activities of the home."³⁶ The curriculum was almost entirely devoted to the manual arts of homemaking.³⁷ The new school bore, in addition, the mark of traditional domestic science schools: Its programme was specifically addressed to the girls of "workingman's families and agricultural homes."³⁸ As such, it sought to inculcate such virtues as "l'amour de travail, le sens du devoir, (et) l'exaltation de la vie simple."³⁹

Its original function taken over by the école ménagère moyenne, the école ménagère régionale d'enseignement supérieur, then, had no clear purpose. The superintendent of education began to refer to the programme as an exclusive one offering an advanced and sophisticated preparation for domestic life.⁴⁰ Theoretically, the course offered a rural girl the opportunity to complete high school in a school which remained devoted to domestic and moral education for the home. However, few students took advantage of the full programme. Between 1940 and 1944, for example, only 41 full diplomas were granted.⁴¹ Adding the higher grades did not, then,

automatically provide the école ménagère with a new raison-d'être.

In fact, the new status of the école ménagère régionale gave rise to new problems and also aggravated traditional ones. Few girls received any higher education in Quebec during the 1940's. Hence, enrollment did not reach a dramatically high level.⁴² It also became necessary to re-define the programme in such a way that it might be easily distinguished from that of the école ménagère moyenne. Tessier was aware too, that popular biases against the school persisted and hampered its continuing success. For instance, the école ménagère was still viewed as an inferior institution for the rural poor, an image which was not easily dispelled by the addition of the higher grades.⁴³

Re-defining the programme and erasing traditional biases posed, however, a dilemma. The schools could not become more academic or vocational since the campaign to re-vitalize them had the express purpose of offering an alternative to academic and vocational training for girls. Cardinal Villeneuve specifically instructed Tessier to guard against "des tendances trop intellectualistes de certaines pédagogues et de l'inadaptation pour les jeunes filles des programmes scolaires destinés aux écoles de garçons."⁴⁴

How the schools could be refurbished, then, without altering their traditional character proved to be a task requiring all of Tessier's talents.

Changing the image more than the character of the écoles ménagères régionales was one way of resolving the dilemma. A concerted effort was made to render the schools more well-known and attractive to the public. The press, informed by Abbé Tessier, reported domestic science exhibitions of students' handiwork and praised the schools which offered "un cours de haute culture."⁴⁵ Advertisements were taken out in La Famille⁴⁶ and brochures were distributed by a specially created domestic science information bureau. An association of écoles ménagères was formed which divided its energies equally between promotion and pedagogical reform.⁴⁷ No effort was spared to increase public awareness.

Promotional activities undertook to recast traditional domestic education as one suitable for girls of all social classes. In her reports to the superintendent, for instance, the director of household science often took care to note that all social ranks were taking part in the revival of female education for the home.⁴⁸ The description of the écoles ménagères (and of the boys' agricultural schools) revealed the new image:

The object of these schools is to build up a fairly well-educated middle class of young men and women who may serve their country as able citizens and housewives, and, in due course become leaders in their communities. 49.

The Code Scolaire was no less insistent that the écoles ménagères régionales were

des maisons de formation ménagère spécialisée (qui) tendent à préparer une élite, soit pour l'enseignement de l'économie domestique dans les écoles primaires ou pour la diffusion des arts ménagers par les cours post-scolaires, soit, en tout premier lieu, pour l'organisation aussi parfaite que possible de la vie morale et matérielle du foyer.

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Anxious to dispel the belief that only country girls came to the écoles ménagères, Tessier compiled and published intermittently statistics on the social origins of pupils.⁵¹ Since most pupils came from rural or working class homes, his conclusions were limited to pointing out small increases in pupils of professional families while noting, at the same time, that "les classes modestes sont encore celles qui manifestent le plus bel esprit familiale."⁵²

The desire to publicize the new middle class character raised an important issue. If the écoles ménagères began to appeal to all social classes in both rural and urban areas, they would betray their main raison-d'être: the need to provide rural girls with a religious and moral education commensurate with their social standing. One solution to the dilemma was to have each school tailor its programme to the needs of the population it served. The Code Scolaire in 1940 was explicit on this point:

Comme le titre le suggère,
les écoles ménagères régionales
doivent tenir compte des
particularités du milieu

desservi... Dans les milieux ruraux en particulier, il faudra prendre grand soin de donner une formation réaliste qui attache les jeunes filles à la vie compagne ordinaire. 53

Neither extensive publicity nor the decision to tailor programmes to regional needs completely solved the crisis facing the école ménagère. It was still necessary to determine what kind of education would remain faithful to religious and nationalist values and still possess the sophistication required of higher education in the forties. To Abbé Tessier, the answer lay in bringing a fresh approach to the teaching of traditional values. In an attempt to be innovative yet remain traditional, Tessier made use of 'new' pedagogical theories then attracting the attention of educators: the progressive movement in education.

Progressive ideals in education were first articulated by the American educator, John Dewey.⁵⁴ Dewey believed that the purpose of education was two-fold: to provide students with a training useful in the labour force and to enable them to develop the social skills necessary in day to day life. Education for "real life" or education as socialization, was the key to the progressive philosophy. This approach gave birth to a number of pedagogical practices most of which were eventually adopted by Canadian educators. For instance, Dewey advocated a more child-centred approach to learning which placed considerable emphasis on the role

of education in forming personalities. Learning had to be a pleasant experience in which the acquisition of abstract skills played a secondary role to the development of personal qualities and attitudes. In Canada, stress on this aspect of education gave rise to report cards which measured attitudes instead of progress in specific skills.⁵⁵

Domestic education was an important subject for progressive educators. A training in the home arts admirably fulfilled the progressive tenet that educators teach mental and manual skills which had a direct relevance to "life situations."⁵⁶ As a result, domestic science became compulsory in many academic curricula where it once had little place.⁵⁷ Schools built expensive facilities to make learning pleasant and less intellectually demanding. As one critic remarked: "Who wants to go to an old classroom and ponder over mathematics, history or even english when she can make cookies in a kitchen with large bright windows, homey atmosphere and even a silver tea service?"⁵⁸

Although domestic education in Quebec was part of a unique cultural and educational heritage, the province did not escape progressive influences. Indeed, the very influence would be used to bolster the traditional pattern. In the early forties, the superintendent of education revealed his acceptance of progressive ideals when he identified "the unfolding of personality" as the principal objective of education.⁵⁹ Courses for teachers began to

include child psychology and "mental hygiene."⁶⁰ There was also a new interest in making pleasant the physical surroundings of education.

Catholicism remained the predominant influence on educators but progressivism was by no means incompatible with it. When Catholic educators spoke in the late 1930's of domestic education as "truly practical education corresponding with real life,"⁶¹ they were repeating a belief which had motivated the formation of the first école ménagère. Educators in Quebec had long believed that the education of girls ought to include "ce qui ne se trouve en aucun manuel: à vivre harmonieusement, utilement, dans le bon sens, l'équilibre, dans la vérité et dans la beauté."⁶² Phrases such as these could as easily come from the pen of Abbé Laflèche as from a progressive educator.

For Albert Tessier, progressive methods and ideals lent themselves particularly well to traditional domestic education. The école ménagère régionale had always paid attention to moral development. In the 1940's, however, mental preparation for home life took up more than two-thirds of the programme whereas earlier, it had been a secondary concern.⁶³ The school began to offer what was proudly described as "a very thorough training in femininity,"⁶⁴ personality training which went beyond the moral education of earlier years. An official description of the programme in 1940 explained the new character of the école ménagère:

La culture scolaire garde partout son importance mais, dans l'école ménagère à tous ses degrés, comme dans la vie d'ailleurs, elle vient après les qualités de fond qui conditionnent la véritable force de la personnalité humaine. 65

It was left to Albert Tessier to define the feminine personality and to set about outlining pedagogical methods which fostered it.

The model wife and mother which Tessier sought to create in each girl at the école ménagère régionale was a woman of culture and refinement. With consummate skill in every aspect of home management, "intelligence, volonté, sensibilité, imagination créatrice, aptitudes et talents manuels,"⁶⁶ she attended to the moral and material well-being of the family. Totally committed to domestic life, the ideal woman did not, indeed would not, participate in work outside the home.⁶⁷ Instead, thoroughly imbued with the religious and patriotic significance of traditional family life, her energies went towards the creation of "un sanctuaire familial où l'âme et les mains trouveront à servir de la meilleure façon possible l'Eglise et la Patrie."⁶⁸ Such an ideal was traditional, to be sure, but seldom had it received as definite a form as it did under Albert Tessier. Moreover, the model wife and mother now shared a greater affinity with the urban middle class rather than with working and agricultural life.

In regular bimonthly bulletins,⁶⁹ Abbé Tessier

provided teachers of the écoles ménagères with educational guidelines. In one of the first of these directives, Tessier wrote to the teaching staff,

Vous avez pour mission de préparer des femmes vertueuses, aimables, "traivallantes", cultivées, de goût sûr et fin. Cet idéal doit flotter en permanence dans l'école, comme une atmosphère.

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One of Tessier's first concerns was that teachers redesign what he called the drab "atmosphère d'un pensionnat" characteristic of the early écoles ménagères. The schools should resemble tasteful and pleasant family homes.⁷¹ Education, in Tessier's view and in those of his progressive contemporaries, could not take place in discouraging surroundings. The mental ambiance of the schools was also of considerable importance. "La gloire de la vie domestique"⁷² must be as tirelessly described as displayed. Students would thereby be encouraged to become ideal wives and mothers. Personality report cards which had come into general use at the time, measured a pupil's progress in the acquisition of attitudes and characteristics such as serviabilité, empressement, zèle, dévouement, entraîn et bonne humeur, ordre et propreté, économie and débrouillardise.⁷³

There was one aspect of education in an école ménagère régionale which remained traditional except perhaps for the new intensity with which it was stressed: cultural and religious education. Teachers were advised to include

traditional French Canadian recipes in cooking classes and to encourage the singing of traditional folk songs.⁷⁴ More importantly, girls were to absorb their religious and patriotic duty of reproduction. As Tessier put it to his staff, "faites tout ce qui sera possible pour donner au personnel et aux élèves un respect particulier pour cette portion de choix de la grande famille ménagère."⁷⁵ To this task, Tessier offered a personal contribution: a compilation of statistics of the fecundity of certain rural parishes. This knowledge, he maintained, would impress pupils with the fact that "la fécondité de notre race n'est pas éteinte."⁷⁶

The école ménagère régionale underwent a radical transformation after 1937. No longer an institution associated specifically with the preservation of agricultural life, its new function was nonetheless a conservative one. As a school of higher education, it was to prepare an elite of future housewives for a "mission of salvation."⁷⁷ Schooled in their moral and patriotic responsibilities, such girls were to deliver French Canada from the ignominy of modern, industrialized society.

The progress of the écoles ménagères régionales under Albert Tessier offered ample proof that he had succeeded in making them attractive to a sceptical public. Although the schools still attracted less than 2% of the female school population beyond grade ten,⁷⁸ they enjoyed a constant,

if not spectacular expansion. Whereas in 1938 there were 18 schools with a total enrollment of 579, in 1945-50, 37 écoles ménagères régionales had a total enrollment of 1936.⁷⁹ Clearly, the schools had survived in a decade when trends in education had pointed to their demise.

Abbé Tessier had shown a remarkable ability to promote and foster a traditional ideal of woman through education.

In the 1950's, he was to leave his mark on the Instituts Familiaux, heirs to the innovations of the forties and the finest incarnation of religious nationalist schools of female education.

CHAPTER II NOTES

¹Gonzalve Poulin, "L'Etat et la Politique Familiale", La Famille, III, No. 1, (September, 1939), p.6.

²"Sex Distribution of Persons in Recorded Employment", Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, (October, 1943), pp. 6-8.

³André Laurendeau, "La Grand Pitié de la Famille", Action Nationale, XXI, No. 3, (March, 1943), p. 199.

⁴Dominique-Augustin Turcotte o.p.b., Pour Restaurer le Foyer (Montreal: 5375 Ave. Notre Dame de Grâce, 1940), p. 60.

⁵Poulin, "L'Etat et la Politique Familiale", p. 6.

⁶Mgr. Albert Valois, "Il Faut Sauver la Famille Chrétienne", La Famille, VIII, No. 2, (February, 1944), p. 57.

⁷Albert Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, (November, 1943), in Bulletins Mensuels des Ecoles Ménagères, Vol. 1, p. 143.

⁸Marie Langlois, "Le Salut de la Femme", Action Nationale, XXII, No. 1, (August-September, 1943), p.68.

⁹Roger Duhamel, "Notes Sur la Femme et la Culture", Action Nationale, XXII, No. 6, (June-July, 1944), pp. 454-472.

¹⁰Alphonse Désilets, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education of the Province of Quebec 1943-44. (Quebec: Printer to the King, 1944), p. 222.

¹¹Expansion of schools was as follows:
 1920-1930 : 546 new schools
 1930-1940 : 1476 new schools
 Government of Quebec, Statistical Year Book 1960 (Ottawa: Printer to the King, 1960), p. 173; Arthur Tremblay provides an account of financial growth in education in Contributions à l'Etude des Problèmes et des Besoins de l'Enseignement dans la Province de Quebec. (Quebec: Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur les Problèmes Constitutionnels, 1955), p. 93.

¹²Gonzalve, Poulin, "Nos Enfants", La Famille, I, No. 9, (September, 1946), p. 23.

¹³Mgr. A.M. Parent, "Le Rôle des Universités Canadiennes françaises", Action Nationale, XXVIII, No. 1, (September, 1946), p. 23.

¹⁴Victor Doré, Annual Report 1939-40 (Ottawa: Printer to the King, 1940), p. xxi.

¹⁵Désilets, Annual Report 1939-40, p. 252.

¹⁶The growth of vocational domestic science schools, (écoles ménagères spéciales, municipales and générales) is shown in table I, Appendix II.

¹⁷Claude Galarneau, Les Collèges Classiques au Canada Français (Montreal: Editions Fides, 1978), pp. 146-147.

¹⁸Cardinal Villeneuve, cited by Abbé Paul Carignan, Ecole de Bonheur, No. 1, (April, 1956), p. 7.

¹⁹Fadette, Le Devoir, January 24, 1938.

²⁰Le Nouvelliste, April 18, 1937.

²¹Cardinal Villeneuve, cited by Abbé Joseph Hoyoux, Le Vrai Visage des Ecoles de Bonheur (Trois Rivières: Editions du Bien Public, 1952), p. 23.

²²Tessier, letter to B.O. Filteau, February 25, 1941 (Archives du Séminaire de Trois Rivières, Tessier Collection), file D90.

²³Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, (April, 1940), p. 34.

²⁴Tessier, "Nos Intérêts Culturels", Action Nationale, IX, No. 5, (May, 1937), p. 263.

²⁵Tessier, "La Mère Canadienne", Radio Collège Telecast, March 10, 1942 (Text contained in Archives du Séminaire de Trois Rivières, Tessier Collection); His historical work on women is entitled Canadiennes (Montreal: Editions Fides, 1946).

²⁶Tessier, cited by Camille Caron, "L'Abbé Tessier et les Ecoles Ménagères", Le Ralliement (special issue), Séminaire de Trois Rivières, p. 119.

²⁷ Superintendents Victor Doré (1938-1945), J.P. Labarre (1945-1947) and Omer J. Desaulniers (1947-1960) were all avid supporters of the écoles ménagères during their terms in office.

²⁸ Doré, Annual Report 1938-39, p. x.

²⁹ Doré, Annual Report 1940-41, p. xix.

³⁰ Désilets, Annual Report 1940-41, p. 255.

³¹ Doré, Annual Report 1942-43, p. xii.

³² Sister Théodore-de-la-Croix, "La Pédagogie des Instituts Familiaux", Bulletin Spéciale, No. 114, (January, 1954), p. 5.

³³ B.O. Filteau, Code Scolaire de la Province de Québec 1940 (Quebec: Imprimerie le Soleil, limitée, 1940), p. 102.

³⁴ Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, February, 1941, p. 55.

³⁵ Désilets, Annual Report 1941, p. 257.

³⁶ Leblanc, Annual Report 1946-47, p. xvii.

³⁷ Filteau, Code Scolaire 1940, p. 121.

³⁸ Désilets, Annual Report 1940-41, p. 257.

³⁹ Filteau, Code Scolaire 1940, pp. 120-121.

⁴⁰ Doré, Annual Report 1939-40, p. xxiv.

⁴¹ Diplomas and Certificates granted 1940-1944: Ecoles Ménagères Régionales

<u>Year</u>	<u>Grade 11</u>	<u>Grade 12</u>	<u>Grade 13</u>
1940-41	100	60	5
1941-42	107	87	8
1942-43	136	80	18
1943-44	<u>170</u>	<u>109</u>	<u>10</u>
	513	336	41

Educational Statistics for the School Years 1937 to 1945:
(Quebec: Bureau of Statistics).

⁴²The growth of the school population of the écoles ménagères régionales is shown in table 2, Appendix II.

⁴³Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, February, 1942, p. 76.

⁴⁴Cardinal Villeneuve, Quoted by Sister Théodore-de-la Croix, "La Pédagogie des Instituts Familiaux", p. 2.

⁴⁵La Presse, February 12, 1945.

⁴⁶Advertisements of one page in length were usually taken out in every issue. See for example, La Famille, V, No. 2, (October, 1941), p. 213.

⁴⁷Doré, Annual Report 1944-45, p. 213.

⁴⁸Leblanc, Annual Report 1944-45, p. 207.

⁴⁹The Educational Policies Committee of the Canada and Newfoundland Education Association, Trends in Education 1944, Toronto: October 13, 1944, p. 45.

⁵⁰Filteau, Code Scolaire 1940, p. 101.

⁵¹Abbé Tessier's statistics were as follows:

	<u>1941-42</u>	<u>1943-44</u>
Professionnels	65	124
Bourgeois	225	281
Ouvriers	225	393
Rurales	<u>253</u>	<u>376</u>
	768	1174

Professionnels: Fathers with university education
 Bourgeois: Office workers, civil servants, merchants
 Ouvriers: Factory-employed workers
 Rurales: Men engaged in agriculture

Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, January, 1943, p. 109.

⁵²Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, January 1943, p. 168.

⁵³Filteau, Code Scolaire 1940, p. 103.

⁵⁴Hilda Neatby dealt exhaustively with Dewey's ideas and their influence on Canadian Educators in So Little For the Mind (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Ltd, 1953).

- ⁵⁵ Neatby, So Little for the Mind, p. 220.
- ⁵⁶ The Educational Policies Committee, Trends in Education 1944, p. 3.
- ⁵⁷ The Educational Policies Committee, Ibid, p. 32;
Note made in reference to schools in Ontario.
- ⁵⁸ Neatby, So Little for the Mind, p. 207.
- ⁵⁹ Doré, Annual Report 1942-43, p. x.
- ⁶⁰ Omer Desaulniers, Annual Report 1949-50, p. 89.
- ⁶¹ M.J.R. Desormeaux, Annual Report 1938-39, p. 126.
- ⁶² Louis Francoeur, "De l'éducation des Filles", La Revue Moderne, XXI, no. 10, (February, 1940), p. 30.
- ⁶³ Tessier, "Les Ecoles Ménagères au Service du Foyer", Relations, No. 21, (September, 1942), p. 225.
- ⁶⁴ Desaulniers, Annual Report 1950, p. xx.
- ⁶⁵ Filteau, Code Scolaire 1940, p. 121.
- ⁶⁶ Tessier, "Les Ecoles Ménagères au Service du Foyer", p. 236.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid.
- ⁶⁹ Seventy-six Bulletins were published between 1939-49. Most were produced entirely by Abbé Tessier but for the last years, they were co-authored by Abbé Paul Carignan.
- ⁷⁰ Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, January, 1941, p. 49.
- ⁷¹ Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, August, 1939, p. 1.
- ⁷² Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, December, 1941, p. 90.
- ⁷³ Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, January, 1940, p. 11.

⁷⁴Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, January, 1939, p. 4.

⁷⁵Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, September, 1940, p. 30.

⁷⁶Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, January, 1944, p. 211.

⁷⁷Doré, Annual Report 1944-45, p. xix.

⁷⁸Comparison of total superior enrollment and the écoles ménagères régionales:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Enrollment in Catholic superior Schools</u>	<u>Enrollment in Ecoles Ménagères Régionales</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
1937-38	49,216	221	0.45
1939-40	55,574	476	0.86
1940-41	52,815	681	1.29
1941-42	57,164	823	1.44
1942-43	55,097	986	1.79

Source of figures for superior schools: Bureau of Statistics, Province of Quebec, Educational Statistics for the School Years 1937-1943, (Dept. of Municipal Affairs, Trade and Commerce);

Source of figures for écoles ménagères régionales: Association des Instituts Familiaux, table 2, Appendix II.

⁷⁹These figures were taken from table 2, Appendix II.

CHAPTER III

The Instituts Familiaux

Education dedicated to "the preparation of the soul and the hands for the virtues and tasks of the home"¹ found its most complete expression in the Instituts Familiaux. In these "schools for professional wives" or "écoles de bonheur,"² Abbé Tessier's tireless efforts to change the character of domestic education in Quebec finally came to fruition. Foreign emissaries came to assess the 'new' model of female education while critics at home were lulled by speeches and books praising the schools which transformed mere girls into "femmes de maisons dépareillées."³

In many respects, the Instituts Familiaux were simply mature versions of the écoles ménagères of the 1940's. They succeeded, for example, in becoming the central institutions of an extensive network of domestic science schools. Furthermore, they attracted, to a greater extent than earlier schools, girls from among the more well-to-do of the rural population. However, they were also unique institutions in their own right, a reputation which they owed to one specific achievement. They were schools which embodied a 'new' philosophy of female education that was by far the most comprehensive attempt to educate girls for their moral and patriotic responsibilities. Whereas the progressive theory of education had lent itself to the refurbishment of the écoles ménagères, feminine humanism⁴ gave to the

Instituts Familiaux a distinctive, new character. The curriculum, inspired not only by a Catholic-nationalist ideal of woman but also by a detailed appreciation of "femininity", was certainly the most ambitious in the history of domestic education in Quebec.

The Instituts Familiaux came into official existence in 1951 when the department of education announced that the écoles ménagères régionales d'enseignement supérieures were henceforth to be known as Instituts Familiaux.⁵ In his own announcement of the change, Abbé Tessier explained, that the écoles ménagères had provoked criticism as "écoles de ménage," a term which implied that domestic science consisted of a mere training in housework.⁶ "Instituts Familiaux", he hoped would convey more aptly the refinement of a programme officially described as "moral and religious training, intellectual culture and technical training for the domestic tasks and arts."⁷

As the "jewel"⁸ of the school system, the Institut Familial enjoyed the special position first charted by Abbé Tessier for the école ménagère régionale of the 1940's. It offered the only courses in moral and domestic education for the home in the higher grades. Two programmes were available: a family course of two years in length and the regular course covering grades ten to twelve. Grade thirteen remained a supplementary year of teacher-training.⁹ Most schools offered, in addition, summer and extension courses

at all levels, a feature which often made an Institut Familial the hub of educational activity in rural areas.

A wide variety of promotional and pedagogical endeavours emphasized the important position enjoyed by the Instituts Familiaux. Four books commissioned by Abbé Tessier, a film and several radio programmes acquainted Quebecers with the special merits of an école de bonheur.¹⁰ Tessier and his staff worked as tirelessly in promoting as they did in improving the efficiency of the schools. Two school papers containing pedagogical directives to teachers and guidelines for students testified to their considerable energy.¹¹ As the last schools of an enthusiastic movement to revalue rural domestic education, the Instituts Familiaux were, then, beneficiaries of Abbé Tessier's well-organized campaign.

Throughout the 1950's, the schools which formed "a feminine elite of homemakers"¹² remained predominantly rural institutions. In 1951, there were 39 schools distributed across Montreal Island, Québec, Trois Rivières, Chicoutimi, Sherbrooke, Nicolet, the Outaouais, Abitibi, Richelieu, the Eastern townships, Lower St. Lawrence, Lac St. Jean and the Gaspé.¹³ At the start of the decade, enrollment stood at 2,083. Ten years later, there were 45 schools with a combined enrollment of 3,276 students.¹⁴ The fact that they were boarding schools made these institutions particularly suitable for girls of very remote areas.

The cost of attending, however, restricted their appeal. Fees generally exceeded \$250 per school year including board and lodge, a sum not easily spared by a farmer or a worker.¹⁵

That the Instituts Familiaux were designed primarily for the more well-to-do of rural society was increasingly evident from the character of the school population. At the start of the decade, Abbé Tessier contended that pupils came equally from families of farmers, the working class and the middle class, a conclusion which differed markedly from his pronouncement in 1941 that "les classes modestes" dominated the écoles ménagères.¹⁶ By 1957, the statistics compiled by the Association des Instituts Familiaux showed a dramatic increase in the student population labelled as middle class. Out of a total of 2,927 students, 1,295 or 53.18% were estimated to have come from "bourgeois" homes, 30% from the working class and only 16.6% from agricultural homes. Moreover, this description of the social composition of the school population remained the same for the years 1958 to 1962.¹⁷

Of course, this statistical picture of the social background of the school population must be taken with some reservations. Tessier was inclined to exaggerate his statistics in an effort to dispel the notion that the Instituts Familiaux were schools of the rural poor. On one occasion, he even suggested that 85% of all pupils were of middle class families.¹⁸ Furthermore, the term 'middle class' was certainly one of great fluidity for him. In it, he included doctors, lawyers,

merchants, civil servants and office workers thus reserving the term 'working class' specifically for factory workers and the term 'agricultural class' for farmers. Since Tessier's middle class potentially included school teachers, municipal employees of all echellons and, in fact, a large number of occupations not necessarily bourgeois, his statistics do not exactly support the conclusion that most pupils came from the middle class. Allowing for exaggeration, however, his figures do show that most pupils did not come from agricultural homes but instead from the ranks of the petite bourgeoisie.

Admission requirements and the pattern of school attendance tend to support the hypothesis that pupils of the Instituts Familiaux came, if not from the top strata, at least from the middle levels of the rural population. Students were required to have completed at least grade nine.¹⁹ Between 1941 and 1961, rural Quebecers had the lowest level of formal schooling in Canada: in 1961, 85% did not go beyond the ninth grade. And, as several studies have shown, prolonged schooling can be directly correlated to occupational status and social class.²⁰ An Institut Familial functioned as a 'finishing' school where a girl acquired sophisticated domestic and social skills at an advanced level. Generally she did not continue on, however, to the thirteenth grade, the only level which enabled her to enter a professional or skilled occupation or to take further studies. A glance at the distribution of school certificates granted in 1951 confirms this pattern: only 106 full diplomas

were awarded while 532 testimonials were granted after one year of study, 382 after two years and 234 after three years. As the decade progressed, this pattern of school attendance did not change markedly.²¹

For all students of an Institut Familial, opportunities for any but the least skilled occupations were rare. The programme itself was neither academic nor vocational. Furthermore, even those students who completed the full programme (grade 13) were qualified to teach only the first six grades of a domestic science school. Graduates could also seek employment as nurses aides and dieticians' assistants, and in fact some did, but these professions were beginning to require students with a more academic formation than the one available in an Institut Familial.²² Few girls, then, were likely lured to the higher grades of a domestic science school if they intended to work outside the home. It is probable then, that pupils entertained hopes of a future life in which domestic talents would be more relevant than marketable skills.

The best indication that an Institut Familial was perhaps an institution for the daughters of the more well-to-do of the rural population was the new curriculum of the school. As one admirer succinctly put it, the domestic training therein was not of the "broom and mop variety" but rather of the tradition of "vacuum cleaners and washing machines."²³ The 'new' psychological and philosophical insights of feminine humanism gave this sophisticated domestic science training a distinctive

character.

To Abbé Tessier and his supporters, the Instituts Familiaux embodied the soundest amalgamation of humanist and Catholic values in education. Humanism, in their view "une méthode d'enseignement en harmonie avec la nature humaine,"²⁴ emphasized the formation of a well-balanced personality as the central function of education. How that personality was defined when the subject of education was an adolescent girl, came from a Catholic view of woman's nature and of her function in society. Feminine humanism, the theory which emerged out of humanism and Catholicism, gave rise to a formula of female education "centrée sur le développement intégral et équilibré de la personnalité féminine en vue de la mission de la femme dans l'église, le foyer, la société, la patrie."²⁵

For feminine humanists, the education of young girls observed two guidelines. It respected the natural talents and proclivities of the female personality and it was dedicated to preparing girls for a future which biology, divine will and convention had clearly marked. Tessier expressed the assumption underlying his educational ideals: "Le flou féminin, la sensibilité de l'adolescence, l'imagination exaltée et pas encore créatrice," he stated, "empêche d'avoir une vraie pensée."²⁶ Naturally incapable of abstract thought, a young girl would not benefit from a curriculum composed of such traditional subjects as science and mathematics. Furthermore, girls were unlikely to need

an intellectual formation. To his colleagues at a priests' convention, Tessier put this view quite plainly: "Nos filles devront vivre à base de ces matières. Il leur faudra donc un minimum de ces disciplines excellentes d'ailleurs."²⁷

The belief that an intellectual formation was inconsistent with a feminine personality was bolstered by yet another argument. An academic formation, Tessier contended, such as the one offered in the female collèges classiques, "contribue actuellement à détruire chez la femme la culte de ce qui a fait de sa grandeur et sa joie dans le passé."²⁸ In other words, an intellectual education was not only incompatible with femininity and irrelevant to the situation of women but also an obstacle to true feminine fulfillment.

Thus, to Abbé Tessier, female education was legitimate only if it sought to prepare girls for a destiny which was as inevitable as it was necessary. "Essentiellement ordonnée à la maternité," a woman's role in life was first and foremost a familial one.²⁹ The notion of a 'feminine mystique', Betty Friedan's famous phrase coined in the 1960's to describe society's view of the capacities and role of woman as a life-giving and nurturing force, was frequently invoked by Tessier and his staff to explain why woman's lot was inevitably "un destin de service, de don, de gardiennage de la vie et des personnes."³⁰ A woman, in their view, could find happiness only in accepting the conditions imposed by her biology.

Curiously, although fulfillment of those natural

obligations was woman's only chance for happiness, not all women assumed their heritage with pleasure. Educators had to inspire in girls a liking for their female tasks. As Tessier frankly wrote, "l'amour seul explique la continuité de don."³¹ Women had to be conditioned for domestic life since they did not easily endure its hardships. The explanation for this apparent contradiction in the female personality came from a long-standing view of woman as the "fragile instrument of the Fall and Redemption."³² Eve and Mary existed in every woman. The education of girls had to suppress the former and develop the latter. Truly feminine education had to "rouse the mother and wife in every woman."³³ In Tessier's words, feminine education inspired "une prise de conscience de la vraie féminité."³⁴

Feminine humanism set forth a comprehensive formula of education for adolescent girls. The maxim for education often quoted by Tessier "savoir, savoir-faire, vouloir-faire"³⁵ described an education which had no less an objective than the grooming of the perfect feminine personality. As Tessier stated,

vous noterez l'insistance avec laquelle on revient sur les buts très nets de l'école, former des femmes de maisons instruites, bien éduquées, aimant leur tâche, habiles dans tous les travaux domestiques. Des femmes de maison dépareillées, vous comprenez ce que cela veut dire... C'est le type de femme que l'Eglise et notre pays ont le plus besoin.

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Such a task, overwhelming in its magnitude, necessarily

involved an intensive, all-embracing preparation for marriage and motherhood.

The Instituts Familiaux began to school their pupils in the complexities of family life by paying careful attention to "le climat et style de vie"³⁷ within their doors. Schools were pleasantly decorated to resemble the most intimate and cultured of family homes.³⁸ They boasted model dining rooms, well-equipped kitchens and dormitories. Pupils were organized into "équipes familiales" in which older pupils played mothers to younger ones.³⁹ Visiting priests, often Albert Tessier and his assistant Paul Carignan, lent paternal authority to the scene and provided "la sécurité nécessaire à un monde féminin."⁴⁰ The realities of domestic life were introduced to senior students in the form of a stage de maîtresse de maison, a period of one week in which each girl managed a family of junior pupils. During the week, she cooked and budgeted for all family expenditures. There was also a stage de puériculture lasting ten days during which time each student of the third year had under her care a baby from a nearby home.⁴¹

In the classroom, "la mystique familiale"⁴² impregnated all subjects. The curriculum was divided into three areas of study. "La vocation féminine" included instruction in female and child psychology and religion. The domestic arts included housekeeping, the culinary arts, sewing, weaving and the decorative arts. Finally, academic subjects,

taught with particular regard for feminine aptitudes and the future responsibilities of the pupils, included French, English, history, sciences and arithmetic or household accounts.

Not all three areas were of equal importance. The feminine vocation made up approximately 15% of the curriculum but accounted for over 35% of the examination marks. The domestic arts, which were by nature extremely time-consuming, engaged over 50% of the students' time. Academic study amounted to over 25% of the programme. Physical education and singing completed the course of study.⁴³

Successful marriage and motherhood required, first of all, that students understand and appreciate their feminine heritage. Next, it was necessary to learn how to become a good wife and mother. In order to fulfil her feminine obligations properly, a girl had need of a psychological understanding of herself, her husband and her children. An Institut Familial endeavoured to provide this knowledge through the teaching of religion and psychology, and to a lesser extent, through French literature, English and history.

Instruction in religion and psychology was unified by a central theme of study. In grade ten, this was the feminine personality of, in Abbé Tessier's words, a general discussion of "ce que toute jeune fille doit savoir." In fact, study of this theme entailed a light discussion of

sexual mores, the principal objective of which was to remind the young girl to preserve herself for marriage.⁴⁴ In grade eleven, students were taught woman's role within the family, learning through religion and psychology the proper ways to bring up children. In the third year, these courses attempted to prepare students for the emotional difficulties of conjugal and maternal life. Finally, the fourth year entailed a synthesis of previous study.⁴⁵

Textbooks used in the courses provide a more concrete illustration of what was taught in religion and psychology. Religious instructors relied on four books written by Abbé Llewellyn. Ta Personne, Ton Milieu, Ton Futur and Ton Foyer⁴⁶ were texts written specifically for the Instituts Familiaux; each was designed to complement one year of the programme. They were united by a single theme:

... Votre mission consiste
actuellement à vous préparer
à votre vie de demain, vie
d'épouse, de mère, de ménagère.
Elle consiste à y préparer votre
corps, votre esprit, votre coeur,
votre âme. 47

Expounded in a simple, familiar style aided by such devices as imaginary dialogues,⁴⁸ the theme of woman's mission received a detailed and tireless treatment. Ta Personne, the first of Llewellyn's books, sought to describe the attitudes and behaviour of an ideal woman. Chapters detailed why feminine fulfilment could come only from marriage and motherhood and not from work outside the home. Students were invited to see the justice and wisdom of true feminine

behaviour, and to express it on examinations. One grade 10 examination question directed towards material in Ta Personne asked students "... comment il vous est possible dès aujourd'hui, de vous préparer à devenir une FEMME ADMIRABLE..."⁴⁹ If the answer was still confined to generalities in grade 10, a study of Ton Milieu in the second year provided students with a more specific guide. Ton Milieu offered girls a clear idea of how their sphere of activity differed from that of a man. As Abbé Llewellyn phrased it,

l'homme gouverne le foyer.
Il fournit l'argent par son
travail, il porte les
responsabilités, prend les
décisions... La femme
règne dans le foyer; elle
humanise dans leur application
constante les décisions de l'homme. 50

Not all of Ton Milieu remained on this philosophical plane, however. Good nutrition, interesting conversation and the preservation of mutual interests⁵¹ were among some of Abbé Llewellyn's suggestions for successful home life.

By the third year of study, Llewellyn's instructions became even more precise in their application to domestic life. Most of Ton Futur explained why the woman was particularly suited to certain tasks of the home such as tending the sick and listening to all complaints.⁵²

Occasionally, the separate spheres of activities to which the sexes were confined created difficulties. Woman's intellectual gifts and education were so vastly different

from her husband's there could well be very little communication between the sexes. To this problem, Llewellyn had a concrete solution. A wife who found herself unable to communicate with her husband because of his interest in mathematics, for example, might read the biographies of famous mathematicians rather than attempt to study the subject itself.⁵³ In this way, harmony in the home might be maintained without either sex having to stray too far from the assigned separate sphere.

Psychology texts⁵⁴ were also written specifically for the Instituts Familiaux. Marie Paule Vinay, a writer who held a doctorate in psychology, placed the emphasis on woman's potential for evil rather than her infinite capacity to achieve marital bliss. Qui est Jeanette? and La Femme et Son Coeur often included rather dramatic illustrations of the consequences of feminine deviation. In one story, a young girl died from a mysterious fever soon after leaving home to work in the city near her boyfriend.⁵⁵ The message here, as elsewhere in the text, was clear: a woman who left her familial sphere imperilled her life both physically and spiritually. She also imperilled the lives of others. By examination time, students were expected to answer correctly such questions as "montrez les inconvénients des sorties trop fréquentes de la mère de famille."⁵⁶

Psychology classes were in fact the main avenue

through which students were taught the meaning of a feminine personality. In one chapter of La Femme et Son Coeur, for instance, students studied thirty-three personality differences between men and women. The psychological portrait of woman was often confusing because Vinay attempted to demonstrate both the negative and positive traits which she considered innate to all women. As Vinay described it, some of the principal differences between men and women were

ELLE

LUI.

1. Au point de vue général:

Reçoit, enfante, conserve, multiplie, fait durer, organise.

Cherche, conquiert, produit, apporte, détruit.

Se préoccupe des siens aux dépens du bien commun.

Peut se préoccuper du bien commun aux dépens des siens.

Veut naturellement domestiquer, assujettir des libertés.

Prend instinctivement le parti des opprimés.

Elle devine.

IL raisonne.

Parle quand elle n'a rien à dire.

Se tait quand il devrait parler.

Ment facilement.

Dit les vérités qu'il faut taire.⁵⁷

Feminine personality and female vocation were the messages of most of the academic subjects taught at the Instituts Familiaux as well. Tessier insisted that intellectual subjects be specifically tailored to the feminine personality. As a result, when students studied Molière in their French literature class, they paid particular attention to "le foyer idéale selon Molière."⁵⁸ The study of English often involved writing essays on such topics as "How does a wife create a home atmosphere?"⁵⁹ Examination questions took up the same theme. An English exam for grade 12 students

in 1964 confronted this question: "Mrs. Jaqueline Kennedy, a true woman in the face of life and death. Show how her beautiful Christian spirit and feminine dignity justify this statement."⁶⁰ In arithmetic and science, material was specifically tailored to have relevance to domestic life. For example, chemical experiments duplicated reactions which occurred in the cooking of food.⁶¹ Even in physical education, Tessier stressed "il ne s'agit pas de former des femmes athlètes, mais des femmes saines aptes à remplir leur rôle dans la vie."⁶² In no subject, then, did instruction stray too far from the central function of education in the Instituts Familiaux: the preparation of mentally and technically competent wives and mothers.

One area of the programme crystallized all the aspects of woman's role as defined by Abbé Tessier -- history. History taught a religious and nationalist consciousness. As the official Programme of 1956 frankly stated:

L'histoire nationale n'est pas une matière scolaire au même titre que l'histoire universelle, la géographie, les mathématiques, etc. Il faut que les jeunes filles d'aujourd'hui sachent que le sort moral et matériel de la Patrie est dans leurs mains. 63

Tessier wrote the history books for the Instituts Familiaux himself. They stressed the role of the church and the family, "les héroïsmes féminins," and la survivance.⁶⁴ History of this kind, thought Abbé Tessier, gave "aux élèves une haute idée de leur mission dans l'histoire actuelle et

dans l'histoire future de notre pays."⁶⁵ It would also, of course, provide historical justification for some of the principles taught in the Instituts Familiaux. For example, students were shown "trois coutumes qui marquent le caractère surnaturel de l'autorité paternelle dans la famille canadienne."⁶⁶ History therefore served, in general, the function of reinforcing and glorifying woman's role in the family.

Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the philosophy of education in the curriculum of the Instituts Familiaux was the belief that marriage required a considerable amount of sacrifice and preparation on the part of the woman. Hence, students had to learn both in and out of the classroom the knowledge and skills which would aid in what one writer termed "Eve's preparation to please Adam."⁶⁷ In the physical sense, such preparation for marriage entailed the domestic skills which were necessary for pleasing men. As Abbé Llewellyn once put it, divorce has its roots in the kitchen.⁶⁸ Besides the culinary arts, students also learned to sew and to dress attractively.⁶⁹ In some schools, they learned to play billiards, a skill, it was felt, which would enable them to become "d'excellentes partenaires sportives pour leur maris."⁷⁰ But conjugal felicity was clearly not limited to these areas. An Institut Familial also took great care to ensure that its pupils knew how to please a man emotionally. This aspect of preparation for marriage

was left to the school paper Ecole de Bonheur.

Writers in Ecole de Bonheur were particularly concerned that girls should understand and accommodate men. One article described the relationship of a wife to her husband clearly:

Envers le mari, un amour sincère
et cordial, qui fasse qu'on ait
un grand soin de tout ce qui le
regarde, selon le temporel et le
spirituel, tâchant toujours de le
gagner à Dieu par prières, bons
exemples et autres moyens
convenables: le respect,
l'obéissance, la douceur et la
patience à souffrir ses défauts
et ses mauvaises humeurs. 71

Other writers offered additional suggestions as to how happiness in marriage might be achieved. An article entitled "les maris sont comme ça", ostensibly written by two parents, began: "Nous présumons, ma femme et moi, qu'un jour viendra où notre fille Alice n'aura d'autre ambition que de plaire à son mari." This was followed by "une série de conseils" intended to promote happiness in the home. First, Alice was advised to encourage her future husband in male sports since "il se sentirà plus viril, et par contrecoup tu auras l'impression d'être plus féminine." Next, it was important to praise and console a husband, taking care to attend to his every physical and emotional need. Finally, it was wise for a wife to let her husband know that "il n'a plus à lutter pour la conquérir et la garder."⁷²

An Institut Familial offered to girls a religious-education compatible with a feminine personality and a feminine vocation. It also offered happiness, as the name

Ecole de Bonheur indicated. Elusive as these goals appeared, they were nonetheless the objectives of a curriculum which aimed to provide a comprehensive training for marriage and motherhood. Because he believed that a young girl's future happiness depended on "l'épanouissement ordonné et équilibré de toutes les richesses de sa nature,"⁷³ Abbé Tessier designed a programme which defined the feminine personality in terms of its special talents as well as its proclivities. Made aware of her potential and also how it could be used towards the achievement of marital bliss, a young girl was then schooled in the technical and mental skills necessary for the professional management of home, husband and children. She received instruction in the decorative and functional domestic arts, and an intellectual and psychological training complementary to her role in society but not competitive with the intellectual formation of her husband.

The girl trained in an Institut Familial was intended to be cultured, 'educated' and well-versed in the domestic skills required for a middle class rather than an agricultural home. Among other things, she was required to develop:

Féminité et distinction, don de soi,
 esprit d'invention, ton du langage,
 droiture et simplicité, originalité
 intellectuelle, ordre, entrain et
 initiative, concentration, ponctualité,
 esprit d'équipe, souci de culture,
 esprit de discipline, esprit chrétien,
 goût de la 'belle ouvrage', économie,
 sens des responsabilités and bon goût. 74

It is perhaps ironic that schools which had come out

of a tradition of agricultural domestic education for the rural poor should have acquired, in their fight for survival a middle class character. Ironic, but not incomprehensible. In that section of the rural population which sought higher education, that is beyond grade ten, a small group of resolute clergymen and some lay persons saw hope. From their ranks would be recruited "une élite d'épouses et de mamans pour la relève familiale."⁷⁵ Upon their shoulders would fall the task of keeping the cultural and religious traditions of French Canada safe from the assaults of modern society. The rural woman, traditionally educated, would fight the materialism and familial disintegration of the cities. More importantly, such a woman would resist feminism and work outside the home. For all her differences from the student of the early école ménagère, she was still called upon to uphold a traditional religious social order just as she would have been had she attended a domestic science school early in the 20th century.

The Institut Familial was therefore an institution dedicated to an ideal, a belief born out of a traditional ultramontane construct in which woman's activities ensured the moral and cultural survival of the French collectivity. By seeking to save women from prevailing errors of judgement, by attempting to "leur redonner l'orgueil sain de leur féminité"⁷⁶ through education, and thus to prepare them for their feminine obligations, the Institut Familial was a traditional response

to a changing society. As such, it could not survive in a society which pressed inexorably along a path of modernization and towards a nationalist vision which was secular and oriented towards growth rather than preservation. Criticism of the Institut Familial came early in its history and grew to vigorous and blunt condemnation by the mid-fifties and early sixties.

CHAPTER III NOTES

¹Omer J. Desaulniers, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education of the Province of Quebec 1951-52 (Quebec: Printer to the King, 1944), p. 51.

²Evelyn Brown, Educating Eve (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1957), p. 8.

³Visitors came from as far as Japan and Holland. Albert Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, (February, 1955), p. 3; Abbé Groulx noted in Le Canada Français Missionnaire (Montreal: Collection Fides, 1962), that an Institut Familial was established in Pakistan, p. 223.

⁴Term translated from the French term "l'humanisme féminin". Sister Théodore-de-la-Croix, "La Pédagogie des Instituts Familiaux", Bulletin Speciale, No. 114, (January, 1954), p. 9.

⁵Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, (December, 1951), p. 1.

⁶Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, (January, 1952), p. 10.

⁷Desaulniers, Annual Report 1951-52, p. 53.

⁸Desaulniers, Annual Report 1958-59, p. xiii.

⁹Sister Théodore-de-la-Croix, "La Pédagogie des Instituts Familiaux", p. 8.

¹⁰Books published on the Instituts Familiaux were Evelyn Brown, Educating Eve (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1957); Joseph Hoyoux, Pour ou Contre les Ecoles de Bonheur? and Le Vrai Visage des Ecoles de Bonheur (Trois Rivières: Editions du Bien Public, 1952); Joseph Hoyoux, Ecoles de Bonheur (Trois Rivières: Editions du Bien Public, 1958); A film entitled "Ecole de Bonheur" was made in 1953-54. Desaulniers, Annual Report 1953-54, p. 58; Tessier and his staff also participated in regular radio programmes. Desaulniers, Annual Report 1952-53, p. 57.

¹¹Les Instituts Familiaux, Montreal, 3 issues: April, 1954; December, 1954; December, 1955; Ecoles de Bonheur, Montreal; 57 issues: April, 1956 to April, 1965; Abbé Tessier, Abbé Paul Carignan and Roger Marquis were the principal contributors.

- ¹² Desaulniers, Annual Report 1951-52, p. 53.
- ¹³ A list of Instituts Familiaux is provided in table 1, Appendix III.
- ¹⁴ Growth of the Instituts Familiaux is shown in table 2, Appendix III.
- ¹⁵ Tessier, Bulletin Mensuel, (December, 1955), p. 8.
- ¹⁶ Above, chapter II, p. 42.
- ¹⁷ The social background of pupils of the Instituts Familiaux is given in table 3, Appendix III.
- ¹⁸ Ecole de Bonheur, No. 2, (June, 1956), p. 2.
- ¹⁹ Admission requirements to the Instituts Familiaux were as follows:
- To 1st year: certificate required from grade 9.
 - To 2nd year: certificate required from grade 11 or 4th year of Cours Lettres Sciences.
 - To 3rd year: certificate required from an école normale.
- Sister Théodore-de-la-Croix, "La Pédagogie des Instituts Familiaux", p. 8.
- ²⁰ Donald R. White, "Rural Canada in Transition", M.A. Tremblay ed. Rural Canada in Transition, Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, 1968, p. 74.
- ²¹ Table 4, Appendix III provides a list of diplomas granted.
- ²² Table 5, Appendix III describes the occupation of graduates of the full programme.
- ²³ Brown, Educating Eve, p. 117.
- ²⁴ Sister Théodore-de-la-Croix, "La Pédagogie des Instituts Familiaux", p. 9.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Tessier, "Rapport de la Réunion des Aumôniers des Instituts Familiaux, 3 & 4 Février, 1964 au Cap de la Madelaine" (Archives du Séminaire de Trois Rivières, Tessier Collection, file Q), p. 9.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Tessier, Femmes Dépareillées, 4ième édition, (Quebec: Editions du Pélican, 1962), p. 75.

²⁹ Association des Instituts Familiaux, Mémoire à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur l'Enseignement 1962, p. 10.

³⁰ Département de l'Instruction Publique, "Les Instituts Familiaux du Québec", Brochure, 1962, p. 7.

³¹ Ecole de Bonheur, No. 4, p. 19.

³² Evelyn Brown, Educating Eve, p. xix.

³³ Ibid., p. 10.

³⁴ Département de l'Instruction Publique, Programme des Instituts Familiaux 1956 (Province of Quebec, Service de l'Education Familiale, 1956), p. 1.

³⁵ Aline Eraly, "l'Action Educative des Instituts Familiaux", Bulletin Speciale, No. 115, (December, 1953), pp. 4-5.

³⁶ Tessier cited by Sister Théodore-de-la-Croix, "La Pédagogie des Instituts Familiaux", p. 67.

³⁷ Association des Instituts Familiaux, Mémoire 1962, p. 59.

³⁸ Evelyn Brown commented on the opulence of the Institut Familial St. Jacques de Montcalm which reportedly cost 2 million dollars. Educating Eve, p. 72.

³⁹ Association des Instituts Familiaux, Mémoire 1962, p. 62.

⁴⁰ Tessier, "Convention des aumôniers", file Q, p. 17.

⁴¹ Association des Instituts Familiaux, Mémoire 1962, p. 63.

⁴² Département de l'Instruction Publique, Brochure 1962, p. 3.

⁴³Eraly, "L'Action Educative des Instituts Familiaux", pp. 8-16; Brown, Educating Eve, p. 96.

⁴⁴Tessier, "La Pédagogie Familiale", (Archives du Séminaire de Trois Rivières, Tessier Collection, file Q1).

⁴⁵Association des Instituts Familiaux, Mémoire 1962, pp. 57-58

⁴⁶Abbé R.E. Llewellyn, Ta Personne; Ton Futur; Ton Milieu; Ton Foyer (Trois Rivières: les éditions trifluviennes, 1946).

⁴⁷Llewellyn, Ta Personne, p. 167.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 8.

⁴⁹Département de l'Instruction Publique, Service des Examens Officiels 1963: Instituts Familiaux (Quebec: Département de l'Instruction Publique, N.D.), p. 5.

⁵⁰Llewellyn, Ton Milieu, p. 38.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 93.

⁵²Llewellyn, Ton Futur, p. 25,

⁵³Ibid., p. 84.

⁵⁴Marie Paule Vinay, La Femme et Son Coeur (Quebec: Les Editions Paulines, 1954); Qui Est Jeanette? (Quebec: Editions du Pélican, 1961).

⁵⁵Vinay, Qui Est Jeanette?, p. 166.

⁵⁶Département de l'Instruction Publique, Examens Officiels 1963, p. 41.

⁵⁷Vinay, La Femme et Son Coeur, pp. 69-73.

⁵⁸Département de l'Instruction Publique, Programme des Instituts Familiaux 1956 (Province de Québec: Département de l'Instruction Publique), p. 89.

⁵⁹Département de l'Instruction Publique, Examens Officiels 1964, p. 39.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 49.

⁶¹The Programme des Instituts Familiaux 1963 referred to chemistry as "chimie alimentaire" and arithmetic as "comptabilité familiale et arithmétique", pp. 6-7.

⁶²Département de l'Instruction Publique, Programme des Instituts Familiaux 1956, p. 90.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 96.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Département de l'Instruction Publique, Examens Officiels 1963, p. 20.

⁶⁷Brown, Educating Eve, p. 25.

⁶⁸Llewellyn, Ecole de Bonheur, No. 24, (February, 1960), p. 13.

⁶⁹Brown, Educating Eve, p. 54.

⁷⁰Perspectives, weekend magazine of Le Nouvelliste, April 22, 1960.

⁷¹Ecole de Bonheur, No. 18, (March, 1959), p. 9.

⁷²Ecole de Bonheur, No. 5, (January, 1957), pp. 17-18.

⁷³Ecole de Bonheur, No. 1, (April, 1956), p. 12.

⁷⁴Sister Théodore-de-la-Croix, "La direction des Instituts Familiaux" (unpublished thesis for the Licence en Pédagogie, Laval University on behalf of the Ecole de Pédagogie et d'Orientation de Québec, Outremont, 1960), p. 95.

⁷⁵Ecole de Bonheur, No. 9, (September, 1957), p. 2.

⁷⁶Sister Théodore-de-la-Croix, "La Pédagogie des Instituts Familiaux", p. 68.

CHAPTER IV

THE INSTITUTS FAMILIAUX UNDER FIRE

The Instituts Familiaux acquired their special character as schools of feminine humanism thanks to the efforts of Abbé Tessier to restore the popularity of Catholic domestic education for the home. They were schools born out of a reactionary movement. In the fifties and sixties, the conditions against which Abbé Tessier and others had placed the barrier of female education grew apace. Women continued to leave their familial realms for work outside the home. Education had to keep up with the changing economic and social reality; technical and academic education for women were important questions of the time.

Female education was only one problem; the reform of the entire educational system along less humanist or classical lines was another. When all schools of secondary and higher learning became involved in the debate over classical versus scientific and commercial education, and when the shortage of funds added to the urgency, the Instituts Familiaux faced a serious threat. Neither classical nor technical, they were the target of criticism from all sides. When critics subsequently singled out for complaint the extent of religious influences in education, they dealt another ultimately fatal blow to the Instituts Familiaux. The schools which had been the culmination of a long struggle to preserve traditional moral and domestic

education for girls could do little in the face of such overwhelming pressures.

The problems that had troubled educators in Quebec for decades reached a point of climax in the fifties. The chronic inability of the system either to maintain a variety of higher secondary commercial and technical options, or to improve access to university, could no longer go untreated. True, there had been repeated efforts at reform. One of these, the Comité de Coordination of the 1930's, made several changes but these were only superficial. Problems might have continued unrelieved had not two situations become evident. The school population had almost doubled in twenty years and the school system had expanded to thirteen grades. And the province was unable to finance such growth.¹

The crisis of funds, particularly for independent schools of higher secondary education, had been evident as early as 1946. Then, the Fortier commission to investigate school taxes concluded that institutions at these levels could not continue to rely as heavily as they did on independent sources of income.² If the state was to defray the costs of such institutions, however, it was imperative that Quebec determine, decisively, what kinds of schools were most urgently needed. Inevitably, this consideration sparked an issue which had been long smouldering: state versus church control in education.

In 1951, a Sous-Comité de Coordination, child of the

Comité of the 1930's, was formed to coordinate education with demographic and economic realities.³ Except for its recommendation that Catholic schools regroup to resemble the Protestant high school system, the Sous-Comité did not come to terms with the deeper problems of the character and accessibility of higher education.⁴ Its deficiencies in this respect were left to be filled in by the provincial Royal Commission on Constitutional Problems, appointed in 1953 and headed by Arthur Tremblay.⁵

The Tremblay Commission was the focal point for a stormy debate over the nature of higher education. Indeed, 60% of the submissions to the Commission concerned education.⁶ Contemporary revues such as Action Nationale and Collège et Famille publicized the education debate and the commission's activities in nearly every issue. On the side of tradition were those who felt that diminishing the importance of classical education would result in "un glissement vers le scientisme et le matérialisme moderne."⁷ Those on the side of progress maintained that Quebec could not move forward unless it trained its own professional and commercial elite. To do so required an entire reforming of the educational system and a de-emphasis on classical training.

When the debate came to bear on female education, the questions were generally the same. Should girls have more opportunities for job-oriented training or should energies go towards the expansion of classical programmes?

More important, how was education of this kind to be reconciled with woman's role in the family? The Tremblay commission and the public discussion of education gave the classical colleges, the technical schools for girls and the Instituts Familiaux the opportunity to answer these questions.

Tension between the classical and technical schools for girls and the Instituts Familiaux had always been rife. The female collèges classiques competed with the Instituts Familiaux for funds and personnel. During the early months of 1951, competition flared into open hostility when two classically trained women singled out the Instituts Familiaux for criticism in a public debate over higher education for girls.⁸ For his part, Tessier cherished a long-standing resentment against the collèges classiques⁹ and the Ecole d'Arts et Métiers Féminins, a technical school for girls. In 1948, he had even written to his bishop requesting his intervention in the matter of funds to this institution. The government, Tessier felt, supported the Ecole d'Art et Métiers Féminins because the school prepared women for the work force. That the Instituts Familiaux suffered financially while such a school was financed was, of course, intolerable. It was inevitable that such enmity, exacerbated by the financial problem, should resurface in the debate over education in the early fifties.

The first wave of criticism of the Instituts Familiaux came, naturally enough, from the collèges classiques and

from supporters of classical education for women. Initially, disagreement appeared to be confined to exchanges in the revue Collège et Famille between 1951 and 1954.¹⁰ The critics were a small group of classically-trained and university-educated women. They included Monique Béchar, Monique Dufresne and Françoise Maillet-Lavigne, all members of the women's alumni association of the universities of Montreal and Laval. In the last year of what amounted to a very small critical onslaught, these women were joined by nuns of the collèges classiques who made known their views in articles as well as in their submissions to the Tremblay commission. The Instituts Familiaux were primarily defended by Abbé Tessier who enlisted, on occasion, the support of other priests.

In general, proponents of classical education for girls shared the same moral view of woman and her rôle in society as did their opponents. Most believed that "instruite ou pas, la jeune fille tend irréversiblement vers le mariage où ses tendances profondes l'appellent."¹¹ Education, in their and Abbé Tessier's view, had to prepare a young girl for her moral and domestic responsibilities. Classicists, however, insisted that a classical education was an appropriate training for a future wife and mother. A cultured and educated woman was better equipped to withstand the boredom of domestic life. She was also more qualified to educate her children.¹² Indeed, the benefits of the classical

programme for the feminine mind and the female situation were boundless. A classically-trained girl accepted her position in the family since she readily understood "les bases rationnelles de l'autorité de l'époux."¹³ Her training suppressed many of "les tendances nocives de l'esprit féminin" thus enabling her to achieve marital and familial bliss.¹⁴ For example, rigorous scientific and philosophical training developed in young girls "certaines vertus de l'intelligence qui leur sont moins naturelles qu'aux garçons: rigueur du jugement, précision dans l'expression de ce jugement, sage méfiance à l'égard de leur imagination."¹⁵ A classical training, then, was an eminently valuable preparation for marriage and motherhood.

In promoting their cause, classicists revealed that they shared one other philosophical premise with the promoters of domestic education for girls: that woman was the guardian of moral values. With this in mind, the brief submitted to the Tremblay Commission by the Association des Collèges Classiques pour Jeunes Filles argued thus: In a world too enamoured of utilitarian education, it was imperative that some men and women remained qualified to exert moral and spiritual leadership.¹⁶ To inhibit woman's education by excluding her from classical schools was to deny society a moral force of which it had particular need.¹⁷ Monique Béchard, writing in Collège et Famille, repeated this point of view. The classical colleges, she asserted, "procurent

à la future élite féminine une discipline et un bagage intellectuel indispensable si l'on considère les exigences de notre société actuelle."¹⁸

While classicists were adamant that the classical schools produced better wives, mothers and spiritual leaders, most did not condemn the Instituts Familiaux unilaterally. Instead, they were wont to describe the classical colleges as schools for the daughters of the elite while the Instituts Familiaux served an entirely different segment of the population. Sister Marie Emmanuel argued in this way:

Les deux conceptions de la culture féminine que représentent chez nous les écoles ménagères et les collèges classiques ne sont pas sorties d'un antagonisme existant entre les défenseurs de la femme pot-au-feu et ceux de la femme savante ou de la suffragette. Elles répondent plutôt, si je ne me trompe sur les origines, à la diversité des goûts, talents, besoins et vocations des jeunes filles de nos divers milieux(sic). 19

Not all supporters of classical education for girls were willing to concede that the Instituts Familiaux represented a bonafide form of female education. For some, just as it was clear that "la tendance maternelle n'est pas l'unique tendance féminine,"²⁰ so too it was obvious that traditional domestic education unduly restricted and even harmed young girls. The brief submitted by the Association of Classical Colleges for Girls was a remarkable document for its statements to this effect. The authors

openly accused the Instituts Familiaux of creating "un univers féminin mystérieux et sacré, qui est la source secrète du charme de la femme, de sa sagesse naturelle et de la vénération qu'on lui porte."²¹ Such a view, they felt, was unrealistic and potentially damaging. Women had to live in a far more mundane world in which their participation in the work force was not only necessary but desirable.

The Association of Classical Colleges for Girls went even further in their criticism of the Instituts Familiaux. Pupils of the Instituts Familiaux, the Association charged, were qualified solely for traditionally female and low-paying occupations.²² Despite its openness, the authors of the brief nonetheless tempered their position by the statement that only single girls had to be prepared for life in the work force.²³ In this respect, their attitude was similar to the Association Canadienne pour l'Avancement des Sciences. Women were particularly adept in certain scientific occupations in which, moreover, their participation was urgently needed. However, the brief hastened to add, "la présence des femmes de sciences dans une société a en outre l'avantage d'enrichir l'atmosphère familiale."²⁴

Criticism of the Instituts Familiaux took a more forthright form in Collège et Famille when "Soeur Eugénie"²⁵ penned an angry response to Father Léonard, author of an article written in praise of feminine humanism. Sister

Eugénie accused the promoters of the Instituts Familiaux of "orgueil et égoïsme masculin." She argued "le christianisme n'a pas changé grand-chose à l'antique esclavage, à voir la tyrannie que tant d'hommes continuent d'exercer à l'égard de leurs femmes." She then accused the Instituts Familiaux of training women for domestic servitude. Father Léonard was an example, wrote Sister Eugénie, of men who refused "de reconnaître dans une épouse la collaboratrice, la compagne privilégiée avec qui la justice et l'amour commandent de traiter d'égal à égal."²⁶ Sister Eugénie deemed a classical education necessary and a domestic one dangerous for young women:

Mà mère est morte, victime de son dévouement. J'ai l'intuition que c'est pour nous éviter un sort pareil au sien qu'elle a voulu pousser aussi loin que possible notre formation. Que le Père Léonard se rassure: nous ne cherchons pas à supplanter les hommes. Mais il nous répugne absolument de n'être que leurs esclaves. 27

Equality for women, in the domestic sphere, was a solitary argument in the 1950's. Even the editor of Collège et Famille felt compelled to add a soothing note:

Faisons la part de l'amertume. Claudel ne dit-il pas qu'il faut souvent exagérer pour se faire comprendre. Il n'est pas question, d'ailleurs, même dans ce morceau d'amer, de déprécier les écoles ménagères: elles n'y sont pas mentionnés. 28

The Instituts Familiaux did not succumb to the early attacks of the classicists. Instead, with characteristic skill, Abbé Tessier disarmed criticism by marshalling to his side supporters who were willing to publicize their opinions in a dramatic way. Abbé Joseph Hoyoux, a French priest who had spent six days visiting the Instituts Familiaux, wrote three books which were mostly refutations of recent criticism.²⁹ Another international figure, a priest of Belgian origin, was also invited by Tessier to contribute an article to Collège et Famille. "Femme Forte", by Father Léonard, described eloquently women's role as one of service to men, children and the nation.³⁰ Tessier himself penned a few responses to Monique Dufresne and Monique Béchard. In these, he took care to note, as they had done, that the Instituts Familiaux were not categorically opposed to the collèges classiques. Instead, Tessier argued, they represented one of many options in female education. His articles were largely confined, however, to an explanation of feminine humanism and to testimonials from ex-pupils that their husbands found them to be excellent wives.³¹

The Tremblay report nodded in the direction of the classical colleges and professional schools for girls. The commissioner concluded that girls had as much right to an academic formation as did boys and that energy should also be directed towards the creation of more girls' technical schools. Thus, in principle at least, there was some support for female academic and job-oriented education.³²

The first flame of criticism of the Instituts Familiaux had been brief and slight but the critics had left their mark. Despite an outward appearance of tranquillity, the promoters of the Instituts Familiaux were not without fears for the survival of the schools. The social trends that had given birth to criticism continued to cause chagrin and alarm. But Tessier's promotional and pedagogical energies were far from spent. Soon after the Tremblay Commission published its report, he launched another, more vital campaign to promote moral domestic education for girls.

In April of 1956, the department of education began publishing Ecole de Bonheur, a monthly paper which fulfilled the dual purpose of publicizing the philosophy of the Instituts Familiaux and reacting to contemporary trends such as feminism and woman's work outside the home.³³ Editors Abbé Tessier, Abbé Paul Carignan and Roger Marquis, the new assistant inspector of domestic education, published articles discrediting Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan and condemning work outside the home.³⁴

In the pages of Ecole de Bonheur, woman's work outside the home produced both pessimism and a reformulation of traditional ideas. Some articles bemoaned the fact that "56% des fiancées veulent conserver leur emplois."³⁵ Others, however, displayed, if not a forthright acceptance of woman's work outside the home, at least a willingness to suggest how women who must work could reconcile their

feminine responsibilities and talents with a job. Abbé Tessier and his staff attempted to demonstrate to a young girl how "un travail autre que l'enseignement peut aussi bien adapter à sa personnalité qu'à sa vocation d'épouse et de mère."³⁶ For the most part, they advised,

seules la religieuse, la garde-malade, l'institutrice, la domestique jouaient, à l'extérieur de la famille, un rôle reconnu légitime et normale.

37

Concessions to work outside the home were made out of necessity. Promoters of the Instituts Familiaux once boasted that graduates were qualified to teach domestic science, an occupation acceptable to Tessier and others of his ilk. But, by the mid-fifties, teachers in Quebec required more academic qualifications than those possessed by graduates of the Instituts Familiaux. Furthermore, more women were working after marriage and teaching positions in domestic science were not as readily available as earlier.³⁸

By the end of the 1950's, the Instituts Familiaux began responding to the times and to criticism by attempting to reform the curriculum. At a conference in 1961, teachers suggested adding more mathematics and English courses to the programme. Although the general attitude on such occasions was one of constructive reform, some participants could not restrain their true feelings. As one delegate sadly noted, "dans beaucoup de têtes, femme savante fait équation avec femme complète. Il nous faut réhabiliter les vraies valeurs."³⁹

Nonetheless, the attitude prevailed that the Instituts Familiaux had to change to survive.

In their determination to find a way in which concessions might be made, to progress without departing too far from tradition, Tessier and his supporters were continuing a trend in female domestic education which began at the turn of the century. Although they might successfully reform the curriculum and resolve the dilemma of accommodating innovations within a traditional framework, they could not discourage criticism entirely. By the 1960's, the pressures from several quarters to reform the Instituts Familiaux grew steadily greater.

During the Quiet Revolution of the sixties, definitive changes in Quebec's education system were made. The triumph of a nationalism both more secular and more devoted to economic growth than to the preservation of traditions, had an impact on education. Whereas the reforms of the fifties had suggested the creation of commercial and scientific schools and revisions of the classical programmes, those of the sixties added a call for secularization of the administration of schools and of the curriculum. Solange and Michel Chalvin's Comment On Abrutit Nos Enfants was typical of the new direction of criticism. The book condemned school texts not only because they were academically obsolete but also because they over-emphasized spiritual values and were marked by "un patriotisme lyrique et faux."⁴⁰

The determination to modernize the educational system and purge education of religious influences led to the creation of a Royal Commission on education, the Parent Commission.⁴¹ Submissions to the Commission by the Femmes Diplômées des Universités,⁴² the Association des Diététistes and the Association des Religieuses Enseignantes condemned the Instituts Familiaux openly and bluntly. The rhetoric of the Quiet Revolution, audible in most submissions, made it possible to criticize more openly institutions that defined woman's role on the basis of a traditional ideology under attack in the sixties.

The academic merits of the curriculum of the Instituts Familiaux came under heavy fire. Society could ill afford ideal wives and mothers, claimed the Femmes Diplômées. Woman's participation in the workforce was imperative not only for economic reasons but also because each woman was entitled to "une vie riche."⁴³ In any event, they added, to deny girls an academic education was to conduct "une lutte stérile contre les tendances sociologiques de notre civilisation."⁴⁴ The dietician's association was also deeply concerned that the curriculum of the Instituts Familiaux lacked a serious academic character. In their view, graduates of the Instituts Familiaux and the Institut de Pédagogie Familiale who took up domestic science occupations compromised the standards maintained by the entire profession.⁴⁵ Both the women's alumni group and the professional association

were unanimous in recommending that the Instituts Familiaux become bonafide technical schools of domestic science. Such a measure, they were quick to note, complemented the needs of a society embarked, as Quebec was, on a path of modernization. As the dieticians put it, the proper academic or technical training "prépare à l'exercice des professions éminemment utiles à la collectivité."⁴⁶

Although they were insistent on woman's right to work and to higher education, the critics of the Instituts Familiaux still maintained that woman had a familial, and ultimately national, role to play for which she must be prepared. However, they saw little value in family education dominated by religious and traditional nationalist sentiments. Teaching girls how to behave according to a religious ideal of woman was "dangereuse pour l'épanouissement de notre peuple," asserted the Femmes Diplômées.⁴⁷ Marie Paule Vinay's books in particular were used to illustrate the negative influence of 'religious' psychology. Her books, concluded the Femmes Diplômées, confused religion and psychology and were characterized by morbidity and a stress on woman's role as sufferer of all ills. They were also instrumental in teaching young girls "la soumission passive" and in restricting the development of their critical faculties. Furthermore, the Memoire went on to note, woman's familial activities were clothed in such a light of passive suffering that housework became a burden and a task which the modern woman

would be loathe to assume.⁴⁸

The teachers in the Instituts Familiaux also bore the brunt of criticism in the sixties. Family education in the Instituts Familiaux was considered obsolete and even damaging because it was taught by professors removed from "la réalité féminine et familiale."⁴⁹ Men were usually the principal architects of the curriculum and their designs were implemented by nuns, isolated from the complexities of modern life by their habit as well as their age.⁵⁰ In other words, critics objected to the role of the church in education, a criticism typical of all reform efforts in the 1960's.

The criticism was not always negative. Some critics held out the possibility of the Instituts Familiaux ridding themselves of the religious orientation yet preparing students for the realities of familial life. The Femmes Diplômées and the Diététistes suggested that girls learn to "concilier ses responsabilités familiales avec ses responsabilités sociales nouvelles."⁵¹ This meant that domestic science education had to recognize woman's work outside the home and domestic life. The Instituts Familiaux should even begin "la revalorisation de l'enseignement ménager," meaning the removal from the curriculum of religious and psychological teachings and the substitution instead of "une meilleure formation technique et professionnelle des future 'ménagères' heureusement émancipées."⁵² Concrete measures included,

as the Association des Religieuses Enseignantes itself recommended, the hiring of professional lay teachers. Education for domestic life would become, in this way, more compatible with the needs of the modern woman and lessen the restrictions on her academic formation.⁵³

The Instituts Familiaux fought back as forthrightly as their critics. Abbé Tessier termed the criticism "un procès sans nuance;" ... "La sentence? Suppression pure et simple de ces Instituts."⁵⁴ His assistant, Roger Marquis, expressed himself in a similar vein when he responded to the brief submitted by the Femmes Diplômées:

Je regrette infiniment d'avoir
à exposer ici quelques observations
au sujet de cette étude, pour la
simple raison que ce travail me
paraît le fruit d'un préjugé
indéracinable donc pas sérieux. 55

Once general grievances had been aired, both Tessier and Marquis set about refuting specific points of criticism. For example, the position taken by the Femmes Diplômées that the Instituts Familiaux offered neither sufficient family nor academic education was cited as an instance of the malevolent intent of the critics to slander without knowledge of the programme.⁵⁶ Replying to the criticism that graduates of the Instituts Familiaux had difficulty finding jobs, Roger Marquis dismissed the complainants as children unable to face the realisation that "le monde de travail est un monde de compétition."⁵⁷ In other words, if a girl was foolish enough to seek work outside the home,

"elle doit être assez au courant de cette réalité pour y jouer franc jeu..."⁵⁸

The Association des Instituts Familiaux built a more careful defense of the Instituts Familiaux in their brief to the Royal Commission.⁵⁹ Beginning by noting that a technical programme of domestic science conflicted sharply with the aims of their programme, the Association noted that domestic preparation for marriage and motherhood was particularly relevant in the 1960's. Urbanization and the emancipation of women had caused young women to 'abdicate' their familial responsibilities. The modern woman cherished "une grande indépendance" which rendered her unable to accept familial obligations. A man, the Mémoire went on to state, desired a woman who was "affectueuse et soumise, bonne mère, capable de tenir sa maison proprement et si possible avec goût," characteristics which were increasingly hard to find in young women.⁶⁰ Clearly, the incompatibility between the sexes ought not to grow worse. An Institut Familial offered the solution to the problem:

On peut considérer que l'objectif de l'enseignement féminin, dans les années à venir, doit être de donner aux femmes la possibilité de retrouver un complet équilibre entre ces deux pôles de son indépendance due à l'évolution sociale et de sa dépendance due à la mission que la nature lui a assignée. 61

The Instituts Familiaux thus believed their formula of feminine education to be the only viable one in a world which had brought turmoil and degradation to women. Woman in her

traditional realm upheld the social order; when she departed from it, she damned both society and herself.

The resolution of the debate over education for women came in the final recommendations of the Parent Report.

The Institut Familial was unambiguously declared obsolete:

Conceived at a time when very few young girls could hope to earn a living outside of the home, it is no longer suited to the needs of the majority. Preparing young girls for life must not be limited to domestic training, understood here in a narrow sense: cooking, housekeeping, etc., or in a wider sense: budget keeping, buying-and-purchasing expertise, etc.

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Furthermore, the commissioner noted, it was necessary to educate both boys and girls in domestic education since "the exaggerated role of the mother"⁶³ in French Canadian culture often led to the emotional absence of the father in the family. In recommending that boys be taught "a better understanding of household drudgery," the commissioner took care to clarify his position:

Without wishing, of course, to transform future men into charwomen or to subject them to a form of domestic tyranny, the school can try to facilitate their participation in home life through a certain preparation.

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The commissioner therefore recommended that the Instituts Familiaux be integrated into the regular school system where family education for both boys and girls would be

taught.⁶⁵

Outside of the Parent Commission, there was little public interest in the Instituts Familiaux. An intensely critical article appeared in the nationalist left review Maintenant. In it, Madeleine Doyon condemned the schools for preparing working class women for a life of ease not often their lot in reality. Hostile in tone, Doyon's article then triumphantly noted that women would not have had to be conditioned in schools of femininity unless they had been showing signs of emancipation.⁶⁶ Her assessment touched on two of the three trends, in the 1960's, which were considered to have dealt the final blows to the Instituts Familiaux: woman's work outside the home and the feminist movement. A third factor, related to the previous two, had to do with the effects of nationalist goals of the sixties on schools which aimed to educate saviours of home, church and country. As the Femmes Diplômées and the dieticians' association had pointed out, women served the interests of the French collectivity as workers and as wives and mothers. Moreover, given the new direction of nationalism, education had to be academic or vocational and purged of its religious orientation.

A second article indicated that some members of the clergy and the laity felt that woman's education for her traditional sphere was still vital to the well being of society. Marthe Handfield reminded readers of Action

Nationale of the necessity of family education and hence of reform of the Instituts Familiaux.⁶⁷ Her position was the same as the one taken by the Instituts Familiaux once indignation at the recommendations of the Parent Commission had worn off. Reforming the schools was far more constructive than closing their doors.

The energy needed for devising reforms acceptable to the public, the church and the new ministry of education came early in 1965. At a Journée des Instituts Familiaux, teachers and promoters set about to reassure themselves that all was not yet lost. The burden of this task fell largely on the shoulders of the man whose spirit had dominated domestic education for nearly thirty years. Advising his supporters to "garder la sérénité,"⁶⁸ Tessier urged new reforms and a redefinition of the Instituts Familiaux. Regrouping the schools into fewer institutions and into areas where the facilities of neighbouring schools could be used was the first concrete measure of reform. The delegates then decided upon a reformulation of the programme so that an "éventail de métiers féminins" might be promoted as one of the attractions of the Instituts Familiaux.⁶⁹ Abbé Tessier even advised changing the image of the Instituts Familiaux stressing those aspects which were favourable and disguising those which were not. "Pour se faire accepter," advised Tessier, "ne pas craindre de changer certaines appellations qui choquent l'oreille des malveillants. Ex:

'spiritualité féminine' pourquoi pas 'etique(sic) professionnelle', (Etique, personne comprend... Professionnelle, c'est snob - ensemble, c'est acceptable)." ⁷⁰

The graceful acceptance of criticism continued to dominate the proposals for reforming the Instituts Familiaux. In 1965, a brief submitted to the new Ministry of Education elaborated on measures taken to reform the schools. They now offered programmes oriented towards careers. Personality training was now limited to four hours per week of psychology. Finally, schools were regrouped into less than seven areas. ⁷¹ The annual meeting of the Instituts Familiaux in 1966, demonstrated this willingness to change. One speaker echoed the general tone when he noted,

si le rapport Parent n'a pas eu de louanges faciles à l'égard de l'enseignement dispensé dans les Instituts Familiaux, c'est bien parce que cet enseignement n'a pas toute la dimension que lui réclame la société actuelle. ⁷²

Of course, the years following the publication of the Parent Report were not without recriminations and desperate appeals by the Association des Instituts Familiaux. In 1966, a brief submitted to the Conseil d'Education described the Association's condemnation of the findings of the Parent Report. ⁷³ Its position, that all education, but education for girls in particular, must be marked by a strong religious influence was not a view which found great support during the sixties. The comment by Roger Marquis in 1966 was far

more illustrative of contemporary opinion on religious domestic education for the home: "Il faut être audacieux ou entêté d'aujourd'hui, en 1966, au Québec pour tenir un congrès sur l'éducation familiale et l'humanisme féminin."⁷⁴

In 1970, the Quebec Yearbook listed 17 Instituts Familiaux, the last year in which they appear on official records.⁷⁵ Two Royal Commissions and a public debate had effectively closed their doors and blocked Tessier's ambitious plan to bring back traditional society through the education of girls for the home.

Although they might protest that the Instituts Familiaux unduly restricted young girls, the first critics of the schools were more concerned to defend their own classical programme than to attack the Instituts Familiaux. Moreover, the classicists of the 1950's shared the same moral view of woman with the promoters of feminine humanism. Later critics of the 1960's were less generous in their criticisms. The Instituts Familiaux were condemned because they denied girls a training useful in the labour market. Furthermore, feminine humanism was inspired by religious and traditional nationalist sentiments that had little place in modern education. Ironically, the critics of the Instituts Familiaux couched their accusations in nationalist terms, claiming that woman had to be educated for a familial and extra-familial role if the interests of the collectivity were to be served. In effect, the critics would have agreed with

the assistant inspector of the Instituts Familiaux that "dans une province pas comme les autres, une école de bonheur ne peut pas être comme les autres."⁷⁶ Their disagreement with the promoters of the Instituts Familiaux was primarily over method rather than principle.

CHAPTER IV NOTES

¹Arthur Tremblay, Les Collèges et les Ecoles Publiques (Quebec: les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1954); Paul-Emile Gingras, "L'Education", Action Nationale, XLV, No. 2, (September, 1955), p. 106.

²Roger Duhamel, "De Fardeau Scolaire dans Quebec", Action Nationale, XXVII, No. 5, (May, 1946), pp. 405-409.

³Omer J. Desaulniers, Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education of the Province of Quebec 1953-54 (Quebec: Printer to the King, 1954), p. ix.

⁴Claude Galarneau, Les Collèges Classiques au Canada Français (Montreal: Editions Fides, 1978), p. 68.

⁵Arthur Tremblay, Contributions à l'Etude des Problèmes et des Besoins de l'Enseignement dans la Province de Quebec, Annex #4, Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur les Problèmes Constitutionnels, 1955.

⁶Ibid., Introduction.

⁷Tremblay, Les Collèges et Les Ecoles Publiques, p. 4.

⁸Albert Tessier, "Introduction", Abbé Joseph Hoyoux, Le Vrai Visage des Ecoles de Bonheur (Trois Rivières: Editions du Bien Public, 1952), p. i.

⁹Tessier, letter to Bishop Roy, August 15, 1948, (Archives du Séminaire de Trois Rivières, Tessier Collection), file P2R90-6.

¹⁰There were a few articles in La Famille. See exact refernces below.

¹¹Monique Dufresne, "Femme Savante, Femme Epatante", La Famille, XV, No. 4, (April, 1951), p. 211.

¹²Ibid., pp. 212-213.

¹³Françoise Maillet-Lavigne, "Notes Sur les Humanités", Collège et Famille, VII, No. 3, (June, 1950), p. 123.

³⁰ Albert Léonard, s.j., "Femme Forte", Collège et Famille, VII, No. 4, (October, 1950), pp. 181-186.

³¹ Tessier, "Défense de l'Enseignement Ménager", Collège et Famille, VII, No. 1, (February, 1951), pp. 36-40.

³² Tremblay, Contributions, pp. 267-268.

³³ 57 issues of Ecole de Bonheur were published between April 1956 and April 1965.

³⁴ Ecole de Bonheur, No. 38; (May, 1962), p. 7.

³⁵ Ecole de Bonheur, No. 32, (May, 1961), p. 5.

³⁶ Ecole de Bonheur, No. 49, (Jan.-Feb., 1964), p. 4.

³⁷ Soeur St. Guy Martyr, "La Jeune Fille et le Travail à l'Extérieure" (unpublished B.A. memoir, l'Institut de Pédagogie Familiale, Outremont, 1952), p. 2.

³⁸ Claire Lacoste, "Rapport du Comité de l'Etude sur l'Emploi des Professeurs d'Enseignement Ménager dans les Commissions Scolaire de la Province de Québec", (Archives du Soeurs du Saint Noms de Jesus et de Marie (ASNJM), Box 45A, file 6); p. 2.

³⁹ Anon., "Réunion des Directrices des Instituts Familiaux du 9 - 11 Mai 1961 à Tavibois", (ASNJM, Box 45 A).

⁴⁰ Solange et Michel Chalvin, Comment On Abrutit Nos Enfants (Montreal: Les Editions du Jour, 1962), p. 9.

⁴¹ Adolphe Parent was appointed commissioner of the Royal Commission on Education in 1961.

⁴² Association des Femmes Diplômées des Universités, Etude Sur le Rôle des Sciences Domestiques dans la Formation de la Jeunesse (Montreal: Mémoire Présenté à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur l'Enseignement, November, 1964); Extracts were published in Michèle Jean's Les Québécoises du 20e Siècle (Quebec: Les Editions Quinze, 1974), pp. 178-180.

⁴³ Association des Femmes Diplômées in Michèle Jean, Québécoises, p. 178.

¹⁴Sister Marie-de-Bon-Secours, "Valeur Formatrice du Cours Classique Pour les Jeunes Filles", Collège et Famille, XI, No. 1, (January, 1954), p. 8.

¹⁵Sister Marië Emmanuel, cited in "Vous et Moi", Collège et Famille, VII, No. 5, (December, 1950), p. 227.

¹⁶Association des Collèges Classiques des Jeunes Filles du Québec, La Signification et les Besoins de l'Enseignement Classique Pour Jeunes Filles (Montreal: Editions Fides, Mémoire à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur les Problèmes Constitutionnels, June 22, 1954), p. 5.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Monique Béchard, "Maternités", Collège et Famille, IX, No. 3, (March, 1952), p. 105.

¹⁹Sister Marie Emmanuel, "Vous et Moi", p. 227.

²⁰Béchard, "Maternités", p. 97.

²¹Association des Collèges Classiques, La Signification et les Besoins, p. 28.

²²Ibid., pp. 4-28.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Association Canadienne Pour l'Avancement des Sciences, Mémoire Présenté à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur les Problèmes Constitutionnels (Montreal: January, 1954), p. 21.

²⁵Sister Eugénie (psued.); cited in "Vous et Moi", Collège et Famille, VII, No. 5, (December, 1950), pp. 223-231.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., p. 232.

²⁸Ibid., p. 233.

²⁹Hoyoux, Pour ou Contre les Ecoles du Bonheur; Le Vrai Visage des Ecoles de Bonheur (Trois Rivières: Editions du Bien Public, 1952); Ecoles de Bonheur (Trois Rivières: Editions du Bien Public, 1958).

- ⁴⁴Association des Femmes Diplômées, Etude, p. 17.
- ⁴⁵Association des Diététistes du Québec, Mémoire Sur l'Enseignement Ménager (Montreal: Mémoire Présenté à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur l'Enseignement, June, 1962), p. 22.
- ⁴⁶Ibid., p. 38.
- ⁴⁷Association des Femmes Diplômées, Etude, p. 6.
- ⁴⁸Ibid., p. 14.
- ⁴⁹Ibid., p. 19.
- ⁵⁰Ibid., p. 20.
- ⁵¹Ibid., in Michèle Jean, Québécoises, p. 180.
- ⁵²Ibid., Etude, p. 17.
- ⁵³Ibid., p. 89.
- ⁵⁴Tessier, Personal Notes, (Archives du Séminaire de Trois Rivières, Tessier Collection, file P3F45).
- ⁵⁵Roger Marquis, Ecole de Bonheur, No. 57, (April, 1965), p. 3.
- ⁵⁶Ibid.
- ⁵⁷Ibid., p. 4.
- ⁵⁸Ibid.,
- ⁵⁹Association des Instituts Familiaux de la Province de Québec, Mémoire à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur l'Enseignement, Montreal, 1962.
- ⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 5-6.
- ⁶¹Ibid., p. 6.
- ⁶²Parent, Report of the Royal Commission on Education Vol. III, (Quebec, 1964), p. 206.

⁶³Ibid., p. 228.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Madeleine Doyon, "Réformer les Instituts Familiaux", Maintenant, No. 13, (January, 1963), pp. 14-15.

⁶⁷Marthe Handfield, "Education Familiale Versus Femmes Universitaires", Action Nationale, LIV, No. 7, (March, 1965), pp. 671-681.

⁶⁸Tessier, "Journée d'Etudes, Février 11, 1965", (Archives du Séminaire du Trois Rivières, Tessier Collection, file Q), p. 2.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Association des Instituts Familiaux, Mémoire Présenté au Ministère de l'Éducation (Montreal: 1965).

⁷²René Raymond, "Education Familiale au Québec" in "Rapport du Congrès Novembre 11, 12, 13, 1966 de l'Association des Instituts Familiaux", (Archives du Séminaire de Trois Rivières, Tessier Collection), p. 6.

⁷³Association des Instituts Familiaux, Mémoire Présenté au Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation (Montreal, 1966).

⁷⁴Marquis, "Rapport du Congrès 1966", p. 8.

⁷⁵Quebec, Statistical Yearbook 1970 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971), p. 255.

⁷⁶Marquis, Ecole de Bonheur, No. 56, (February, 1965), p. 6.

V. CONCLUSION

The Instituts Familiaux and Society

Albert Tessier once posed the rhetorical question "que serait-elle la société si vous, les femmes, refusiez de nous bâtir et de nous entretenir les foyers que l'on aime?"¹ His own response was unequivocal. A society whose women failed to fulfil their biological, religious and cultural obligations in the home condemned itself to a future without hope. The rural domestic science school was dedicated to protecting French Canada from such a fate.

The belief that woman was the key to a stable society lay at the centre of an ultramontane nationalist vision of French Canadian society. Catholic nationalists embraced the view that the survival of French Canada depended on the preservation of rural, familial and religious traditions; woman, as wife and mother, played a critical role in this process. The twentieth century brought many challenges for this conservative world view. The birth of an urban-industrial society wrought profound changes in the traditional social order. Rural life weakened immeasurably and a secular foreign society took its place. Changes affecting woman symbolized the disintegration of traditional society in a dramatic way. Woman appeared to abdicate her traditional responsibilities by engaging in work outside the home and even by accepting, however superficially, feminism.

This thesis has explored religious-nationalist resistance

to the new urban society as it was manifested in the promotion of moral and domestic education for rural girls. Its primary objective has been an understanding of how an ideal of woman, ultimately an ideal of society, was fostered through the écoles ménagères and the Instituts Familiaux.

Perhaps the single most distinctive feature of the école ménagère was its amazing versatility or, more accurately, the remarkable ability of its promoters. The history of the rural domestic science school has been the story of the adaptation of traditional values to new conditions in education. Born out of a tradition of agricultural and domestic education for the daughters of the rural poor, the school embraced ideals no longer compatible with the needs of modern society of the twentieth century. The spread of public education, of an academic and vocational kind, and the declining influence of class-directed education rendered the école ménagère anachronistic. In 1929, the first real effort to upgrade the curriculum brought the school closer to the pattern of contemporary education. Yet, the école ménagère remained faithful to its original purpose. The school continued to emphasize domestic education for the home and the farm.

The determination of Catholic educators to maintain a traditional mode of female education resulted in a second, more extensive reform of the écoles ménagères in 1937. Aware that conditions in society and in education were contriving to lessen the importance of moral and domestic education, the Church spearheaded a movement to revitalize the écoles ménagères. The

appointment of Abbé Albert Tessier to the post of inspector of the écoles ménagères marked the beginning of this reform.

Albert Tessier possessed skill and experience in the promotion of Catholic, rural and patriotic values. Thus, he was well qualified for the task of making the écoles ménagères attractive to a sceptical public. It was necessary to erase the traditional image of the domestic science school as an inferior institution for the rural poor. Equally, the curriculum had to reflect the sophistication that went with education in the higher secondary grades. Tessier began by promoting the école ménagère as a school for all social classes. Next, he attempted to reformulate the curriculum. By the 1940's, his activities heralded the end of the agricultural domestic science school and the beginning of an exclusive rural institution offering an intensive, cultured formation for marriage and motherhood. The curriculum attempted to foster in young girls true femininity, an ideal that took its form from Tessier's ultramontane nationalist vision of woman.

The changes that came to the école ménagère in the 1940's, climaxed with the Instituts Familiaux of the 1950's. Promotional activities reached new heights when films, books and speeches were employed to extoll the virtues of the schools for professional wives. The Instituts Familiaux remained predominantly rural schools but they came closer to the middle class institutions of Tessier's dream than did their predecessors, the écoles ménagères. Furthermore, as the last schools

in a tradition of moral, patriotic and domestic education for girls, the Instituts Familiaux endeavored to foster a religious nationalist ideal of woman. While they were traditional in aim and character, the Instituts Familiaux were distinguished by new educational methods. Feminine humanism, a philosophy drawn from Catholic and humanist ideals, provided teachers with a detailed blueprint for fostering a traditional ideal. The development of the feminine mind for the female situation, a future of home, husband and babies, entailed a remarkably comprehensive training for the emotional and technical obligations of wifehood and motherhood. Through a study of psychology, religion, history, English and French, in texts specially tailored for the feminine personality, an Institut Familial hoped to inculcate the virtues of the woman whose interests would coincide with those of the church and the nation.

The existence and success of the Instituts Familiaux were primarily due to the prodigious promotional and pedagogical talents of Albert Tessier and to the strength of the clergymen and individuals who believed in his vision of society. This has been the central argument of the thesis. A few final considerations will suggest that at least a part of the success of the schools must be attributed to the favorable climate of the society in which they were nurtured.

In her study of women in war industries, Ruth Pierson offered the view that "a "feminine mystique" did not have to

be invented in Canada after the war had ended; it had been there all along."² That woman found her only happiness, and society its stability, through the fulfilment of her moral and familial responsibilities in the home was certainly a deeply entrenched belief. During the war years and the post-war period, this image of woman and the corresponding social vision had a special appeal. Thus, Tessier merely articulated, more strongly than others, a perception of woman shared by those who accepted his religious and nationalist vision and those who did not.

Quebecers were hardly unique in envisioning the collapse of society once woman departed from her traditional realm. Journalists across the country took up the theme when they recorded, with dismay, female participation in the work force and in the wartime amusements of dance halls and cafes.³ In Quebec, reflections of this kind were marked by a nationalist argument made all the more pronounced by the anxieties of the war years. The St. Jean Baptiste Society, well illustrated the degree to which the collective anxiety over Survivance expressed itself through a concern over woman's role in the family. At a congress in 1942, the Society declared that a contemptible movement was afoot to reduce the French Canadian mother to the level of her English counterpart. The war had brought conditions that afforded the enemies of French Canada a golden opportunity to destroy nationalism, and motherhood was one of the first casualties in the endeavour.⁴ During

the war years, writers in Action Nationale, La Famille and Relations generally agreed with the Society that the French community was endangered by war-time conditions that contrived to remove woman from her familial sphere.⁵

In the post-war period, the growing strength of a more secular, less isolationist nationalism did not immediately alter the traditional national importance attached to woman's activities in the family. Instead, the old ideal was reclothed in a more contemporary fashion. For instance, one writer in Action Nationale, turning to the question of how economic épanouissement might be achieved, advised the maintainance of a high birth rate. Rather than la revanche des berceaux, he offered an elaboration of his position in economic terms. A high birth rate was a pre-condition for a high standard of living. Hence, Francophones in Quebec must regain their once remarkable fecundity.⁶ Quebecers concerned over the fate of the French language expressed a similar view of woman's importance in the family when they suggested the problem could be solved if mothers educated their children patriotically.⁷ Woman, it seemed, did not abandon her post as the guardian of face and culture during the Quiet Revolution.

Perhaps a more revealing example of support for a traditional nationalist ideal of woman was its acceptance by the critics of the Instituts Familiaux. In their submissions to the Royal Commissions, the supporters of classical colleges and technical schools for girls asserted

strongly their belief that woman had an important familial (and extra-familial) role to play in the survival of the French collectivity.

Thus, Tessier espoused an ideal of woman that was not so remarkably different to the one widely accepted in his society. That he was able to foster this ideal as comprehensively as he did may be partially explained by another characteristic of post-war society, the popularity of personality training in education.

Two very different educational philosophies enjoyed support during the war and post war years. The progressive movement, developed early in the century, had its strongest influence on Canadian educators during the 1930's and 1940's. Progressive educators stressed education as socialization, a concept that led naturally to the proposition that education's central function was the training of personalities. In the view of progressivists, education had to prepare boys and girls to be well-adjusted and happy; the development of the intellect was only secondary to this goal. Intrinsically opposed to progressive ideals, Christian humanists formed, nonetheless, another group in the post-war era preaching the teaching of socially acceptable values in education. Christian humanism, revived by the Catholic educator Jacques Maritain, proposed a return to Christian values in education.⁸ Maritain's call for "a return to goodness" through the proper education sounded a welcome note in a world recently torn apart by the

horrors of war.⁹ It would be misleading to compare Maritain's emphasis on moral education to the progressive belief in education for real life. However, both philosophies placed considerable value on education's role in the formation of personalities. Furthermore, educators of both persuasions believed implicitly in the link between the properly educated child and stable society.

Whether happiness or moral responsibility was the goal, the implications for female education could, and did, result in the same kind of training for girls; preparation for marriage and motherhood. It is significant that Tessier was able to employ progressive pedagogical methods and claim, at the same time, his allegiance to Jacques Maritain. Personality training was an eminently complementary objective to education that fostered the ideal wife and mother. Dewey's emphasis on training students to be happy had much in common with the philosophical assumptions of an école de bonheur. In the same way, some Christian humanists, accepting Maritain's tenet that education inculcate a moral and "human personality"¹⁰ argued that it was appropriate to educate girls solely for their familial responsibilities. In France, for example, Hélène Brûlé proposed that education stress "la dignité de la personne humaine."¹¹ For a girl, this recommendation entailed learning self-abnegation, the ability to put all else after "le bonheur de son foyer."¹² In North America, Betty Friedan described vividly the concerns of "sex-directed"

educators who proposed, in the name of humanism, "education for femininity."¹³

The Instituts Familiaux were not, therefore, as anomalous as they might have seemed. In one way, the ideal woman they promoted possessed the attraction of a universal image. Furthermore, the ideal and the corresponding education found an agreeable climate in the post-war world. Thus Albert Tessier was at once a reactionary and a man of his times. He saw, correctly, that the feminine ideal born of Catholic nationalism could be accommodated easily within the context of the times. His primary contribution to rural domestic science schools, that of changing their image from lower class to middle class institutions, made use of a prevailing ideal of woman. That is, as women became less involved in agricultural life, the alternative role for those who could not accept her entrance into the labour force was that of middle class housewife. Such a woman, in the words of a Saskatchewan Royal Commission on rural life (1956), played a new role in the home; one which was "more diffuse, supportive and oriented to the gratification of the affective and emotional needs of family members."¹⁴ In the 1950's, this role for women enjoyed an appeal that transcended rural and urban perimeters as well as cultural ones. One might even say this ideal transcended social class despite its obvious incongruence with the life of the working class woman.

It is often propounded that "la société québécoise

donne à la famille une place comme institution sociale, qui en transforme la position culturelle, et lui donne une légitimité qui n'existe pas dans les autres régions de l'Amérique du Nord."¹⁵ The corollary of this point of view, that the tremendous importance ascribed to motherhood and woman's activities within the family is uniquely québécois, is also argued.¹⁶ An understanding of the Instituts Familiaux within the context of their time suggests these beliefs may well be unfounded. The family, and woman's role within it, undoubtedly played a role of considerable importance in Catholic nationalism in Quebec. Furthermore, Catholic educators in that province promoted, with unflagging zeal, a traditional ideal of woman in education. This ideal, however, like all mythical images, possessed "a measure of universality."¹⁷

Ideology relies a great deal on universal myths. And myth, writes a student of ideology, "is not really describing a situation but trying by means of this description to bring about what it declares to exist."¹⁸ The story of the Instituts Familiaux demonstrates, in the realm of education, how some myths can become reality.

V. CONCLUSION NOTES

¹Albert Tessier, cited by Sister Théodore-de-la-Croix, "La Pédagogie des Instituts Familiaux", Bulletin Spécial, No. 114, (January, 1954), p. 1.

²Ruth Pierson, "Woman's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II", in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice eds., The Neglected Majority (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1977), p. 145.

³Roland Stromberg shows the persistence of a traditional ideal of woman in American women's magazines (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), p. 39; A perusal of newspapers after the war reveals the same was true in Canada.

⁴L.A. Fréchette, "Hommage à la mère Canadienne-Française", Action Nationale, XXI, No. 2, (February, 1943), pp. 132-140.

⁵Mona Josée Gagnon, Les Femmes vues par le Québec des hommes (Montreal: Editions du jour, 1974), pp. 89-95.

⁶Report of the Etats Généraux, "Atelier sur la Famille et la Politique Familiaux", Action Nationale, LVII, No. 3-4, (Nov-Dec, 1967), p. 335.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Jacques Maritain, Education at the Crossroads (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943).

⁹Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 7.

¹¹Hélène Brûlé, Le Rôle de la femme dans l'Education familiale et sociale (Paris: Les Editions Foucher, 1950), p. 5.

¹²Ibid., p. 27.

¹³Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1963), p. 149.

¹⁴Cited by Donald White in M.A Tremblay, ed. Rural Canada in Transition, The Agricultural Economics Research Council of Canada, 1968, p. 57.

¹⁵Philippe Garigue, La Vie Familiale des Canadiens Français (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1962), p. xxiii.

¹⁶Gagnon, Les Femmes, p. 18.

¹⁷Elizabeth Janeway, Man's World Woman's Place (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1971), p. 42.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 37.

APPENDIX I

Table 1

Ecoles Ménagères Générales, Spéciales and Municipales 1937
(Vocational Domestic Science Schools)

<u>NAME</u>	<u>LOCATION</u> (date founded)	<u>ENROLLMENT</u>	<u>CHARACTERISTICS</u> ^a
St. Pascal	Kamouraska(1905)	264	Général
Montréal, 461, Sherbrooke-Est	Montréal-cité (1907)	892	Général, lay
Ste. Anne-de- Bellevue (prot.)	Jacques-Cartier (1912)	157	Général, lay
Montréal, 853 Sherbrooke-Est	Montréal-cité (1907)	1,578	Spéciale, St. Jean Baptiste, Society
Grand' Mère	Laviolette(1920)	640	Spéciale
Sherbrooke, 74, King-Ouest	Sherbrooke(1924)	121	Spéciale, Fédération des C.F.
Port-Alfred	Chicoutimi(1931)	393	Spéciale
St. Pie-de-Guire	Yamaska(1935)	36	Spéciale
Verdun(N.-D.-de Lourdes) 1050, 5e Ave.	Montréal-Verdun (1936)	599	Spéciale
Mont-Rolland	Terrebonne(1937)	52	Spéciale
Valleyfield	Beauharnois(1937)	250	Spéciale

^a Designation, religious or lay personnel, controlling body.
Unless otherwise indicated, the municipality controlled
all schools.

Source: Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education
of the Province of Quebec 1937.

Table 2

Ecoles Ménagères Régionales 1937

<u>NAME</u>	<u>LOCATION(date founded)</u>	<u>ENROLLMENT</u>
Roberval	Roberval(1897)	209
Montebello	Papineau(1911)	130
Sutton	Brome(1911)	112
St. Damien	Bellechasse(1916)	77
Ste. Martine	Châteauguay(1919)	147
Gaspé	Gaspé(1924)	50
Ste. Ursule	Maskinongé(1927)	301
Montréal, 1190, Guy	Montréal-cité(1928)	90
St. Georges	Beauce(1928)	371
Loretteville	Québec, comté(1930)	318
Mont-Joli	Matane(1930)	474
Nicolet	Nicolet(1930)	285
Nominingue	Labelle(1930)	153
St. Jacques-l'Achigan	Montcalm(1930)	249
Cap-de-la-Madeleine	Champlain(1931)	160
St. Lambert	Chambly(1937)	55
Plessisville	Mégantic(1937)	285
St. Hyacinthe	St. Hyacinthe(1937)	63

All schools were run by religious orders. Schools such as Gaspé, St. Damien and Ste. Martine were formerly designated écoles ménagères spéciales.

Source: Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education of the Province of Quebec 1937.

APPENDIX II

Table 1

Growth of Vocational Domestic Science Schools^a 1936-1950

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Schools^b</u>	<u>Enrollment^c</u>
1936-37	11	4,982
1937-38	12	5,549
1938-39	11	4,408
1939-40	10	5,107
1940-41	9	5,710
1941-42	9	3,660
1942-43	8	4,533
1943-44	10	8,110
1944-45	10	8,110
1945-46	--	-----
1946-47	12	6,970
1947-48	18	10,792
1948-49	29	14,297
1949-50	39	21,593

- a. Vocational domestic science schools refer to the écoles ménagères spéciales, municipales and générales.
- b. Occasionally, some schools were re-designated as écoles ménagères régionales, hence not included in the statistics. This accounts for the decline in schools from 11 to 8 in 1942-43.
- c. Some exaggeration is possible since enrollment figures were occasionally compiled for all grades of the school instead of the superior level of grades 10 to 13. This may have been the case in 1949-50.

- Sources: 1. Bureau of Statistics, Province of Quebec, Educational Statistics for the School Years 1937-1943 (Dept. of Municipal Affairs, Trade and Commerce).
2. Quebec: Statistical Yearbooks 1944-1950 (Ottawa: Printer to the King).
3. Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education of the Province of Quebec 1936-1950 (Ottawa: Printer to the King).

Table 2

Growth of the Ecoles Ménagères Régionales 1936-1950

Year	No. of Schools			No. of Pupils		
	a	b	c	a	b	c
1936-37	18	--	18	3529	----	----
1937-38	18	--	16	3888	221	----
1938-39	18	19	---	579	288	----
1939-40	18	19	20	832	476	823
1940-41	20	19	20	971	681	971
1941-42	22	19	22	1159	823	1158
1942-43	24	21	24	1231	986	1231
1943-44	26	24	24	1293	1174	1293
1944-45	26	24	33	1293	1243	1690
1945-46	32	32	32	-----	1621	1703
1946-47	32	32	33	1703	1705	1669
1947-48	33	32	36	1669	1730	1909
1948-49	36	36	36	1909	1900	1909
1949-50	37	36	36	1936	2013	1936

- a. Sources: Bureau of Statistics, Province of Quebec; Educational Statistics for the School Years 1937-1943 (Dept. of Municipal Affairs, Trade and Commerce);
Quebec: Statistical Yearbooks 1944-50 (Ottawa: Printer to the King).
- b. Source: Association des Instituts Familiaux in Memoire à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur l'Enseignement, 1962.
- c. Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Education of the Province of Quebec 1936-1950 (Ottawa: Printer to the King).
- d. Statistics which appear comparatively high probably include enrollment for all grades instead of the superior level of grades 10 to 13. Some of the differences in figures may also be the result of different criteria for schools; for example, vocational schools may have been included.

APPENDIX III

Table 1

List of Instituts Familiaux

<u>Location</u>	<u>Name(date founded)</u>
<u>Gaspésie-Rive-Sud</u>	
1. Gaspé	Dames Ursulines(1926)
2. Matane	SS. du Bon Pasteur(1945)
3. Rimouski	SS. de N.-D.-du Saint Rosaire(1930)
4. Ste. Anne-des-Monts	SS. de St. Paul-de-Chartres(1948)
5. St. Pascal	SS. de la Congrégation de Notre Dame(1905)
6. Trois Pistoles	Religieuses de Jésus-Marie(1945)
<u>Lac St. Jean</u>	
7. Chicoutimi	Institut Notre-Dame-du-Bon-Conseil(1945)
8. Chicoutimi	Orphelinat de l'Imma culée(1948)
9. Naudville	Institut Notre-Dame-de-la-Joie(1961)
10. Roberval	Dames Ursulines(1882)
<u>Québec</u>	
11. Gros-Pin	Institut Sainte-Marie-des-Anges(1954)
12. Loretteville	SS. de la Charité de St. Louis(1930)
13. Québec-Cité	Institut Ste. Geneviève(1950)
14. Québec-Cité	Institut "La Ruche"(1945)
15. St. Damien	Institut Brousseau(1916)
16. St. Georges-Ouest	SS. du Bon-Pasteur(1928)
17. Ste. Marie-Beauce	Institut Notre-Dame-du-Bonheur(1945)
18. Sillery	Religieuses de Jésus-Marie(1951)
<u>Trois Rivières</u>	
19. Cap-de-la-Madeleine	Institut Notre-Dame-du-Cap(1959)
20. Cap-de-la-Madeleine	Institut "Le Val Marie"
21. Nicolet	SS. de l'Assomption(1930)
<u>Cantons de l'Est</u>	
22. Drummondville	Institut Ste. Marie(1956)
23. Plessisville	SS. de la Charité(1937)
24. St. André-de-Sutton	Institut Marie-River(1911)
25. St. Désiré-du-Lac-Noir	SS. de la Charité-de-St. Louis(1954)
26. Sherbrooke	SS. de Notre-Dame-du-Bon Conseil(1953)
<u>Montréal (région)</u>	
27. Nominique	SS. de Ste. Croix et des Sept-Douleurs(1930)
28. St. Aimé	Institut Notre-Dame-du-Foyer(1961)
29. St. Césaire	Institut "Val Marguerite"(1945)
30. St. Hyacinthe	Institut St. Joseph(1937)
31. St. Jacques-de-l'Achigan	Institut Bois des Erables(1930)

Table 1(cont.)

<u>Location</u>	<u>Name(date founded)</u>
<u>Montréal(cont.)</u>	
32. St. Jérôme	SS. de Notre-Dame-du-Bon Conseil(1942)
33. St. Martin	SS. des Saints-Noms-de-Jésus-et-de-Marie(1928)
<u>Montréal Métropolitain</u>	
34. 1215 Blvd. St. Joseph	Institut Familial et Social(1941)
35. 331 rue Sherbrooke-Est	Institut Ste.-Marie Euphrasie(1953)
36. 1185 rue St. Mathieu	SS. Grises de Montréal(1927)
37. 9300 Blvd. St. Michel	Institut Reine-Marie(1954)
38. 3725 rue St. Denis	Institut des Sourdes Muettes(1959)
39. St. Lambert	SS. des Saints-Noms-de-Jésus-et-de-Marie(1937)
<u>Outaouais</u>	
40. Hull	SS. Institut Ste. Jeanne-d'Arc(1959)
41. Montebello	Institut Notre-Dame-du-Bon Secours(1911)
<u>Abitibi</u>	
42. Amos	SS. de l'Assomption-de-la-Ste. Vierge(1941)
43. Ville Marie.	Institut Marguerite-d'Youville(1944)
<u>Ecoles Sous-Contrôle^a</u>	
44. 410 4ème ave., Québec	SS. Servantes du Saint-Coeur de Marie(1960)
45. Shawinigan	Institut Ste. Jeanne-d'Arc(1961)
46. Shawinigan	Institut St. Bernard(1951)
47. Montréal	SS. de Ste. Croix et des Sept-Douleurs(1949)

a. Schools in the public system.

Source: Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education of the Province of Quebec 1962.

Table 2

Growth of the Instituts Familiaux: 1950-1960

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>NUMBER OF SCHOOLS</u>	<u>NUMBER OF PUPILS</u>
1950-51	38	1954
1951-52	39	2083
1952-53	40	2309
1953-54	41	2578
1954-55	43	2498
1955-56	43	2500
1956-57	44	2669
1957-58	44	2927
1958-59	44	3177
1959-60	45	3276

Source: Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Public Education of the Province of Quebec.

Table 3

Social Background of Pupils of the Instituts Familiaux

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>
Professional	260	315	325	318	346
Bourgeois	1,215	1,413	1,471	1,477	1,690
Worker	878	921	1,000	1,050	1,271
Farmer	486	496	494	509	563
Unspecified	, 8	32	13	29	13

Professional: doctors and lawyers.

Bourgeois: merchants, civil servants, office workers.

Worker: factory workers.

Farmer: directly engaged in agriculture.

Source: Association des Instituts Familiaux, Memoire à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur l'Enseignement 1962, pp. 79-80.

Table 4

Testimonials, Certificates and Diplomas Received at
the Instituts Familiaux during 1951 - 1962

YEAR	<u>TESTIMONIALS</u>		<u>CERTIFICATES</u>		<u>DIPLOMAS</u>	
	REGULAR	FAMILY	REGULAR	FAMILY	REGULAR(3rd)	REGULAR(4th)
1951	532	294	382	134	234	106
1952	563	272	460	147	253	134
1953	671	265	476	105	301	174
1954	726	178	566	109	337	157
1955	687	138	620	76	398	216
1956	861	116	600	65	406	255
1957	927	116	735	62	353	286
1958	896	152	795	56	486	253
1959	959	93	910	78	493	373
1960	1086	29	722	23	503	341
1961	1271	49	960	23	620	386
1962	831	40	712	23	620	386

Testimonials: Received after 1st year of study.

Certificates: Received after 2nd year of study.

Diplomas: Received after 3rd & 4th year- regular programme only.

Source: Reports of the director of household science submitted to the Superintendent of Education of the Province of Quebec, Annual Reports 1951 to 1962.

Table 5

Occupations of Graduates of the
Full Programme of the Instituts Familiaux

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1957</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1961</u>
Religion	21	13	29	18	35	20
Homemaking	35	36	39	32	49	47
Teaching	83	130	155	125	222	210
Graduate study ^a	20	13	23	24	48	40
Nursing ^b	12	7	11	9	--	18
Other ^c	17	150	30	42	51	58

^aGraduate study usually referred to the programme of the Institut de Pédagogie Familiale.

^bNursing included the occupation of nurses aide.

^cOther refers largely to jobs in dietetics and sewing.

Source: Association des Instituts Familiaux, Memoire à la Commission Royale d'Enquête Sur l'Enseignement, pp. 84-85.

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