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THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT  
OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION  
IN ONTARIO SCHOOLS

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Historical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

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by

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## INTRODUCTION

Provision for religious education in the schools of Ontario has been a subject of debate for many years. The first public schools had some form of religious education and were often taught by clergymen or others motivated by religious and humanitarian interests. The same is true of most western countries, but the specifics of the program of religious education that developed in Ontario are unique. Features of the systems of England, the United States of America, and other provinces of Canada are present in Ontario; however, the end product has been quite different from that in other areas.

The present thesis is concerned with the history and development of religious education in Ontario schools, but it attempts to interpret the Ontario system for a readership which primarily knows the system and lives within the cultural and national context of the United States. A glossary is therefore included to explain certain terms which may be unfamiliar to the reader. A comparison of similarities and differences between the Ontario program for religious education and that prevalent in other jurisdictions is provided throughout the discussion.<sup>1</sup> Chapter I presents an overview

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<sup>1</sup>Appendix A outlines the main provisions for religious education in the provinces of Canada. Chapters III and IV detail the significant differences between the development of public education in Ontario and most of the states of the United States of America.

of the historical situation in Ontario concerning religious education and outlines the direction this thesis will take. Chapters II through VI discuss the development of the teaching of religious education in Ontario schools in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries while Chapters VII and VIII deal with the present situation in more detail. A brief concluding statement points out the direction of the future of religious education in Ontario and summarizes the findings of the thesis.

A number of monographs and historical studies exist which cover the subjects of some chapters included in this paper, but to the author's knowledge no one work deals with the entire scope of the present thesis and none are written from the same perspective. The most recent publication which relates directly to the theme of this discussion and which is readily accessible to readers is the report of the select committee of the Ontario legislature commissioned in 1967 to study the question of religious education in Ontario. That report entitled Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 is concerned with the implementation of a program of religious information and moral development in the schools of Ontario. The report includes a brief historical sketch of the progress of religious education in Ontario schools and an even briefer section comparing the present programs and systems in England and the United States of America, but, in general, the committee's

report is more at home in the discussion of what should be done in the future about religious education in Ontario.<sup>2</sup>

No attempt has been made in the text or bibliography of this thesis to distinguish between primary and secondary sources. In many cases historical studies and scholarly works are both primary and secondary in the sense that they have helped shape the philosophy of the present system. Much use has been made of text books provided for Ontario schools and publications of the Department of Education have been most helpful.<sup>3</sup> Newspaper articles and educational journals have also proved especially useful as have several studies prepared by the Canadian Historical Association.<sup>4</sup> Royal Commission reports have been used extensively as have

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<sup>2</sup>The task of the committee was to make suggestions concerning the future shape of religious education in public schools so of course that was its primary emphasis in the report. Cf. Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969).

<sup>3</sup>Cf. the Bibliography for the many titles in these two areas. Some of the titles listed are out of print and difficult to obtain. Most are in the author's personal library.

<sup>4</sup>The 1971 Ontario provincial election provided a wealth of material in newspapers and periodicals. Most of the articles referred to in the text of the thesis are in the author's personal files.

the works of Charles B. Sissons, Franklin A. Walker and John S. Moir.<sup>5</sup> The Carleton Library Series of reprints and new collections of source material has been of special help in providing access to source materials which otherwise would have been unavailable to the author.<sup>6</sup> The first extensive history of the Christian church in Canada edited by John W. Grant appeared as this study was nearing completion and has proved of some value, especially Volume II by John S. Moir, The Church in the British Era.<sup>7</sup>

It should be noted that many persons in Ontario do not consider the present system of religious education in the public schools and provisions for separate schools adequate or in any sense final. There has been and still is an uneasy and tension-filled truce between the Roman Catholic minority and Protestant majority concerning provision for separate

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<sup>5</sup>For a definition of Royal Commissions cf. the glossary and Chapter VII. For the works of Sissons, Walker and Moir consult the Bibliography. These three men have done more work in the subject matter of this thesis than any others. Sissons' works are from a Protestant viewpoint, Walker presents the Roman Catholic side, and Moir's writings are scrupulously scholarly and "objective."

<sup>6</sup>The Carleton Library Series is an on-going project of the Canadian publisher McClelland and Stewart. Each volume provides either source material never before published or a reprint of a classic work of Canadian historiography.

<sup>7</sup>John W. Grant is the editor of A History of the Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1966 and 1972). Volume I by H. H. Walsh, The Church in the French Era, was published in 1966 by The Ryerson Press before it was sold to McGraw-Hill publishers of New York. Volume II appeared in 1972. Volume III written by the editor of the entire series, John W. Grant, was published also in 1972 and entitled The Church in the Canadian Era.



tax-supported schools, while at the same time various voices have been raised in opposition to further provisions for religious education in public tax-supported schools.<sup>8</sup> The issues are examined here in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of the present position and the possibilities for the future.

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<sup>8</sup>For definitions of separate and public school see the glossary and Chapter I. One controversial issue of the 1971 provincial election was extension of tax-support to separate schools. As recently as November 1972 articles appeared in newspapers and periodicals concerning the whole range of topics considered here. Cf. George Hutchison, "RC's Claimed Overpaid At Public School Expense," The London Free Press (Thursday, November 9, 1972) and the editorial in response to that story "Sour Notes On School Issue," The London Free Press (Friday, November 10, 1972) which states: "A unified school system is the long-term ideal for Ontario but integration must spring from the wishes of Catholic parents themselves and not from a form of coercion in which separate schools are deliberately starved for funds by cut-backs in present levels of assistance. The public school trustees' organization should try to exercise a little more tolerance and understanding instead of fuelling emotional and sectarian divisions on the sensitive school issue."

## GLOSSARY

- Act of Union, The.** An act passed by the British Parliament in 1841 which joined Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec) into one legislative unit with two divisions consisting of Canada West (Ontario) and Canada East (Quebec). The stalemate created by this union led to the British North America Act of 1867.
- British North America Act, The.** An act passed by the British Parliament in 1867 by which four provinces (Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia) became the Dominion of Canada in a loose federal system. This act is still, in effect, the Canadian constitution.
- Common school.** The usual nineteenth century designation for the present elementary public school.
- Confederation.** The term by which the loose federal system of the Dominion of Canada is known as established by the British North America Act of 1867.
- Constitutional Act of 1791, The.** This act created separate jurisdictions in Canada of Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec). These provinces were united by the Act of Union of 1841.
- Council of Public Instruction.** The first committee under which the schools of Ontario were administered. The name was changed in 1877 to the Department of Education of Ontario with the minister in charge directly responsible to the government.
- Grade thirteen.** The fifth year of high school or secondary school in the Ontario system equivalent to the first year of college in most other provinces of Canada or in the usual school programs of the United States of America.
- Grammar school.** The usual nineteenth century designation for the present high school or secondary school.
- Loyal Order of Orange, The.** An anti-Roman Catholic lodge fellowship taking its name from William of Orange who firmly established Protestantism in Britain. The Orange lodges (normally called the Orangemen) in Ontario were firmly opposed to separate schools receiving tax-support.

**Non-denominational.** In the Ontario school system this term usually means a public school in which Protestantism is taught without further division along denominational lines. Similar to non-sectarian.

**Private school.** A school which does not receive tax-support.

**Public school.** A tax-supported school open to all and non-denominational. This term usually refers to public elementary schools as distinct from secondary schools.

**Royal Commission.** A committee established either by the federal or a provincial government to investigate and report on a particular subject. In the twentieth century many commissions investigated the educational systems in Canada.

**Sectarian.** Refers to the several denominations of Protestant churches. Public schools in Ontario are non-sectarian although usually Protestant as distinct from separate schools which are usually Roman Catholic.

**Separate school.** A tax-supported school usually of Roman Catholic persuasion although there are provisions in Ontario for Protestant separate schools.

**United Church of Canada, The.** The church created by the union of Methodist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches in Canada in 1925.

**United Empire Loyalist.** A person who left the newly formed United States of America after 1776 out of loyalty to England and settled in Canada.

**Upper and Lower Canada.** The terms for the present provinces of Ontario and Quebec from 1791-1841. From 1841-1867 the terms Canada West and Canada East were used.

## CHAPTER I

### RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN ONTARIO SCHOOLS: A PERSPECTIVE

Canadian history is intricately associated with a number of countries and races each of which has influenced Canadian institutions and culture. The first immigrants from Europe to actually settle in communities in what is now Canada were from France. When England conquered New France in 1759 and imposed English institutions on the new colony by the Peace of Paris of 1763, a basic conflict in Canadian culture developed which has shaped the structure of Canada to the present. It was already recognized in the early 1770's that the agreements of a few years' standing would not work and so the Quebec Act of 1774 which was "designed to keep Quebec British by leaving it French" replaced the previous treaty.<sup>1</sup> The Quebec Act was one of the documents which inflamed the colonists along the Atlantic seaboard and led to the American Revolution.<sup>2</sup> During and after the Revolutionary War colonists who were loyal to Britain or who were not particularly happy about the course of events in the thirteen colonies came in

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<sup>1</sup>John S. Moir, The Church in the British Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), p. 47.

<sup>2</sup>A discussion of the causes of the American Revolution is not in order here. The Quebec Act was only one in a series of acts and incidents which led to that Revolution.

large numbers to Canada and settled in parts of Nova Scotia and Upper Canada (now Ontario). These United Empire Loyalists were English but had grown up in colonies that ultimately formed the United States of America. The Loyalist traditions had been shaped in large part in separation from the French colony and therefore a new tradition became part of Canada. The country to the south was the closest to Canada in terms of physical relationship and there was a shared heritage in many respects, but many Canadians felt a need for constant watchfulness lest republicanism or the revolutionary spirit extend to Canadian institutions.<sup>3</sup> The combination of French, English, and United States influences in Canada has resulted in "the search for identity" which is described by Blair Fraser in his book by that title.<sup>4</sup> Canadians typically find it easier to say what they are not than to give a clear definition of what they are. It is not unusual to find Canadian culture defined as not quite English, not really American (meaning of the United States of America), and with a French

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<sup>3</sup>Relations between Canada and the United States have tended to center on the continued desire on the part of Canadians to maintain a separate identity from the United States without thereby being completely dissociated from similar values and ideals.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Blair Fraser, The Search for Identity (Toronto: Doubleday and Co., Canada Ltd., 1967). Cf. also the several essays in J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown, editors, The Canadians, 1867-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd., 1967).

flavor that is reflected in its bi-lingual and bi-cultural policies.<sup>5</sup>

These aspects of the broader Canadian scene come to the fore in the discussion of religious education in Ontario schools. While the French population in Ontario has never been large, descendants of those first Europeans to settle in Ontario still live in scattered communities of the province. Ontario was primarily populated by immigrants from the British Isles and United Empire Loyalists.

In the educational system of Ontario it is possible to see traces of the influence of all the above-mentioned colonists; however, another factor shaped the school system to a large extent, and that was religion. It was here especially that the heavily Roman Catholic French population of Quebec joined the Roman Catholic minority in the predominantly Protestant and English province of Ontario and commanded enough power to bring about the establishment of separate schools on religious grounds as well as helping the Protestants to decide quite early in the schools' development that religion should remain a part of the system.

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<sup>5</sup>Cf. the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II: Education (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968). Cf. also Mason Wade, editor, Canadian Dualism: La Dualité Canadienne (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960) for a description of French-English relationships in Canada.

Religious education in Ontario schools is therefore a lively issue in political and clerical circles.<sup>6</sup> The consensus for many years has been that religious education of some kind is both desirable and necessary in the public schools. Provision of tax-supported separate schools is also made.<sup>7</sup> The continued existence of the separate schools is an intricate and perplexing problem which refuses to go away even though the basic guidelines for such provision have been set for well over one hundred years.<sup>8</sup>

The terms public school and separate school are in themselves difficult to define since there is some confusion in the usage of the words in the minds of many citizens of

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<sup>6</sup>The most recent study of religious education in the public schools was done by the government committee chaired by J. Keiller Mackay in 1969. Its report is entitled Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969), hereafter cited as The Mackay Committee Report. Other government and private investigations have been conducted in recent years. Cf. the Bibliography and Chapter VII, infra, for a listing of these.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. infra, pp. 5, 6, for a definition of public and separate schools. Franklin A. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1955), has provided much useful information concerning the early separate schools. The descriptions given in C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), are also helpful.

<sup>8</sup>The British North America Act of 1867 which created the Dominion of Canada guaranteed that the educational acts in effect in each founding province would continue in force and that no further acts could nullify the basic agreements concerning separate schools already present. Separate Schools

Ontario, as well as in the definitions provided in the various school acts.<sup>9</sup> Public school ordinarily means a school that is publicly supported by tax monies, is of a non-denominational character, and includes the elementary grades kindergarten through eight.<sup>10</sup> The term separate school is used for schools supported by the tax monies of those who wish to provide Roman Catholic instruction for their children instead of the non-denominational religious instruction offered in the public school. Separate schools generally are provided through grade eight, with a complex formula extending to grade ten in certain areas of the province.<sup>11</sup> Thus the term

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in Ontario were thus to stay since they were already in existence. For the wording of The BNA Act cf. G. P. Browne, editor, Documents on the Confederation of British North America, The Carleton Library Series No. 40 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), p. 326 and passim.

<sup>9</sup>Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950 (Toronto: King's Printer, 1950), passim. This Report is hereafter cited as The Hope Commission Report. Robin W. Winks, in "Negro School Segregation in Ontario and Nova Scotia," Canadian Historical Review, L (June 1969), 162-191, demonstrates that the word "separate school" was applied to segregated schools in the nineteenth century.

<sup>10</sup>Non-denominational does not mean that no religion is taught. The term means that a general Protestant faith may be taught in the public schools, but not a particular view of any one denomination. Cf. Ryerson's points on this infra., Chapter III.

<sup>11</sup>Extension of tax grants to separate schools beyond grade ten was an issue in the 1971 Ontario provincial election. The Conservative Government led by Wm. Davis refused to grant any further aid while both opposition parties offered it as part of their respective platforms. Cf. the headline "Grants to Separate Schools Issue Gives Sharpest Moments in TV Debate," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Tuesday, October 5, 1971). With an overwhelming Conservative victory the



public school would be generally equivalent to the public elementary school in the United States of America, and the term separate school would be similar to the Roman Catholic parochial school there with the quite large distinction that in the United States no tax-support is received for these schools, while in Ontario such institutions enjoy almost equal tax benefits with the public schools.<sup>12</sup>

The difficulty in defining public school and separate school is further complicated by the fact that there is provision for Protestant separate schools and public Roman Catholic schools.<sup>13</sup> The situation in which such provision might occur is very complex, but basically relates to the proportion of students of either persuasion (Protestant or

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issue was temporarily pushed into the background, although it could become an issue at any time since Roman Catholic private high schools are facing an economic squeeze. Cf. "RC High Schools Will Stay Open but Budgets Must Balance with Church," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Thursday, December 16, 1971).

<sup>12</sup>Some inequities still exist in the tax-sharing formula relating to corporation tax. The main argument of Roman Catholics concerning tax inequity concerns the decision not to extend tax grants beyond grade ten. Cf. "Roman Catholics Extremely Disappointed over Rejection of Financial Aid for High Schools," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Wednesday, September 1, 1971) and an editorial, "RC High Schools: Still Live Issue," The London Free Press (Thursday, December 23, 1971) in which it is stated that there will be "a continuing effort by Ontario Catholics to gain a more favorable interpretation of separate school support under the constitution, a point they have already won in some provinces."

<sup>13</sup>The Hope Commission Report, passim, especially Chapter XIX.

Roman Catholic) in a school area. When the Roman Catholic population is overwhelmingly in the majority Protestants may group together to form a separate school district in which case the Roman Catholic school would be the public one. The religion taught in the separate school in that case would be Protestant. While such provision does exist in fact it is very seldom found in effect. A few Protestant separate schools existed in the province in 1949.<sup>14</sup>

A further complicating issue is the provision for religious instruction in the public schools. This instruction is to be of a non-sectarian character, and is under review at the present time.<sup>15</sup> The continuance of religious instruction in the public schools has occasioned as much controversy over the years as the establishment of tax-supported separate schools. In recent years a number of

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<sup>14</sup>The number of Protestant separate schools has never exceeded 25 as noted in John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 189. The Hope Commission Report, passim, outlines the various possibilities regarding Protestant separate schools, and especially pp. 536-538.

<sup>15</sup>Present regulations as contained in the Regulation: Elementary and Secondary Schools--General (Toronto: The Department of Education, 1968), state in section 44, point 7: "Instruction in religious education shall be given by the teacher in accordance with the course of study authorized for that purpose by the Department, and issues of controversial or sectarian nature shall be avoided." This document of the Board of Education is hereafter cited as Regulation 68. The Mackay Committee Report of 1969 is "still under consideration" according to a letter from Robert Welch, Minister of Education dated August 20, 1971 and in the author's possession.

commissions have studied this aspect of the public schools and have arrived at different conclusions.<sup>16</sup>

Since religious education in the public schools may not be sectarian, numerous difficulties have been encountered in administering such courses. In the middle nineteenth century the Anglican faith was regarded by some as the "official" Protestant teaching and, therefore, Presbyterians, Methodists, and other denominations felt some animosity toward such teaching gaining ground in the schools.<sup>17</sup> In more recent years the Christian Reformed Church has insisted that it has a right either to teach its faith in a publicly-supported school or to have its own system of parochial schools receive tax benefits in the manner of the present separate schools.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>The Hope Commission Report of 1950 encouraged further organized courses in religion whereas The Mackay Committee Report of 1969 wished to modify the existing course for the establishment of a program with "its focus character building, ethics, social attitudes, and moral values and principles," p. 93.

<sup>17</sup>On the difficult problem of whether or to what extent the Anglican church was the established church in Ontario cf. infra, Chapter II. Cf. also Moir, passim, and Alan Wilson, The Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada, Booklet No. 23 (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1969). For the kind of religious instruction envisaged by many in the 1840's cf. Sissons, pp. 15-16 and passim. This aspect will be treated further in Chapter III.

<sup>18</sup>The Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools which represents some 50 privately-supported schools in the province, most of which are associated with the Christian Reformed Church, said in a statement issued after the government decision not to extend aid to separate schools beyond grade ten that this was "a step backward for democracy" and called for a coalition of concerned people to "fight for the educational rights of minorities," as quoted in "Roman Catholics Extremely Disappointed over Rejection of Financial Aid for High Schools," The St. Thomas Times-Journal. Cf. also "Policy Protest:

Another set of terms was used in the early nineteenth century which needs some clarification. The word common school was in use rather than public school and was applied to what we would call the public elementary school. The term grammar school was used in a way roughly equivalent to our secondary or high school.<sup>19</sup> Initially neither the common school nor the grammar school was supported by taxes, but contributions were made by various interested parties, usually parents, to the up-keep of a building and payment of a teacher.<sup>20</sup> In time this evolved into the publicly-supported system we know today, and in the evolving system there were a number of difficulties that needed to be solved.

One of the problems involved the teaching of religion and religious exercises. Since there was usually some provision for religious education in the early schools it was natural to think that this aspect would continue.<sup>21</sup> The

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Pastor Rebuffed in Subsidy Plea to Mainstreeting Davis," The London Free Press (Monday, October 11, 1971), where it is stated: "Pastor Geisteifer [of the Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools] said there are 50,000 children in 'non-supported public schools' in Ontario, and that the government collects education taxes totalling \$15,000,000 from their parents, but none of the money goes to the schools they have chosen for their children."

<sup>19</sup>The terms common and grammar schools were of English origin. Common meant for the poor, and thus for the masses while grammar generally implied for the well-to-do and were schools in which the skills were gained to become the leaders in the community. Cf. W. Pakenham, "The Public School System," Canada and Its Provinces, edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty (Toronto: Glasgow and Co., 1914) XVII, 279.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid. Cf. Sissons, pp. 6-19 and passim.

difficulty in this thinking became apparent when Roman Catholics and Protestants could not even agree on which translation of the Bible might be used. Lessons to be taught were even more difficult to decide upon. Early provision was therefore made for separate schools and thus the beginnings of the present system of separate and public schools with tax-support.<sup>22</sup>

In many ways it would appear that Ontario has two systems of elementary education, or at least a dual system; however, the government has always insisted, and still does insist, that there is only one system of public education which extends through grade thirteen.<sup>23</sup> The separate schools are seen as an integral part of that system.<sup>24</sup> The government has further argued that separate schools extend only from kindergarten through grade eight, and in some cases to grade ten, but no

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid. Cf. Walker, pp. 36-55.

<sup>23</sup>Grade thirteen in many ways is equivalent to first year college in most other provinces and the United States.

<sup>24</sup>Cf. the strong language Egerton Ryerson uses against any extension of the separate schools from his "Remarks on the New Separate School Agitation" as quoted in C. B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1947), II, 500-501. Cf. recent statements of Premier Davis in his election campaign in which he refers to the "public separate school system" which extends through grade ten. "Davis Charges his Position on Grants to Separate Schools Misinterpreted," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Friday, October 1, 1971). Cf. Pakenham, XVIII, 340.

further, so that there is only one recognized form of publicly-supported secondary school. In the secondary system religion may be taught, but any school which is purely denominational may not receive grants beyond grade ten.<sup>25</sup> This has meant much difficulty for the Roman Catholics who have sent their children to separate school through grade eight and suddenly must turn to the public secondary school or continue on at a privately-supported institution.<sup>26</sup>

This thesis will present an historical survey of these and other inter-related problems. The reader's attention is directed to the development of the separate schools and the way in which religious education has been provided for in the public schools. Differences between the Ontario system and that prevalent in other provinces of Canada will be noted. In addition reference will be made to the similarities and differences between the provisions in Ontario and many of the states of the United States. Current practices and trends will be outlined and some evaluation offered although primary attention will be given to the historical development

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<sup>25</sup>Cf. Regulation 68, pp. 28-29.

<sup>26</sup>It becomes more and more costly to continue the private high schools and speculation continued that many privately-supported Roman Catholic High Schools would close. Cf. "RC High Schools Will Stay Open but Budgets Most Balance with Church." Cf. also "RC Schools Considering Joining Public," The St. Thomas Time-Journal (Wednesday, December 15, 1971), and "RC Schools are Joining Public System," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Thursday, February 17, 1972) in which it is stated that "three Roman Catholic high schools [in Ottawa] will be integrated into the public school system over a three-year period."

up to the present. Predicting the future is not the purpose of this thesis but some trends can be observed and they will be noted in the conclusion. The Bibliography should prove helpful for further study. Many of the works listed there are available in major libraries in Canada.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>The Bibliography lists some works which are out of print and difficult to obtain. Some of these are available in the author's library as are most of the newspaper and journal articles.

## CHAPTER II

### EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCHOOLS

When Colonel John Graves Simcoe came to Upper Canada (Ontario)<sup>1</sup> as Governor in 1792 there were few schools in existence. Two or three privately-supported schools sporadically tried to educate some of the children of the upper classes, but no real attempts were made to provide instruction for the average person.<sup>2</sup> Governor Simcoe wished to establish schools for the wealthier class and since there was a portion of land set aside for the maintaining of a Protestant clergy he believed part of this could be used for schools.<sup>3</sup> The Church of England had never been proclaimed the official state church in Upper Canada, as it had been in some of the colonies south of the border, or as it was

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<sup>1</sup>By the Canada Act of 1791 Canada was divided into two administrative units, Lower Canada corresponding to the present province of Quebec, and Upper Canada which is now included in the province of Ontario. The terms Upper and Lower Canada were used until 1841.

<sup>2</sup>W. Pakenham, "The Public School System," Canada And Its Provinces (Toronto: Glasgow and Co., 1914), XVIII, 278-279. Cf. also Edith Firth, The Town of York, 1795-1815 and 1815-1834, 2 Vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), *passim*; especially II, 142-143.

<sup>3</sup>The Canada Act of 1791 set aside land for clergy reserves. The settlement of how these were to be used is discussed in Alan Wilson, The Clergy Reserves of Upper Canada, Booklet No. 23 (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1969). Cf. also John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).



in England; yet, Simcoe seems to have thought it was, and proceeded to make such claims for the schools he wanted built.<sup>4</sup> Simcoe did not stay in Canada long, but his cause was taken up by Bishop John Strachan who tried to ensure that the Anglican church would be predominant by making glowing reports about the faithful in Canada to his peers back home.<sup>5</sup>

In these years various educational acts were passed. The first, in 1807, established eight district or grammar schools with some state support and the second, in 1816, provided for the election of trustees who were to appoint teachers for common schools and allowed a grant for each such school established.<sup>6</sup> Acts of 1820 and 1824 followed but never really got beyond a kind of permissive legislation with the money grants to each school mere tokens.<sup>7</sup>

Religion was a part of most of the schools established under these early legislative acts. In this respect there was no large difference from many schools in the United States, where religion was considered to be a necessary part

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<sup>4</sup>Pakenham, XVIII, 278.

<sup>5</sup>Statistics concerning the strengths of the various denominations in Upper Canada are included in Moir, p. 185. For a discussion of the reports Strachan sent and his attitudes toward the establishment of churches and schools cf. G. P deT. Glazebrook, Life in Ontario: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 77-87.

<sup>6</sup>C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), pp. 6, 7.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

of the educational system.<sup>8</sup> The kind of religion that was taught sometimes depended upon the particular persuasion of the teacher so that, if the teacher was Anglican, the pupils were exposed to that type of faith, while, if the teacher was Presbyterian, it seems that Presbyterianism could be promulgated.<sup>9</sup> It soon became evident that some regulation had to be made in this ambiguous situation. The attempt to define the place and purpose of religious education in the public schools thus arose early in the nineteenth century from the need to clarify the type of faith to be taught.

Bishop John Strachan led the fight for the Anglicans while the Methodists had Egerton Ryerson and the Roman Catholics, Bishop Alexander Macdonell.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Cf. Lawrence A. Cremin, The American Common School: An Historic Conception (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1951), pp. 66-70 and 192-218 for a discussion of the Christian influences on the schools in the United States. Cf. also Edwin H. Rian, Christianity and American Education (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Co., 1949), pp. 42-45. The influence of Horace Mann on the school system of the United States is well known. Egerton Ryerson, the main builder of the schools of Ontario accepted Mann's view that moral virtues and principles based on Christianity should be taught but that sectarianism should not be part of the public schools. The McGuffey Readers which were used extensively in the schools of many states also exhibit the influence of religion in the early schools.

<sup>9</sup>Pakenham, XVIII, 295, and passim.

<sup>10</sup>The clash between Strachan and Ryerson is chronicled in many places. Cf. especially C. B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters, 2 Vols. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1937 and 1947), and J. D. H. Henderson, John Strachan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969). For the opinions of Bishop Macdonell and the Roman Catholic position, cf. Franklin A. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1955).

The Anglicans were out-numbered in the province in the early part of the century, and their percentage of population never increased because of the steady influx of United Empire Loyalists from the United States and Roman Catholic immigrants from Ireland.<sup>11</sup> Strachan wanted the right to teach the Anglican faith in the schools, and, barring this, at least to expect special consideration for the building and maintaining of an Anglican college.<sup>12</sup> Already in 1811 John Strachan wrote in The Kingston Gazette:

Our first and most anxious care is to store the youthful mind with sound moral principles for it is a maxim with us that without knowing God, all knowledge is vain. Some boys make much greater progress in the acquisition of science than their companions--but to become a sincere Christian and a good member of Society is in every one's [sic] power. . . .<sup>13</sup>

In making a person a "sincere Christian" he left no doubt that he meant instruction according to the precepts of the Anglican Church. In his sermon preached at York after the death of the Bishop of Quebec in 1825 he states:

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<sup>11</sup>Moir, p. 185. The statistics given there indicate that the Church of England never reached 25% of the population and that the Roman Catholics, Methodists and Presbyterians were at times close to being individually as numerous as the Anglicans.

<sup>12</sup>Glazebrook, pp. 76-85.

<sup>13</sup>From The Kingston Gazette, September 3, 1811, as quoted in Dean Fink, Life in Upper Canada 1781-1841: An Inquiry Approach (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 67.

Does not the greater part of the population of this Diocese, notwithstanding the meritorious exertions of the late Bishop, his scattered clergy, and many individuals, remain unimproved and sadly destitute of religious instruction?

. . . And when it is considered that the religious teachers of the other denominations of Christians, a very few respectable ministers of the Church of Scotland excepted, come almost universally from the republican states of America, where they gather their knowledge and form their sentiments, it is quite evident, that if the Imperial Government does not immediately step forward with efficient help, the mass of the population will be nurtured and instructed in hostility to our parent church, nor will it be long till they imbibe opinions anything but favourable to the political institutions of England.<sup>14</sup>

Before an investigating committee of the Legislature in 1828 he again pleaded for an established religion. Section 557 of that testimony (question asked by the committee and Strachan's answer) is:

The undue advantages and exclusive religious privileges granted to certain religious denominations are much complained of; would it not tend to strengthen a good government if they were altogether abolished?--There should be in every Christian country an established religion, otherwise it is not a Christian but an Infidel country.<sup>15</sup>

Strachan ran head-on into Egerton Ryerson, a young Methodist circuit rider and editor of The Christian Guardian.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>As Quoted in J. D. H. Henderson, John Strachan: Documents and Opinions (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), p. 93.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Sissons, Life and Letters, passim and Clara Thomas, Ryerson of Upper Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), passim.

The battle more and more revolved around the granting of a charter to King's College, an avowed attempt by Strachan to garner public funds for his Anglican College.<sup>17</sup> The protagonists carried the fight to England several times and in the end the proposal to make the publicly-supported schools of the province denominational was defeated.<sup>18</sup> The only exception to this became the allowance for a distinction between Roman Catholic and Protestant in the elementary field, and that was a distinction which caused much controversy.<sup>19</sup> Strachan eventually formed his own college, Trinity, which became part of the federation of the University of Toronto, the very institution he had fought against.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Henderson, Documents and Opinions, pp. 116-127. In a letter dated 3 October, 1831 to a Presbyterian clergyman Strachan states that the President or Principal of the new college must be of the Church of England since "I abhor all establishments for education which have not a religious character; and it is not unreasonable that the head of the institution should be of the same religion with the Sovereign who endows it," p. 125.

<sup>18</sup>For a description of the end of King's College as a denominational venture and an account of the founding of Strachan's Trinity College, cf. Henderson, Documents and Opinions, pp. 183-199. The latest development on the university level is the ultimatum issued to Waterloo Lutheran University affiliated with the Lutheran Church in America--Eastern Canada Synod. "The Ontario Government says University must cut all Religious Ties if it Wants Support," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Wednesday, April 26, 1972).

<sup>19</sup>Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education is the definitive argument against provision of separate schools. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada and his later volume, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario: A Documentary Study (Toronto: Thomas Nelson, 1964) is the definitive argument on the Roman Catholic side.

<sup>20</sup>Henderson, Documents and Opinions, pp. 183-199.

Strachan eventually lost most of his support and younger men gained the upper hand in provincial affairs.<sup>21</sup>

By 1837 political and social forces that had been smoldering for decades broke into open revolt against the governmental structures.<sup>22</sup> Led by William Lyon Mackenzie a group of protestors marched against the government buildings in Toronto, but the militia quickly dispersed the ill-armed force.<sup>23</sup> Mackenzie escaped to the United States and later was granted reprieve from exile. Some of the men involved were convicted of treason and hanged.<sup>24</sup> A similar occurrence in Lower Canada in the same year convinced the British government that constitutional reform of some kind was needed. Lord Durham was sent to gather facts and present his findings.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Chronicles of these times are given in two famous Newspapers: The Christian Guardian, the organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which for a time was edited by Egerton Ryerson and The Colonial Advocate, owned and edited by William Lyon Mackenzie, the man who led the 1837 revolt.

<sup>22</sup>The revolt was little more than a skirmish, but with a few more men and guns, might just as easily have turned into something bigger.

<sup>23</sup>For an account of Mackenzie's life and his paper, cf. William Kilbourn, The Firebrand: William Lyon Mackenzie (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1956).

<sup>24</sup>There was great unrest in the province and the memory of such action lingered in the minds of Upper Canadian citizens for many years. Cf. Fred Landon, Western Ontario and the American Frontier, The Carleton Library Series No. 34 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 144-192.

<sup>25</sup>Lord Durham's report is readily available in a number of editions. Cf. G. M. Craig, editor, Lord Durham's Report, The Carleton Library Series No. 1 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), or Chester New, Lord Durham's Mission to Canada, The Carleton Library Series No. 8 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965).

Lord Durham's Report called for a union of the two Canadas which was accomplished by the Act of Union of 1841.<sup>26</sup>

One direct result of this union was the bringing of the whole force of French and Roman Catholic opinion of Lower Canada into the educational scene of Upper Canada.<sup>27</sup> The new element in the political situation led to compromise solutions in the schools question.<sup>28</sup> These compromises were later solidified in the British North America Act of 1867.<sup>29</sup>

On the broader level of relationships between the two provinces the union only served to stalemate the two founding nations of Canada.<sup>30</sup> The controversies which had spilled over in rebellion in 1837 were now focused in an unwieldy government which alternated seats between Quebec and Kingston, and which tried to govern two distinct language and cultural

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<sup>26</sup>1841 became a watershed in Canadian life, perhaps even as much as 1867 since the Confederation of 1867 was largely shaped by the exigencies of the Act of Union and its consequences. For the importance of this union on the educational and religious history of Canada, cf. H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), pp. 186-200.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid. Cf. also Sissons, Church and State, pp. 14-15.

<sup>28</sup>Pakenham, XVIII, 312-315.

<sup>29</sup>Section 93 of The BNA Act provided that separate schools already in existence must remain. Cf. the discussion in Chapter IV, infra.

<sup>30</sup>For a discussion of the factors leading to the BNA Act cf. G. P. Browne, editor, Documents on the Confederation of British North America, The Carleton Library Series No. 40 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), pp. xi-xxx of the introduction, especially p. xxvii.

groups.<sup>31</sup> Lessons learned from such union were applied in future decades to the new confederation of provinces known as the Dominion of Canada.<sup>32</sup>

Hardly had the Act of Union of 1841 been approved when the educational act of 1841 was passed by the newly-created legislature. This act allowed the establishment of separate schools because of religious scruples and in the acts of 1843 and 1846 the separate schools were firmly entrenched into the publicly-supported system of schools in Canada West.<sup>33</sup> The legislation of 1841 allowed certain religious groups to establish their own schools and still receive grants from the government.<sup>34</sup> The act of 1841 was repealed some months after its passage in parliament and in 1843 was replaced by an act which allowed that in cases where there were more than ten householders who required instruction by a teacher of different faith than the majority another school could be established.<sup>35</sup> By 1846, when the first educational bill

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<sup>31</sup>Politics in Canada have revolved around the French-English dichotomy since the Peace of Paris of 1763. The tensions are still evident in almost every issue of Canadian life. Anyone who fails to grasp the significance of this point will not understand Canadian politics. Cf. W. L. Morton's explanation of this feature of Canadian history in "Clio in Canada: The Interpretation of Canadian History," University of Toronto Quarterly, XV (April 1946).

<sup>32</sup>Browne, passim.

<sup>33</sup>Sissons, Church and State, pp. 14-40. Cf. also Howard Adams, The Education of Canadians, 1800-1867: The Roots of Separatism (Montreal: Harvest House, 1963), pp. 54-61

<sup>34</sup>Pakenham, XVIII, 312.

<sup>35</sup>Sissons, Church and State, pp. 14-20.



under Egerton Ryerson as Minister of Public Instruction was framed, the idea of separate schools was so entrenched that while he did not really agree with the system he saw no choice but to grant such privileges.<sup>36</sup>

There did not seem to be any one final solution to the problem of providing religious exercises and teaching in the public and separate schools. Discussion concerning the religious factor in the schools of Ontario continues to the present.<sup>37</sup>

John S. Moir states that "religion was very much a part of Ryerson's educational plans, but it was Christian in the ecumenical sense rather than sectarian."<sup>38</sup> The Bible was read in most schools and "denominational classes in religion were provided for in the weekly timetable."<sup>39</sup> That Christian faith and teaching permeated the early schools is demonstrated further from the Quarterly Report of the Common School to the House of Assembly in 1828:

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 20 as quoted from a letter of Egerton Ryerson.

<sup>37</sup>Cf. Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969).

<sup>38</sup>John S. Moir, "The Upper Canada Religious Tradition," Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), p. 193.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

All the classes Read, Spell, and Parse, at least four lessons a day. Examinations every evening, in Grammar, Spelling and Arithmetic tables, and Church Catechism once a week.<sup>40</sup>

And in the "Order of Studies" given with that report the New Testament is listed in numerous places as one of the textbooks.<sup>41</sup> At the close of the 1830's and moving into the middle period of the nineteenth century we see that many of the difficulties in providing schools for everyone were being solved, and, along with the solution, there was provision made for religious instruction of a general Protestant nature in the way outlined above. The vision of Egerton Ryerson (of whom more in Chapter IV) was catching as he said in his report of 1846 that proper education is

not the mere acquisition of certain branches of knowlege, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subject of it for their appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business, and also as members of the civil community in which they live.<sup>42</sup>

Most members of society in the mid-nineteenth century would have agreed with Ryerson. The discussion revolved around which branch of the faith the Christian person was to be taught.

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<sup>40</sup>Firth, II, 149.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>As quoted in Thomas, pp. 100-101.

## CHAPTER III

### EGERTON RYERSON'S SYSTEM

The early controversies of John Strachan and Egerton Ryerson have been sketched.<sup>1</sup> This chapter attempts to discover the views of Ryerson concerning the teaching of religion in the schools, and then compares how he related these views to the educational system in Ontario which he so largely shaped.<sup>2</sup> It is hoped that in this way the groundwork for Chapter IV will be laid in which the Protestant-Roman Catholic maneuvering which was mentioned in the first chapter becomes the major topic.

When Egerton Ryerson was appointed Assistant Minister of Public Instruction (1844), and, in effect, head of the educational system of Canada West he inherited a rather difficult and politically tender position.<sup>3</sup> He had come by

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<sup>1</sup>Supra, pp. 16-19.

<sup>2</sup>Almost any mention of the history of education in Ontario will bring a discussion of Egerton Ryerson. The name lends weight to many arguments. To discover the "real" Ryerson, however, is difficult. Clara Thomas says in the preface of Ryerson of Upper Canada (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1969), that "Ryerson, the individual, has been effectively obscured by the triple-faced mask of Methodist-Journalist-Educator."

<sup>3</sup>Ryerson was appointed by the government, and, therefore, was responsible to it. He was not at this time, or ever, elected to a seat in the legislature. It was only after he had retired in 1876 that the Minister of Education was

the position honestly enough in that he had often spoken out on educational issues while he was editor of The Christian Guardian, and had engaged the venerable John Strachan in some volatile dialog on the various issues.<sup>4</sup>

At the time of his appointment to the educational post Ryerson was the principal of Victoria College, a Methodist institution he had helped found. He was therefore acquainted with the practical aspects of running a school and teaching in it.<sup>5</sup>

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chosen from the ranks of the people's elected representatives. The fact that he was not an elected representative of the people washed two ways: (1) He could work relatively free from the pressures of political commitment; (2) Whatever he planned needed final approval from the legislature with the compromises and in-fighting that entailed. Cf. C. B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1947), II, 76-78.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas, pp. 54, 55. Ryerson did not personally meet Strachan until many years later and on that occasion seems to have agreed with him on most issues. Cf. Sissons, II, 7, 8. Cf. the view of Ryerson toward Strachan as expressed in Goldwyn French, Parsons and Politics (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1962), pp. 122-123: "In Ryerson's view Strachan's educational policy was based upon the inaccurate assumption that the Church was established in Canada and was in any case unsuited to Canadian conditions. 'Considering the statements you have made,' Ryerson asked, 'would it not be generally thought paramount to establishing the Inquisition in Canada to tolerate your ill-founded University altogether under the control of the Church of England clergy, with you at its head?' Upper Canada needed 'a system established by Acts of our Provincial Legislature--a system on an economical plan--a system conformable to the wishes of the great mass of the population--a system promoted by the united efforts of the laity and clergy--a system in . . . which the different bodies of clergy will not interfere--a system which will bring the blessings of education to every family.'"

<sup>5</sup>Thomas, pp. 87-92.

Egerton Ryerson had started out as a circuit rider in the Toronto (then York) area, but it was not long until his out-spoken blast at Strachan had landed him the position of editor of the fledgling Methodist paper, The Christian Guardian. The Methodists had founded the paper at their conference in 1829 and had made Ryerson the first editor.<sup>6</sup> According to Goldwyn French this paper had a great influence on Upper Canadian educational thinking.

From its inception The Christian Guardian entered actively into the discussion about the kind of educational system that Upper Canada needed. In its view all classes required education in order to participate intelligently in public affairs, but in achieving this end it was imperative that certain principles be upheld. The advantages of education were said to be "but a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal when not founded upon and sanctified by the undefiled and regenerating religion of Jesus Christ,"<sup>(110)</sup> The Guardian felt as well that educational facilities must be adapted to local needs and circumstances. Schools must be located conveniently and operated efficiently.<sup>(111)</sup><sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 60-72. Ryerson was editor from 1829-1832 and again from 1839-1842. In the years between he was pastor and diplomat for the Methodists, travelling in Europe and America. The Press thus founded became known as The Ryerson Press and continued from 1829 until 1970 under that name and associated first with the Methodist Church and after 1925 with the United Church of Canada. In 1970 this oldest of all existing Canadian Publishing Houses was sold to McGraw-Hill, Inc. of New York. The sale caused much public furor as evidenced in the news story "United Church of Canada Confirms Sale of Ryerson," Toronto Globe and Mail (Tuesday, November 3, 1970).

<sup>7</sup>French, p. 123. The numbers in parentheses refer to the original footnotes which quote from The Christian Guardian.

It was in Ryerson's early years as editor of The Guardian that his positions became familiar to many citizens of Upper Canada. He did not hesitate to take on the "establishment" when he thought it necessary, but his policy was never as radical as William Lyon Mackenzie whose views were equally well known through The Colonial Advocate.<sup>8</sup>

Through the editorial pages of The Christian Guardian Ryerson espoused the Methodist position on numerous issues, and while Mackenzie was the "firebrand" radical that William Kilbourn calls him Ryerson was (in Thomas' phrase) the "representative Upper Canadian."<sup>9</sup> French indicates that

The Methodist Episcopal Church and its organ The Christian Guardian followed a consistent and positive course in the political conflict of the years 1828 to 1833, but unfortunately the underlying purpose was frequently misunderstood. On the broad issue of the kind of government that Upper Canada ought to have the Methodist position was essentially conservative. . . .

On the question of civil and religious liberty the Methodists' attitude was more explicit. They insisted that every religious group in Upper Canada ought to be treated with equal consideration . . . . Consequently they denounced the arrangements between the Church of England and the state and urged that the clergy reserves be used for educational or other general purposes.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Cf. supra, p. 19.

<sup>9</sup>Thomas, preface, no page number. Cf. Wm. Kilbourn, The Firebrand: William Lyon Mackenzie (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1956).

<sup>10</sup>French, p. 125.

Mackenzie ultimately gave up on Ryerson and the Methodists and claimed that they had turned traitor.<sup>11</sup> Moir argues that:

Popular tradition equates religious reformism with political reformism in Upper Canada, a generalization based on historical half-truths. True, Upper Canadian Methodists and William Lyon Mackenzie were the most vocal exponents of reform until the Rebellion of 1837, but their objectives were parallel rather than identical. They agreed on the need for religious freedom and equality, but beyond that the basically conservative Methodists had little interest, and indeed much objection to Mackenzie's radicalism.<sup>12</sup>

Objection to "Mackenzie's radicalism" is seen in Ryerson's condemnation of the similar political expression in England:

Radicalism in England appeared to us to be but another word for Republicanism, with the name of King instead of President. This school, however, includes all the Infidels, Unitarians, and Socinians in the Kingdom . . . .<sup>13</sup>

Mackenzie's reply was that "Ryerson had struck a deadly blow to the liberty of Upper Canadians."<sup>14</sup>

Religious reform was more Ryerson's area of concern. He helped the Methodists form a union in Canada which held together somewhat precariously until eventual combination

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<sup>11</sup>H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (2nd edition with new preface; Toronto: The Ryerson Press, c.1956 and 1968), p. 179.

<sup>12</sup>John S. Moir, "The Upper Canada Religious Tradition," Profiles of a Province (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), p. 190.

<sup>13</sup>As quoted from The Christian Guardian by Thomas, p. 69.

<sup>14</sup>As quoted from The Colonial Advocate, Ibid.

with the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists established the United Church of Canada.<sup>15</sup> He tackled the formidable odds of starting an institution of higher learning and out of it came Victoria College, now affiliated with the University of Toronto.<sup>16</sup>

Ryerson's positions on religious education in the public schools were stated in the 1830's in The Christian Guardian as well as in addresses he gave throughout the province. In general, his was the Methodist position which is described by French:

The Methodists' educational policy was consistent with their views on the proper relationship between church, state and society. They were convinced that in a Christian and liberal community the educational system should be based on religious principles but ought not to be an instrument for sectarian indoctrination. Moreover, educational agencies should provide training along realistic lines, without discriminating in any way for religious, social or economic reasons. In effect, the Methodists sought educational institutions that would do what Upper Canadians really appeared to want, rather than a restricted scheme to train Anglicans, aristocrats or loyalists.<sup>17</sup>

In his inaugural address as principal of Victoria College Ryerson stated that education "must be Christian 'but not narrowly so,' and it 'must tend to form habits of industry.'"<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Thomas, p. 70 and passim. The United Church of Canada was formed in 1925.

<sup>16</sup>Sissons, II, 3-41, relates this part of Ryerson's life.

<sup>17</sup>French, p. 125.

<sup>18</sup>As quoted in Thomas, p. 89.



During the rebellion of 1837 and its aftermath, Ryerson was occupied with many tasks, although he always seemed to know where the action was and had some choice words to say on the educational issues. He outlined his thoughts in The Christian Guardian in 1838:

In nothing is this Province so defective as in the requisite available provisions for, and an effecient system of, general education. Let the distinctive character of that system be the union of public and private effort. . . . To Govern-ment influence will be spontaneously added the various and combined religious influence in the country in the noble, statesmanlike, and divine work of raising up an elevated, intelligent, and moral population. (15)19

The Act of Union of 1841 has been discussed in Chapter II. After the Union of Upper and Lower Canada, and before the Confederation of 1867, several important educational acts were passed. As has been pointed out, the educational act of 1841 was rescinded after a few months, but the educational act of 1843 was soon effected which contained the first legal recognition of religious instruction in the common schools of Upper Canada.

The act provided that:

No child shall be required to read or study in or from any religious book or join in any exercise of Devotion or Religion, which shall be objected to by his or her parents or guardians; provided always that, within this limitation, pupils shall

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<sup>19</sup>As quoted in Ibid., p. 81.

be allowed to receive such religious instruction as their parents, or guardians shall desire, according to law. (14)20

As will be shown, this aspect of the school system was much to the liking of Egerton Ryerson.

After his appointment as the Assistant Minister of Public Instruction (in 1844) Ryerson spent over a year touring Europe to gain first-hand knowledge of the various educational systems then in force, and to sharpen up on his French which he contended to be absolutely essential to any well-versed Canadian.<sup>21</sup> Sissons calls Ryerson's trip and subsequent report the "Quest of a School System"<sup>22</sup> and reports that "the best in Europe and in the United States was sought for Canada, and adapted to Canadian conditions."<sup>23</sup>

Ryerson's Report on a System of Public and Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada was presented in 1846 and contained lengthy details about what he had learned concerning education and how he felt the system in Upper Canada should be formed. Sissons comments:

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<sup>20</sup>As quoted in Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969), p. 5. Hereafter cited as The Mackay Committee Report.

<sup>21</sup>Thomas, p. 99.

<sup>22</sup>This is the title of one of Sissons' chapters, II, 76-104.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., II, 95.

In the Prussia of his day Ryerson found more of educational method to admire than in any other country. . . . Of Ireland with its fine national text books and its wise handling of the delicate problem of religious teaching, Ryerson had much more to say than of Scotland, where school affairs at this time were greatly disturbed by the disruption of the church. . . . Of the educators, he quoted most frequently from the Hon. Horace Mann. . . .<sup>24</sup>

Ryerson's 1846 Report has much to say about religious and moral teaching in the schools. He wanted the whole system "based upon the principles of Christianity."<sup>25</sup>

Sissons says:

He makes a clear distinction between a general system of truth and morals and sectarianism. "To teach a child the dogmas and spirit of a sect," he declares, "before he is taught the essential principles of religion and morality, is to invert the pyramid."<sup>26</sup>

And further:

He at once challenged opposition by laying down two principles: That a universal and compulsory system of primary and industrial education is justified by considerations of economy as well as of humanity; and that religion and morality, though not sectarianism, must have a central place in any system of education.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid. For a discussion of the influence of Christianity in the schools of the United States cf. supra, footnote 8, p. 15.

<sup>25</sup>As quoted in F. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1955), p. 59.

<sup>26</sup>C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), p. 20.

<sup>27</sup>Sissons, Life and Letters, II, 95.

There should be specific periods of instruction in religion and times for religious exercises, but more than that the whole system should be permeated with Christian ethical and moral attitudes. This principle found expression in the new School Act of 1846:

As Christianity is the basis of our whole system of elementary education, that principle should pervade it throughout.<sup>28</sup>

In 1851 Lord Elgin, the Governor-General of the Canadas at that time, said of the system Ryerson was building:

It is the principle of our Common School Educational System, that its foundation is laid deep in the firm rock of our common Christianity. . . . it is confidently expected and hoped, that every child who attends our Common Schools, shall learn there that he is a being who has an interest in eternity as well as in time;--that he has a Father towards whom he stands in a closer and more affecting, and more endearing relationship than to any earthly Father, and that that Father is in Heaven . . . that he has a duty which, . . . stands in the centre of his moral obligations . . . the duty of striving to prove by his life and conversation the sincerity of his prayer, that that Father's will may be done upon earth, as it is done in Heaven.<sup>29</sup>

Since separate schools were already in existence Ryerson did not feel he could do away with them, although he was not sure they should ever be expanded.

In School Districts where the whole population is either Protestant or Roman Catholic, and where

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<sup>28</sup>As quoted in Religious Education in Ontario Schools, Public Elementary and Secondary (Toronto: The Ontario Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in the Schools, 1959), p. 4.

<sup>29</sup>As quoted in Sissons, Life and Letters, II, 235.

consequently the Schools come under the character of Separate, there the principle of religious instruction can be carried out into as minute detail as may accord with the views and wishes of either class of the population; though I am persuaded all that is essential to the moral interests of youth may be taught in what are termed mixed Schools.<sup>30</sup>

Although Ryerson was willing to admit the possibility of separate schools for either Protestants or Roman Catholics he was not prepared to allow each Protestant group its own public school or separate school.<sup>31</sup> He built a strong, unitary system of elementary and secondary education in which "all classes and creeds were brought into common schools, the educational standards of which were set by a provincial Department of Education."<sup>32</sup> H. Walsh believes that it was "the persistent demand for separate schools" which made it possible "to include religious instruction in the public schools."<sup>33</sup>

Ryerson's dream of what the system should be like is well summed up in his statement:

My leading idea has been . . . not only to impart to the public mind the greatest amount of useful knowledge, based upon, and interwoven throughout with sound Christian principles, but to render the Educational System, in its various ramifications and applications, the indirect but powerful, instrument of British Constitutional Government.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>From Ryerson's Report as quoted Ibid., II, 95-96.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Sissons, Church and State, preface, p. vi.

<sup>33</sup>Walsh, p. 188.

<sup>34</sup>As quoted in Thomas, p. 100.

Since few, if any, advocated that Christian morals and teachings be removed from the schools, there was little disagreement with his recommendations in this report. The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II: Education reminds us that:

When public elementary schools were established it was taken for granted that they would be Christian institutions. Moral training was considered at least as important as "book-learning," and morality was considered inseparable from religious faith. The difficulty was that there were many forms of Christianity and communities could not provide separate schools for each denomination. The majority principle could not be invoked because denominational divisions were too intense.

103. The compromise acceptable to most parents was schools which were Christian but non-denominational. Unfortunately, it was not easy to isolate a common Christian heritage from denominational doctrines. . . . The profound religious division between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the 19th century accounts for the emergence of two types of schools--one non-denominational and one Roman Catholic. The decision to have both systems supported by property taxes was a difficult one for the Protestants to accept, but this compromise was adopted and then confirmed by the Separate School Act of 1863. For Ontario the compromise became part of the Constitution in 1867.<sup>35</sup>

Succeeding educational acts established stronger separate schools than Ryerson had wished.

The efforts to establish and extend Separate Schools, although often energetic and made at great sacrifice are a struggle against the interests of a Canadian

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<sup>34</sup>As quoted in Thomas, p. 100.

<sup>35</sup>Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II: Education (Ottawa: Queen's Printer 1968), p. 41.

society, against the necessities of a sparsely populated country, against the social and political interest of the parents and youth separated from their fellow-citizens. . . . If the Legislature finds it necessary to legislate on the Separate School question again I pray that it will abolish the Separate School law altogether. . . .<sup>36</sup>

According to The Mackay Committee Report:

A minute of 1855 adopted by the Council of Public Instruction recommended that

the daily exercises of each Common School be opened and closed by reading a portion of Scripture and by Prayer. The Lord's Prayer should form a part of the opening exercises and the Ten Commandments be taught to all the pupils, and be repeated at least once a week. But no pupil should be compelled to be present at these exercises against the wish of his parents or guardian, expressed in writing to the Master of the School.<sup>37</sup>

Further acts also provided for secondary education until 1871 when Ryerson had achieved his dream of universal education free to all.<sup>38</sup>

Egerton Ryerson continued at the head of the school system until 1876. His contributions to the Ontario educational scene are still felt today.<sup>39</sup> He had set out to establish an educational system which chose the best parts of those he had seen in many parts of the Western world.

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<sup>36</sup>From Ryerson's 1866 report to the legislature as quoted in Thomas, p. 116.

<sup>37</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, p. 7.

<sup>38</sup>Thomas, p. 122. Compulsory primary education was provided for in the Act of 1871.

<sup>39</sup>Thomas, p. 136. Sissons, Church and State, pp. v and 1.

As he wove the fabric together the very center was a Christian and moral fibre which has permeated the whole until the present. When Ryerson retired from the Council of Public Instruction in 1876 many of the issues in education had been settled. Stamp indicates in Profiles of a Province:

Many of the emotional battles over education had been settled by 1867. In the struggle between church and state for control of schools, the state had emerged with a clear victory. Under Ryerson's system of government-controlled education henceforth there would be no special privileges for the Church of England, and the Roman Catholic separate schools were an integral part of the provincial system. . . . If it was too early to call the Ontario system a "Canadian" system of education, nevertheless the province was well on its way to developing such a system.<sup>40</sup>

The people of Upper Canada recognized Ryerson's work in education and were generally appreciative of his efforts.

A good many people in Upper Canada felt that they were living in a less stifling social atmosphere because of the work of Egerton Ryerson. The patient perseverance with which he personally supervised the setting up of a democratic school system even in the most remote villages . . . did much to dispel the "mutual jealousy and fear and petty gossip and mean rivalry"<sup>41</sup> . . .

Ryerson's leadership gave the schools of Ontario a unique combination which still recognizes that:

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<sup>40</sup>Robert M. Stamp, "Education Leadership in Ontario, 1867-1967," Profiles of a Province, p. 196.

<sup>41</sup>Walsh, p. 198.



In the education of its youth the state should seek to enlist the fullest cooperation from religious bodies; that amongst these there exists a sufficient core of common belief to permit a religious atmosphere in public schools without the intrusion of sectarianism; that particular dogma can best be instilled . . . in the church and home,<sup>42</sup>

and, which because of the necessity of "working in double harness with Lower Canada," established separate schools for those who wished that more than the "common core" of Christianity be taught in the schools.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Sissons, Church and State, p. v.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

## CHAPTER IV

### PROTESTANT AND ROMAN CATHOLIC MANEUVERING

While Egerton Ryerson was busy building the educational system of Ontario there were difficulties pressing upon him from many sides. One of the most sensitive problems to solve was the question of separate schools, and, as has been shown, provision for such schools was made primarily because Roman Catholics and Protestants could not agree on the type of religious education which should be provided in the schools.<sup>1</sup> The Act of Union of 1841 which had given the Roman Catholic population of Quebec more control over the educational system of Ontario than previously has been outlined in Chapter II.<sup>2</sup> In the time between 1841 and 1867 the educational system of Ontario was largely shaped, and it is generally agreed that Egerton Ryerson was the man most responsible.<sup>3</sup>

There were, however, other significant men who became prominent in the controversies over separate schools and religious education in the public schools. One such man was George Brown of The Toronto Globe, a man of intense

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<sup>1</sup>Supra, pp. 18, 21.

<sup>2</sup>Supra, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup>Supra, pp. 31-38.

feelings, who, through the pages of his paper, took up the cause of Protestantism.<sup>4</sup> Brown was opposed to any extension of the separate schools and was a spokesman for a united school system in which sectarian religious teaching would not be allowed.<sup>5</sup>

Brown represented the "more radical wing of Protestantism" as Grant says in his "Canadian Confederation and the Protestant Churches."

Most of the arguments from the more radical wing of Protestantism can be found concentrated in the speeches and writings of the Reform leader, George Brown, whose Toronto Globe was read avidly by Canada Presbyterians, Baptists, and voluntarists generally. . . . Brown's tendency to interpret Confederation in moral and spiritual terms was typical of Canadian Protestantism. He looked to the new nation for a government that would "endeavour to maintain liberty, and justice, and Christianity throughout the land."<sup>6</sup>

Brown was an advocate of a Confederation of provinces such as finally emerged in 1867 and one of his main arguments was given in his speech at the Reform Convention of 1859.

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<sup>4</sup>George Brown was a Free-Kirk Presbyterian and outspokenly against Roman Catholicism. For the definitive treatment of this man and his influence in Canadian political and social life, cf. J. M. S. Careless, Brown of the Globe: The Voice of Upper Canada. 2 Vols. (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd., 1959).

<sup>5</sup>J. M. S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), p. 183.

<sup>6</sup>J. W. Grant, "Canadian Confederation and the Protestant Churches," Church History, XXXVIII (September 1969), 332.

What is it that has most galled the people of Upper Canada in the working of the existing Union? Has it not been the injustice done to Upper Canada in local and sectional matters? Has it not been the expenditure of Provincial funds for local purposes of Lower Canada which here are defrayed from local taxation? Has it not been the control exercised by Lower Canada over matters purely pertaining to Upper Canada--the framing of our School laws, the selection of our ministers, the appointment of our local officials?<sup>7</sup>

George Brown was opposed to separate schools; yet, he recognized that if Roman Catholics could not send their children to public schools because of conscience then they would have to establish their own schools.

Mr. Brown, while he agreed with Mr. Shaw in the desirableness that every sect should receive their education together, was afraid that it would be in vain to expect it at the present time. . . . But how hopeless was all idea of school Union between Roman Catholics and Protestants, when . . . they [RC] would not trust the Bible with their children.<sup>8</sup>

In 1853 Brown had insisted that "the State shall have nothing whatever to do with religious teachings in any shape," and called for the "complete abolition of separate schools."<sup>9</sup>

William Lyon Mackenzie, who had led the Rebellion of 1837, was now back in the legislature and also spoke for the

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<sup>7</sup>As quoted in George W. Brown, "The Grit Party and the Great Reform Convention of 1859," Upper Canadian Politics in the 1850's, edited by Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger, in Canadian Historical Readings Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), II, 33.

<sup>8</sup>Franklin A. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1955), p. 73.

<sup>9</sup>Careless, Union, p. 183.

Protestant cause.<sup>10</sup> He took the position that "if Separate Schools were allowed Roman Catholics they could not justly be refused other denomination."<sup>11</sup>

Brown and Mackenzie were supported by many Protestants, especially the Loyal Order of Orange, who were vehemently opposed to anything Roman Catholic.<sup>12</sup> Other Protestants also thought that the only solution was to eliminate religious exercises and teaching entirely, as expressed in The Canadian Free Press of London:

In providing for common school education, the recognition of sectarian differences is not only absurd but unjust. It is absurd, because common school education is not designed to include religion,-- and unjust, because the provision is not, and cannot be extended to all alike . . . .

We have no special objections to our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens obtaining separate schools for the education of their children . . . . But we object to the granting such a privilege on account of the principle concerned, and the opening which it would give to the introduction of a precedent which others would not be slow to follow up, by demanding separate schools also.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>For the previous discussion of the Rebellion and Mackenzie's part in it, cf. supra, p. 19 and for Mackenzie's relations with Egerton Ryerson, cf. supra, pp. 27, 28.

<sup>11</sup>C. B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co., Ltd., 1947), II, 244.

<sup>12</sup>For views concerning the Loyal Order of Orange, which professed to follow William of Orange, cf. Careless, Union p. 163 and also C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), p. 31. The Orangemen were opposed to anything Catholic in the political arena.

<sup>13</sup>As quoted from The Canadian Free Press of London in Walker, p. 90.

The only solution would be "to dispense with the use of the Bible altogether in the schoolroom where desired."<sup>14</sup>

The reading of the Bible and the opening of school with religious exercises was not officially done away with; however, in some cases the teachers and/or the school board saw fit not to make provision for these items.<sup>15</sup>

In Glazebrook's phrase, "the gulf between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant churches could not easily be bridged."<sup>16</sup> The Roman Catholic bishops "insisted from the very first . . . that no Catholic child be taught from the Protestant Bible, and that wherever possible Catholics should operate their own schools."<sup>17</sup> Bishop Power wrote in 1844:

Catholics have a right to a school of their own and this ought to be the case in every school district where practicable. The trustees must be in every case Catholics chosen according to law and the School Master a member of the Catholic Church.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>15</sup>Egerton Ryerson said that at one time there were very few schools in which proper religious instruction took place. To countermand the drift from such moral and Christian guidance he wrote his book First Lessons in Christian Morals for the schools but it did not receive wide popularity. Cf. Sissons, Life and Letters, II, 597, 599.

<sup>16</sup>G. P. deT. Glazebrook, Life in Ontario: A Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 77.

<sup>17</sup>Walker, p. 55. Similar views of Roman Catholics were expressed in the United States. Cf. John Tracy Ellis, American Catholicism (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1956), pp. 108-111 and cf. also Edwin H. Rian, Christianity and American Education (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Co., 1940), pp. 122-129.

<sup>18</sup>As quoted in Walker, p. 54.

Bishop Charbonnel continued to press for extension of the separate school system in the 1850's. Charbonnel said that the Roman Catholics should elect only those pledged to support Roman Catholic Schools. Sissons quotes Charbonnel as saying:

His Lordship warns the Catholics entrusted to his care, that it is a very great obligation for them, under the present circumstances, to elect for the new Parliament men, only, who will pledge themselves to obtain, in the next session, for Catholic separate schools in Upper Canada, not only the same rights which Protestants enjoy in Lower Canada for their separate schools, but more particularly the free working and enjoyment of said rights.<sup>19</sup>

In his Lenten pastoral letter of 1856 Bishop Charbonnel wrote:

Catholic electors in this country who do not use their electoral power in behalf of Separate Schools are guilty of mortal sin; likewise parents not making the sacrifices necessary to secure such schools, or sending their children to Mixed Schools.<sup>20</sup>

Charbonnel's policy "was to work for the reproduction of the dual system of schools . . . established in Lower Canada."<sup>21</sup>

He (and Bishop Power), "laid the foundations for Roman Catholic schools, making it possible for their successors to resist the strong demands in Ontario for a completely secularized system of education."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>As quoted, Sissons, Church and State, p. 36.

<sup>20</sup>As quoted, Sissons, Life and Letters, II, 362.

<sup>21</sup>Sissons, Church and State, p. 27.

<sup>22</sup>H. H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada (2nd edition with new preface; Toronto: The Ryersons Press, 1968), p. 203. Cf. also Neil G. Price, Education--Religion--Politics in Ontario (North Bay, Ontario: Northland Printers, 1966), pp. 11-12.

Since the Roman Catholic church was quite powerful by virtue of the predominant French factor in Canada East it was able to insist on the extension of rights which resulted in a strong separate school system. John Moir states:

The demand for denominational schools, which the Church of England had brought forward in the forties, was taken up with considerably more success by the Roman Catholics in the fifties and sixties. Thanks to the tremendous influx of Irish Roman Catholics after the potato famine, and to the presence in the United Legislature of the virtually solid Roman Catholic representation from Canada East, the Church of Rome was able to push beyond the original provisions for protection from insult in the elementary schools. Claiming its own denominational schools as a right, the Church of Rome established bit by bit its own system of elementary education. This process was stopped just short of complete educational dualism by the compromise written into the British North America Act, by which Roman Catholic separate schools were placed under the same ultimate control as the common schools of this province. This settlement has been accepted, at least by Protestants, as a final compromise between nationalism and denominationalism in elementary education.<sup>23</sup>

In this struggle the main issue does not seem to have been a separation between church and state as such, but rather of the individual's right to education in a school of his (or his parent's) choice. Neil G. Price makes this emphatic in his Education--Religion--Politics:

Let it be emphasized that religion in the public schools, constitutionally and historically, under Ontario Legislation, is not concerned primarily with "church" and "state" but rather with the

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<sup>23</sup>John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. xiv, xv. Cf. Appendix A, infra, pp. 108-112 for a discussion of the provisions for tax-supported schools in other provinces.



conscience and rights of all individual citizens in the society in which we live. This is the crux of the issue and should not be overlooked.<sup>24</sup>

This principle of the individual's right to religious instruction leads to a cooperation between church and state rather than separation. The Ontario Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in the Schools makes the following claim:

While the control of our schools has long since passed from the Church to the State, this, fortunately, has not meant that the school is cut off from all religious teaching and influence. The principle followed in Ontario is not the separation of Church and State. . . . We must not think that because an institution is public it is necessarily secular or devoid of religious influence.<sup>25</sup>

The cooperation between church and state which allowed religious education in the public schools was, in the end, the same cooperation which permitted the establishment of a separate school system with tax-support.<sup>26</sup> The felicitous remarks of André Siegfried, a French Protestant commentator on Canadian affairs, seem appropos:

The French conception of the lay state would seem never to have penetrated the Anglo-Saxon mind, and they have some difficulty in imagining a state entirely devoid of religious prepossessions. The Protestant clergy do not aim at controlling the government in the ultramontane Catholic fashion, but they do aim at informing it with their spirit.

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<sup>24</sup>Price, p. 31.

<sup>25</sup>The Ontario Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in the Schools, Religious Education in Ontario Schools, Public Elementary and Secondary (Toronto: The Ontario Council of Christian Education, 1959), p. 3. Hereafter cited as Ontario Inter-Church Committee Report.

<sup>26</sup>Careless, Union, p. 215.

. . . Canada, never having had its 1789, has no real comprehension of the theory of the neutrality of the state.<sup>27</sup>

In 1867 the maneuvering was encoded in the British North America Act, section 93 which reads:

93. In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:

(1) Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union:

(2) All the Powers, Privileges, and Duties at the Union by Law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the Separate Schools and School Trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic Subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the Dissident Schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic Subjects in Quebec:

(3) Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissident Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council . . . .

(4) The Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any Decision of the Governor-General in Council under this Section.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> André Siegfried, The Race Question in Canada, The Carleton Library Series No. 29 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), p. 55. Originally published in 1906 by the Librairie Armand Colin under the title La Canada, les deux races: problèmes politiques contemporains.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the various wordings of this section in the years preceeding final adoption in G. P. Browne, Documents on the Confederation of British North America, The Carleton Library Series No. 40 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969). The final wording is quoted on page 326. Also cf. Sissons, Church and State, p. 57.

Separate schools were thus safe-guarded and allowances made for possible extension, although it did not appear that further extension of such provisions was envisaged past 1867.

After 1867 the controversies over separate schools revolved more and more around extension of tax grants to high schools, which was still an issue in the 1971 election.<sup>29</sup>

Also involved was the problem of provision of textbooks for both systems. On May 19, 1875 the Council of Public Instruction issued the following resolution concerning the use of textbooks:

(12). Ordered

That the Council, having laid down a principle which precludes the introduction into the Text Books used in Public Schools of religious dogma opposed to the tenets of any Christian denomination, and having removed from those Text Books everything which had been pointed out to them by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of this Province, as offensive to the feelings of Roman Catholics, think it right also to state what they conceive to be their duty with regard to the Text Books to be used in the Separate Schools. With respect to these books, the Council do not consider themselves responsible for any statements of religious doctrine, or for any expression of religious feeling, nor will they interfere with anything to which those terms may be fairly applied; but they consider themselves responsible for the historical veracity of the books, and for their consistency with civil duty, and the concord which ought to prevail, and which it is one object of a system of public education to promote, among all classes of Her Majesty's subjects.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Supra, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>30</sup>As quoted in Sissons, Church and State, pp. 71, 72.

Except for specifically religious books and items, the textbooks used in all schools, whether public or separate, were and are the same. It is also noted that most of the basic provisions for separate schools and for religious education in public schools had been approved and solidified either before the British North America Act or in it so that until the twentieth century few changes were made in the structure, and even then, the only basic difference was the introduction of compulsory instruction in religion in the public schools under the Regulations of 1944.<sup>31</sup> The Roman Catholic and Protestant maneuvering had resulted in a system that was not quite satisfactory to anyone, but which gave each individual the choice between separate schools or public schools in which either Roman Catholic or basic Protestant faith was promulgated.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Cf. infra, Chapter VI, pp. 69-72.

<sup>32</sup>Again the individual conscience and choice is stressed as in the Ontario Inter-Church Committee Report we read: "Because this province has been and still is predominately Christian, the religious education provided for is Christian. This is so planned, however, that religious groups other than Christian may function and in all situations provision has been made for local autonomy and rights of conscience," p. 4.

## CHAPTER V

### RELIGIOUS EXERCISES AND TEACHING IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Since the beginning of a publicly-supported system of education in Ontario it has been accepted that "religion and morality, though not sectarianism, must have a central place in any system of education."<sup>1</sup> This principle goes back to the very foundations of Egerton Ryerson's system, and was particularly spelled out in the regulations of 1859.<sup>2</sup> In his book The Education of Canadians, 1800-1867: The Roots of Separatism Howard Adams makes much of the fact that division along Protestant and Roman Catholic lines in the school system led to a feeling of separatism in other areas of life as well.<sup>3</sup>

That the division in the educational system was made so that religion could be practiced (and that it was in fact practiced) in the schools of each persuasion is made clear from several sources. First of all in the educational acts themselves such as the school act of 1843.

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<sup>1</sup>Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950 (Toronto: King's Printer, 1950), p. 123. Part of this is a quotation from Egerton Ryerson's Report of 1846 as incorporated into the School Act of that year.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Howard Adams, The Education of Canadians, 1800-1867: The Roots of Separatism (Montreal: Harvest House, 1963), p. 59.

No child shall be required to read or study in or from any religious book or join in any exercise of Devotion or Religion, which shall be objected to by his or her parents or guardians; provided always that, within this limitation, pupils shall be allowed to receive such religious instruction as their parents or guardians shall desire, according to law.<sup>4</sup>

And the act of 1846:

Ryerson's School Act, passed in 1846, recommended that boards of trustees decide the "extent and manner" of religious instruction in their own areas. A school could offer sectarian instruction if the trustees so directed but no child was to be forced to attend. The government was to have nothing to do with the content of religious instruction but only to provide "facilities" as requested. Clergymen might serve as school visitors. Ryerson reported the next year that about two-thirds of the schools made some use of the Bible--out of 2,727 schools, 1,823 had been visited by clergymen.<sup>5</sup>

Other acts and reports also called for such division on the basis of individual choice as we have seen in the first three chapters.

The second source of information concerning the teaching of religion and religious exercises comes from the people themselves who were closest to the scene. Ryerson, of course, advocated religious instruction, as did others that have been noted. Dr. Charles Duncombe, in his report to the Legislature in 1835, "included a strong recommendation for religious

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<sup>4</sup>Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969), p. 5. Hereafter cited as The Mackay Committee Report.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

teaching in the schools and advised that instruction should be given by regular teachers."<sup>6</sup> It has already been noted that the list of subjects included in the curriculum of a Toronto (then York) school in 1828 regarded religion and Church Catechism as a subject and that the New Testament was used extensively as a textbook.<sup>7</sup> One teacher in Huron county in the early 1840's lists his duties as follows:

- (1) The master to commence the labours of the day with a short prayer.
- (2) School to commence each day at nine o'clock and five hours at least to be given to teaching during the day except on Saturdays.
- (3), (4), (5), (6) [These have to do with good order and conduct.]
- (7) The forenoons of Wednesday and Saturday to be set apart for religious instruction; to render it agreeable the school should furnish at least ten copies of Barrow's Questions on the New Testament and the teacher to have one copy of the key to these questions for his own use; the teacher should likewise have a copy of Murray's Power of Religion on the Mind and Watkin's Scripture Biography, and Blair's Class Book, the Saturday lessons of which are calculated to impress religious feeling. These books are confined to no particular denomination, and do not prevent the masters from teaching such Catechism as the parents of the children may adopt.
- (8) Every day to close with reading publicly a few verses from the New Testament, proceeding regularly through the gospels.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>7</sup>Edith Firth, The Town of York, 1815-1834 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), II, 149. Cf. supra, pp. 22, 23.

<sup>8</sup>James Scott, The Settlement of Huron County (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1966), pp. 113, 114. Scott's book has many interesting details about the early schools of Huron County

Occasional use was made of the catechism and other books of a religious and basically Protestant persuasion.<sup>9</sup>

The third source of information concerning religious education in the schools is the textbooks themselves. The first series of readers that was authorized was the Irish National Series which was "strongly religious in tone."<sup>10</sup> The religious character of these books and the fact that they were replaced by readers with a similar religious emphasis shows that the school board which approved these texts felt religious study was important for the students.<sup>11</sup>

The next series of textbooks was Lovell's Series of School Books, modelled on the Irish National Series. The preface in the Third Book of Lessons in this series states:

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such as: "Twenty years after the first school act the heavy emphasis on piety and devotion seems to have been slipping. Out of the 140 schools in the county it is reported that 103 of them are opened and closed by prayer and that in 112 of them the Bible or New Testament is read," p. 117. Unfortunately the work is not footnoted so the source of Scott's information is not known.

<sup>9</sup>W. Pakenham, "The Public School System," Canada And Its Provinces (Toronto: Glasgow and Co., 1914), XVIII, 295.

<sup>10</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup>C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), pp. 21-22.



Lest it should be thought that the Lessons in the Third Book increase in difficulty too rapidly, it may be necessary to explain, that it is expected that the Pupils, while they are learning this Book, will also be made to read the Scripture Lessons recommended by the Commissioners.<sup>12</sup>

One whole section of this Third Book is devoted to "Religious and Moral Lessons" and includes readings from the Old Testament, moral stories, Christian History, and pious verses.<sup>13</sup>

The Ontario Readers (First Series) were authorized for use in the schools in the 1870's. These Readers reflect a lessening of the moral content of the previous series and a more scientific approach to the subject of reading. The Third Reader in this series has no special section of moral and spiritual lessons, but does include some ten selections from the Bible, and moral lessons.<sup>14</sup>

The Fourth Reader exhibits the same characteristics, except that there are a few biblical selections from the New Testament as well as the Old Testament.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Third Book of Lessons For the Use of Schools, authorized by the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada, Lovell's Series of School Books (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), preface, p. v.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., The Table of Contents, pp. viii, ix. The Religious and Spiritual lessons cover pp. 64-113. Other religious lessons are found passim.

<sup>14</sup>Third Reader, authorized for use in the Public Schools of Ontario by the Minister of Education, The Ontario Readers (Toronto: The Canada Publishing Company, 1885), The Table of Contents, pp. 5-7. There are no references to the New Testament in this book.

<sup>15</sup>Fourth Reader, authorized for use in the Public Schools of Ontario by the Minister of Education, The Ontario Readers (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Co., 1884), The Table of Contents, pp. 5-7. Selections from the Sermon on the Mount are included in this book and several hymns of the church.

A textbook entitled Public School Physiology and Temperance has as its whole import to counsel against "the evil effects of alcohol and tobacco" and extensively attempts to prove that good, moral people don't indulge in such things.<sup>16</sup> The Department of Education had decreed that

At least one hour per week shall be devoted to familiar conversations with the whole school on the effect of alcoholic stimulants and of narcotics upon the human system. Attention should be called to the degrading tendencies of their habitual use, and their injury to the individual and to society generally. These conversations are in addition to the course of study prescribed for the fourth and fifth forms.<sup>17</sup>

The Ontario Readers (Second Series) issued in the early twentieth century show some slight differences and these will be dealt with in the next chapter.<sup>18</sup>

One other textbook that must be mentioned is the First Lessons in Christian Morals for Canadian Families and Schools, which Egerton Ryerson prepared in 1871 to combat "the gradual decline in emphasis on religious teaching in the schools" and "to avoid sectarianism and yet establish a common moral ground."<sup>19</sup> This book met with much opposition.<sup>20</sup> In fact,

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<sup>16</sup>William Nattress, Public School Physiology and Temperance (Toronto: William Briggs, 1893), p. iii.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 194.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. infra, Chapter VI.

<sup>19</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, p. 8.

<sup>20</sup>C. B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1947), II, 597-599.

Criticism was so sharp that Wayland's Elements of Moral Science was recommended as an alternative textbook. Christian morals were to be studied for one hour a week in the 4th and 5th classes. In 1875 Upper Canadian teachers in their annual convention recommended by a unanimous vote that the subject of Christian morals be removed from the course of study and in that year it was dropped.<sup>21</sup>

The pungent pen of André Siegfried again seems much to the point:

"What would happen," I once asked a school inspector in Ontario, "if a teacher refused to read the Bible on the ground that he did not believe in it?" The reply was very English. "We should say to him 'You are not asked to believe in it, you are only asked to read it.'" Obviously, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the teacher . . . will agree to read.<sup>22</sup>

The fourth important source for information on the religious education scene of the latter nineteenth century is the present heritage which is accepted as being normal, and which is so aptly put in Dr. E. M. Davies' Introduction to Neil Price's book Education--Religion--Politics in Ontario:

In Canada, in general, and in Ontario, in particular, the fundamental reason for our two board system (a public school and a separate school) is religion. Here is a clear demonstration of the application of religious beliefs to an educational system and it accounts for religious instruction, the saying of prayers, occasional religious exercises within the schools of our Province. It is not some vague "religious" principle or philosophy. It is clearly

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<sup>21</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup>André Siegfried, The Race Question in Canada, The Carleton Library Series No. 29 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1969), pp. 70-71. Originally published in 1906 by the Librairie Armand Colin under the title La Canada, les deux races: problèmes politiques contemporains.

and avowedly the Christian religion which is being observed, but only in one of its three major and historical forms, namely, Protestantism. In the separate school this same religion is expressed through its Roman Catholic form. Indeed the existence of the separate school is a concession given by the Protestant majority to the Roman Catholic interpretation of the Christian religion.<sup>23</sup>

The Introduction to The Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to 6 of the Public and Separate Schools, 1941 states:

The schools of Ontario exist for the purpose of preparing children to live in a democratic society which bases its way of life upon the Christian ideal.<sup>24</sup>

Further:

Detailed suggestions with regard to the teaching of Christian practices are not presented in this Programme. Religious teaching cannot be confined to separate periods on the timetable. It will affect the teaching of all subjects, and the wise teacher will be anxious, in the various departments of school activity, to bring home to the pupils as far as their capacity allows, the fundamental truths of Christianity and their bearing on human life and thought.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>E. M. Davies, "Religion and Education," in Neil G. Price, Education--Religion--Politics in Ontario (North Bay, Ontario: Northland Printers, 1966), p. 4.

<sup>24</sup>Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to 6 of the Public and Separate Schools, 1941 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1941), p. 5. This section remained unchanged in the 1955 edition.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 7. In the 1955 edition the wording was changed to: "Detailed suggestions . . . . They will be found in the Department pamphlet Regulations and Programme for Religious Education in the Public Schools, 1944; and in the Teachers' Guides to Religious Education, published by The Ryerson Press, Toronto. Copies of these publications have been supplied to all schools. Religious teaching . . . ." This was in keeping with the change effected in 1944 regarding teaching compulsory religious education in the public schools. Cf. infra, Chapter VI, pp. 69-72.

The heritage of the past is taken for granted in the brief presented to the J. Keiller Mackay Committee in 1968 by the Sudbury and District Ministerial Association.

Our educational heritage in Ontario is one of cooperation between Church and State, i.e. separation of control and financial independence but a recognition by the State of the influence of the Judaeo Christian heritage upon our culture and the acknowledgment of it in school curricula. From the time of Egerton Ryerson's influence on our philosophy of education . . . the Government has been willing to listen and cooperate with the Church in this matter.<sup>26</sup>

The heritage of Christian instruction and information in the schools is one which many have disputed, but which seems to be convincingly presented in the men, books, regulations, and feelings of legislators and educational advisors. In fact, the onus for elimination of Christianity from the schools (if, indeed, anyone claims such) would seem to lie with those who wish to remove it as Henri Légaré said in his address to the Second Canadian Education Conference in 1961:

Ceci, il faut le faire comprendre à Ceux de notre génération qui pour des raisons qu'ils ont sans doute le droit de faire valoir s'opposent à l'enseignement religieux dans nos écoles. Ce que nous leur demandons, s'ils renoncent pour eux-mêmes aux avantages d'une telle étude, c'est de faire montre pour le moins de tolérance à l'égard de leurs concitoyens

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<sup>26</sup>"Religious Education in the Schools", a brief presented by the Sudbury and District Ministerial Association for presentation to the Special Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of Ontario, 1967, pp. 1, 2.

qui ont tout de même le droit de recevoir le bagage intellectuel nécessaire à l'intelligence de leurs propres culture et civilisation.<sup>27</sup>

In that same conference Judson Levy insists that the church and school must work together to achieve the aims of society and harks back to the heritage we all possess in that schools and churches have always gone together:

Our Churches, throughout their history, have been vitally concerned with the cause of education--and by that I mean something more than that which, in a technical sense, we speak of as Religious or Christian Education. This, of course, is our concern, and we are constantly planning and working in that area. But our interest in education is much broader than this. We see the Church and the School as belonging together in a divinely planned partnership which is not to be put asunder.<sup>28</sup>

As we proceed in our discussion to the first four decades of the twentieth century we see that the cooperation of church and state in the school lessens for a time, but then makes a comeback in the Regulations of 1944 which make the teaching of religion mandatory in the public schools, and provide guidelines and textbooks for such education.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Henri Légaré, "The Aims of Education," The Second Conference on Canadian Education, edited by I. W. Price (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 53. Translation: It must be said to those of our generation who for various reasons and with perfect right oppose the teaching of religion in our schools that even if they do not wish to take advantage of such study it is only fair that they grant their fellow-citizens the right of receiving the information necessary for an understanding of their own culture and civilization.

<sup>28</sup>Judson Levy, "Message," in Price, p. 22.

<sup>29</sup>For a discussion of the Regulations of 1944 cf. infra, pp. 69-73 and 87-90.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE FIRST FOUR DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Robert M. Stamp in Canadian Education: A History states that in the latter half of the nineteenth century

Religious considerations were central to Canadian life . . . . Despite the inroads of Darwinian thought and general skepticism in intellectual circles, the average Canadian remained a devout church-goer. In both French- and English-speaking Canada, in both Catholic and Protestant communities, the school was expected to reinforce the home and church in maintaining the age of faith. Religious exercises and instruction were a central part of the school day for nearly every Canadian young person. Such an emphasis was to be expected in the openly denominational schools of Quebec and Newfoundland, and in the Roman Catholic separate schools of other regions. But it was also strong in the supposedly "public" schools, on the basis that Canada was a Christian country and that fundamental beliefs of Christianity could be imparted "without insult" to mixed classes.<sup>1</sup>

Four forces in the first half of the twentieth century combined to change this picture. French-speaking people became more numerous in Ontario as they emigrated from Quebec to jobs in the civil service in Ottawa or in the mines

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<sup>1</sup>Robert M. Stamp, "Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: The English-Canadian Scene from the 1870's to 1914," Canadian Education: A History, edited by J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Phillippe Audet (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1970), pp. 292, 293.

and lumbering camps of Northern Ontario.<sup>2</sup> In addition, new immigration from many countries now meant that large portions of the province had several racial and cultural stocks, and Canada's coming of age in the industrial and national sense led to a decreasing influence of religion and morals on the day to day life of the citizens.<sup>3</sup>

General unrest in the country and the world after World War I, the Great Depression, and the movement from farm to city, all led to a feeling that the complexity of society was such that previous answers of religious morals and ethics were not adequate for the day.<sup>4</sup>

The question of whether and to what extent French language could be used in the public schools became more and

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<sup>2</sup>Cf. Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II: Education (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 49. Hereafter cited as the B and B Commission II. Cf. also Marilyn Barber, "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict," Minorities, Schools and Politics, edited by Ramsay Cook, Craig Brown and Carl Berger, in Canadian Historical Readings Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), VII, 65-67.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), passim for statistics concerning population changes and growth as well as cultural changes. Cf. especially Chapter V, "Rural Decline and New Urban Strata," pp. 134-164 and Chapter VI, "Social Class and Educational Opportunity," pp. 167-198.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969), pp. 10-11. Hereafter cited as The Mackay Committee Report.



more the area of concern of most Protestants at the turn of the century, rather than the religious one. The Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism reported:

In the years after 1890 there had been a steady influx of Francophones into Ontario and they now numbered more than 200,00--many of them concentrated in the Ottawa valley. Their sense of cultural identity had also been fostered by the often bitter disputes with Anglophone Roman Catholics over control of the parish or the separate school. Some Irish Catholic clergymen feared that French Canadian insistence on the use of French in the schools would endanger the separate schools in the province . . . . This rivalry with their co-religionists gave language a heightened significance, because the disputes were based on language and not religion.<sup>5</sup>

Before 1885 German, French, or English could be the language of instruction in the schools.<sup>6</sup> In 1885 teaching in the English language was made compulsory but French or German could still be taught. By the regulation of 1891 the interpretation read:

In school sections where the French or the German language prevails, the trustees, with the approval of the Inspector, may, in addition to the course of study prescribed for Public Schools, require instruction to be given in reading, grammar, and composition to such pupils as are directed by their parents or guardians to study either of these languages . . . .<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>B and B Commission II, pp. 49-50.

<sup>6</sup>Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950 (Toronto: King's Printer, 1950), p. 430. Hereafter cited as The Hope Commission Report.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 431.

The French-English issue had also become one of major proportion in other parts of Canada. In the schools of the province of Manitoba the question of whether or not to provide instruction in the French language became a pressing problem in the 1890's. There has been much discussion of the difficulties in sorting out the fundamental issues and as late as 1970 the controversy could still capture headlines in Canadian newspapers.<sup>8</sup> The Roman Catholic religion was always mixed together with the language question since most Canadians of French extraction were Roman Catholic. This also drew the fire of the Loyal Orange Order and in Manitoba and Ontario the battle over school rights brought both sides to an impasse.<sup>9</sup>

In Ontario in the early 1900's Regulation 17 of the Education Department disallowed schools which gave instruction only in French.<sup>10</sup> Provision for protection of religious

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<sup>8</sup>For a discussion of the Manitoba schools issue of the latter nineteenth century, cf. Lovell Clark, editor, The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights? (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1968). Cf. also various chapters of Minorities, Schools, and Politics. In 1970 French was again allowed as a language of instruction in Manitoba Public Schools as reported in "French Hail New Status of Language in Manitoba School System," The Sudbury Star (Wednesday, September 9, 1970). Cf. also Appendix A, infra, where regulations of the other provinces are compared with those in Ontario. Cf. B and B Commission II, pp. 45-47.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Minorities, Schools and Politics, pp. 14 and 96. Cf. also Neil McKenty, Mitch Hepburn (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), pp. 46, 77 and passim., for a report on the Loyal Order of Orange in the 1930's.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Minorities, Schools, and Politics, pp. 63-111 for an account of these disputes.

rights had been made in the British North America Act of 1867 but no rights for language of instruction had been guaranteed.<sup>11</sup> The whole matter of French education is still very much before the public.<sup>12</sup>

A dispute concerning extension of separate school grants beyond the compromise agreement of grade ten went to the courts in the 1920's and by 1928 reached the Privy Council of England, at that time still the highest court for Canada.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid. Cf. also B and B Commission II, pp. 47-51.

<sup>12</sup>In addition to the extension of aid to separate schools beyond grade ten, the French language dispute received some coverage in the 1971 provincial election. A basically French community, Sturgeon Falls, wanted to establish a "French" high school. According to the report "French-Language Rights may be Greater Election Issue than Aid to Separate Schools," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Wednesday, October 20, 1971), "one hotbed of controversy over French language rights is Sturgeon Falls in the northern riding of Nipissing where French-speaking residents are demanding their own school. After a series of protests the government appointed a commissioner early in the campaign to assess the situation." The commissioner, Dr. Thomas Symons, was reported as saying that it "clearly is time, the existing legislation . . . is reviewed and revised," as quoted in "Says Revision Needed for French-Language Education in Ontario," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Monday, November 29, 1971). The outcome of Dr. Symons' report was the appointment of an adviser on the French problem. This adviser, Dr. Laurier Carriere, is quoted in "Only one Guideline for Adviser on Franco-Canadian Education Needs," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Saturday, May 20, 1972) as saying: "Personally I have only one guideline, to work so Franco-Ontarians will get the education they need to contribute more fully to the province, the country, and society as a whole." That's where the dispute rests at the moment. Neil G. Price, Education--Religion--Politics in Ontario (North Bay, Ontario: Northland Printers, 1966) is a study that grew out of the on-going dispute at Sturgeon Falls.

<sup>13</sup>The Statute of Westminster passed by the British Parliament in 1931 decreed that no law of the British Parliament would henceforth apply to any Dominion unless the Dominion so wanted. Canada requested that two limitations be

The new legislation in Ontario changed the grade designations to what now is known as grades 1-8 and 9-13. The separate schools were to end at grade eight which meant a loss of some previously held ground for the Roman Catholic separate schools. The Privy Council ruled in part:

It is indeed true that power to regulate merely does not imply a power to abolish. But the controversy with which this Board has to deal on the present occasion is a long way from abolition. It may be that the new laws will hamper the freedom of the Roman Catholics in their denominational schools. They may conceivably be or have been subjected to injustice of a kind which they can submit to the Governor-General in Council, and through him to the Parliament of Canada. But they are still left with separate schools, which are none the less actual because the liberty of giving secondary and higher education in them may be abridged by regulation. . . . Their Lordships do not think grading is in itself inconsistent with such rights to separation of schools as were reserved at Confederation.<sup>14</sup>

Appeal in the cases of dispute over education was ordinarily to the Governor-General in Council and the Privy Council sent the debate back to him and the Canadian Parliament.

Their Lordships are of opinion that where the head of the executive in council in Canada is satisfied that injustice has been done by taking away a right or privilege which is other than a legal one from the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority in relation to education, he may interfere.<sup>15</sup>

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placed on this until it found a way to change the issues. (1) Amendments to the British North America Act, and (2) Legal interpretations of the British North America Act could still be appealed to the Privy Council. By 1972 no way of "bringing home the constitution" had yet been found. Cf. George W. Brown, Building the Canadian Nation (revised and reprinted; Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1950), pp. 440-443.

<sup>14</sup>As quoted in D. Schmeiser, Civil Liberties in Canada (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 142.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 143.

This continued to be a difficult decision and still causes tensions as in the election of 1971 when further extension of separate schools was again an issue.<sup>16</sup> As was noted in Chapter IV,<sup>17</sup> the question of aid to one church as such has not been the case. Rather:

No right or privilege in our school system was granted at any time, or preserved, inferentially or otherwise, to the Roman Catholic Church or any other church as a religious body, organization, or denomination. The rights and privileges which may exist by law were granted to individual Roman Catholic and Protestant ratepayers. The basic right or privilege given to such a ratepayer was to elect to separate his support from the common or public school system and, in conjunction with others who were like-minded, to establish a separate school.<sup>18</sup>

Agitation continued for separate schools as well as for more religion in the schools. In the 1930's Mitchel Hepburn, as Premier of the province, introduced legislation which would have given the Roman Catholics a better tax break by giving more of the corporation tax to the separate schools.

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<sup>16</sup>Cf. the accounts of this as outlined supra, pp. 5 and 9. Cf. also stories in the Canada edition of Time Magazine, September 13, 1971, pp. 11-12 and November 1, 1971, pp. 8-11 where the decision not to aid Roman Catholic schools further is said to have helped the Conservatives win the election. Cf. also The United Church Observer, XXXIV (February 1972), 13-25, 42, for a report on "The Separate School Lesson" where it is stated that "one thing became certain: there was little political support in Ontario for an extension of a system of separate school education," p. 13.

<sup>17</sup>Chapter IV, supra, pp. 45,46.

<sup>18</sup>The Hope Commission Report, p. 493.

This proved disastrous and the law was repealed, but later more taxes were granted by a new formula.<sup>19</sup>

The second series of Ontario Readers was used from 1910 through the 1930's, and there are selections from the Bible and moral lessons given in these readers.<sup>20</sup> The frontpiece of the Fourth Book in this series quotes from Deuteronomy chapter eight: "For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land . . . and thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which He hath given thee."<sup>21</sup> The Great War in Verse and Prose, a book of poetry recommended for use in the schools in 1919 has a number of selections of religious poetry, notably one: "Christ in Flanders" by L. W.<sup>22</sup> The introduction to that book expresses the hope that the war was the last (this thought was a commonly held one), and that the youth remember what was sacrificed for them.

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<sup>19</sup>Cf. McKenty, pp. 39-57 and 76-89 for an account of the various difficulties connected with this legislation. The legislation was repealed in 1937 after only one year's operation. Later agreements allowed for a different formula to be applied, which is still in effect today.

<sup>20</sup>Ontario Teachers' Manuals: Notes on the Ontario Readers Books I, II, III, IV (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1926), in the Contents, pp. vii-xiv lists the following selections from the Bible and lessons with a distinct moral content: 1 in Book I; 7 in Book II; 10 in Book III; and 10 in Book IV.

<sup>21</sup>Fourth Book, The Ontario Readers (Toronto: The T. Eaton Co. Ltd., 1909), frontpiece, p. vi.

<sup>22</sup>J. E. Wetherell, editor, The Great War in Verse and Prose (Toronto: King's Printer, 1919), p. 48. Only initials are given for the author of this poem.

The future of our country will be determined by the youth of to-day. Problems of the greatest complexity and perplexity await solution, and can be solved only by honesty, intelligence, sympathy, breadth of outlook, Sacrificial service, and the fear of God. The teachers and pupils now in our schools are in the midst of a great crisis, and will need greatness of soul that they may rightly face it. That they will respond nobly to the challenge<sup>23</sup> of the age, I have not the shadow of a doubt.

Further, the men who fought did so "as champions of democracy . . . of humane and Christian civilization against savage and pagan barbarism."<sup>24</sup>

More and more people complained of the lack of moral and religious teaching in the schools. J. Howard Moore in "Ethical Education" says that "the greatest defect of our educational process is the lack of a moral element."<sup>25</sup>

According to The Mackay Committee Report:

In 1936, the Inter-Church Committee on Week-day Religious Education was established to promote religious education in the schools as well as to encourage Bible reading. There was growing interest in the subject. A Committee of the Ontario Educational Association suggested in 1939 that religion form part of the course of study . . . .<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., Introduction, p. ix.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. xii. Cf. Ontario Teacher's Manual, p. 14: "History teaches that right and wrong are real distinctions. The study of history, especially in the sphere of biography, has a moral value, and much may be done, even in the primary classes, to inspire children to admire the heroic and the self-sacrificing, and to despise the treacherous and the self-seeking. The constant struggle to right what is wrong in the world may be emphasized in the senior classes to show that nothing is ever settled until it is settled right."

<sup>25</sup>J. Howard Moore, "Ethical Education," The Canadian Teacher, XXXVIII (February 19, 1934), 667.

<sup>26</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, p. 11.

And, "in 1941 clergymen were reported to be giving instruction in 686 public schools."<sup>27</sup> When George Drew was elected Premier in 1943 he promised to grant religious education in the public schools, and in 1944 Regulation 30 of the Department of Education provided the following:

1. (a) Every public school shall be opened each school day with religious exercises consisting of the reading of the Scriptures and the repeating of the Lord's Prayer or other prayers approved for use in schools.
  - (b) The Scripture passages . . . shall be read daily and systematically . . . from any list of selections adopted by the Department for use in schools . . . .
  - (c) . . . the principal shall make the selection . . . but such selection shall be subject to revision by the Board at any time.
  - (d) The religious exercises held at the daily opening of school may include the singing of one or more hymns . . . .
2. (a) Subject to the regulations, two periods per week of one-half hour each, in addition to the time assigned to religious exercises at the opening of school, shall be devoted to Religious Education.
  - (b) Religious Education shall be given immediately after the opening of school or immediately before the closing of school in either the morning or afternoon session.
  - (c) Instruction in Religious Education shall be given by the teacher in accordance with the course of study authorized for that purpose by the Department, and issues of a controversial or sectarian nature shall be avoided.

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.



(d) By resolution of the school board, a clergyman or clergymen of any denomination, or a lay person or lay persons selected by the clergyman or clergymen, shall have the right, subject to the regulations, to give Religious Instruction in lieu of a teacher or teachers.

(e) and (f) [Provide for classrooms].

3. (a) No pupil shall be required to take any part in any religious exercises or be subject to any instruction in Religious Education to which objection is raised by his parents or guardian.

(b), (c), (d) [Provide for place for those who do not take the instruction. They shall not be considered to have missed any school work].

4. [A teacher may claim exemption from teaching].

5. The Minister may grant to a Board exemption from the teaching of Religious Education in any classroom or school . . . .

6. [The inspector is to bring these regulations to the attention of the school board].<sup>28</sup>

The regulations were influenced by the Butler Act of 1944 in England, and the set of school-texts which had been introduced there were to be used in Ontario.<sup>29</sup> The titles of these books were:

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<sup>28</sup>These Regulations are printed in full in Religious Education in Ontario Schools, Public Elementary and Secondary prepared by the Ontario Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in the Schools (Toronto: Ontario Council of Christian Education, 1959), pp. i-iii. Hereafter cited as Ontario Inter-Church Committee Report. It is significant that this was not an education act but only a regulation spelling out further how religious instruction could be given in the public schools.

<sup>29</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, p. 12. For an account of the Butler Act in England cf. Marjorie Cruickshank, Church and State in English Education 1870 to the Present Day (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1963). The legislation is given

The Friend of Little Children (Grade I); Stories of God and Jesus (Grade II); Jesus and His Friends (Grade III); Servants of God (Grade IV); Leaders of God's People (Grade V); Jesus and the Kingdom (Grade VI); Story of Jesus (Grade VII); The Seed and the Harvest (Grade VIII).<sup>30</sup>

These books are all based on the New Testament accounts of the life of Jesus except for Leaders of God's People which is from the Old Testament. In each introduction the teacher is warned to avoid needless controversy and to stay with the content covered in the book. In the introduction to The Seed and the Harvest we read:

The general aim of the course, therefore, is to emphasize the importance of commitment to, and preparation for, a life of useful service. . . . An analysis of the experiences of repentance and forgiveness may assist him in establishing right relationships with God and his fellows.<sup>31</sup>

This book is based on the Gospel of Luke and the Acts, omitting the stories of the passion and resurrection. The teacher "must not allow these convictions [the teacher's religious feelings] to express themselves in a sectarian manner."<sup>32</sup>

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there in Appendix B, p. 188. Cf. also Philip R. May and O. Raymond Johnstone, Religion in our Schools (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968). Provisions of the act said that the day must begin with collective worship and religious instruction must be given subject to a conscience clause.

<sup>30</sup>Ontario Inter-Church Committee Report, p. iv. Cf. also Report of the Committee on Moral and Religious Education, 1969 (London: Board of Education, 1969), section B, in which these books are reviewed by Arnold Gingrich.

<sup>31</sup>Lewis S. Beattie, The Seed and the Harvest (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1961), Introduction, p. ix.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. xi.

"Where a pupil shows intelligent curiosity about a matter involving sectarian differences the teacher should suggest that he consult his parents or his pastor."<sup>33</sup> The Seed and the Harvest emphasizes moral lessons; however, it does speak occasionally of the uniqueness of Christianity, of Christ's atoning death, and of the need for forgiveness from God and of conversion.<sup>34</sup> By its refusal to treat areas of prime interest to the essential message of Christianity the course is innocuous to most people, except perhaps confirmed atheists or those committed to a religion other than Christianity.<sup>35</sup>

Much controversy was occasioned by the introduction of these books and the whole religious education program was called into question.<sup>36</sup> This led to opting out of the

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. xii. An interesting handwritten note in the copy in the author's possession by a dis-enchanted teacher says: "i.e. the teacher refuse to be a teacher?"

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 100, 102, 111, and passim.

<sup>35</sup>The present author began the teaching of this course in 1966 in Pinecrest Public School, Val Caron, Ontario. After several lessons the course material was dropped and the author's own lessons for the Book of Acts were used. The main difficulty in the text from the author's point of view was that in the effort to avoid controversy the text often lapsed into purely moral and ethical teaching.

<sup>36</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, pp. 12-13. Cf. Appendices A and C for reaction in other provinces and the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod's approach to these regulations.

program, which brings this thesis directly to the subject of Chapter VII, that is the various commissions' and committees' reports of the 1950's and 1960's.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>In The Mackay Committee Report it is stated that "in 1966, only 22 school boards requested . . . exemption [from religious teaching]. These figures are, however, misleading for some school boards asked exemption in order to set up religious programs of their own while a number dropped the religious education course without the formality of asking for exemption" p. 13. The School Board in Val Caron opted out of the program in 1967. The Sudbury School Board has also opted out, as has the city of London. In fact, as Harold Greer in "Not much Religion to Take Out of Schools," The London Free Press (Monday, February 7, 1972) states: "the current regulations are being more honored in the breach than in the performance. They are being winked at by local boards and the department of education alike . . . in the Toronto area alone, four out of five boards are not providing religious education. In fact very few public schools across the province are; the department doesn't know exactly how many because it hasn't asked and it's afraid a query to local boards would be misunderstood as a reminder that the law must be met." Religious education was still provided in 1972 in Elgin County Schools, but beyond that a survey of each school district would be required to say how many schools were offering such teaching.

## CHAPTER VII

### ROYAL COMMISSIONS AND INVESTIGATIONS

After World War II wide divergences in educational thinking became evident in the reports of a number of investigative committees that conducted hearings on various levels throughout Canada enquiring into the possibilities and potentialities of the educational system.<sup>1</sup> All-Canada conferences on education were convened for the first time.<sup>2</sup> In his address of welcome to the Second Canadian Conference on Education Paul Gérin-Lajoie speaks of education as one of the most important social questions:

Le nombre et l'importance des questions inscrites au programme de cette conférence me font espérer que vos délibérations seront très fructueuses. L'éducation est, à n'en pas douter, l'une des questions sociales les plus importantes qui confrontent présentement la population canadienne dans son ensemble. Les problèmes de l'éducation revêtent des aspects

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<sup>1</sup>Most of the provinces established Royal Commissions to investigate various aspects of education. This chapter deals with those concerned with the religious exercises and instruction in Ontario, or those which in some way deal with the aims and objectives of schools. Cf. *infra*, Appendix A, for other provinces.

<sup>2</sup>The first Canadian Conference on Education was held in 1958. A report of it is found in The Canadian Teacher, LXIII (April 1958), 10-13. The second conference was held in 1962 and is given extensive coverage in I. W. Price, editor, The Second Conference on Canadian Education: A Report (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

si nombreux et si complexes que vous ne vous attendez certainement pas à ce que, je les aborde tous au cours de cette allocution.<sup>3</sup>

One of the difficulties (certainly only one and probably not the main one as some people look at it) connected with education in Canada, and in Ontario especially, is that of provision for religious education in public schools, and establishment of separate schools. Along with that goes a study of the aims of education since what the goals are will to some extent at least determine the curriculum. Rev. Dr. Judson Levy in his remarks to the Second Canadian Conference on Education attempts a definition of the aims of education:

However we may, at any stage, define the aims of education, I feel confident that all of us together associate it with the quest for truth. Here we as Churches, take our lead from One who declared Himself to be the truth, and who assured mankind that only in this truth is the freedom realized that makes for the development of true selfhood. While this spirit will ever encourage a free and unhampered quest for truth, it will, at the same time, remind us that there is a truth--or the truth, if you will--without which man's understanding of himself is ever incomplete, and the realization of his true destiny impossible . . . . Thus do Church and School stand side by side in what is not merely a tolerated but a necessary relationship.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Paul Gérin-Lajoie in his address of welcome as quoted in Price, p. 23. Translation: The number and importance of the questions written into the program of this conference raises my hopes that your deliberations will be very fruitful. Education is, without a doubt, one of the most important social questions which presently confronts the entire Canadian populace. The problems of education comprise so many numerous and complex aspects that you will certainly only touch on the problems to which I refer in the course of this conference.

<sup>4</sup>Judson Levy in his remarks to the conference as quoted in Price, p. 22.

And further from that same conference, Henri L egar e says:

Nous pla ant maintenant, non pas du point de vue de la connexion indissoluble que la religion poss de avec la vie morale o  l'art de vivre, mais dans une pure optique humaniste, nous d courvrons qu'elle apparait comme la condition sine qua non pour comprendre jamais quelque chose   notre couture et civilisation occidentales--qu'il entre du reste dans les fins de l' ducation de transmettre d'une g n ration   l'autre.<sup>5</sup>

The Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950 concerned itself with all aspects of education in a massive nine hundred page volume. The first section deals with the "Aims of Education," and, especially in a number of points, deals with the basis of all education.<sup>6</sup>

There are two virtues about which there can be no question--honesty, and Christian love. They reflect the intellectual and religious heritage of Western Civilization. Honesty means truthfulness and fair dealing, which are the very foundations of freedom. Christian love means kindness and consideration for others, which are mandatory by the Golden Rule. Honesty and love must be taught by precept and even more by example, as absolute rights, or eternal verities, which everyone must accept, defend, and strive to practise.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Henri L egar e, "The Aims of Education," in Price, p. 52. Translation: Now, facing the issue, not just from the point of view of the indissoluble connection which religion possesses in the moral life or art of living, but from a purely optimistic humanism, we discover that it appears as the condition without which we would never understand anything about our western culture and civilization--that it belongs in the aims of education to be transmitted from one generation to another.

<sup>6</sup>Report of The Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950 (Toronto: King's Printer, 1950), pp. 25-30. Hereafter cited as The Hope Commission Report.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., pp. 27, 28.

Further from that Report:

Honesty and Christian love are the absolutes of a free society. They may therefore be taught by the strongest means at the school's command--an explicit acceptance that they are right. If this be indoctrination we accept the stricture.<sup>8</sup>

In keeping with these aims of education the Report recommended concerning the spiritual aspects of the educational system:

- (a) that religious exercises continue to be conducted and religious education continue to be a subject of instruction in public elementary schools;
- (b) that the present regulations relating to religious exercises and religious education in public schools be continued;
- (c) that in any revision of the guide books in religious education careful consideration be given to specific items raised by the Canadian Jewish Congress in Brief 46, Appendix I;
- (d) that consideration be given to the advisability of granting approval for the use of children's Bible stories containing such parts of the Scriptures as may be especially suitable for elementary school pupils;
- (e) that the Department of Education seek the cooperation of The Inter-Church Committee on Weekday Religious Education in the preparation of a list of daily Scripture readings, based directly on the course of study for religious education, for use in the senior division of the elementary school;
- (f) that provision be made in the programmes of junior colleges of education and in the elementary school option of the Ontario College of Education for instruction in methods of conducting religious exercises and of teaching religious education in public elementary schools.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 126, 127.



The Report further recommended that a similar program be instituted in the secondary school system.<sup>10</sup>

Many of the recommendations of The Hope Commission Report on other aspects of education were not implemented, mainly because the restructuring of the schools into a 6-3-4 or 6-4-3 system would have affected the separate schools,<sup>11</sup> but the recommendations concerning religious education were put into effect. This meant no change in the elementary system, but it did mean an extension of religious education into the high schools and a more intensive program of religious instruction and methods of such instruction in the teachers' colleges.<sup>12</sup> The regulations for the schools in 1968 still

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 128, 129.

<sup>11</sup>Since separate schools extended only to grade eight, with provisions for public support (in some cases) to grade ten, the proposed division of Elementary grades 1-6; Junior high grades 7-9 (or 10) and Senior high 10 (or 11)-13 would have meant that separate schools would end either at grade six or at grade ten. No one was willing to take on that kind of restructuring as a rigid form. The minority conclusion of The Hope Commission Report comes down hard on the fact that separate schools should extend at least to grade ten, and, hopefully, to grade thirteen. The conclusion of the minority is included in an Appendix at the end of the majority report.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. the instructions concerning religious education in the secondary schools in Regulation: Elementary and Secondary Schools--General (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1968), pp. 28, 29. Hereafter cited as Regulation 68. The author taught under these regulations in Confederation Secondary School, Val Caron. The program was changed in that school for 1968-1969 by which the "Students [would receive] individual counselling . . . instead of group instruction." This quotation is from a letter by the principal of the school, Roger E. Barbeau, dated May 31, 1968 and in the author's possession.

had the same basic guidelines as the provisions of 1944 which are quoted in Chapter VI and, in addition, almost identical instructions for the teaching of religion in secondary schools.<sup>13</sup>

The Ontario Inter-Church Committee recommended a list of daily Scripture readings as had been proposed in The Hope Commission Report, but these were scarcely used, and have been out of print for some time.<sup>14</sup> The same committee reports in its 1959 leaflet:

We believe that the capacity for religion is a normal human capacity, and therefore religion must be provided for in all true education.<sup>15</sup>

Religion is defined as "the fostering of right relationships."<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Cf. supra, Chapter VI, pp. 69, 70. Cf. Regulation 68, pp. 26-29.

<sup>14</sup>In a letter to the Department of Education of Jan. 6, 1972 the author requested copies of the list of Bible readings for the schools and the regulations for religious education in public schools. In reply (in a letter of Jan. 11, 1972) the Department of Education stated that these were "obsolete and out of print." The office of the Board of Education for Elgin County could not find copies of the above and do not use them in the present curriculum even though religious exercises and instruction are still provided in Elgin county as per letter of Barry Thomas of August 28, 1971, in the author's possession which states: "It has been the custom in the St. Thomas area for clergymen to be associated with the public schools in their religious education programme. Generally this has meant that the clergymen taught one or more grade 6, 7 or 8 classes. This policy is to be continued this next year. . . . This year the clergyman should also present an outline of his programme to the principal prior to his commencing to teach."

<sup>15</sup>Religious Education in Ontario Schools, Public Elementary and Secondary, prepared by the Ontario Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in the schools (Toronto: The Ontario Council of Christian Education, 1959), p. 3. Hereafter cited as Ontario Inter-Church Committee Report.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

The report continues:

We believe that only God can give meaning, purpose and direction to our lives. Hence all our teaching should spring from God and point to God. . . . When the presence of God permeates every classroom, there is true religious education.

Classes in religious education should be available in which the child is able to study the relation between God and man as revealed in the Bible, and as put into practice in the world around him. . . .

It is a serious mistake for any educational system to ignore the place of religion in education. For it is impossible to teach anyone satisfactorily his duty to his neighbor apart from his duty to God.<sup>17</sup>

In a study document for the Canadian Council of Churches C. E. Silcox argues that instruction in ethics and morals is not enough in the schools.<sup>18</sup>

The real issue involves the whole relationship between religion and ethics in our educational system. Is the primary need of youth a detailed system of moral philosophy or is it a faith that there are moral implications implicit in the very nature of the universe, planted there by God, and revealed in their fulness only to those who seek for such revelation?<sup>19</sup>

He further posits that such instruction cannot be done only in the home or the church because the "home needs help" and the church very often finds it impossible "to provide skilled

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>C. E. Silcox, Religious Education in Canadian Schools: Why it is permitted; Why it is necessary (Toronto: The Committee on Religious Education in Schools, Department of Christian Education, Canadian Council of Churches, 1960), p. 14.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

leadership except through some working arrangement with the day schools."<sup>20</sup> He states:

Therefore, even on purely practical grounds, where the day schools exist everywhere and it is possible to devote a certain amount of time in them to devotions and religious education, why should the overwhelming majority be denied the right to have the kind of religious education incorporated in the schools which they may approve, provided that such instruction is not forced on any pupil who has conscientious scruples against taking such courses?<sup>21</sup>

In the introduction to the companion pamphlet to Silcox prepared by the full committee on religious education in the schools of the Canadian Council of Churches the following guidelines are given for provision of religious exercises and instruction in the public schools:

- (a) that no attempt is being made to make the school responsible for the whole work of religious education. The home and church are the institutions primarily responsible.
- (b) that the school's part in all of this may find expression in one or all of the following means --
  1. The reading of the scripture.
  2. The prayers offered and hymns sung.
  3. The instruction given at definite times in the week.
  4. The permeation of the school life with Christian attitudes.
  5. The character of the teacher.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>Religious Education in Schools of Canada (Toronto: The Committee on Religious Education in Schools, Department of Christian Education, Canadian Council of Churches, 1960), p. 1.

This report further states:

Where advantage has been taken of provision of existing laws and regulations in fears concerning divisions which might arise in the communities have proved groundless. Experience has proved that Christians can co-operate in selecting a course of study and in executing the religious instruction.<sup>23</sup>

Many of the remarks, of course, of these committees would not be shared by all, or perhaps, even most, of those concerned with education in Ontario. This is evidenced by the fact that many of the recommendations made to the Mackay Committee took the opposite point of view.<sup>24</sup>

A committee was appointed by the Ontario Department of Education in 1965 to study the aims and objectives of education in Ontario. This committee's report, entitled Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, was published in 1968 and is generally referred to as The Hall-Dennis Report after the co-chairmen of the committee.<sup>25</sup> This report received wide reaction from many sources since some of

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969), p. 23. Hereafter cited as The Mackay Committee Report.

<sup>25</sup>Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1968). Hereafter cited as The Hall-Dennis Report. This committee was still in operation when the Mackay Committee began its hearings although neither report refers to the other.

its recommendations seemed to be "radical." The basic philosophy of the report is given in its section "The Truth Shall make you Free":

The underlying aim of education is to further man's unending search for truth. Once he possesses the means to truth, all else is within his grasp. Wisdom and understanding, sensitivity, compassion, and responsibility, as well as intellectual honesty and personal integrity, will be his guides in adolescence and his companions in maturity.

This is the message that must find its way into the minds and hearts of all Ontario children. This is the key to open all doors . . . that will make all men brothers, equal in dignity if not in ability; and that will not tolerate disparity of race, color, or creed.<sup>26</sup>

There is very little comment concerning the place of religion or faith in the aims and objectives of this report. There is one short section entitled "Religion and moral values" which says that "the church continues to play an important part in non-religious affairs of the province, among them education."<sup>27</sup> That section goes on to say:

In education, despite the existence of a strong non-sectarian educational system, the status of religious education in the schools is still a vital issue. In an age of vague and perpetually shifting moral values, there are many parents who desire some sort of religious underpinning to their child's education, and they do not agree that the non-sectarian school is equal to the task.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>The Hall-Dennis Report, p. 9.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., pp. 27, 28. The reference here seems to be to Roman Catholic separate schools rather than religious education in the public schools.

Recommendation is made that the separate schools work more closely with the public schools, and one gains the impression that the report would just as soon not have to deal with either the subject of religion or separate schools.<sup>29</sup> This is illustrated in the section dealing with the provisions of the British North America Act of 1867:

The Province of Ontario is committed to a public tax-supported system of non-confessional and Roman Catholic separate schools. This two-fold system was in existence prior to Confederation and was written into The British North America Act [sic] as a condition of that union. Unless the constitution is changed, this is the pattern that will continue. That being so, it is imperative that the needs of all children in Ontario be justly served in the spirit of cooperation, understanding, and good will that is increasingly noticeable in Ontario today.<sup>30</sup>

The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II: Education makes more of the religious factor in the schools. This has been noted in another context.<sup>31</sup> The interplay of religious and language question leads, in numerous places, to references concerning the provision of religious education in the schools. In many cases French-language schools in Ontario are also separate schools and of

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., passim. References to religion and separate schools are so sparse it would seem that neither play an important part in the thinking of the members of the committee.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>31</sup>Supra, Chapter VI, pp. 60-63. Cf. Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book II: Education (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968). This book is a comprehensive study of the historical context of education in Canada as it is related to the French-English question. Hereafter cited as the B and B Commission II.

Roman Catholic persuasion.<sup>32</sup> The commission does not take recognition of the fact that religion may be taught in the public schools. Statements such as: "Public 'bilingual' schools offer French as a subject as do the separate schools, but there is not time allotted to religious instruction," do not properly credit the public school system in regard to religious education.<sup>33</sup>

The major report concerning religious education in the schools is that of the J. Keiller Mackay Committee to which reference has been made many times in the course of this thesis. Its report is entitled: Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969.<sup>34</sup> The committee was commissioned by the government

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., pp. 73-87 discusses the difference between French schools in Ontario and those of confessional commitment.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 78. Just why the commissioners fail to take note of the fact that religious education is still provided for in the public schools of Ontario is not known. Perhaps it is because such provisions are "more honored in the breach than in the performance" as Harold Greer says in "Not Much Religion to Take out of Schools," The London Free Press (Monday, February 7, 1972).

<sup>34</sup>The Mackay Committee Report has been very useful in the preparation of this study. Its section on the historical development of religious education and separate schools in Ontario, while well done, is very short. It also seems to down-play the specifically Christian influences that were at work in the developing school system. On page 3 it is stated: "To one shade of opinion the schools may appear always to have been steeped in religious feeling and to another to have been unswervingly secular throughout their history." That statement would not seem to be borne out by the facts of the case as presented in this thesis. Cf. supra, passim, especially pp. 22, 23 and 32-36 where it is seen that the system was not conceived as sectarian, but certainly as Christian.



of Ontario in 1966:

To receive representations from all interested bodies about the effectiveness and desirability of the program; to consider suggestions for changes and improvement; to study means by which character building, ethics, social attitudes and moral values and principles may best be instilled in the young; to consider the responsibility of the Public Schools in these matters; and to make recommendations thereon for the information and consideration of the Minister.<sup>35</sup>

This committee received 141 briefs from throughout Ontario in addition to many letters, pamphlets, books and other material in the course of two years of public hearings.<sup>36</sup>

In distinction from The Hope Commission Report this committee arrived at "a sincere consensus" and "the members of the committee subscribe without exception to the recommendations which follow."<sup>37</sup>

After a hasty look at the historical background of the whole religious education scene in the public schools, the report presents its appraisal and recommendations.<sup>38</sup> The report concludes that the present course of religious education in

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<sup>35</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, p. vii.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. xiii.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. xiv.

<sup>38</sup>The various chapters are: The Historical Background; The Present Course; A Recommended Program; Professional Development; Summary of Major Recommendations. Very useful Appendices include a listing of the Briefs submitted to the committee, the names of those who were consulted, and a detailed Bibliography which has been most helpful in the preparation of the Bibliography for this thesis. These Appendices are included on pp. 97-119 of The Mackay Committee Report.

the schools "is in our opinion a vehicle leading to religious commitment rather than to true education."<sup>39</sup> It was further found that:

The present course in religious education not only affronts many adherents of non-Christian faiths, but it appears to have failed to achieve even the sectarian Christian objectives it pursues. We found considerable opinion among those submitting briefs to confirm the view that the stated goals are not being realized. We have been unable to find widespread enthusiasm for the course among trustees, teachers, and parents of any denomination.<sup>40</sup>

Further reasons for the report's scoring of the present regulations are presented:

Our view that the present course of studies in religious education is unsuitable takes into consideration the fact that the Ontario community has changed greatly in the past 24 years. From a predominantly Anglo-Saxon Christian society, it has become a pluralistic one. In Ontario now flourish many religious denominations and sects related to ethnic groups which have come to this province from all parts of the world. . . . We ought not to continue to be one of the few non-sectarian school systems in North America which provide for religious instruction within school hours by the classroom teacher; we have an obligation to join the mainstream. Among the main problems facing modern society are the avoidance of war, the improvement of education and the adjustment of humanity to a mechanized world. The present course in religious education in Ontario contributes nothing to the understanding of these dynamic problems; instead, it exacerbates them.<sup>41</sup>

After further lengthy discussion of why the proposals are being made and attempting to assuage anyone who would feel

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

the report is against religion entirely<sup>42</sup> the following recommendations are made:

1

We recommend that the present course of study in religious education in the elementary schools of Ontario be discontinued . . . .

2

We recommend the repeal of Regulation 45, R.S.O. 1960, c. 361 in its entirety.

3

We recommend that the legislation pertaining to school visitors (Public Schools Acts R.S.O. 1960, c. 330, s. 8) be repealed.

4

We recommend that in the elementary schools of Ontario opening exercises consisting of the National Anthem, and a prayer, either of universal character appealing to God for help in the day's activities, or the Lord's Prayer, be held in the home rooms each morning.

5

[same as 4 except for secondary schools and prayer only in an assembly, not in classrooms].

6

We recommend that the high duty of public education to foster character building be discharged through a clearly understood continuously pursued, universal program pervading every curricular and extra-curricular activity in the public school system from the beginning of elementary to the close of secondary education. This program, which is to be distinguished from a course of study, should be carefully planned and administered incidentally throughout the whole school spectrum. It will have as its focus character building, ethics, social attitudes, and moral values and principles.

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

## 7

We recommend that the acquisition of information about and respect for all religions be recognized as an essential objective of the educational system . . . . This should be achieved by a program of incidental teaching and study, not through a formal syllabus.

## 8

We recommend that a formal course of study dealing with the principal religions of the world be offered as one of the optional courses in grades 11 and 12 . . . .

## 9

We recommend that a program consultant be employed in each regional office of education throughout the province with the responsibility for the implementation and direction of the new program in religious information and moral development . . . .

## 10

[Deals with educational opportunities for research].

## 11

[Future training in teacher's colleges needs to be geared along the lines of the new program].

## 12

Courses in religion should also count as history courses under the English and History speciality. [This is in college of education curriculum for teachers].<sup>43</sup>

The report of this committee is still under consideration by the Department of Education as Robert Welch (then minister of education) states in his letter of August 20, 1971 addressed to the author:

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., pp. 93, 94.

The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario, 1969, is still under consideration. The Report and the reaction to it had, as you are probably aware, a bearing on the development of guidelines for courses in world religion.<sup>44</sup>

In the recommendations of The Mackay Committee Report there is a change of emphasis (which was also reflected in The Hall-Dennis Report) from the 1950 Royal Commission and the Regulations of 1944. This change is from a fairly specific concentration on Christian teaching of faith to ethics, a turning from the teaching of "eternal verities," to inculcation of morals for living.<sup>45</sup> This change becomes evident in the comparison of The Hope Commission Report "if that be indoctrination we accept the stricture"<sup>46</sup> and The Mackay Committee Report "thus we hope it will be through true

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<sup>44</sup>Robert M. Welch in a letter dated August 20, 1971 addressed to the author and in his possession. Mr. Welch has since been replaced as the Minister of Education by Thomas Wells. The Department of Education of Ontario has been most helpful in supplying materials as it could; however, as noted above some items were not available that would have been useful.

<sup>45</sup>This is stated by The Mackay Committee Report on p. xv: "Those who made decisions before us concerning religious and moral education in the public schools did so in the context of their times. Our recommendations are necessarily made in the context of our own time. All that we can do now to provide for the future as well as for the present is to try to look beyond the rules of both old and new moralities for objectives which we think need never change." The committee believes it has found these objectives in its recommendations for "Religious Information and Moral development."

<sup>46</sup>The Hope Commission Report, p. 29. Cf. supra, pp. 76-78.

education, and not through any kind of indoctrination,  
that he will be encouraged to choose religious and moral  
values . . . ."<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, p. xv.

George S. Flower in his chapter on "Education" in *The*  
*Canadian, 1867-1967* says:

There are signs of a relative decrease in the  
influence of churches on public education, and  
a corresponding increase of civil government. . . .  
It would seem to be a safe prediction that the  
formal education of Canadians, in their second  
century, will be considerably further removed from  
any church influence than was the case in their  
first century.<sup>1</sup>

This decline in church influence is the case in Ontario where  
there has been a gradual moving away from the specific teach-  
ing of the Christian religion as provided in the Regulations  
of 1944 and a shift toward instituting some of the recommenda-  
tions of The Mackay Committee Report.<sup>2</sup> Premier Davis in an

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<sup>1</sup>George S. Flower, "Education," The Canadian, 1867-  
1967, edited by J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto:  
Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1967), p. 279.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Religious Instruction and Moral Development: The  
Report of the Committee on Religious Instruction in the Public  
Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario  
Department of Education, 1969), pp. 93, 94. Hereafter cited  
as The Mackay Committee Report. The Mackay Committee Report  
is discussed in Chapter VII, supra, pp. 84-91. Cf. Harold  
Greer, "Not much Religion to Take out of Schools," The  
London Free Press (Monday, February 7, 1972), in which it is  
stated: "The department and local educationalists are  
developing alternative programs as recommended by the Mackay  
committee . . . it takes a long, long time to effect changes,  
particularly radical changes of the kind the department has  
in mind. In the meantime, the current regulations cannot be

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SITUATION IN THE SEVENTIES

George E. Flower in his chapter on "Education" in The Canadians, 1867-1967 says:

There are signs of a relative decrease in the influence of churches on public education, and a corresponding increase of civil government. . . . It would seem to be a safe prediction that the formal education of Canadians, in their second century, will be considerably further removed from direct church influence than was the case in their first century.<sup>1</sup>

This decline in church influence is the case in Ontario where there has been a gradual moving away from the specific teaching of the Christian religion as provided in the Regulations of 1944 and a shift toward instituting some of the recommendations of The Mackay Committee Report.<sup>2</sup> Premier Davis in an

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<sup>1</sup>George E. Flower, "Education," The Canadians, 1867-1967, edited by J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada Ltd., 1967), p. 579.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969), pp. 93, 94. Hereafter cited as The Mackay Committee Report. The Mackay Committee Report is discussed in Chapter VII, *supra*, pp. 85-91. Cf. Harold Greer, "Not much Religion to Take out of Schools," The London Free Press (Monday, February 7, 1972), in which it is stated: "The department and local educationalists are developing alternative programs as recommended by the Mackay committee . . . it takes a long, long time to effect changes, particularly radical changes of the kind the department has in mind. In the meantime, the current regulations cannot be

interview published in The United Church Observer makes clear that the Mackay Committee recommendations are being looked at but that the implementation is far from easy:

The minister of education has announced the inclusion in the secondary school program of a study of comparative world religions. Elementary level is still being sorted out. We still have, in theory and in practice too, the courses at the elementary grade level which I think almost everyone, even the most enthusiastic supporters of religious education, acknowledges don't do a job. What will be done at the elementary level is a matter of very active consideration by the department of education. It's not easy to come up with the practical approaches to it.<sup>3</sup>

In the same article Premier Davis, in response to a question concerning religious content in the schools, states that he detects "not so much a concern about a lack of religion . . . but that there needs to be a greater appreciation of moral

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simply abolished, partly because those who worry about "Godless schools" would misunderstand, but largely because they are the authority for the religious instruction and-or orientation in the French-speaking high schools set up since 1967."

<sup>3</sup>William Davis, as quoted in an interview with A. C. Forrest in The United Church Observer, XXXIV (February 1972), 15 and 42. This issue of The Observer is devoted primarily to the separate school question. Davis is quoted as saying that the decision not to extend aid to separate schools "was a very difficult decision for the government to make." For an opposing view cf. Harold Greer, "A 'Difficult' Decision was Easy to Make," The London Free Press (Monday, September 6, 1971) in which it is stated: "There are more non-Catholics than Catholics in Ontario and they are not disposed, to put it mildly, to see public monies spent on the Catholic high schools. The Catholic minority, on the other hand, is by no means united on this question. The preponderance of votes, therefore, is against tax support for the Catholic high schools . . . ."



and ethical values."<sup>4</sup> Premier Davis further states that "there are certain ethical principles which are pretty well universal," and which should be in some way taught in the schools.<sup>5</sup> The same tack is taken by J. M. Patton in "Moral and Religious Education, We have no Choice":

The moral maturing of persons will continue to be one of the most universally accepted objectives of publicly-financed schooling; that the trend towards pluralism in society's moral and religious thinking is probably irreversible . . . .<sup>6</sup>

The author, a professor of education at the College of Education, University of Toronto, thinks that "an honest desire to understand man's spiritual strivings for a better life in this world or the next" would provide the basis for a program in religious education which would be acceptable to most Canadians.<sup>7</sup> He goes on:

The absence of any public outcry or of strident criticism when the Mackay Report first appeared in Ontario may be taken as an encouraging sign by those anxious to introduce its ideas into their curriculum planning . . . .

I conclude from the limited evidence cited that the climate of opinion in Ontario is ready to accommodate innovative practices in the once supersensitive field of "religious" education . . . .<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>The Observer, XXXIV, 15.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>J. M. Paton, "Moral and Religious Education, We have no Choice," Education Canada (November 1971), p. 15.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

Neil G. Price, in the conclusion of his book, also asks for the establishment of a program of "reading and study of religious literature, rather than a sectarian program."<sup>9</sup>

Judging by the amount of attention devoted to the subject of provision of separate schools and religious education in the public schools in the mass media it could be called an issue of importance in the political and social milieu of Ontario. No one seems to want it to be a contentious issue, however, as evidenced by the relatively calm demonstrations during the election of 1971 and lack of much public discussion on The Mackay Committee Report.<sup>10</sup>

The only really lively discussions centered on the extension of separate schools beyond grade ten, and even that

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<sup>9</sup>Neil G. Price, Education--Religion--Politics in Ontario (North Bay, Ontario: Northland Printers, 1966), p. 15.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. "Increased Government Financial Support for Religious Schools not Burning Issue," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Saturday, December 18, 1971), in which it is stated that "added government financial support for schools set up by religious groups is not a burning issue in most provinces. . . . Controversy erupted in Ontario when the provincial government refused to extend aid to the separate school system beyond Grade 10 but the decision was not the election issue some expected it to be in the October campaign." Cf. also Aubrey Wise, "Dissociating Religion and Ethics," Christianity Today, XIII (April 25, 1969), 707, 709 where we read: "Hasty action [concerning The Mackay Committee Report] is unlikely, since it has been more or less taken for granted that Ontario, the only one of Canada's ten provinces to have formal grade-school religious education, would gradually let it slip away and become a thing of the past."

does not seem to have gone beyond a few demonstrations.<sup>11</sup> Provision of religious education received some coverage in the press in early 1972 when the Canadian Civil Liberties Association asked that "the Ontario government withdraw the present program of religious instruction from public schools."<sup>12</sup> This Association augmented by the Ontario Union of Indians presented a statement to Robert Welch, Minister of Education:

It is our respectful opinion that the present program of religious instruction is so harmful to so many children . . . and so great an affront to religious equality and civil liberties that it should be withdrawn immediately whether or not there is a consensus regarding satisfactory alternatives.<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Welch replied "that the department still is wrestling with policy for elementary schools."<sup>14</sup> Mr. Welch further indicated that the department is considering a program by

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<sup>11</sup>Cf. Premier Davis' comments in The Observer, XXIV, 42: "Most of the demonstrations by Catholic students in favor of aid, were quite orderly--no violence at any of them." Cf. also "Says RC Church Allowing Electorate to be Split on Religious Grounds," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Tuesday, October 5, 1971) in which through a letter to the editor John W. Hunter says: "The OETCA [Ontario English Catholic Teachers Association] has sent a kit to all separate school principals containing three statements, all highly critical of the decision by Premier William Davis to contain support at the grade 10 level."

<sup>12</sup>Lillian Newberry, "Education Minister Urged to Withdraw Present Religious Education Program," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Thursday, January 27, 1972). Cf. Harold Greer, "A Difficult Decision," The London Free Press (September 6, 1971).

<sup>13</sup>Newberry.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

which schools could "opt into" religious exercises rather than "opting out" of them as at present.<sup>15</sup> In Quality Education: Measure of the Seventies Welch insists that "quality education" is the top priority for Ontario. In that term is included, in a general way, the Department's present philosophy of the aims of education in the seventies. A renewed emphasis on "truly human values" and a "shift toward greater human responsiveness" is the thrust of present educational goals.<sup>16</sup> "Quality education" thus moves in the sphere of The Hall-Dennis Report in its aim of "knowing the truth."<sup>17</sup>

When the Mackay Committee was holding public hearings on the matter of religious information in public schools the Sudbury and District Ministerial Association presented a brief in which the following recommendations were made:

1. That the course in religious instruction . . . be discontinued. . . .
2. That fair recognition be given to the contributions and influence of the Judaeo-Christian heritage in the development of our country and culture and that this be woven into the appropriate courses of the present curriculum.

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Robert M. Welch, Quality Education: Measure of the Seventies (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1971), p. 4.

<sup>17</sup>Living and Learning: The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario (Toronto: Ontario Education Department, 1968), p. 9. Hereafter cited as The Hall-Dennis Report.

3. A course dealing with our cultural, religious and moral heritage should be established . . . .<sup>18</sup>

As an example of the same feelings the London Board of Education prepared the following recommendations after The Mackay Committee Report was released:

1. A serious and enlightened attempt should be made in all phases of the school curriculum and in all aspects of school life:
  - (a) To facilitate the understanding of the ideas, attitudes and behaviour patterns of the democratic civilized way of life.
  - (b) To encourage acceptance of these patterns by the student, on his own initiative.
2. There should be information provided concerning beliefs about God and the world. However, a broad perspective covering many different cultures should be provided.<sup>19</sup>

In many respects these suggestions agree with The Mackay Committee Report and establish the fact that many people of

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<sup>18</sup>"Religious Education in the Schools" a brief presented by Sudbury and District Ministerial Association to the Mackay Committee, 1967. The author made a presentation to the committee which prepared the final wording of the Sudbury brief. In the author's report the proposal was made: "That the current system of religious education in the public schools be dropped in favour of the principle that one hour per week be available within the curriculum for released time to the churches in any given community to provide religious education according to their several teachings and in their facilities." This proposal was not adopted, and seems not to have been thought of by most others who presented briefs to the Mackay Committee. Cf. Appendix C, infra, re: Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod views of religious education in public schools.

<sup>19</sup>Report of the Committee on Moral and Religious Education 1969 (London: Board of Education, 1969), pp. 7, 8.

Ontario would like to see "Religious Information and Moral Development" as part of the public school, but not specific Christian religious teaching as it is now provided.<sup>20</sup>

Religious instruction is still provided in the public schools of Elgin County. Lloyd J. Patton's letter to the editor published in The St. Thomas Times-Journal (February 10, 1972) shows concern that religious education be continued:

I think that they [those who would remove religious education from the curriculum] should realize what our fore-fathers went through to get us a free country and most of the schools were started by religious people who wanted the best of learning for their children.<sup>21</sup>

K. B. (name not known) in a reply to that letter calls upon the Department of Education to allow Christians "their own schools."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 8. The Hall-Dennis Report on p. 99 states that "the pupils in Grade 8 of an urban school submitted a brief in which the main contentions were these: There should be no religious education of the kind then given in Ontario public schools, but study of comparative religion, preferably as an option in secondary school, well taught to counteract prejudices; and there should be only silent prayer in school exercises." Cf. also the most recent statement by the Lutheran Church in America--Eastern Canada Synod at the 1972 Convention in which the course on "World Religions" is commended and the committee members "await with interest the release of additional courses." This report also concludes that "human values" and "religious heritage" are necessary parts of religious instruction in the schools.

<sup>21</sup>Lloyd J. Patton, "Religious Instruction," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Thursday, February 10, 1972).

<sup>22</sup>K. B., "Amen, Amen, to the Letter of Lloyd Patton," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Thursday, February 17, 1972).

Many clergymen who teach in the Elgin County schools are using World Religions, the new course recommended by The Mackay Committee Report and adopted by the Ontario Department of Education.<sup>23</sup> Concerning the present course in the schools Rev. Evan H. Jones of Alma Street Presbyterian Church said:

We are indeed fortunate that the Elgin County Board of Education has continued year by year to invite the clergy to come into the elementary schools to impart religious instruction. . . . This year our studies are centered on the great religions of the world. We are now studying the Hebrew faith . . . .<sup>24</sup>

The present author conducted a survey of his religion classes in 1967-1968 concerning the pupils' reactions to the program and the course in which they had just participated. Results showed a general disinterest in any specific curriculum or doctrinal teaching, but did indicate a desire for more relevant discussion of current problems.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>"Ministers Attend Seminar to Discuss Teaching of Religion in Elgin Schools," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Tuesday, November 2, 1971). The new course is World Religions (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1971). Cf. the discussion of this course, infra, pp. 101, 102.

<sup>24</sup>"Alma Street Presbyterians hold Annual Meeting to Adopt Budget," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Saturday, December 4, 1971).

<sup>25</sup>Thirty-one grade nine students and 27 grade ten and eleven students at Confederation Secondary School, Val Caron, Ontario participated in the survey. In answer to what should be discussed in a religion course the replies ranged from family, sex, parents to drugs, hippies and "the things that affect us as individuals." This does not pretend to be a scientific study, but does indicate the thinking of a fair sampling of students in one secondary school in 1967-1968.

The Roman Catholics continue to be persistent in their campaign for more tax-support for separate schools.<sup>26</sup> The Christian Reformed Alliance remains adamant that the system of Christian Schools supported by individual Reformed Churches should receive tax-support,<sup>27</sup> and in another development a Christian school has been established at the People's Church in Toronto as a protest against the "increasing secularism" of the public schools.<sup>28</sup>

The Department of Education has prepared guidelines for the teaching of a course in World Religions at the senior high school level.<sup>29</sup> This course contains provisions for teaching Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. In the aims and objectives it is stated:

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<sup>26</sup>Cf. supra, pp. 5, 6. Cf. "Roman Catholic Students March Against Government's Subsidies Decision," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Friday, May 12, 1972).

<sup>27</sup>Cf. supra, p. 8. Cf. also Bert Hielma, "Petition Covers Ontario," Christian Home and School, XLIX (February 1971), 20, 21 where a petition that was given to the Ontario government in support of changing the laws concerning separate schools is reprinted.

<sup>28</sup>Christianity Today, XV (March 12, 1971), 577. People's Church is the largest Protestant congregation in Canada.

<sup>29</sup>Supra, p. 100. Cf. Welch's statement concerning these regulations in his letter of August 20, 1971 to the author "The Report . . . had . . . a bearing on the development of guidelines for courses in world religions." Cf. also George Russell, "High School Class in World Religion Available in 1972," Toronto Globe and Mail (Friday, August 20, 1971).



World Religions should help a student to clarify his thinking on some of the fundamental questions about himself and his relationship to his fellow man, to the universe, and to the concept of a transcendent order. . . . but it should in no way be the role of the school or the teacher to tell the student which belief he should hold; such a decision is the prerogative of the individual.<sup>30</sup>

In the guidelines for teaching Christianity it is pointed out that

Christianity may well be the religious or cultural heritage of the majority of students. This poses problems of approach. The observations made earlier about objectivity and about personal response have special relevance here. Those parts of a course dealing with Christianity must be of such a nature that the course is acceptable to those who are Christians and to those who are not, whether by virtue of their commitment to another faith or their commitment to none.<sup>31</sup>

While this study of World Religions is designed for senior high school it is claimed that "the perspective suggested in this guideline will be of value in other divisions" and that the general suggestions "can be applied when religious matters arise in the course of other studies by pupils of any age."<sup>32</sup> In line with that it has already been noted that some of the clergymen in Elgin County were teaching comparative religion on the grade school level in 1971-1972.<sup>33</sup> The guidelines in World Religions contain a wealth of information

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<sup>30</sup>World Religions, p. 5.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>33</sup>Cf. supra, p. 100.

concerning bibliographies, films, and other helps. The course has moved away from a concept of Christian religious education in the schools to a comparative religion approach.<sup>34</sup> D. Penny, chairman of the humanities section of the Department of Education's Curriculum Branch, said that the department had approved these guidelines after "all reaction to the Mackay report had been received."<sup>35</sup>

The situation in the seventies concerning religious education in the public schools is a changing one. Various counties have opted out of the program of religious education in the schools. Even where such instruction is given it is often not done in accordance with the regulations of 1944. It would seem that no specific Christian teaching in the schools will soon be the order of the day in most, if not all, public schools of the province.

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<sup>34</sup>This tendency was also noted in the comparison between The Hope Commission Report, 1950 and The Mackay Committee Report. Ontario is encouraged to join the "mainstream" on the issue of religious education in public schools by The Mackay Committee Report, p. 25.

<sup>35</sup>Russell.

## CONCLUSION

The history and development of religious education in Ontario schools presents an intricate and often perplexing pattern. In many ways the history of education in Ontario has been influenced by Britain and the United States, but the result, as with most things Canadian, has been something which is not quite American and not really British.<sup>1</sup> The early public schools established with the aid and encouragement of men such as John Strachan and Egerton Ryerson provided religious education in the program of instruction while on the insistence of the Roman Catholics, led by Bishop Charbonnel, publicly-supported separate schools were provided for.<sup>2</sup> Joseph Katz in Elementary Education in Canada remarks that the phenomenon of publicly-supported separate schools and religious education in the public schools is not just an

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<sup>1</sup>Frank Underhill has called Canadians the world's oldest and continuing "anti-Americans," as quoted in Anand Malik, Social Foundations of Canadian Education (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1969), p. 55. The "anti-American" forces in Canada as these relate to religious education in Ontario, have not been emphasized in this thesis. Religious issues in Ontario schools were shaped more by the 1841-1867 period where French and Roman Catholic influences played prominent roles than by either English or United States influences. Cf. supra, pp. 39-49.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. supra, passim, especially pp. 15-19 for John Strachan, pp. 24-38 for Egerton Ryerson and pp. 44-46 for Bishop Charbonnel.

Ontario aberration but is very much in the Canadian stream of things:

Concern with the spiritual development of children is thus a characteristic of Canada's elementary schools. Except in denominational schools, the nature and extent of this is usually, within limits, determined by the local authorities. Canadians, in general, agree that they may look to their schools for help in teaching children understanding and respect for Christian ideals.<sup>3</sup>

Specifically in Ontario "the teacher should exercise a good religious influence on his pupils . . . but should scrupulously avoid dogmatic theology, denominational creed, and related matters. . . ." <sup>4</sup> Egerton Ryerson tried to avoid "sectarianism" in the school system and yet included Christian teachings and morality in the curriculum.<sup>5</sup> Religious influences in the schools of the latter nineteenth century continued as previously,<sup>6</sup> and the regulations of 1944 provided for specific religious education in the schools and that teaching is still part of the official educational program.<sup>7</sup> At the same time it has been pointed out that Christian teaching is no longer regarded as the only "religious" teaching in the schools, but that more and more the emphasis is on comparative or world

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<sup>3</sup>Joseph Katz, editor, Elementary Education in Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1961), p. 48.

<sup>4</sup>Edwin C. Guillet, In the Cause of Education: Centennial History of the Ontario Educational Association (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), p. 92.

<sup>5</sup>Supra, pp. 24-38.

<sup>6</sup>Supra, pp. 50-59.

<sup>7</sup>Supra, pp. 69-71.

religions.<sup>8</sup> It would appear that the trend toward "Religious Information and Moral Development" as The Mackay Committee Report called it will continue.<sup>9</sup>

While it has been demonstrated in this thesis that specific Christian education and exercises have always been a part of the public school system of Ontario, it would not be the prerogative of this paper to insist that this is the way it must always be. Provisions made in one era are not always adequate for the present, and what prevails today will not necessarily be the right solution for the future.<sup>10</sup>

The concern for individual rights has been uppermost in legislation affecting schools and the question of specific rights to one denomination or the larger aspects of separation of church and state have not played the major part in the development of the present Ontario system.<sup>11</sup> This aspect appears to be in little danger of being eliminated.

The textbooks of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveal much concern with Christian morals and

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<sup>8</sup>Supra, pp. 101-103.

<sup>9</sup>Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario 1969 (Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969). Hereafter cited as The Mackay Committee Report.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), pp. 111, 112.

<sup>11</sup>Supra, p. 66. Cf. also Sissons, preface, pp. v-vii.

provisions for religious exercises which have been conducted in almost every school since the beginnings of public education. The regulations of 1944 decreed that specific periods of religious education be provided in the public schools.<sup>12</sup> The instruction to be given was not merely morals and ethics but Christianity was envisaged as the religion to be taught.<sup>13</sup> The recommendations of The Mackay Committee Report of 1969 are now under study by the Department of Education.<sup>14</sup> That report recommended that a "program--not a course" be developed for teaching morals.<sup>15</sup> It also insisted that religious information be imparted to the students and "that the instilling of knowledge about religion, including the Bible, should remain an essential function of the educational system."<sup>16</sup>

The subject of this thesis will continue to be discussed in the future by educators, politicians, clergymen and others concerned about the education of Ontario's citizens. Changes there will be, but it does not appear at this time that attempts will be made to eliminate all religious teaching from the public schools. Neither does it appear that provisions for separate schools will change dramatically in the near future.

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<sup>12</sup>Supra, pp. 69-71.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. the Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to 6 of the Public and Separate Schools (Toronto: The Department of Education, 1955), p. 7.

<sup>14</sup>The Mackay Committee Report, pp. 93, 94.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 52-54 and passim.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

## APPENDIX A

### TRENDS IN OTHER PROVINCES OF CANADA

Each province has its own regulations concerning religious exercises and instruction, as well as provision for separate schools, since the provinces are responsible for education. "Only four [provinces] give full government support to separate schools."<sup>1</sup> All provinces provide some kind of arrangement for recognition of religion, but not all permit specific instruction.<sup>2</sup>

Aid to separate schools in the various provinces in 1971 was summed up in this way:

Newfoundland: The schools are . . . controlled by the churches which work with the government through their various governing bodies.

Prince Edward Island . . . has no private schools of any type left.

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<sup>1</sup>"Separate Schools Across Canada," The United Church Observer, XXXIV (February 1971), 23. This article contains much useful information concerning separate schools and the religious question in the educational systems of the provinces.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Table I at the end of this Appendix for a comparison by provinces of religious exercises and instruction in the public schools. The Table is taken from Religious Education in Schools of Canada (Toronto: The Committee on Religious Education in Schools, Department of Christian Education, Canadian Council of Churches, 1960), p. 2. C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959) provides the definitive study of religious provisions in Canadian Schools.

**Nova Scotia:** When different schools along denominational lines are requested by particular communities, there is a local understanding that Roman Catholics attend one school and non-Catholics another.

**New Brunswick:** All schools are administered by the department of education although the Roman Catholic Church built some of its own buildings. . . . These buildings are simply leased by the province and the only optional instruction for the Roman Catholic students who attend is catechism.

**Quebec:** Quebec schools are broken down into Roman Catholic and Protestant systems but both are public. [Under new regulations] each board would provide English- or French-language and Roman Catholic, Protestant or non-confessional schools in its area.

**Ontario:** Ontario supports the Roman Catholic school system up to and including Grade 10.

**Manitoba:** All public schools are non-denominational. . . . Grants to private schools are made to cover the cost of textbooks but not for operational costs or teachers' salaries.

**Saskatchewan:** The Roman Catholic separate schools are not classified as private schools and the separate schools are controlled by the provincial education department, the same as public schools.

**Alberta . . .** the minority of electors in any one district, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, may establish a separate school district.

**British Columbia:** There is no government aid to any of the religious schools . . . and all separate schools are classed as private schools.<sup>3</sup>

The reasons why, in Canada, all provinces have had to deal with the provisions for separate schools are outlined

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<sup>3</sup>"Increased Government Financial Support for Religious Schools not Burning Issue," The St. Thomas Times-Journal (Saturday, December 18, 1971). These provisions are under review in a number of provinces.



by John W. Chalmers in Schools of the Foothills Province:

The Story of Public Education in Alberta:

The dual school system common to many Canadian provinces has its origins over two hundred years ago, in the conquest of New France by the British. When the Imperial government, in its wisdom, decided that the Canadians could retain their own institutions: their church, their civil law and land tenure, their ancestral language, it logically followed that they would keep their own system of Roman Catholic schools. At the same time the English-speaking, Protestant newcomers were permitted their own schools.

Thus the special position of the two groups, Roman Catholic and Protestant, with respect to education was continued by tradition and statute, was embodied in the Act of Union, which joined Upper and Lower Canada, was perpetuated in the British North America Act of 1867. The BNA Act guaranteed that in any province the educational rights which any religious group enjoyed before confederation would be continued after the province was established. Thus it happens that Manitoba and British Columbia, established as provinces in 1870 and 1871 respectively, have no separate schools; there were none in the colonies from which these two provinces were formed. But by 1905, separate schools had been established in the North West Territories from which the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were carved; consequently their continuance was safeguarded in both the Saskatchewan and the Alberta acts. In Calgary there was a separate high school; separate high schools have therefore remained a part of the Alberta educational picture. But none existed between the Manitoba and the Alberta borders, therefore the Saskatchewan Act made no provision for separate high schools.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>John W. Chalmers, Schools of the Foothills Province: The Story of Public Education in Alberta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 321-332. In Saskatchewan the full support of separate schools was extended throughout the high school system in 1964 so that four provinces, Newfoundland, Quebec, Saskatchewan and Alberta have fully-supported separate school systems in elementary and secondary education, while Ontario with its provisions to grade ten comes close. Provisions for local conditions in other provinces which at times allow separate school arrangements, while not providing legal sanction, have been noted, supra, p. 109.

There follows a chart depicting three aspects of religion in the public schools of the several provinces taken from Religious Education in Schools of Canada.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup>The full regulations of each province are spelled out in this (for our purposes) very useful booklet. Two comments in regard to the situation in Newfoundland and Quebec are made but otherwise this chart stands as a sufficient explanation of the present situation concerning religious exercises and education in all ten provinces of Canada. In Newfoundland there are five separate denominations providing schools, and therefore giving their own religious instruction in those schools. These denominations are: Anglican, Pentecostal, Roman Catholic, Salvation Army and the United Church of Canada. Newfoundland is, in this respect, unique since all other provinces that provide separate or denominational schools do so in Roman Catholic and Protestant terms, not allowing the various Protestant denominations their own schools. Quebec has always had a confessional system of schools, Roman Catholic and Protestant. In recent years modifications have been made, and the latest attempt to change the regulations would mean that there would be opportunity to establish non-confessional schools if enough rate-payers in a school district so desired.

TABLE I  
SUMMARY BY PROVINCES

Provinces	Recitation of Lord's Prayer	Daily Bible Readings	Religious Instruction
Newfoundland	Obligatory Instruction	Obligatory given by teacher	Obligatory or clergy
Prince Edward Island	Permitted	Permitted	Not Permitted
Nova Scotia	Permitted	Permitted	Not Permitted
New Brunswick	Permitted	Permitted	Not Permitted
Quebec	Obligatory	Obligatory Instruction given by teachers	Obligatory
Ontario	Obligatory Instruction given by teachers or clergy unless especially exempted by the Minister of Education	Obligatory	Obligatory Instruction given by teachers or clergy unless especially exempted by the Minister of Education
Manitoba	Permitted Instruction	Obligatory given by teachers or clergy	Permitted Instruction given by teachers or clergy
Saskatchewan	Permitted Instruction	Permitted given by teachers or clergy	Permitted Instruction given by teachers or clergy
Alberta	Obligatory Instruction	Obligatory given by teachers or clergy	Permitted Instruction given by teachers or clergy
British Columbia	Obligatory	Obligatory	Elective in High Schools extra-mural

## APPENDIX B

### CHURCH AND STATE IN EDUCATION:

#### AN ANALYSIS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

The subject of church-state relations has appeared several times in the course of this study. Obviously there have been different ways of church and state working together in the educational field over the years in Canada, as in most Western countries. The relationship which has developed in Canada is one that is difficult to explain but which nevertheless colors much of the discussion in this thesis. John Moir has well stated the problem in the Introduction of Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867:

Canada has rejected the European tradition of church establishment without adopting the American ideal of complete separation. Here no established church exists, yet neither is there an unscalable wall between religion and politics if for no other reason than that much of the Canadian constitution is unwritten. Canada has no instrument of government comparable to the American Constitution, and framers of the British North America Act were satisfied to refer in the most general terms to the adoption of British constitutional practices while remaining silent on the historic problems of church-state relations. Whatever the casual reader of the British North America Act might wish to infer from this silence, Canadians in fact assume the presence of an unwritten separation of church and state, without denying an essential connection between religious principles and national life or the right of the churches to speak out on matters of public importance. This ill-defined--and difficult to define--relationship is peculiarly Canadian. It is an attitude

of mind accepted and understood by Canadians but equally incomprehensible as a compromise to citizens of either the United States or the British Isles. Perhaps it can be best described in three words--legally disestablished religiosity.<sup>1</sup>

C. B. Sissons has compiled the best exploration of this problem in the education of Canadians.<sup>2</sup> The appearance of John Moir's sequel to his two books on church and state is still awaited.<sup>3</sup> Further explanation of tension in church-state relations is found in C. E. Silcox's Religious Education in Canadian Schools where it is argued that religious education is necessary in the public schools, and that cooperation between church and state in Canada has always been assumed.<sup>4</sup>

Canada has no Constitution in the American sense which calls for separation of church and state, and, in fact, the Canadian Bill of Rights given Royal assent in 1960 assumes a kind of cooperation:

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<sup>1</sup>John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967), Introduction, p. xiii.

<sup>2</sup>C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959).

<sup>3</sup>Moir in his Introduction to Church and State, 1627-1867 states: "The entire field of church-state relations in education has been omitted. This topic is so important in itself that it is intended to prepare another documentary collection pertaining to it which will be issued later in the Carleton Library." This book is still awaited. Moir has done a study of church and state in education in the period 1841-1867 entitled Church and State in Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

<sup>4</sup>C. E. Silcox, Religious Education in Canadian Schools: Why it is permitted; Why it is necessary (Toronto: The Committee on Religious Education in Schools, Department of Christian Education, Canadian Council of Churches, 1960).

The Parliament of Canada, affirming that the Canadian Nation is founded upon principles that acknowledge the supremacy of God, the dignity and worth of the human person and the position of the family in a society of free men and free institutions; Affirming also that men and institutions remain free only when freedom is founded upon respect for moral and spiritual values and the rule of law;

.....

## Part I

### BILL OF RIGHTS

1. It is hereby recognized and declared that in Canada there have existed and shall continue to exist without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex, the following human rights and fundamental freedoms, namely,

- (a) the right of the individual to life, liberty, security of the person and enjoyment of property, and the right not to be deprived thereof except by due process of law;
- (b) the right of the individual to equality before the law and the protection of the law;
- (c) freedom of religion;
- (d) freedom of speech;
- (e) freedom of assembly and association; and
- (f) freedom of the press.<sup>5</sup>

Since Canada does assume a necessary connection between church and state Schmeiser states:

Parliament has not found it necessary to reject our religious heritage in its effort to provide an atmosphere of liberty and equality. On the contrary, it bases the existence of such an atmosphere on respect for religious values. Thus there is no problem with legislation which evinces impartial

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<sup>5</sup>As quoted in D. Schmeiser, Civil Liberties in Canada (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 291-293.

sympathy towards the work of religious bodies-- legislation which aids all religions in a non-preferential manner, or which prefers the religious over the irreligious.<sup>6</sup>

Two helpful works for an introduction to the problem as presented in the United States of America are: Albert G. Huegeli, editor, Church and State Under God<sup>7</sup> and Leo Pfeffer, Church, State and Freedom.<sup>8</sup>

A number of subjects remain for study in the area of church-state relationships in education: The practical aspects of partially combining church and state in education, definitions of separation of church and state, definitions of church and state as such, theological issues involved, approaches of various denominations.

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>7</sup>Albert G. Huegeli, editor, Church and State Under God (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1964).

<sup>8</sup>Leo Pfeffer, Church, State and Freedom (Revised edition; Boston: Beacon Press, 1967).

## APPENDIX C

### POSITION OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH--MISSOURI SYNOD IN ONTARIO REGARDING RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

One of the objects of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod has been to encourage the establishment of schools, and this has been the case also in Ontario.<sup>1</sup> There were schools in many congregations of Ontario in the 1850-1900 period.<sup>2</sup> Most of these attempts to provide parochial schools on a continuing basis failed, the last of the schools to close being in Ottawa in 1967.<sup>3</sup> The failure to establish a strong school system in Ontario was not due to a lack of official attention paid the issue. In 1925 the thirty-second

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. The Synodical Handbook of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod. Cf. also the many statements concerning the desirability of parochial schools, infra, in this Appendix. The Lutheran philosophy of education is spelled out by Allan Hart Jahsmann, What's Lutheran in Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1960) and the history of the parochial schools of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod is included in August C. Stellhorn, Schools of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1963). Various accounts of the Missouri Synod's attitude toward religious education and such education in public schools are in print. Cf. Carl S. Meyer, "Religion in the Public Schools," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXVII (February 1957), 104-109.

<sup>2</sup>Frank Malinsky, editor, Grace and Blessing (Ontario District, 1954), p. 35.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 36.



Convention of the Ontario District asked the official representatives of the District to visit each congregation "to encourage the establishing of parochial schools."<sup>4</sup> In spite of this resolution it was reported in succeeding Conventions that the number of schools was declining.<sup>5</sup> In 1933 a special committee reported that it had assembled all information necessary for the establishment of schools and deplored the fact that there were "but four schools with 170 children" in the entire District.<sup>6</sup> In 1936 the report of the Christian Education Committee to the Convention led to the adoption of the following resolution concerning parochial schools:

Regarding the School Question, which has of late been much in the public eye, particularly in Ontario, this Convention of the Ontario District of the Lutheran Church (Missouri Synod) wishes to make this statement to clarify the distinction between separate schools and its own private school system.

Our Lutheran Church in North America has always regarded it as an inalienable right for any church body to maintain private parish schools, where children may receive religious instruction with their secular education under the definite influence of its [sic] own Church. But they have

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<sup>4</sup>Ontario District Convention Proceedings, Proceedings of the Ontario District of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod, 32nd Convention, 1925 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House), p. 42. Hereafter cited as Proceedings with the convention number, year and page of reference.

<sup>5</sup>Proceedings, 33rd Convention, 1928, p. 57 and Proceedings, 34th Convention, 1930, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup>Proceedings, 36th Convention, 1933, pp. 35, 36.

always followed the principle that such schools be financed wholly by the private funds of the respective churches sponsoring them.

The Lutheran Church has a well established system of Christian parish schools, accredited in all departments of secular education and teaching its children the Christian religion in addition. Always the principle has been followed with regard to their support that no public funds were requested.  
 . . .<sup>7</sup>

In 1937 a report on the parochial school situation gave the results of a questionnaire which had been sent to all pastors of the District asking "Why no Parochial School?":<sup>8</sup>

Lack of funds	(23)
No children	(11)
Distance too great	(9)
Congregation too small	(3)

A special committee of the Western Conference of the District sent a letter to the Minister of Education of Ontario in 1942 which was incorporated into the Convention Report of that year and which is here reproduced in full as apparently typical of the thinking of a large segment of the Ontario District in regard to the introduction of religious education in the public schools which was then in the talking stage and which became a reality in the Department of Education's regulations of 1944. The letter said:

To the Minister of Education:

Disturbed by agitation for compulsory religious instruction in our schools, the Ontario District of the Lutheran Church begs to lay before you the following view: -

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<sup>7</sup>Proceedings, 38th Convention, 1936, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup>Proceedings, 39th Convention, 1937, p. 17.

Religious education - be it stated humbly - is a subject on which the Lutheran Church is really au fait. It has pioneered in this field and its members have ever laid heavy emphasis upon the instruction and training of children according to the Bible, even maintaining, in many communities, their own parish schools while cheerfully paying taxes for the support of the public school. Yet Lutherans, while appreciative of the increasing interest in the spiritual welfare of the nation's children, see in the proposed change of the School Act certain dangers and injustices.

Separation of Church and State is not only one of the most precious civil boons enjoyed by Canadians and not only an essential element of democracy; separation of Church and State is also one of the most sacred and cherished principles of the Lutheran Church.

Adherence to this principle includes and necessitates that the religious instruction of children remain the exclusive right and function of the home and the church, as now provided by the School Act; for they are the divinely instituted educational agencies in the domain of spiritual things. Accordingly, the Lutheran Church feels itself obliged to protest against the introduction of religious instruction as a compulsory subject into the schools. Certainly this proposal represents a confusion or mingling of Church and State, since it would "render unto Caesar" what does not properly belong to him.

It is evident that the public school generally cannot teach religion in such manner as to satisfy the demands of all religious views represented in its attendance. Nor is it possible to keep religious instruction "non-sectarian." [sic] Taking religion as a system of communicable truths, there really can be no such thing as undenominational instruction.

Moreover, the agitation for state-taught religion, aside from its undemocratic and unfair character, is quite ill-timed, what with the present need for national unity and the lack of opportunity in such days as these for sober and unexcited thought.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Proceedings, 42nd Convention, 1942, pp. 48, 49.

In 1945 the special committee reported that "the system of teaching religion in public schools was found to contain dangers and objectionable features, including statements contrary to Scripture," and urged that the clergy and laity do all they could "to have school boards reject the plan of religious education for their schools."<sup>10</sup> The tone, however, by 1948 had changed and the same special committee (several different members) says that "in general we believe that the Department has avoided introducing a sectarian course."<sup>11</sup> This report does not want "to give the impression by word or deed that the Lutheran Church desires either an amoral or immoral or irreligious and antireligious Public School curriculum."<sup>12</sup> There are still some dangers inherent in the system, but "good may come out of this teaching."<sup>13</sup>

This trend to acceptance of the regulations continues in 1949 as the Convention is advised that individual congregations should take any grievances concerning religion in the schools to the Minister of Education, but the special committee has done no further work on the subject.<sup>14</sup> That is

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<sup>10</sup>Proceedings, 43rd Convention, 1945, p. 40.

<sup>11</sup>Proceedings, 45th Convention, 1948, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Proceedings, 46th Convention, 1949, p. 12.

where the matter rested, and in the 1960's and 1970's some of the Ontario District clergymen were teaching religion in the public schools in accordance with local regulations and/or the program of 1944.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>The author has taught in several schools of the province using both the prescribed course and his own. Cf. "Religious Instruction offered Through Public Schools," Ontario District Supplement, The Lutheran Witness, XC (December 1971), 4, in which Rev. Mervin Huras of West Lorne says teaching of religion in the schools of Elgin County will continue. Cf. also The Lutheran Witness, XCI (May 21, 1972), 214: "Pastors Larry Martin and E. Paul Burow teach courses in Christianity at two city colleges." All of the above are clergymen of Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod.

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