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THE FATE OF QUEBEC PUBLIC SCHOOLS BETWEEN 1876 AND 1930

Marc de Caraffe, Architectural Historian

Foreword

The purpose of this Research Bulletin is to present the preliminary findings of a study on schools built in Canada prior to 1930 which is currently being carried out by the Architectural History Section of the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building. This text is part of a series of reports describing the general architectural evolution of school buildings in the various regions of Canada. A more complete analysis of these buildings will be carried out during the forthcoming year.

The information contained in this report was obtained mainly from persons interested in this subject who helped us in this undertaking. Their contribution was supplemented with research, by architectural historians at the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building, on the architectural evolution of school buildings and provincial educational systems.

Introduction

In a famous book by Jean-Paul Desbiens, Brother Anonymous identified the fundamental problem of the public education system in Quebec before the year 1960. According to this author, the objective of the Department of Public Instruction was distorted from the very beginning and this "original sin" hindered the harmonious development of public education:

> When the Department was set up about a century ago, the main objective was to avoid two dangers: protestantization ... and anglicization. There is nothing to be said against that: it was a valiant and legitimate goal, however equivocal. There was no goal to be reached but a danger to be avoided. They knew where not to go but had not clearly decided where to go. The roots of the current problem can be traced to that period. The Department was conceived as an evasion mechanism, an escape hatch.[1] (Translation.)

Between 1876 and 1960, all the activities of the Department of Public Instruction were conducted under this timid philosophy which, needless to say, had an adverse effect on the construction of schools during that period. In the following pages we will look at the role, or rather the influence, of the Department of Public Instruction on the architectural evolution of a large number of schools built in Quebec prior to 1930.

Ineffective Management

The abolition of the Ministry of Public Instruction at the beginning of 1876 placed the fate of the development of education in Quebec in the hands of a civil servant, the Superintendent of Public Instruction. According to a 1911 observer, it would seem that the incumbents in this position consistently failed to give a satisfactory direction to the proper operation of the public education system:

> The superintendent is thus totally in charge of all administrative matters. He also is not competent to hold this position having pursued his entire career outside the field of education. He does not report to anyone and consequently does not receive any direction. He has a tendency simply to avoid displeasing the committees, live in peace with the govenment and continue the tradition of previous administrators of abstaining from any bold initiatives.[2] (Translation.)

In this context, it is not surprising that school construction followed this ultra-conservative trend. Deprived of political direction, the improvements made by the Department of Public Instruction were very minor to avoid upsetting anyone.

To make matters worse, the school boards had substantial control over their buildings. The superintendent, caught between "the devil and the deep blue sea" on political issues, was practically powerless over these local bodies. His sole recourse was denying meagre grants to recalcitrant school boards. This was clearly insufficient. In 1897 Inspector Beaulieu denounced the situation as follows:

> The threat of withholding a grant was ineffective because the grant was too small. The school boards preferred to relinquish assistance which they deemed insignificant in order to free themselves from government control and administer their schools in their own way. Government decisions involving an increase in expenditures would continue to remain a dead letter as long as school operating budgets were not increased substantially.[3] (Translation.)

This was the situation during the entire period covered by our study. Despite the serious handicap created by the almost total lack of provincial control, there nevertheless was a gradual evolution in the construction of public schools between 1876 and 1930.

This evolution was the product of the Catholic and Protestant committees of the Council of Public Instruction which advised the superintendent in educational matters. These committees had the power to regulate school conditions (location, health conditions).[4] The few improvements in school architecture are due more to the action of these committees than to the reforms recommended by the superintendent to these committees.

Naturally, the committees took care to protect their respective interests. The Protestant committee took full control over the province's Protestant schools and the Catholic committee jealously guarded the supremacy of the Church over education. According to Louis-Philippe Audet, this seriously hindered the development of francophone schools, where the status quo was fiercely maintained in the name of religion.[5]

During the period 1876-1930, the Church sought to control public education by all possible means. The parish priest often headed the local school board. In Shawinigan the parish priest even entrusted the town's public school to a religious order.[6] They made sure that lay teachers had attended normal schools administered by priests and established in religious communities.[7]

It was thus in this context of administrative and political conservatism and under weak economic conditions that Quebec schools were built between 1876 and

1930. Funds allocated to these projects therefore suffered as a result of lack of direction and opposition to public schools.

Insufficient Funding

Between 1876 and 1930, the policy in matters of education was to economize as much as possible. Many of the schools built during this period are testimony to this.

The provincial government was the first to set the example of economy. Its contributions to the development of education between 1876 and 1930 were perceived simply as grants of various sizes depending on the generosity of the people in office.[8] The Parliament's share in the area of education never exceeded 20% of expenditures during these years.[9] The school boards' other income came from taxes they imposed locally and from a monthly contribution by parents.[10]

The Quebec government not only contributed small amounts for school maintenance, but did it badly. A study in 1920 pointed out that only a very small portion of government grants went to the poorest municipalities while a large part was awarded to other teaching establishments regardless of real needs. This poor financing policy resulted in an unfair distribution of tax rates from one community to the other.[11] The poorest communities always had the highest rates.

One way to economize on education costs was to entrust education to religious orders. The salaries paid to religious teachers were so low in 1914 that the cost of educating a child in the public schools of the province was only $14.25 per year,[12] which was ridiculously low compared to the sums invested in the public schools of Ontario.

Lacking the funds to ensure the development of the educational system, the Quebec government faced special problems which entailed additional expenses: a large population of school-age children and a dual education system.[13] Because of the large number of pupils, it was estimated that it cost the Quebec government one third more per pupil than British Columbia.[14] This created a vicious circle which hindered the evolution of schools in Quebec for a period of time. The lack of funds led to the lack of development in school programs which in turn led to low school attendance. The latter was one of the reasons why salaries were low in the province. With low revenues, the government had no money.

Because the government did not desire and could not fully assume responsibility in matters of education, school legislation provided that construction of schools was the sole responsibility of school boards. Apart from meagre government grants, school boards had two sources of revenue: "ordinary" and "special" taxes. The ordinary taxes covered operating expenses (teachers' salaries, school maintenance, purchase of teaching materials, etc.). The special taxes financed the construction of schools.[15] In this system, the construction of a school represented an additional burden to taxpayers, which was another reason for maintaining the sober appearance of schools.

Moreover, there were several flaws in this system. Among the most significant was obviously the fact that properties were taxed at only 75% of their real estate value, which in turn was assessed at one to two thirds of the market value.[16] This represented a significant loss of income. Another flaw was that the value of an average city property was three times greater than that of a comparable property located in the country.[17] All things considered, rural school boards had much smaller revenues than urban school boards.

The legislation (41 Victoria, chapter 6) respecting the construction or purchase of schools by school boards also contained a major flaw. Under Section 13, school boards which levied a "special" tax to build a new school could do so in either the sub-district in which the new school was to be located or in the entire school district.

The commissioners, who were also taxpayers, preferred the first option when it was in their interest. This situation was denounced in 1884 (four years after the adoption of the legislation) because it created too much disparity among the schools of a single school board encompassing districts of different economic status.[18] The situation was corrected years later.

In the poorest sub-districts, students had to attend country schools (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4), the cost of which was not to exceed $1600. In the most central or most populous districts, children had access to a "model" school or a "superior" school whose cost, distributed among all the school board's districts, could amount to $3000.[19] It was to the children's advantage to live in one of the sub-districts favoured by this legislation (Figs. 5, 6, 7, 8).

The situation of public education between 1876 and 1930 could be summarized as follows: on one side, an incalculable number of children in need of schools and on the other side, school boards deprived of government assistance. Because the Department of Public Instruction lacked funds, it was able to convince the school boards to implement its reforms only in rare circumstances. The appearance of the school building was therefore dependent not only upon the wealth of the residents in the school district and their concept of education, but more specifically upon the material conditions of the sub-district in which the school was to be erected.[20]

Despite the lack of funds allocated to construction, the building of schools between 1876 and 1930 proceeded at a good pace. By 1877-78 the province already had 4701 schools. This number increased constantly and almost doubled (8448) by 1930-31.[21] Between 1904 and 1922, for example, an average of 242 new schools were built per year.[22] It should be noted, however, that a large number of these new schools were built to replace dilapidated buildings.[23] The life of a poorly constructed school was very brief. Still, the local authorities preferred to build cheap schools with short lives because they had to be financed by a supplementary tax.

The impressive number of schools in 1930 (8448) can be explained by the lack of school centralization in Quebec rural areas prior to 1960. A great number of country schools were maintained to "make the schools accessible to the children"[24] in preference to bussing children to centralized schools. The chronic lack of funds made conditions in country schools quite rudimentary, as Jacques Dorion points out:

> In September 1949, electricity had been installed in 2425 schools or 38% of all schools. Forty per cent (40%) of the schools (2540) had toilets outside the main building and for 42.4% of the schools, water was available only at the school's neighbours.[25] (translation)

Attempts at school centralization produced very few results in Quebec. Only a few Protestant school boards actually implemented centralization. The municipality of Kingsey was the first to adopt this system in 1905.[26] Among the francophones, the large number of children and the distribution of lands, different from that of townships, impeded this movement.[27]

Classification of Public Schools

Since the financial means of the school district influenced the construction of public schools, the criteria for the classification of public schools were more or less specific. Here again, the situation was complicated by the division between the Catholic and the Protestant systems, which involved two clearly distinct school networks. The schools in the Catholic system included elementary schools, complementary schools, model schools, superior schools, secondary schools, academies and home economics schools. The anglophone public schools on the other hand included elementary schools, model schools, academies and high schools.[28]

The program division was quite simple, having been modified only a few times. The following table summarizes the evolution of school programs in the Catholic public schools between 1876 and 1930.

Table 1. Evolution of Programs in Catholic Public Schools[29]

Year	Program Division	Duration
1876	Elementary (1st & 2nd level)	-
	Model	-
	Academic	-
1888	Elementary	4 years
	Model	2 years
	Academic	2 years
1923	Kindergarten	optional
	Elementary (junior, middle, senior)	6 years
	Complementary (agriculture, business, industrial arts and home economics)	2 years
1929	Kindergarten	optional
	Elementary	6 years
	Complementary	2 years
	Superior	3 years

It was not so much the designation of a school that characterized it. The designation was sometimes misleading: some institutions called themselves model schools or academies to qualify for larger government grants when in reality they were simple elementary schools.[30] In fact, it was the geographic location that was the major criterion in the classification of schools. Rural areas mostly had elementary schools with one or two classrooms. Towns and villages had model schools and even academies where the population was large enough. In large cities like Montreal and Quebec City, the elementary schools were often imposing buildings that outshone village academies.[31]

The Protestant school system was less complicated than the Catholic one. Secondary education was offered in high schools, where a high-school diploma could be obtained after 11 years of study, or in intermediate schools which could be completed in only 9 years. The elementary program taught in elementary schools lasted 7 years.[32]

Toward the Architectural Improvement of Schools

Despite its weak powers, the Department of Public Instruction attempted gradually to improve school life. Unable to have its own way, it had to proceed with care. This explains the extreme slowness of the architectural evolution of public schools in Quebec. A (federal) Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education stated in 1963 that, unlike religious architecture, there has never been any school architecture.

According to this commission, the evolution of construction methods first made the schools look like houses or barns, then like monasteries and finally like factories.[33] This opinion is debatable.

In Montreal, for example, the Catholic School Board commissioned Adolphe Lévesque to draw up plans for schools it intended to build between 1870 and 1880. Lévesque was an admirer of the British architect Pugin and had even translated one of his works into French.

Lévesque designed a number of buildings in the neo-gothic style following Pugin's call for a return to gothic architecture, including the Plessis School, which still stands, and the Belmont and Olier Schools, which are now gone. It can be seen that concern for the architecture of schools began to surface as early as 1870. A description of the Belmont School built in 1878 confirms this:

> The grounds are spacious and surrounded by a beautiful fence; they are planted with shade trees and embellished with flower beds. The semi-gothic style of the building presents an aspect both graceful and imposing, which harmonizes well with our Canadian climate.... As seen by the plans, the basement contains a large recreation hall, the care-taker's apartments and the pupils' water closets; on the first floor are five classes, the Principal's office and a parlour; the second also contains five classes and the teachers' room; the third is used as an assembly hall for school entertainments.[35]

In Montreal at least, there was a growing concern to provide students with an environment favourable to education.

It was mainly the small rural school boards which were reluctant to provide adequate buildings because they lacked sufficient funds. The Department of Public Instruction attempted to correct the situation over the years.

A regulation aimed at improving schools was adopted in 1876, the first since 1857. The school boards were required to submit their building plans for approval by the Superintendent of Public Instruction. This measure had little effect. The superintendent was forced to admit that he was powerless to enforce it: "I had to be less stringent with the poorer municipalities. In my judgement, it is better to allow them to build inadequate schools than to forbid them to build any at all"[36] (translation). It was better to allow poorly built schools than to deprive so many children of education. This mentality prevailed for a long time.

In 1877 the Department of Public Instruction issued standards for the construction of schools: 9 square feet of area and 90 cubic feet of air per pupil. The school had to be "elevated, well-aired, well-lit, slightly recessed from the road, and built on at least one half acre of land."[37] It also had to have two classrooms, one for beginners and the other for the seniors. It was an impossible dream. Two classrooms would require two teachers and very few school boards could afford to hire two teachers in the rural sub-districts.

In 1880, new recommendations were made for the construction of schools in rural areas. From then on, the building had to include an apartment of 4 or 5 rooms reserved for the teacher and his family.[38] This prescription was also not observed. The country schools would provide a small room with a kitchen for the teacher and sometimes, to save even more on construction costs, the teacher was required to stay with neighbours of the school.[39] The recommendations of the Department of Public Instruction were totally unrealistic.

The building standards for schools were only clearly defined in 1883 in the Journal de l'Instruction Publique, the official publication of the Department of Public Instruction, which specified all the requirements for the building of viable schools.

First, the land had to be dry and well drained and had to hold water of good quality. In the country, the school had to be located in a high isolated place. In the cities, it had to be an adequate distance from neighbouring houses.

Classrooms could not be located in the basement. As protection against the dampness of the ground, double floors had to be built with four inches of sawdust insulation. The halls had to be at least 8 feet wide. The lower 4 feet of the classroom walls had to be protected with wainscotting.

The standard 9 square feet of area per pupil still applied. However, the minimum height of the ceiling remained only 10 feet, which still provided 90 cubic feet of air per child. This was clearly insufficient. Today, the requirement is at least twice as much.

The classrooms had to be rectangular in shape with light grey walls and white ceilings. Windows had to be installed on both sides of the classrooms. Where it was impossible to install them on both sides, they had to be placed on the pupil's left. A platform 12 inches high by 5 feet deep running the width of the classroom was reserved for the teacher.[40]

These were the basic architectural standards of the Department of Public Instruction for the period of our study. They were modified only slightly over the following decades in order to spare school board expenses. Whether they were always observed remains doubtful. L'Ancienne-Lorette, for example, approved plans for the construction of a school in 1895 which provided for 14 windows installed on all four sides of the classroom.[41] The school boards remained free to build at their discretion.

In 1896 the Department of Public Instruction made a further attempt to improve school architecture by passing new regulations. The area per pupil was raised to 15 square feet. The ceiling height was maintained at 10 feet (150 cubic feet). Lockers were provided for students. The benches had to be nailed down to the floor and a 3-foot wide passageway was required between the walls and the rows of benches. The regulation on windows remained unchanged, but the minimum window area had to equal one sixth of the classroom floor area. The top of the windows could be placed as close as possible to the ceiling while the bottom had to be at least 4 feet from the floor.[42]

Between 1915 and 1930, various regulations were adopted to further improve the appearance of public schools. The site still had to have an area of one half acre, but it now had to be level, have trees and be enclosed with a fence. The school had to be placed at least 30 feet from the road. The standard 150 cubic feet per pupil was maintained. The use of wallpaper was forbidden. Sash windows were required. The students' seats had to have backs and their desks could accommodate one or two seats. The required space between the rows of benches was 18 inches. Each classroom was required to have a blackboard at least three and one half feet high running along the entire front wall of the classroom.[43]

To facilitate the implementation of its architectural standards, the Department of Public Instruction prepared in 1896 a series of 13 model plans designed for use by the school boards upon request.[44] The plans were illustrated in the 1895-96 report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the province of Quebec. According to these illustrations, the old Saint-Janvier School (Fig. 9) corresponds to plan type No. 10 and seems to be the only school in our survey to possess these characteristics. A few years later, in 1926, architect Laberge designed another series of model plans for the Department of Public Instruction.[45] However, the department was never able to enforce its standards on school architecture despite many efforts. The recommended plans were often modified to suit local requirements, thus defeating the purpose of the plans.[46] Some localities had school buildings made out of logs and called pioneer schools, and sometimes new parishes conferred a religious vocation to the school (Fig. 10).[47] The Department of Instruction proposed but the school boards disposed.

Construction methods can explain some of the architectural diversity of the schools, especially in the rural areas. The rural school boards had many options. They could either hire a contractor to build the school, organize a construction bee, hire day labourers or hire a contractor to organize the bee.[48]

In fact, school construction methods, especially in rural areas, depended on a variety of local conditions such as the financial resources of the school board, the number of children to be educated, the availability of building materials and the interest of the population in education, to mention only a few. For this reason it is very difficult to establish a specific classification of school buildings in Quebec.

In some places, for example, school architecture was greatly inspired by domestic architecture. In these cases, the windows (Fig. 11) are the only feature that distinguishes the schools from houses.[49] In other cases, the only difference between schools and houses is the presence of bell towers (Fig. 12). The addition of rooms recommended by the Department of Public Instruction for rural schools is another way of identifying certain schools (Fig. 13).[50]

With time, a certain norm of school architecture made its appearance. Gradually, some rural schools began to adopt specific construction features at the urging of the Department of Public Instruction (Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17). In 1897, for example, the Superintendent of Public Instruction was proud to announce that he had forwarded 140 model plans to school boards at their request.[51] It would seem that, by 1905, 1827 schools were built according to plans recommended by the department.[52] What has happened to them?

We must not, however, conclude too hastily that the measures recommended by the Department of Public Instruction were a success. In 1907 the superintendent recognized the discretion exercised by the school boards:

> To my chagrin, I have found, while studying the inspectors' special reports, that a large number of school boards alter the plans and specifications after they have been approved by the department. Changes are made to the building's dimensions and layout; the window area is reduced and some windows are even removed; the wood shed is discarded; houses are converted into inadequate schools....[53] (Translation.)

As we can see, it is very difficult to change old habits. It is even more difficult to change attitudes during periods of economic uncertainty.

However, some change did take place during the prosperous years toward the end of the period of our study. In 1923 the Superintendent of Public Instruction was no longer complaining that the school boards did not observe his department's minimum standards but that they exceeded the set limits! Some of them were spending more than the $1600 or $3000 approved by the department for the construction of schools.[54]

Fortunately, the statements of this government official remained a dead letter once again. Still, he made the charges again in 1928, speaking boldly of extravagances in school architecture. It seems that, in some cases, too much attention was being paid to the decoration of convent schools and boys' schools. Some of these buildings had auditoriums (a disapproved practice) or placed too much emphasis on the teachers' quarters.[55] Everything was topsy-turvy: the school boards were sinking too much money into schools and the Department of Public Instruction was criticizing them. Perhaps there was fear that the public schools would eventually compete with the private schools.

Some schools nevertheless laid themselves open to criticism. For example, the Querbes Academy in Outremont, inaugurated in 1916, included a gymnasium, a bowling room, a billiard room, a recreation room and a pool.[56] This school, however, was an exception.

Of course, because of their large student body, the architecture of some schools was more complex than that of simple country schools. This created a certain hierarchy in school institutions.

In the simple rural sub-districts, small country schools, which could take different forms, were designed for the small number of local children. In semi-rural

areas, model schools (Fig. 18) provided higher education to the children of all the school board's districts. These buildings thus exhibited a more complex architecture than the one-classroom schools. The high schools in the Protestant school system followed the same hierarchy (Fig. 19). Finally, in urban areas and especially in the larger cities, district schools (Fig. 20) taught the elementary program to all the children of the parish which could include tens of thousands of people, while academies (Fig. 21) offered the secondary program.

The urban schools, which sometimes involved enormous construction costs, could more easily provide auditoriums, gymnasiums, art rooms and workshops, all kinds of subjects supplementary to the basic teaching program. These advantages represented only a fraction of the cost of these schools. It should be noted that this type of public school made its appearance only toward the end of the 19th century and in the larger cities. Prior to this time, the elaborate schools belonged to religious orders.

The construction of public schools in Quebec therefore took place under very difficult circumstances, a fact which explains the system's slow evolution. Despite all the difficulties, school architecture nevertheless progressed, especially in urban areas. In the country, it was the timid urging of the Department of Public Instruction that gradually brought about improvements in school architecture.

In the last part of this project, we will explain in more detail all the changes made to public schools in the province of Quebec in order to compare these buildings with those of other provinces. It will be necessary to make clear distinctions between the urban and rural institutions; the schools that were largely financed by the school boards mostly reflected local economic conditions.

An analysis of rural schools could determine whether and to what extent the architectural standards of the Department of Public Instruction were closely adhered to by local authorities. On the other hand, we could examine the question whether the evolution of school buildings brought about the creation of an easily identifiable school-building type or whether school architecture simply imitated domestic architecture, monasteries and factories.

With respect to urban public schools, it would be interesting to examine the extent to which they resemble the private schools built before 1930. Another area of study could be research on sources of architectural inspiration for the construction of public schools and their influence on the appearance and evolution of school architecture.

We could also examine the correlation between the industrial evolution of society and school design: school programs and consequently school design had to be changed to meet the demand for more qualified labour brought about by industrialization. More high schools were built with art and workshop facilities to qualify students for employment. These are only a few of the questions which could be examined in the next phase of our study.

Notes

1 Jean-Paul Desbiens, Les insolences du Frère Untel (Montreal, Les Editions de l'Homme, 1960), pp. 37-38.

2 Hubert Pierlot, La législation scolaire de la province de Québec (Brussels, Albert Dewit, 1911) (hereafter, La législation scolaire), p. 136.

3 La Ligue de l'enseignement, La question de l'instruction publique dans la province de Québec (Montreal, Joseph Fortier, n.d.), p. 8.

4 Hubert Pierlot, La législation scolaire, p. 38.

5 Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire de l'enseignement au Québec (Montreal and Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971) (hereafter, Histoire de l'enseignement), Vol. 2, p. 180.

6 Album des maisons d'éducation de la province de Québec (Montreal, Compagnie canadienne nationale de publication, 1931), Vol. 2, p. 55.
7 Sister Jeannette Létourneau, "Les écoles normales de jeunes filles au Québec (1836-1974)," Ph.D. thesis (Education), University of Ottawa, 1979, p. 136.
8 Hubert Pierlot, La législation scolaire, p. 47.
9 Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire de l'enseignement, Vol. 2, pp. 355, 359.
10 Journal de l'instruction publique; organe des instituteurs catholiques de la province de Québec, new series, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Jan. 1887), p. 233.
11 George J. Trueman, School Funds in the Province of Quebec (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1920) (hereafter, School Funds), p. 4.
12 Education in the Province of Quebec (Quebec, Department of Public Instruction, 1914), p. 74.
13 George J. Trueman, School Funds, p. 94.
14 Ibid., p. 3.
15 Hubert Pierlot, La législation scolaire, p. 76.
16 George J. Trueman, School Funds, p. 3.
17 Ibid., p. 93.
18 "Lettres d'un commissaire d'écoles," Journal de l'Instruction publique, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Jan. 1884), pp. 52-53.
19 Hubert Pierlot, La législation scolaire, pp. 87-88.
20 A good example of local autonomy occurred in the small municipality of Mystic where the construction of a school in 1886 divided the citizens into two rival factions. This example illustrates the extent to which school building standards were ignored. "Prior to the construction of this model school, the village voted on whether the building should have one or two storeys. The majority voted for one storey. When the first storey was completed, the people who had been in favour of a single storey had to leave one weekend to attend a funeral. Before the end of the weekend, the other villagers had added a second storey. It was decided on the Monday that the second storey should not be torn down even though a majority had voted against it." (Translation.) Jacques Dorion, "Ecoles modèles; pré-inventaire," manuscript on file, Inventory of Cultural Property, General Heritage Branch, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Quebec (1978), n.p.
21 Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire de l'enseignement, Vol. 2, p. 279.
22 Antoine Dessang, "Construction et hygiène scolaires," L'Enseignement primaire; éducation, instruction; revue mensuelle, Vol. 44, No. 8 (April 1923), p. 469.
23 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1928-29 (Quebec, Rédempti Paradis, 1929), p. XIII.
24 Jacques Dorion, Les écoles de rang au Québec (Montreal, Les Editions de l'Homme, 1979) (hereafter, Les écoles de rang), p. 274.
25 Ibid., pp. 334-335.
26 Walter Pilling Percival, Life in School; an Explanation of the Protestant School System of the Province of Quebec (Montreal, Herald Press, 1941) (hereafter, Life in School), pp. 97-98.
27 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1904-05 (Quebec, Charles Pageau, 1906), p. XVI.
28 Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire de l'enseignement, Vol. 2, p. 268.
29 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 273-274.
30 Gédéon Ouimet, "Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1877-1878," Journal de l'Instruction publique, Vol. 23, No. 6 (June 1897), p. 81.
31 Hubert Pierlot, La législation scolaire, pp. 111-12.
32 Walter Pilling Percival, Life in School, p. 31. Academies were gradually replaced by high schools.
33 Canada, Public Archives, "Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education, School Buildings," MG30, D134, Vol. 63, 30 July 1963, n.p.

34 Jacqueline Hallé, "Edifices conventuels; période 1875-1900; 1900-1930," manuscript on file, Direction générale du patrimoine, Ministère des affaires culturelles, Montreal (1979), p. 44.
35 An Account of the Schools Controlled by the Roman Catholic Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal (Canada) (Montreal, n.p., 1893), p. 73.
36 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1876-77 (Quebec, Queen's Printer, 1877), p. VII.
37 Gédéon Ouimet, Circulaire du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique (Quebec, Léger Brousseau, 1877), p. 14.
38 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1879-80 (Quebec, Queen's Printer, 1881), p. XV.
39 "Du matériel des écoles," Journal de l'Instruction publique, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Feb. 1883), p. 51.
40 Ibid., pp. 51-54.
41 Quebec, Archives nationales du Québec, Fonds Éducation, general correspondence, No. 588, 18 March 1895.
42 School Regulations of the Roman Catholic Committee of the Council of Public Instruction (Amended to May 1st, 1899) (Quebec, Daily Telegraph, 1900), pp. 71-75.
43 Règlements du Comité catholique du Conseil de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec (Refondus en 1915 et amendés jusqu'au ler janvier 1930) (Quebec, n.p., 1930), pp. 6-8.
44 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1894-95 (Quebec, Charles-François Langlois, 1895), p. XIV.
45 Jacques Dorion, Les écoles de rang, p. 77.
46 Walter Pilling Percival, Life in School, p. 86.
47 Jacques Dorion, Les écoles de rang, p. 72.
48 Ibid., pp. 91-93.
49 Ibid., p. 125.
50 Ibid., p. 374.
51 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1896-97 (Quebec, Queen's Printer, 1897), p. VIII.
52 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1904-05 (Quebec, Charles Pageau, 1906), p. XVII.
53 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1906-07 (Quebec, Charles Pageau, 1908), p. 489.
54 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1923-24 (Quebec, Ls-A. Proulx, 1924), p. 437.
55 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1928-29 (Quebec, Rédempti Paradis, 1929), p. 492.
56 Information obtained from Mr. Paul l'Abbé of the Jacques Cartier School Board and from Father François Prud'Homme, C.S.V. This building still exists and is almost original with few modifications.

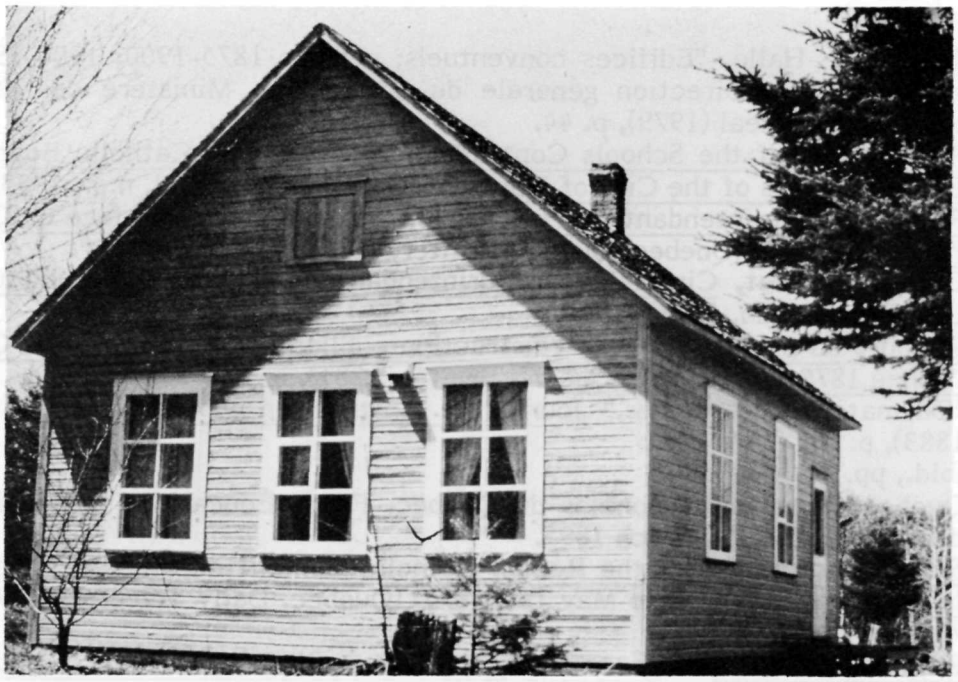

Figure 1. Old school, Calvaire Rd., Saint-Alphonse, Bonaventure County, date of construction unknown. There is no decoration or element other than the number of windows to distinguish this school house from a house. (Jacques Dorion Collection, Sillery, Quebec.)

Figure 2. Old country school, 230 Saint-Henry Rd., Lanoraie, built around 1880. Despite the building's small dimensions, the bell tower identifies it as a school. Note the narrow front windows which did not provide much light. (C.I.H.B.)

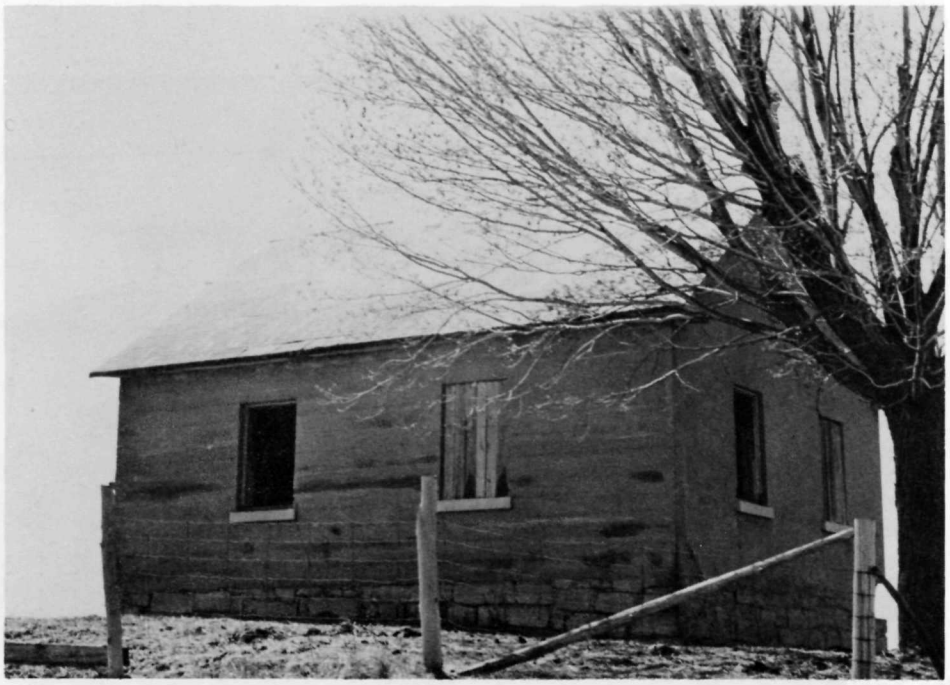

Figure 3. Old school, Heyworth, near Hull, built around 1880. During the entire period 1876-1930, the Department of Public Instruction paid little attention to the matter of natural lighting on one side only, unlike the education departments of many other provinces. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 4. Old country school, Saint-Pie-de-Bagot, built around 1900. In this case, some effort was made to observe certain standards of the Department of Public Instruction regarding windows. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 5. Old school, Bouchette, built around 1910. This is a typical village school with its two separate entrances for boys and girls, set back on each side of the main facade. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 6. Old school, Kinnears Mill, near Mégantic, built around 1914. This building, with its four classrooms, belongs to a category of schools that is very common in the other provinces but not so common in Quebec. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 7. Old school, Saint-Eugène-de-Grantham, built in 1915. Even village schools could resemble houses. This building is representative of a number of schools built in semirural areas. (C.I.H.B.)

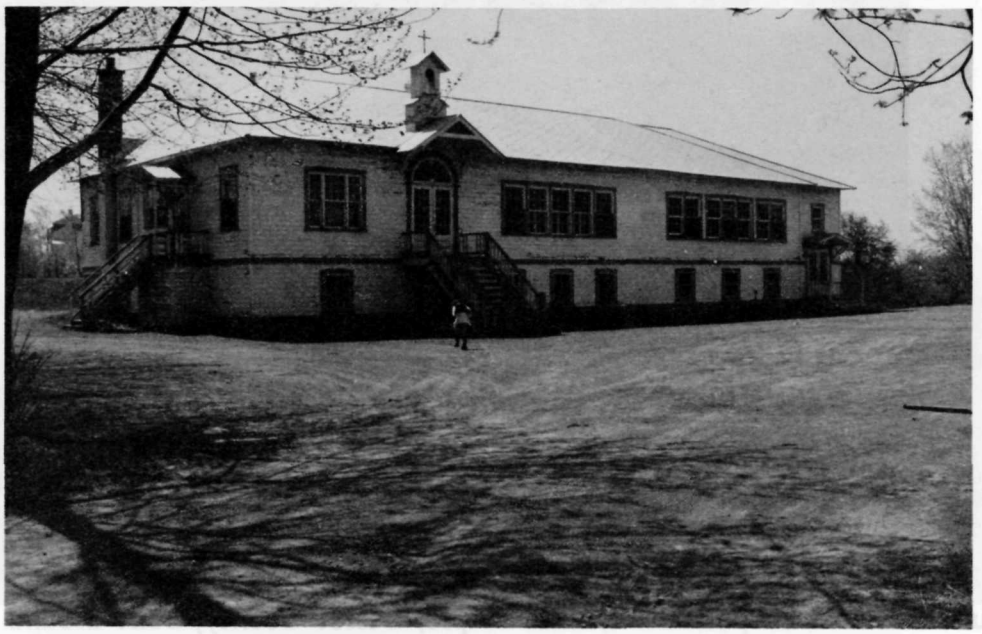

Figure 8. Old school, Sainte-Pétronille, Ile d'Orléans, built around 1920. According to the architectural standards of the Department of Public Instruction for the period, this school, in a semirural area, was an avant-garde building. The classrooms are on the second floor while a large part of the main floor is used for non-teaching purposes. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 9. Old school, 160 Côte Saint-Pierre, Saint-Janvier, Lotbinière County, built around 1900. According to model plan No. 10, this school could be built for $1600 and could accommodate 80 students. The main floor was divided into two classrooms. The second floor consisted of the teacher's apartment which included a kitchen, a parlour and bedrooms. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 10. Old chapel-school, Bras-d'Apic, L'Islet County, built around 1880. This building was used as both a school and a chapel for the population of the district. There seems to be an apartment in the attic. This is a good example of economy in construction. (Jacques Dorion Collection, Sillery, Quebec.)

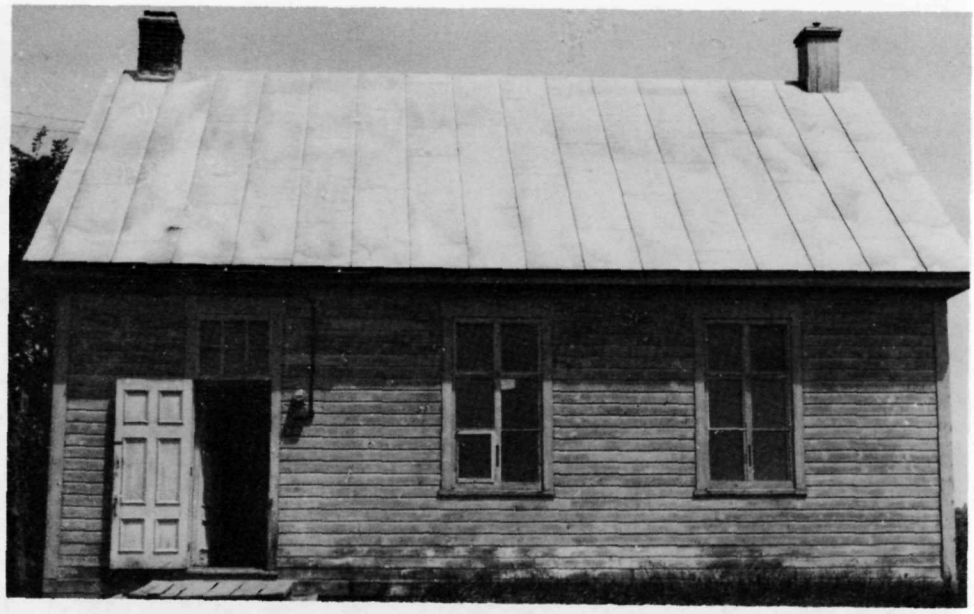

Figure 11. Old school, 3540 River Rd., Saint-Félix-de-Valois, built around 1890. The only architectural standards issued by the Department of Public Instruction that were implemented in this building relate to the height of the windows and the false chimney located on the right. Fortunately, the reorganization and centralization of schools at the end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s caused such buildings to be abandoned. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 12. Old school, Wilson's Corners, near Hull, built around 1905. In this case, the Department of Public Instruction's standards regarding windows were followed closely. Since there was no provision for an apartment on the second floor, the teacher had to stay with neighbours, a situation that the department strongly denounced to no avail. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 13. Old school in Wentworth, Argenteuil County, built around 1895. This building falls into a special category of country schools: the locomotive-type school. Each room is an adjoining building used for a separate purpose, as recommended by the Department of Public Instruction. From the picture, we recognize first an entrance, then the classroom, the water-closet and the wood shed at the back. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 14. Old school, 465 Saint-Zotique, Saint-Zotique, built around 1910. Despite the addition of rooms in the back for residential purposes, this building is easily identified as a school. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 15. Old school, Boulogne, near Drummondville, built around 1905. The presence of two doors identifies this building as a school. Note the presence of ventilation ducts. The quality of air breathed by the children was always of primary concern to the Department of Public Instruction. However, it did not introduce any more innovations in this area than in others. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 16. Old school, Gasparine, Chateauguay County, built around 1910. This building and the old Saint-Janvier school (Fig. 9) are similar in some ways. The latter was built according to one of the Department of Public Instruction's model plans. It could very well be that the Gasparine school was built according to the same plan with some modifications to reduce costs. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 17. Old school, Rupert, in the Hull area, built in 1902. The separate entrances, basement, air ducts and natural lighting on two sides indicate that this building implemented some of the recommendations of the Department of Public Instruction. However, the general appearance of this school indicates that construction was inspired by local architecture. (C.I.H.B.)

Figure 18. Model school in Howick, Huntingdon County, date of construction unknown. This building is the counterpart of the country school. Nothing was neglected in the construction of model schools. The architectural recommendations of the Department of Public Instruction were followed to the letter. (Jacques Dorion Collection, Sillery, Quebec.)

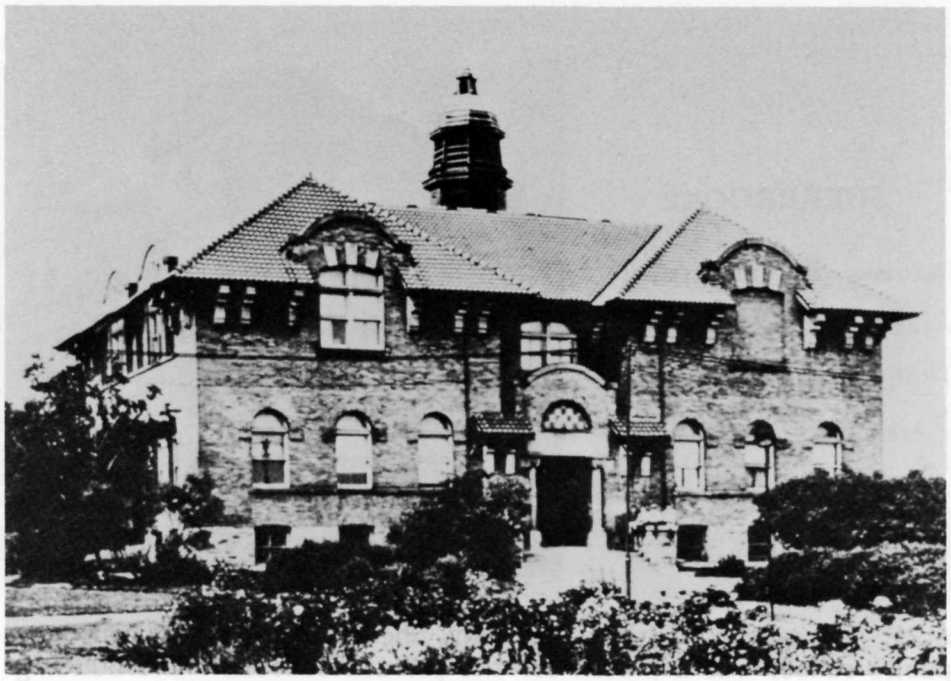

Figure 19. MacDonald High School, Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, built between 1908 and 1909 and expanded in 1951 and 1959. This school first had only 4 classrooms and was used as a training facility for the education of students of MacDonald College, affiliated with McGill University. It should be noted that such elaborate decoration on public schools was rare in Quebec. (J. Killingbeck, Lakeshore School Boards.)

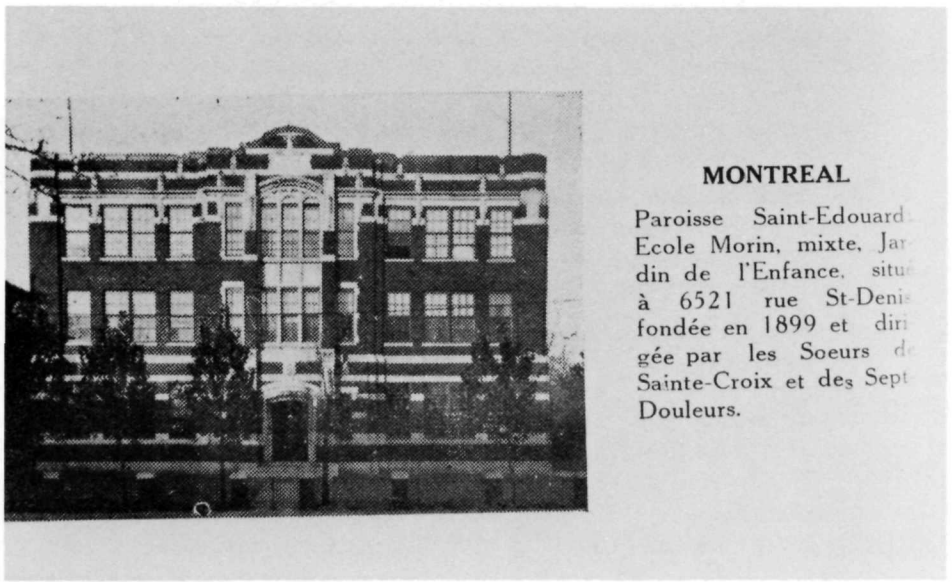

Figure 20. Morin School, Montreal (around 1932), built in 1906 by architect Maurice Perreault, expanded in 1916 and 1917. This building is an example of the district schools in Montreal. The architectural design of this building may have originated in the United States. (Album des maisons s'éducation de la province de Québec, Montreal, Compagnie canadienne nationale de publication, 1932, Vol. 3, p. 44.)

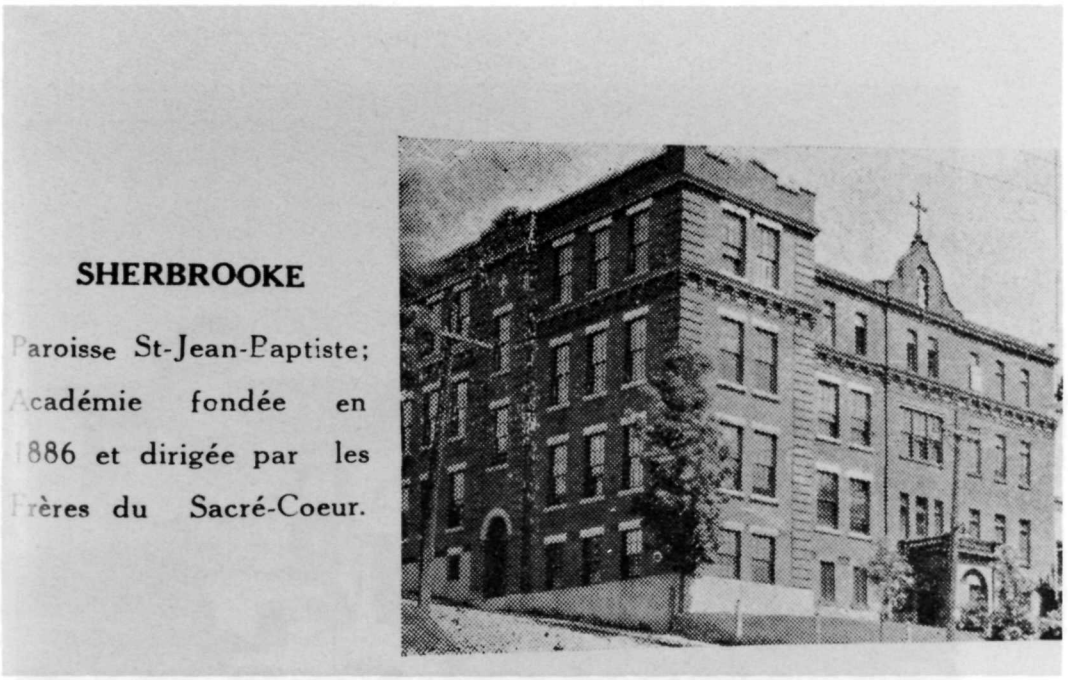

Figure 21. Saint-Jean-Baptiste Academy, Sherbrooke, date of construction unknown. This public school was a match for the private schools. The building resembles a monastery. (Album des maisons d'éducation de la province de Québec, Montreal, Compagnie canadienne nationale de publication, 1932, Vol. 3, p. 23.)

Figure 21. Saint-Jean-Baptiste Academy, Sherbrooke, date of construction unknown. This public school was a match for the private schools. The building resembles a monastery. (Album des maisons d'éducation de la province de Québec, Montreal, Compagnie canadienne nationale de publication, 1932, Vol. 3, p. 21.)

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