HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN FRENCH-SPEAKING ONTARIO: A HISTORIOGRAPHIC REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

This historiography, which we will attempt to briefly review in the following article, reveals the desire of Franco-Ontarian historians to give a voice to a collective experience which is seldom addressed, We will also reflect on the social and cultural future of the French-speaking minority, by retracing the genesis of an evolution in a sector that, to this day, has had a crucial bearing on the well-being of its culture and its identity

Since the 1970s, and especially in the 1980s, the history of education in Ontario really started to grow with the creation of a new historiographic tradition. Early historiographic work considered schools as institutions dedicated to the reproduction of social rapports and have mainly studied the strategies used by the ruling classes in order to preserve the existing social order.[1] Later on, historians started studying people's responses[2] to the States' and the elite's education policies, as well as the socialisation process experienced by the people involved in Ontario's education system.[3] Thus, from the 1980s, the historiography of education in Ontario went through a major transformation. It moved away from the study of history based on individual social actors, politics and institutions, towards more of a social-based approach to history by considering the interactions and rapports that different groups establish within the school system and which are defined by class, region, ethnicity and gender.

In contrast to Prairies historians who have written about the various academic pathways of different ethnocultural groups[4], historiographical output in Ontario is essentially focused on the study of the public education system and sets the school experience as it is lived in public schools as an interpretative norm.[5] Moreover, while this

historiographical approach has given great importance to the analysis of class and gender relationships, on the other hand, it has overlooked the role of cultural and religious minorities in the school system.[6]

Franco-Ontarian historiography, which was particularly prolific on issues relating to education, emerged at the same time the Canadian francophonie started gathering attention as an important topic for inquiry, which happened in the 1970s with that group's cultural awakening and political militancy.[7] This historiography, which we will attempt to summarize in the following article, reflects the desire of Franco-Ontarian historians to speak of a collective experience which is seldom addressed and to simultaneously reflect on the social and cultural future of the French-speaking minority by retracing the genesis of an evolution in a critical sector, one of vital importance for the well-being of its culture and its identity.

ARTHUR GODBOUT, PIONEER OF THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN FRENCH-SPEAKING ONTARIO

The title of pioneer of the history of education in French-speaking Ontario goes to Arthur Godbout, author of one of the first reviews on the subject, *Nos écoles francophones*, written in the early 1970s.[8] Godbout was a teacher at a teacher-training school and a school inspector for forty-three years, and through this genesis of the French presence since the 18th century, he described the numerous steps in the history of French schools in Ontario. He paints the picture of an evolution marked by conflicts linked to the struggle for survival of the French Canadian people while focusing on the political and educational actors, legislation, school structures and curriculums.[9] Godbout has essentially based his research on references books on education, on historical sources and on his personal experience of the education system, as well as on his experience as a teacher and civil servant.

Whereas the author maintains that he was impartial and followed a classic historical methodology, *Nos écoles franco-ontariennes* is to some extend quite partisan. It is a tribute to past struggles and conveys a message of hope to future generations about the future of French-language instruction in Ontario. In addition, Godbout warns his contemporaries to keep a focused eye on the progress made in education in the 1960s and 1970s given that this progress is still in a quite fragile state and encourages them to continue fighting for the full recognition of their rights to be schooled in their language. This is a struggle that, according to Godbout, is intrinsically tied to the well-being of the Franco-Ontarian community.[10] Even though Godbout's work has a political, partisan and even moralising tinge, it is a well-documented book that provided the very first review of the institutional and pedagogical evolution of Franco-Ontarian schools.

EDUCATION CONFLICTS IN ONTARIO: A CLASH OF NATIONALISMS

In the 1970s and 1980s, a new generation of professional historians emerged which was deeply affected by, on the one hand, the political upheavals surrounding bilingualism and French-language education in Ontario, and on the other hand, the threat of the dissolution of French Canada and a feeling of disconnect with the French-Quebecois identity. These historians participated in the creation of the Franco-Ontarian identity by retracing the development of this community, whose origins they trace back to the presence of French colonies in Ontario in the 17th century, and which was defined, among other things, by their fight to gain the right to be schooled in French which occurred between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. This historiographical output, which cannot be dissociated from a context of political protests and activism, tints the authors' research premises and their interpretations, and thus appears to be partisan to a certain degree. It is above all a political take on the history of education that brings to the forefront French-Canadian institutions and elites which are set as the incarnation of a people's will to defend their language, culture and identity in a context of conflict in education.

However, the first historians to be interested in the political history of education in French-speaking Ontario were paradoxically Anglophones. In the 1960s and 1970s, the political history of Confederation caught the attention of Anglo-Canadian historians who wanted to trace Canada's nation-building process. Thus a group of historians from Ontario examined the Regulation 17 crisis as a way to study

the relationship between Canada's French and English groups at the turn of the 20th century and the consequences of ethnoreligious conflicts on the nation-building process. They were particularly interested by the sources of school and linguistic conflicts and by their political context. The issue of language of instruction – which they traced back to the second half of the 19th century – is associated with ideological struggles and ambitions that opposed politicians, the clergy and the local elites.[11]

It is in the 1980s with the publication of Arthur Godbout's book that we can see a historiography written by a Francophone, which situates the education conflicts in Ontario within the nation-building process of French-Canada and the emergence of a Franco-Ontarian community (a community which, by extension, becomes referred to as French-Canada from the 1960s onward.) Thus, historians Gaétan Gervais and Robert Choquette approach the history of education from the angle of the French-Canadian nation-building process which was led by the French-Canadian elites and their institutions and which was based on their shared legacy of history, culture, language and faith. In this discourse, the parish and the school are considered as organisational foundations of the Franco-Ontarian society.[12]

The formation of this French-Canadian community in Ontario is closely tied to the education struggles that happened in the 20th century around the demand for French language schools. Robert Choquette conducted a meticulous research by examining diocesan archives, newspapers and the Association canadienne-française d'éducation de l'Ontario (ACFÉO). His main premise was that the education conflict in Ontario was the manifestation of the rivalry between two minority groups, the French-Canadians and the Irish, competing in order to take hold of the political power associated with the Catholic Church and thus securing their position within Ontario society. From this angle, the school became one of the main battle grounds where two irreconcilable national conceptions of Catholicism came into conflict.[13]

The work done by these researchers on Regulation 17 are descriptive and leave analysis aside to focus on the reconstruction of the conflict's steps through a perspective that at times becomes tendentious, Manichean even. Indeed, the Irish protagonists are represented by the controversial figure of Mgr. Fallon, leader of a clergy that advocated assimilation, who confronts French-Canadian elites united around the ACFÉO in defending the educational rights of minorities. The authors of this historiographical approach come to the conclusion that Franco-Ontarians became stronger as a result of the Regulation 17 crisis because this crisis acted as a catalyst in the formation of the Franco-Ontarian identity.

Finally, through this historical narrative, elites and institutions are represented in a positive manner, which contrasts with the way the Anglo-Canadian historiography represents them. The tendency of the latter was, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, to describe the institutions set in place by the ruling classes as tools used for social control or structures set up to manage the masses. On the other hand, for the Franco-Ontarian authors, the elites play a crucial role in the creation of institutions that fosters social ties, strengthen social cohesion and develop a sense of community belonging that become permanent over time.[14] Roger Guidon, who was rector at the University of Ottawa from 1964 to 1984, wrote a revealing book in this respect. Indeed, he had undertaken an extended study of the linguistic duality at the University of Ottawa and of the conflicts that have split francophone and Anglophone Catholics by looking at university management and the evolution of faculties and curricula.[15]

During the last decades, this political history of education went through major changes due to the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and because of Section 23 which guarantees French language instruction to French minorities in Canada. These studies, mainly authored by law experts that favour a history-based approach, highlight the new tools and means for action available to French minorities after the patriation of the Constitution in 1981 which enable them to bring their claims to the courts and gain autonomy and control over their educative institutions.[16] For historian Michael D. Behiels, author of *La francophonie canadienne, Renouveau constitutionnel et gouvernance scolaire*, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms has established a "constitutional democracy" that takes into account the rights of minority groups rather than giving all the power to provincial governments and which heralds a new era for the cultural rebirth of francophone and Acadian minorities.[17]

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY OR ALIGNING THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION WITH SOCIAL HISTORY

Towards the end of the 1980s, the history of education presented from a perspective of clash of nationalisms or of the emergence of national Churches gradually gave way to a historiographic production that was more influenced by the type of work done in social history. Researchers in this historiographical movement were influenced by an approach that attempts to study every element in a society in order to reconstruct the social rapports and interactions that are part of a "total social fact." Historians adhering to this approach take on a perspective that examines the relationship between education and the socio-economic conditions and material resources of different francophone communities. Without completely denying the importance of political and cultural factors, these researchers claim that socioeconomic and material conditions in which social actors evolve define the rapports they have towards education and the creation of an education system.

Chad Gaffield's *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario* is probably the first work to turn away from the traditional method of approaching cultural and political history by linking cultural identity to the social conditions experienced by Francophones living in the Prescott-Russell counties in Eastern Ontario. By taking a sociocultural approach, he associates the origins of Franco-Ontarian identity not to the political circumstances surrounding the adoption of Regulation 17, but to social, economic and material conditions experienced by the French-Canadian population which have determined family strategies and group behaviour in relation to education, and ultimately, to the language of instruction.[18]

Those researchers stand apart from the previous school of thought because they take into consideration various literary resources; they do not limit their research only to institutional or governmental archives and the press. To a great extent, they draw on data from decennial censuses in order to reconstruct the social and economic context in which the education system has evolved and which has, according to them, determined that population's process of schooling. However, the sources used are not uniquely of a demographic or socioeconomic nature. These researchers also scrutinise more traditional archives, like the ones found in educational institutions, religious congregations and Franco-Canadian community networks. They also draw on newspaper articles and oral accounts in order to reconstruct the social environment of that time.[19]

Another particularity of their work is that the authors are interested by the relationship between the "governing" and the "governed" within the school context. They posit that social actors have a degree of autonomy in relation to the State, to governmental and educational institutions and to the bureaucracy, and that they have some influence in the creation and transformation of the French-language Catholic education system, an influence which is based on their aspirations, interest and means. However, the authors point to the limits of that autonomy; French schools have to be managed in line with constrains imposed by the provincial government in relation to the language of instruction, personnel qualifications and high school requirements. And the Ontario government ultimately has the last word and a certain coercive power, given that schools are dependent upon provincial financing.[20]

However, this historiographic approach tends to interpret educational phenomena as fundamentally determined by socioeconomic or demographic conditions and to minimise the impact of the nation-building aspirations of political and religious elites as the force that propelled the development of French language network of schools in Ontario. By doing so, their representation of the evolution of French language schools in Ontario is somewhat disconnected from its nation building project. They put emphasis on social actors and position schools as products of the social conditions in which they evolved.[21] However, some authors reconcile both approaches – social history and national history. For example, in *Coloniser et enseigner*, Danielle Coulombe links the educative work done by nuns with the Hearst's bishop Mgr. Hallé's project of creating a human network that would link Abitibi to Manitoba by way of Northern Ontario through institutions that would become anchor points for French-Canadian settlers.

CONSIDERING THE OTHER SOLITUDE: THE POINT OF VIEW OF ANGLO-CATHOLICS

Separate schools in Ontario have been studied by many Anglophone authors. Like the conflicts between the Irish and the French-Canadians on the subject of language and schools, there is still to this day a gap in the historiographic traditions on Catholic schools in Ontario

that historians, both Francophone and Anglophone, rarely dare to bridge.[22] The historiographic output produced by Anglo-Catholic historians is part of a political approach taken on by some representatives from the Catholic minority of English-speakers in order to reinstate that separate schools are rooted in Ontario's history and in order to support the legitimacy of some of their educational claims. Thus, three themes generally emerge: the financing of public separate schools, the recognition of Catholic high schools and their access to public funding, and the language of instruction. Their works often represent the creation and evolution of separate schools in Ontario from a conflictual approach, either from a religious (Catholic minority against Protestant majority) or a linguistic point of view (Francophone minority against Anglophone majority.)

The greatest contribution of the Anglo-Catholic historiography is to bring another side of the story to the table, one that puts into perspective the role of the clergy and of the Irish elite at the time of the Regulation 17 crisis. It sheds light on the origins of those debates, which were overlooked or left out by francophone historians, and which are essential to understand the linguistic rapports in Ontario's Catholic minority community at the turn of the 20th century, and they do so by paying special attention to the political, socio-religious and cultural contexts. The novelty with these historians' approach was that they did not limit the study of bilingual schools to the conflict surrounding language of instruction, but instead viewed it as part of the many transformations that Anglo-Catholicism was undergoing in Ontario, such as the social mobility of Anglo-Catholics, the rise of imperialistic sentiments amongst the Irish religious hierarchy, the issue of funding separate schools and Catholic high schools, assimilation policies imposed on European immigrants by the Catholic church, the social work done by the catholic clergy in urban areas, etc.[23]

Similarly to the first francophone writings on Regulation 17 and the language of instruction, the work done by Anglo-Catholic historians was also biased to a certain degree. Indeed, Anglo-Catholic historians put little effort into contextualizing French Canadian opposition to Regulation 17 with the emergence of French-Canadian and Anglo-Canadian nationalisms. The opposition to Regulation 17 was attributed to the ambitions of the French-Canadian elites and their political militancy.[24] Hopefully, Franco-Ontarian and Anglo-Catholic schools of thought will be willing to build more bridges in order to promote debates and dialogue so as to broaden our knowledge of the Regulation 17 conflict.

After this brief overview of the Franco-Ontarian historiography of education, it is time for an assessment. It is crucial not to forget that education issues were always central to the study of the Canadian francophonie, and this is also the case in French-speaking Ontario. Considering education issues is unavoidable because of the major role that the school plays in the creation and renewal of the social fabric and identity of the Franco-Ontarian community. However, to this day, historiography has represented the school as an institution enabling the "survival" of a community and political struggles as foundations of the Franco-Ontarian identity. Even though a new trend has been emerging over the past decades, the social conditions and processes leading up to the creation of the school system and to the schooling of Franco-Ontarians still need to be studied.

The importance given to political and cultural factors in the history of education in French-speaking Ontario can be explained by the climate of identity awakening that has risen out of the linguistic claims of the 1960s and 1970s and which has necessarily molded the form and content of the historical narrative through which debates, political struggles and ideologies, laws, institutions and school structures are analyzed. Thus the more superficial aspect of the Franco-Ontarian school system is relatively well-documented when it comes to its relationship the State and the social majority. Less well-documented are the conditions necessary in order to implement and develop a Francophone educational space, notably the role of public and private institutions in social production and reproduction. Furthermore, the local dynamics between the representatives of school boards and Franco-Ontarian communities are generally not addressed. Finally, schools as they are experienced by the Franco-Ontarian population and examined through themes such as school programs, textbooks, teacher's training and work conditions, and the socialisation of students, are areas that still require more research.

Immigration, which will come to play an important part in the definition – or redefinition – of the Franco-Ontarian identity and the transmission of the French language and culture in Ontario has seldom been given much attention by historians who prefer leaving this area to sociolinguists and education researchers.[25] This lack of

interest can be explained by primary sources that are often incomplete and the fact that history is mainly concerned with the past while immigration has only recently become a reality in Franco-Ontarian schools. However, sooner or later, historians will have to consider the Franco-Ontarian community's relationship to this "Other"; some pioneering work has recently been undertaken in this respect.[26] To that effect, studying the North-East of the province, a region that has an important minority of French-Canadians which coexist with numerous other ethnic groups and who are in contact through such institutions as Catholic schools, would prove to be a very rich area of inquiry.

The historiography of education in French Ontario, in spite of its weaknesses and deficiencies, is a testament to the fascinating trajectory of a minority group that was able to create a space for itself characterized by institutional diversity and various school options that are representative of its social and cultural dynamism. This historiography is an important resource for researchers in Ontario and the rest of Canada that needs to be more thoroughly examined in order for us to better understand how the ties between education, culture and society mold the collective experience of a minority group.

NOTES

1 J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Audet (ed.), *Canadian Education*: A history, Scarborough, 1970 and Robert M. Stamp, The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982, 293 p. This book is representative of this trend.

2 Michael Katz and Paul Mattingly (ed.), *Education and Social Change*, *Themes from Ontario Past*, New York, New York University Press, 1975, 324 p. Ian E. Davey, *Educational Reform and the Working Class*: School Attendance in Hamilton, Ontario, 1851-1891, doctoral dissertation (history), University of Toronto, 1975, 356 p. Harvey J. Graff, *Literacy and Social Structure in the Nineteenth Century City*, doctoral dissertation (history), University of Toronto, 1975. Susan E. Houston, *The Impetus to Reform: Urban Crime, Poverty and Ignorance*, doctoral dissertation (history), University of Toronto, 1975, 466 p. Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Family Schools and Society in Nineteenth-Century Canada*, Toronto, Oxford University, 1975, 294 p. Robert D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar "From Voluntarism to State Schooling: the Creation of the Public School System in Ontario," *Canadian Historical Review*, 60(4) (1975): 442-465. Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters, Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1977, 192 p.; Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West*, 1836-1871, London, The Althouse Press, 1988, 450 p. Neil MacDonald and Alf Chaiton, *Egerton Ryerson and His Times. Essays on the History of Education*, Toronto, Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1978, 319 p. Robert D. Gidney and Douglas Archie Lawr, "Egerton Ryerson and the Origins of the Ontario Secondary School," *Canadian Historical Review*, 60(4) (1979): 443-473.

3 For a summary of the history of education from this perspective, see Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling Education in Canada, 1800-1914*, *Themes in Canadian Social History*, Toronto, University Press of Toronto, 1997, 155 p. Also see R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education*, *The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, Montréal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990, 411 p.; R. D. Gidney *From Hope to Harris. The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1999, 362 p.; R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *How Schools Worked? Public Education in English Canada*, 1900-1940, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012, 517 p. Marta Danelywycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and the Bureaucratizing School Systems in Nineteenth Century," *History of Education Quaterly*, 24(1) (Spring 1984): 75-100. Marta Danelywicz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers' Work: Changing Patterns and Perceptions in the Emerging School Systems of Nineteenth – and the Early Twentieth-Century Central Canada," in Alison Prentice and Majorie Theobald, *Women Who Taught*. Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1991: 136-159.

4 C. J. Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada, 1897-1919," *Paedagogica Historica*, 10(3) (1970): 517-541. C. J. Jaenen, "Minority Groups Schooling and Canadian National Unity," *The Journal of Educational Thought*, 7(2) (August 1973): 81-93. Martin Jorgen Dahlie, "Some Aspects of the Education of Minorities: The Japanese in B. C., Lost Opportunity?," *B. C. Studies*, nº 8 (Winter 1970/71): 3-16. Patricia E. Roy, "Educating the East: British Columbia and the Oriental Question in the Inter-War Years," *B. C. Studies*, nº 18 (Summer 1973): 50-69. J. D. Wilson and Jorgen Dahlie, "Negroes, Finns, Sikhs – Education and Community Experience in British Columbia," in Paul Mingus (dir.), *Sounds Canadian: Language and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society*, Canadian Ethnic Studies Association, Toronto, Peter Martin Associates, 1975: 76-92. R. J. MacDonald, "Hutterite Education in Alberta: A Test Case in Assimilation, 1920-1970," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 8(1) (1976): 9-21. L. Kovacs, *Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education*, Regina, University of Regina, Canadian Plains Studies, 1978, 495 p. Mary Ashworth, *The Forces Which Shaped Them: A History of the Education of Minority Group Children in British Columbia*, Vancouver, New Star Books, 1979, 238 p. Neil McDonald, "Canadian Nationalism and North-West Schools, 1884-1905," in Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller, *Education in Canada: An Interpretation*, Calgary, Detselig Enterprises, 1982: 121-150. Manoly Lupul, "Ukrainian-Language Education in Canada's Public Schools," dans Manoly Lupul (ed.) *A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada*, Toronto, McClelland & Stewart, 1982: 215-243. Stella M. Hryniuk and Neil G. McDonald, "The Schooling Experience of Ukrainians in Manitoba, 1896-1916" in Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, David C. Jones (ed.), *Schools in the West, Essays in Canadian Education History*, Calgary, Detselig Enterprises, 1986: 155-173. David Cheunyan Lai, "The Issue of Discrimination in Victoria, 1901-1923," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 19(3) (1987): 47-67. Bill Maciejko, "Ukrainians and Prairie School Reform, 1896-1921: Ethnic and Domestic Ideologies in Modern State Formation," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 22(2) (1990): 19-40.

5 Gidney's book, *From Hope to Harris*, is an exception with its chapter on minority groups, which includes Franco-Ontarians. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris…*: 142-164. Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice write a chapter on the schooling experience of the Catholic minority. Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars…*, 418 p. See also Sara Z. Burke and Patrice Milewski, *Schooling in Transition: Readings in Canadian History of Education*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012, 440 p. which has a few essays on minorities, some of which are on Franco-Ontarians.

[6] However, there are some exceptions. Luigi G. Pennacchio, "Toronto Public Schools and the Assimilation of Foreign Students, 1900-1920," *Journal of Educational Thought*, Vol. 20 (April 1986): 37-48. Lynne Marks, "Kaye Meydelach or Shulamith Girls: Cultural Change and Continuity among Jewish Parents and Daughters: A Case Study of Toronto's Harbord Collegiate Institute in the 1920's," in Alison Prentice and Ruby Heap, ed., *Gender and Education in Ontario*, An Historical Reader, in Alison Prentice and Ruby Heap (ed.), Toronto, Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991: 291-302. Luigi Pennacchio, "The Defence of Identity: Ida Siegel and the Jews of Toronto versus the Assimilation Attempts of the Public Schools and Its Allies, 1900-1920," *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, 9(1) (January 1985): 41-60. See also Mark G. McGowan, "Toronto's English-Speaking Catholics, Immigration, and the Making of a Canadian Catholic Identity, 1900-30," in Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz, *Creed and Culture, The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993: 204-245 and John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of National Identity, 1875-1935*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990, 270 p.

[7] See Jean Lapointe and Joseph Yvon Thériault, "La sociologie et les francophonies minoritaires au Canada," in Joseph Yvon Thériault (ed.), *Francophones minoritaires au Canada – l'état des lieux*, Moncton, Les Éditions de l'Acadie, 1999: 193-208.

[8] Arthur Godbout, *Nos écoles franco-ontariennes, Histoire des écoles de langue française dans l'Ontario, des origines du système scolaire (1841) jusqu'à nos jours*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1980, 141 p. See also Arthur, Godbout, *L'origine des écoles françaises dans l'Ontario*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1972, 183 p. and Arthur Godbout, *Historique de l'enseignement français dans l'Ontario 1676-1976*, Ottawa, Centre franco-ontarien de ressources pédagogiques, 1979, 102 p. See also the work of historian Lucien Brault: Lucien Brault, *Histoire des comtés unis de Prescott et de Russell*, 1965, 377 p. and Lucien Brault, *Bref exposé de l'enseignement bilingue au XXe siècle dans l'Ontario et les autres provinces*, Kingston, 1966, 36 p. The essay "L'éducation en Ontario français," published in *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada: l'état des lieux*, is one of the very few reviews on this topic, with the exception of the one by Godbout. See Louis-Gabriel Bordeleau, Roger Bernard and Benoît Cazabon, "L'éducation en Ontario français," in Joseph-Yvon Thériault (ed.), *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada: l'état des lieux*, Moncton, Éditions d'Acadie, 1999: 435-473.

[9] Godbout, *Nos écoles franco-ontariennes*…: 11-25.

[10] *Ibid*.: 107-122.

[11] Margaret Prang "Clerics, Politicians, and the Bilingual Schools Issue in Ontario, 1910-1917," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 41, Issue 4 (December 1960): 281-307. Marilyn Barber, "Ontario Bilingual Schools Issue: Sources of Conflict," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 47, Issue 3 (September 1966): 227-248. Peter Oliver "The Ontario Bilingual Schools Crisis, 1919-29," *Journal of Canadian Studies/ Revue d'études canadiennes*, 7(1) (February 1972): 22-45.

[12] Gaétan Gervais, "L'enseignement supérieur en Ontario français (1848-1965)," *Revue du Nouvel-Ontario*, n° 7 (1985): 11-52; Gaétan Gervais, "Aux origines de l'identité franco-ontarienne," *Cahiers Charlevoix, Études franco-ontariennes*, n° 1, Sudbury, Société Charlevoix et Prise de parole, 1995: 125-168; and Gaétan Gervais, "Le règlement XVII (1912-1927)," *Revue du Nouvel Ontario*, n° 18 (1996): 123-192. See also Gaétan Gervais, "L'Ontario français, 1821-1910," in Cornelius J. Jaenen (ed.), *Les Franco-Ontariens*, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1993: 49-126; Gaétan Gervais, "L'histoire de l'Ontario français, 1610-1997)," in Joseph-Yvon Thériault (ed.), *Francophonies minoritaires au Canada: l'état des lieux*, Moncton, Éditions d'Acadie, 1995: 145-161 and Gaétan Gervais, "Le règlement XVII (1912-1927)," *Revue du Nouvel Ontario*, n° 18 (1996): 123-192. For the founding narrative of Franco-Ontarians, see Robert Choquette, *L'Ontario français, historique*, Montreal, Éditions Études Vivantes, 1980. 272 p. and Michel Bock, Gaétan Gervais et Suzanne Arseneault (ed.), *L'Ontario français: des Pays-d'en-Haut à nos jours,* Centre franco-ontarien des ressources pédagogiques, 2004, 271 p.

[13] Robert Choquette, *Langue et Religion: histoire des conflits anglo-français en Ontario*, Ottawa, Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1977, 268 p.; Robert Choquette, *L'Église catholique dans l'Ontario français du dix-neuvième siècle*, Ottawa, Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1984, 365 p. et Robert Choquette, *La foi gardienne de la langue en Ontario: 1900-1950*, Montréal, Bellarmin, 1987, 282 p.

[14] For a description of Franco-Ontarian elites and institutions, see Gaétan Gervais, "La stratégie de développement institutionnel de l'élite canadienne-française de Sudbury ou le triomphe de la continuité," *Revue du Nouvel-Ontario*, n° 5 (1983): 67-92.

[15] Roger Guindon, *Coexistence difficile. La dualité linguistique à l'Université d'Ottawa*, Vol. 1, 1848-1898, Ottawa, PUO, 1989, 209 p.; Roger Guindon, *Coexistence menacée. La dualité linguistique à l'Université d'Ottawa*, Vol. 2; 1898-1936, Ottawa, PUO, 209 p. and Roger Guindon, *Coexistence féconde. La dualité linguistique à l'Université d'Ottawa*, Vol. 3; 1936-1965, Ottawa, PUO, 1995, 174 p. Roger Guindon, *La coexistence équitable, La dualité linguistique à l'Université d'Ottawa*, Vol. 4: since 1965, Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 1998, 185 p.

[16] See for example Angéline Martel, "Processus initié par la promulgation de l'article 23 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés: les revendication scolaires de la minorité de langue officielle française," in David Scheiderman (ed.), *Language and the State: The Law and Politics of Identity*, Edmonton, Centre d'études constitutionnelles, University of Alberta, 1991: 377-412 and Angéline Martel and Daniel Villeneuve, "Droit constitutionnel et rapports de pouvoir: Les droits scolaires des francophones minoritaires du Canada avant 1960," *Canadian Journal of Law and Society/ Revue canadienne de droit et société*, 10(1), (1995): 25-63. Pierre Foucher, "L'évolution des droits scolaires des minorités linguistiques francophones au Canada," in Claude Deblois and Alain Prujiner (ed.), *Les écoles françaises hors Québec: rétrospective et prospective*, Quebec, Les Cahiers du Laboratoire de recherche en administration et politique scolaires, Faculty of, Université Laval, 1991.

[17] Michael D. Behiels, *La francophonie canadienne, Renouveau constitutionnel et gouvernance scolaire*, translated under the supervision of François Gauthier, Collection Amérique française. Ottawa, University of Ottawa Press, 2005, 432 p.

[18] Chad Gaffield, *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario*, Montreal & Kingston, Ontario, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987, 272 p. See also David Welch, *The Social Construction of Franco-Ontarian Interests Toward French Language Schooling: 19th century to 1980's*, doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1988, 400 p. Jack Cecillon, "Language and School Conflicts in the Windsor Border Region, 1882-1920," *Ontario History* (December 1995): 261-287 and Jack Cecillon, "Early Struggles for Bilingual Schools and the French Language in the Windsor Border Region, 1851-1910," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* (Spring 2009): 66-84.

[19] On this subject, see Françoise Noel's book, which attempts to reconstruct the daily lives of the North Bay region "habitants" based on newspaper articles and oral accounts. Françoise Noel, *Family and Community Life in Northeastern Ontario, The Interwar Years,* Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009, 340 p.

[20] Danielle Coulombe, *Coloniser et enseigner, Le rôle du clergé et la contribution des Sœurs de Notre-Dame du Perpétuel Secours à Hearst 1917-1942,* Éditions du Nordir, Ottawa, 1988, 249 p. See also Stéphane Lang, *La communauté franco-ontarienne et l'enseignement secondaire (1910-1968)*, University of Ottawa, doctoral dissertation (history), 2003: 302.

[21] One school of thought has recently called for – not only in the field of history, but in all the other disciplines in the social sciences – the return to an interpretative approach that positions notions of memory and history more centrally, given that these notions have created sense for French-Canadians and that they are still necessary today in order to legitimize the political project of the Canadian francophonie. See Michel Bock "Se souvenir et oublier: la mémoire du Canada français, hier et aujourd'hui," *L'espace francophone en milieu minoritaire au Canada. Nouveaux enjeux, nouvelles mobilisations*, Joseph-Yvon Thériault, Gilbert, Anne and Linda Cardinal (ed.) Montreal, Fides, 2008: 161-204 and Meunier, Martin and Joseph Yvon Thériault. "Que reste-t-il de l'intention vitale du Canada français?" *L'espace francophone en milieu minoritaire au Canada. Nouveaux enjeux, nouvelles mobilisations*. Thériault, Joseph Yvon, Gilbert, Anne and Linda Cardinal (ed.) Montreal, Fides, 2008: 205-240.

[22] See Franklin Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada*, Toronto, J. M. Dent & Sons [Canada] Ltd., 1954, 331 p.; Franklin Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario*, Toronto, Thomas Nelson & Sons [Canada] Ltd., 1964, 514 p. and Franklin Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario: From the Hope Commission to the Promise of Completion (1945-1985)*, Toronto, Catholic Education Foundation of Ontario, 1986, 514 p. See also Walker's ideas on the issues and sources of the history of Catholic schools in Ontario, in Franklin Walker, "The History of Ontario Separate Schools: Sources and Problems," *Canadian Catholic Historical Association, Historical Studies*, Vol. 55 (1988): 7-20. See also Robert M. Stamp, *The Historical Background of Separate Schools in Ontario*, Toronto, Ontario Ministry of Education, 1985, 35 p. Mark G. McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, Irish and Identity in Toronto, 1887-1922*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999, 432 p. Michael Power, *A Promise Fulfilled, Highlights in the Political History of Catholic Separate Schools in Ontario*, Ontario Catholic School Trustees' Association, 2002, 525 p. Robert T. Dixon has in a way become Walker's successor as "official historian" of Ontario's Catholic schools by writing his dissertation on the subject and by publishing many articles and essays on the subject. Robert T. Dixon, *The Ontario Separate School System and Section 93 of the British North America Act*, doctoral dissertation (education) University of Toronto, 1976, 854 p. Robert T. Dixon, *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario* (1964-2001), Vol. 4, Toronto, The Catholic Education Foundation of Ontario, 2003, 543 p. Robert T. Dixon, "William Davis and the Road to Completion in Ontario's Catholic High Schools, 1971-1985," *Catholic Church Historical Association (CCHA)*, Vol. 69 (2003): 7-33. Robert T. Dixon, *We Remember, We Believe, A History of Toronto's Catholic Separate School Boards, 1841 to 1997*, Toronto, Toronto Catholic District School Board, 2007, 481 p.

[23] See Power, *A Promise Fulfilled…*: 347-473 and Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario: From the Hope Commission…*: 437-477.

[24] *See Power, A Promise Fulfilled…*: 203-247 and Walker, *Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario…*: 228-231. McGowan also addresses the issue of bilingual schools which he considers through a broader framework and includes the differences between the Irish and French-Canadian clergy on episcopal nominations and the assimilation of Catholic immigrants. McGowan, *Waning of the Green…*: 235-249.

[25] See Monica Heller, *Crossroads: Language, Education and Ethnicity in French Ontario*, Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, 1994, 252 p. and Monica Heller, *Paths to Post-Nationalism. A Critical Ethnography of Language and Identity*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011, 240 p. Diane Gérin-Lajoie, "La problématique identitaire et l'école de langue française en Ontario" *Francophonies d'Amérique*, nº18 (2004): 177-179. Monica Heller and Normand Labrie (ed.), *Discours et identités, La francité canadienne entre modernité et mondialisation*, Fernelmont (Belgique), Éditions modulaires européennes, 2003, 448 p. Normand Labrie and Gilles Forlot (ed.), *L'enjeu de la langue en Ontario français*, Sudbury, Prise de parole, Collection Ancrages, 1999, 269 p. Normand Labrie and Sylvie A. Lamoureux (ed.), *L'éducation de langue française en Ontario, enjeux et processus sociaux*, Sudbury, Prise de parole, 2003, 247 p. Normand Labrie "Language Policy in Ontario: From the Recognition of Linguistic Rights to the Free-Market Policy," *Canadian Language Policies in Comparative Perspective*, in Michael Morris (ed.) Montreal/Kingston, McGill Queen's University Press, 2010: 333-343.

[26] See the pioneering work done by Marcel Martel and Michael Begley. Marcel Martel, "Le dialogue avec l'Autre: les dirigeants franco-ontariens et la question de l'immigration, 1927-1968," *Revue de la Société historique du Canada*, Nouvelle série, 6 (1995): 273-287. Michael Begley, *Immigration et éducation: histoire du Regroupement ethnoculturel des parents francophones de l'Ontario*, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, 2012, 352 p.