

Donald H. MacVicar: Calvinist Educator

John P. Vaudry

DONALD Harvey MacVicar never retired. On Monday, December 15, 1902, at the age of 70, he attended a meeting of the Executive of the Board of French Evangelization — a cause dear to his heart — at Knox Church in downtown Montreal; he then hurried up McTavish Street to meet a class in Pedagogics at Presbyterian College. The students waited several minutes for their professor. It was unusual for him to be late; in fact, “punctuality was one of his minor virtues.”¹ Finally, after 20 minutes had passed, some of them went to his study where they found him slumped over the lecture notes on his desk. He had died “with his boots on,” still at the helm of the institution to which he had given much of his life.

Who was this man who died respected and loved by people of all denominations in the city of Montreal and, indeed, throughout the Dominion of Canada? What did he accomplish? What motivated him in his ministry and mission?

The purpose of this paper is to address these questions, and, in particular, to explore some aspects of MacVicar’s work as a Presbyterian educator. As we commemorate this year the sesquicentennial of his induction as professor of theology at Presbyterian College, Montreal, we may perhaps gain a bit of insight into the man and his times and be better able to appreciate why he was so widely admired.

His Early Life and Ministry

Donald MacVicar was a Scot, born in Argyllshire in 1831, the seventh of 12 children, his parents being John MacVicar and Janet McTavish. When he was only four years of age, the family immigrated to Canada and settled near Chatham, Ontario. Sensing a call to the ministry, MacVicar attended Toronto Academy and the University of Toronto before entering the divinity course at Knox College.

In 1859, MacVicar accepted a call to Knox Church, Guelph, and began his ordained ministry. During his brief pastorate, the declining congregation doubled in membership. While in Guelph, MacVicar met and married Eleanor Goulding of Toronto, with whom he would eventually have three sons and two daughters.²

After only one year in Guelph, however, MacVicar was called to the Coté Street Church in Montreal, one of the largest congregations in the Free Church, attended by some of the country’s leading business and professional men, among them members of the Redpath family. At Coté Street, MacVicar, whose first language was Gaelic, established a reputation as an able, even eloquent preacher in English.³ MacVicar was invited to be one of two ministers on what appears to have been an ad hoc committee to discuss the possibility of a founding a theological college. The role of the college would be to equip ministers of the

¹ John H. MacVicar, *Life and Work of Donald Harvey MacVicar, D.D., LL.D.* (Toronto: The Westminster Company, 1904), 341.

² He added “Harvey” as a middle name to please his wife-to-be who was fond of a character of that name in a novel she had read.

³ MacVicar was guest preacher in several American pulpits and was offered calls to churches in Brooklyn and San Francisco. Despite tempting stipends, he chose to remain in Quebec where he felt his duty lay.

Gospel to serve the Province of Quebec, Central Canada, the Ottawa Valley, and “regions beyond.” The group met in the home of John Redpath.⁴

The Founding of Presbyterian College, Montreal

This group, which included Principal William Dawson of McGill University, wrestled with the various obstacles in the way of creating such a college, particularly the financial challenges. At first, MacVicar was among those most skeptical of the project’s viability, but in time the committee presented the project to the Presbytery of Montreal for approval. The presbytery, in turn, recommended the founding of the college to the Synod of the Canada Presbyterian Church, and, in 1865, a charter was granted to Presbyterian College, Montreal.

No classes were held until 1867, largely because none of those approached to become professor of divinity would accept the position. These included George Paxton Young, the distinguished Canadian philosopher; A. B. Bruce of Scotland; and James McCosh of Princeton. As the search for a permanent professor continued, classes began in the basement (“the cellar”) of Erskine Church, led by William Gregg of Toronto, who served for three months, and then William Aiken of Smith’s Falls, who lectured for a similar period.

Finally, the college board decided to ask MacVicar to take on the task of teaching theology at the new college. At a synod meeting in June 1868, after much debate, MacVicar was appointed to the post, and he reluctantly accepted.

Donald MacVicar was inducted as professor of divinity at Presbyterian College on October 7, 1868.

In those early days of the college, Arts courses were provided as well as theology courses, and MacVicar, who had always had a passion for mathematics, was as likely to be found explaining the binomial theorem as the doctrine of justification. He was virtually alone at first, but a year later theologian Daniel Coussirat joined him, and in 1873, the eccentric but bilingual John Campbell was given the chair of Apologetics and Church History. That same year, General Assembly appointed MacVicar as principal.

Mention of two teachers who were fluent in French⁵ leads us to note that one of the main reasons for the existence of a college in Montreal was the expectation that it would serve as a centre for evangelizing French Canada. As Principal Dawson of McGill put it in 1863, having the college “would make this city a more powerful centre of influence for the Presbyterian Church in Lower Canada, and would enable more missionary and aggressive effort to be put forth.”⁶

We must remember that, in the minds of the majority of Protestants in Canada in the nineteenth century, French-speaking Roman Catholics were in the grip of a highly controlling, ultramontane hierarchy; their lives were characterized by ignorance and superstition; and they were being deprived of a free and simple Gospel. Presbyterians felt

⁴ John H. MacVicar, *Life and Work of Donald Harvey MacVicar*, 63.

⁵ We are not certain how fluent MacVicar himself was in French. Was the “French boy” to whom he explained the Gospel able to understand English or did MacVicar speak to him in French? *Ibid.*, 149, 150. MacVicar also belonged to two learned societies based in Paris: the Société Ethnographique and the Athenée Oriental. *Ibid.*, 302.

⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, 75.

it their Christian duty to make known the Gospel of the grace of God in Jesus Christ to a people "living in a state of prolonged childhood under Romanism."⁷

Charles Chiniquy, a former Roman Catholic priest who had been honoured by the pope for leading a successful temperance crusade in Quebec, was perhaps the most prominent of the evangelists and colporteurs who sought to convert their compatriots. Chiniquy was supported and defended by MacVicar and his colleagues. In the early days of the college when MacVicar was viewed by some as a man of "unquenchable ambition" aiming at building an institution that was unnecessary, Chiniquy remarked,

If there is a thing that is needed in Montreal to-day it is a college where our Christian young men will be prepared to spread the Gospel among the French population of this Province of Quebec, as well as among the English-speaking people . . . The ambition of the Rev Mr MacVicar is a noble one. It is the grand ambition of a true Christian . . . I would give up this very day the blessed evangelistic work in which I am engaged among my Roman Catholic countrymen, if I had not in my heart the hope that, before long, there will be a Protestant College where the more intelligent of the young men whom we bring to Christ will be trained to preach the Gospel.⁸

The great need of the college in the early 1870s was an adequate building, and through fund-raising efforts on the part of the presbytery and donations by members of Côté Street Church, an impressive edifice was erected on McTavish Street, next to the McGill campus, and dedicated in 1873. This facility was soon outgrown, however, and another set of buildings was added in the early 1880s through the generosity of David Morrice, a wealthy textile manufacturer and member of the college board.

MacVicar served as professor of theology for 33 years, 28 of which were spent as principal. In the opinion of John Scrimger, his successor, "Whatever credit must be given to others for the college's present prominent position, its existence and prosperity are due to him more than to anyone else."

MacVicar as a Calvinist

Donald MacVicar was a Calvinist. He was committed to the teachings of the Reformed and Presbyterian faith as classically formulated in the Westminster Confession. Under his leadership, Presbyterian College gained a reputation for confessional orthodoxy, even being dubbed "the Princeton of the North," an allusion to the seminary in New Jersey made famous by the uncompromising confessionalism of the Alexanders, the Hodges, and Benjamin B. Warfield.⁹

Some idea not only of the orthodoxy of the teaching but also of the rigorous demands placed on students academically can be seen in the following questions from the Sessional Examinations of 1896-97:

⁷ Joseph Cook, quoted in *ibid.*, 154. Examples of superstition abound. In 1885, one response to the smallpox epidemic was the printing on thin pieces of paper — "curative images of the Virgin Mary" — that were to be swallowed with water before meals. People also believed that pilgrimage to the tomb of Archbishop Bourget whose bones "had become celebrated for miraculous efficacy" would help them. *Ibid.*, 151-53.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁹ A good case might be made for giving Knox College a similar epithet. William MacLaren, who used A. A. Hodge's *Outlines of Theology* as a textbook, was every bit as orthodox as MacVicar.

Show that Christ's sufferings were strictly and definitely vicarious.

Establish the *usus loquendi* of the Hebrew and Greek terms which denote imputation.

(a) Distinguish between mere pardon and Justification. (b) Dispose of the objection that the Calvinistic doctrine of Atonement excludes grace.

What objections are urged against the Moral Influence theory?¹⁰

MacVicar faced challenges to his orthodoxy — some from faculty colleagues — and was well aware of the objections and prejudices of many both within the denomination and without on the subject of Calvinism. Some had, for example, been led to think

that we hold a doctrine of Predestination, equivalent to fatalism, and which makes God a cruel, heartless despot; that we believe in a doctrine of reprobation which represents God as creating countless millions of men for the very purpose of dooming them to eternal torments; that we sincerely believe in the everlasting perdition of innumerable myriads of infants who die before they are able to discern the right hand from the left; that we delight to limit the Gospel call, the offer of mercy, and the operations of grace exclusively to the elect, and actually teach that these favoured few are infallibly destined to unending glory, no matter how they behave themselves in the world; that we ignore the necessity of regeneration and conversion, and openly deny man's free agency, and thus annihilate his responsibility and the very basis of all human morality.¹¹

All of this he saw as a distortion of the Reformed faith, and he took it as his mission to expound a positive evangelical Calvinism.

In the late nineteenth century, Calvinism was fast becoming a minority position among Presbyterians in Canada. In Scotland and North America, there were calls for credal revision and a "modified Calvinism" to soften the faith's perceived sharp edges.

More generally, the "acids of modernity" had been at work since the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Brian Fraser has pointed out that by the 1870s, many of the students who arrived at Knox College and Presbyterian College had been influenced by the shift from the Scottish Common Sense philosophy to Idealism and so had a different worldview from their professors. "The older confessional orthodoxy was seen by the new generation as dry and arid in its emphasis on the intellect and propositional truth."¹² A transition was taking place from confessional orthodoxy to what Fraser calls "progressive orthodoxy."¹³

It was the heyday of Darwinism and the higher criticism of the Bible. It was also an age when not a few English-speaking ministers and scholars were coming under the influence of Ritschlianism during postgraduate studies in Germany. Doctrines such as the Virgin Birth, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the Bodily Resurrection of Christ were being denied outright or reinterpreted.

MacVicar set himself as an apologist to counter these trends. In a paper titled "Dogma and Current Thought," he addressed "the present unrest regarding dogma," responding to those who felt that the Church ought to adopt a minimalist creed or even abolish creeds and confessions altogether.¹⁴

¹⁰ *The Calendar of the Presbyterian College, Montreal, for the Session MDCCCXCVII–MDCCCXCVIII*, 50, 51.

¹¹ *Hindrances and Helps to the Spread of Presbyterianism* (Toronto: C. B. Robinson, 1879), 5.

¹² Brian J. Fraser, *Church, College, and Clergy: A History of Theological Education at Knox College, Toronto, 1844–1994* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 92, 94.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 94.

¹⁴ Quoted in John H. MacVicar, *Life and Work of Donald Harvey MacVicar*, 202ff. In 1891, several leading ministers, including MacVicar's colleagues John Campbell and John Scrimger, participated in a symposium on confessional

Theological controversy affected the recently formed Presbyterian Church in Canada as early as 1876 when the Reverend D. J. Macdonnell of Toronto voiced from the pulpit his doubts about the eternity of future punishment. At General Assembly, MacVicar refused to rush to judgment and moved that a committee be formed to meet with Macdonnell in the hope that they could persuade him to affirm the doctrine of the Westminster Confession. The following year's Assembly accepted Macdonnell's signed statement that he did adhere to the Confession's teaching on the matter, "notwithstanding doubts or difficulties which perplex my mind."¹⁵

MacVicar was again called to deal with questions about adhering to the Confession when his colleague, Professor John Campbell, was accused of heresy. As in the Macdonnell case, MacVicar found himself once more torn between personal regard for a colleague and concern for the Church's doctrinal integrity. In the end, the Presbyterian Church in Canada's only heresy trial concluded when Campbell produced a statement that was satisfactory to all parties.

Although the term *rigid* has been applied to MacVicar by those of a different theological bent, he had an irenic spirit. He felt that holding strong convictions was not incompatible with being broad-minded, and thus he had Roman Catholic and High Anglican friends and cooperated with people of all Protestant denominations.¹⁶

It would be a misrepresentation to view MacVicar as an icy dogmatist or to think of his Calvinism as merely theoretical. When he was a student at Knox College in 1854, he wrote what he called a "Balancing Sheet with My Own Soul." Here he speaks of Christian experience with an introspection typical of many Calvinists. It is worth quoting at length.

Am I a Christian?

The question is an awful one. Let me, however, assume that I can answer it in the affirmative.

I am.

When did I become one? For I was not born one.

I have some difficulty in giving a precise date. I remember many seasons in which I had humbling views of myself, and bright and pleasing views of Christ. I continually have a strong desire to be saved.

Do I desire salvation because of the fearful consequences of the want of it, or because of the glorious things which it secures?

Partly on both accounts. I often tremble at the thought of the consequences of sin, and often am enraptured at the thought of heaven, and of the company of the redeemed there.

But what evidence have I that I am converted, that I have passed from death to life?

I very often am tempted to believe that I am not; but still feel that I can appropriate to

revision in the Presbyterian College *Journal*. Campbell vehemently opposed predestination and said of the Confession, "Put the venerable document on the shelf among historic relics, a weapon of the past." *P C Journal* (December 1890), 94. Scrimger, thinking of possible union with other denominations, wrote, "The Presbyterian churches will never be truly Catholic until they frankly admit standing room for Arminianism in their creed as well as in their membership." *P C Journal* (January 1891), 170. MacVicar's contribution was a careful statement of the conservative confessionalist position. *P C Journal* (November 1890).

¹⁵ John H. MacVicar, *Life and Work of Donald Harvey MacVicar*, 187. In a letter to Principal Dawson, written in Toronto on June 23, 1876, MacVicar comments on the politics of General Assembly: "The Macdonnell case consumed five days. The friends of Queen's Col. & the Presbytery of Toronto conspired against us." Dawson Papers, 2211/52, ref. 31, McGill University Archives.

¹⁶ Cf. John H. MacVicar, *Life and Work of Donald Harvey MacVicar*, 94, 174.

myself St. John's test, "I know that I have passed from death to life, because I love the brethren." I feel entirely resigned to God's will and ready to serve Him, so far as the exerting of my bodily or mental powers is concerned; but still I am often tempted to wish that the service of God could be relaxed somewhat, or that sinful pleasures were not as sinful as God has declared them to be.

But is this love for the brethren a sectarian thing? That is, do I love them because they are Presbyterians?

No. I have many faults to find with you Presbyterians. Your coldness I often cannot endure. I know brethren of the Methodist and Baptist connection whom I can love as much as any Presbyterian I ever saw.'

He goes on to write of his temptations and besetting sins such as pride, 'a passion for vain-glory,' selfishness and forgetfulness of God and heaven.' Then he asks, 'Can I obtain any balance in favor of myself?

No. I am a debtor to Divine Grace for whatever good I have, and still it is only because of the death and sufferings of Christ that I can hope to be delivered from the pains of hell. O God, pardon mine iniquity, for it is very great...

But have I any assurance of acceptance with God?

Yes. "Him that cometh to Me, I will in no wise cast out." I come, Lord. Heal me of my backsliding. Cleanse me from iniquity, and perfect holiness in me in the fear of the Lord. Make me to walk in the path of the righteous.'¹⁷

In 1862, through the preaching of an evangelist named Hammond, revival came to the Protestant community of Montreal and MacVicar was affected by it. Here is his account:

That night I experienced more of the grace of God than ever before. If I was before converted, I was living and preaching in a very lapsed and improper state. But that night, I know, God gave me His Holy Spirit, and since I have continued, these two weeks, sensibly to enjoy His Presence. I see truth in new and surprising relations. The Bible is a new book to me . . .¹⁸

MacVicar as an Educator

It remains to say something about MacVicar as an educator. Along with his brother, Malcolm, who became chancellor of McMaster University, he possessed a definite gift of teaching. While still a student at Knox College, he assisted in his brother's private academy in Toronto, teaching classics and English.¹⁹ Malcolm tried to persuade him to pursue education as a career, but his heart was set on the ministry.

He had a strong desire to see people well informed and adequately equipped for their vocations and their service in the Church. Moreover, intellectual development, in his view, should not be divorced from spiritual and moral concerns. For example, in an address given to the Provincial Sunday School Convention in Montreal in January 1890, titled *The Teacher Reproduced in the Pupil*, he stresses the importance of educational psychology in the service of the Gospel. The teacher

has one strong over-mastering desire in his heart that through this truth and the ministry of the Holy Spirit the members of his class may be led to trust in Jesus Christ for pardon and eternal life. This feeling is so constant and vehement in his heart that he cannot conceal it.

¹⁷ Ibid., 26ff.

¹⁸ Ibid., 52.

¹⁹ John Moir describes him as "an effective and inspiring teacher." "MacVicar, Donald Harvey," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13. Permalink: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/macvicar_donald_harvey_13E.html.

It is seen in his countenance, heard in his voice, breathed in his prayers . . . in various ways which it may be impossible to define, he convinces his pupils of the existence and intensity of the desire. The feeling spreads among them, pervades their minds, or in other words, they respond to his dominant desire . . .²⁰

MacVicar believed that the best Sunday school would not only insist on the highest spiritual qualifications for teachers but would also seek to familiarize them with the essentials of "the science of education." "We should therefore urge godly young men and young women to aspire to become distinguished by the thorough mastery of the laws and best methods of teaching."²¹ He was a little ahead of his time in advocating the "Normal class" concept for Sunday schools.

In the college, MacVicar's passion was to uphold the tradition of the "learned and godly ministry." More than once he declined to accept students whom he deemed ill suited to the demanding course of study required for ordination.

The curriculum presupposed a knowledge of Latin and emphasized Hebrew and Greek. If the list of textbooks used can tell us anything, the theology taught by MacVicar at Presbyterian College was decidedly conservative. Calvin, Turretin, Dick, Hodge, Thornwell, and Shedd are prominent. Yet, we also find the Danish Lutheran Hans Lassen Martensen and the German Protestant Julius Müller in the list. MacVicar didn't want his students simply to parrot a party line. As he once put it, "Whether dealing with secular or sacred subjects the teacher should rouse his pupils to the repeated exercise of active mental states and train them to think for themselves."²²

MacVicar was also a leader in the field of public education. John Moir gives a good summary of his achievements.

In Guelph he had been a school trustee, and in Montreal, where he was secretary of the Protestant Educational Association, the provincial government appointed him to the Protestant Board of School Commissioners in 1865, removed him in 1876, and reappointed him in 1878. He was chairman of the commission when he resigned in 1881, but the government reappointed him again in 1884 and he served as chairman for another 15 years before his death. In 1870 MacVicar had received an honorary LLD from McGill College, the following year he taught logic there, and later he was made a fellow of the university. For seven years he served on the McGill Normal School committee.²³

MacVicar was likely removed in 1876 because of his outspokenness on behalf of the rights of Protestant ratepayers. The Roman Catholic Church received not only tithes from its own adherents for the support of its schools, but also appropriated "a considerable revenue to which Protestants considered themselves justly entitled."²⁴ He worked unsuccessfully to ensure that Protestant taxes would go to support Protestant schools.²⁵

²⁰ D. H. MacVicar, *The Teacher Reproduced in the Pupil* (Montreal: W. Drysdale, 1890), 13.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 17.

²² *Ibid.*, 15. However, John Webster Grant, presumably giving the recollections of George C. Pidgeon, claims that MacVicar "lined out the Calvinistic system with deliberation so that students could enter it in their notebooks, and he expected to read his words unaltered on examination papers." *George Pidgeon: A Biography* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), 22. Of course, learning some things by rote is not necessarily incompatible with learning to think for oneself, as MacVicar himself affirms: John H. MacVicar, *Life and Work of Donald Harvey MacVicar*, 308.

²³ Moir, "MacVicar, Donald Harvey."

²⁴ John H. MacVicar, *Life and Work of Donald Harvey MacVicar*, 276.

²⁵ MacVicar was considered "an extreme dogmatist" by the government and ran afoul of the Mercier administration due to his opposition to the *Jesuit Estates Bill*. *Ibid.*, 280.

MacVicar was also president of the Quebec Teachers' Association in the late 1870s and published two textbooks on arithmetic.²⁶ Significantly, like Sir William Dawson, the McGill principal, MacVicar believed in the higher education of women. In 1876, he gave 20 lectures on applied logic to the Ladies' Educational Association of Montreal, and in 1878, he lectured to the same group on ethics.²⁷

MacVicar's paramount concerns were spiritual and moral. Living in a time when it was still largely taken for granted that Christianity was the basis for government and education, and in a province where schools were divided along confessional lines, MacVicar could assume majority support for his views on the integration of religion and education.²⁸

In an address to the Ontario Teachers' Association in Toronto on August 14, 1879, he spoke on moral culture in public education.²⁹ In this address he insists that "ethical subjects" be seen by educators as of real importance and that to refuse to deal with moral issues will provide only "a one-sided and pernicious education."³⁰ Ethical questions "cannot be ignored or even lightly treated in our national system of education, because they lie at the very foundation of society; and our citizens, if left ignorant of them, cannot rightly fill their places in the great social compact."³¹

MacVicar realized that these views were coming under fire through the influence of a materialistic philosophy, but was confident that his hearers would agree with him that

[i]t cannot be denied that the Bible contains the highest philosophy and the purest morals — that the life and lessons of Jesus are the clearest exhibition, the very incarnation, of the morality we need in our schools and in the whole community. And I have yet to learn that our civil and educational institutions can exist without the Bible. Our civil law, our criminal law, our Sabbath law, our marriage law — the great bulwark of domestic and social purity and happiness — our laws against blasphemy and perjury, are all drawn from the Bible.³²

MacVicar as an Orthodox Christian in an Age of Moral Relativism

Donald Harvey MacVicar was an influential figure in his day, not only in the Presbyterian Church in Canada but also in the public square. He was a remarkable man: pastor, preacher, churchman, theologian, apologist, and leader in missions and education.

However, even in the late nineteenth century, he was fighting a rearguard action against the spirit of the age. Many of his students came to accept a more liberal theology, and eventually confessional Presbyterianism became a minority position in the Church to which

²⁶ Revisions of books written originally by Malcolm MacVicar and published in the United States. They were used in schools in Ontario and Quebec.

²⁷ *Presbyterian College Journal* 1, no. 1 (January 1881), 4.

²⁸ Though this was beginning to change. In *The Teacher in the Study and in the Classroom*, his address to the Quebec Teachers' Association in 1879, he says: "The very mention of the subject [Ethics] at present in certain quarters excites feelings of alarm, and the thought of introducing the Bible in any sense as a text-book is deemed almost a crime, as if the teaching of God's truth would be certain to do mischief." (See page 4.)

²⁹ *Moral Culture: An Essential Factor in Public Education*, https://archive.org/stream/cihm_09625#page/n9/mode/2up.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 12.

³² *Ibid.*, 18. George Pidgeon, one of MacVicar's outstanding students, took up the cause of promoting religious instruction in Canada's schools when he was in his late 70s. He did not feel that the schools should instruct in Christian doctrine, but he believed that "in a country shaped by the Bible the state cannot afford to let its citizens be ignorant of its contents." J. W. Grant, *George Pidgeon*, 150.

he had given his life. During this period, evangelicalism declined in all mainstream Protestant churches. English-speaking schools in Quebec were to remain "Protestant" until the province's schools were reorganized along linguistic lines in the mid-1990s but were eviscerated of any real Christian content long before they ceased to bear the name "Protestant."³³ In today's pluralistic society, even the biblical morality whose authority MacVicar took to be incontrovertible has been replaced by moral relativism.

Perhaps if he were living today, MacVicar would be dismayed and discouraged by the state of the nation in general and of its secular education system, in particular. I venture to think, however, that his Calvinism would keep him from despair and spur him on to defend and promote the Christian message. As he put it in his Hymn of Dedication, used at the opening of the new buildings of Presbyterian College,

*Here may Thy Truth be held supreme,
And fill each soul with might,
To pray, to toil, to wrestle hard,
And conquer in the fight.*

³³ Cf. Nathan H. Mair, *Protestant Education in Quebec: Notes on the History of Education in the Protestant Public Schools of Québec* (Quebec City: Gouvernement du Québec, Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, 1981).