

THE ROLE OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT
OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN UPPER AND LOWER CANADA,
1842-1867

by J. Keith Jobling

Thesis presented to the Faculty of Education
of the University of Ottawa as partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy



Montreal, Quebec, 1971

UMI Number: DC53370

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI Microform DC53370
Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was prepared under the supervision of Dr. L-P. Desjarlais, Dean of the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa.

To him, and to Dr. M. Mulcahy of the same Faculty, the writer wishes to express his gratitude for their advice and encouragement.

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

J. Keith Jobling was born in Nottingham, England, and received the Bachelor of Arts degree and the Diploma of Education from the University of Leeds in 1950. He received the Master of Arts degree in Education from McGill University, Montreal in 1963. The title of his thesis was The Contribution of Jean-Baptiste Meilleur to Education in Lower Canada.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	page
INTRODUCTION	vi
I.- PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE CANADAS, 1842	1
1. Lower Canada	
2. Upper Canada	
3. The Legislation of 1841	
II.- THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF DR. J-B. MEILLEUR, 1842-55	15
1. Meilleur's Educational Background	
2. Initial Difficulties as Superintendent	
3. The Education Act of 1846	
4. Continuing the Struggle	
5. Extending the Inspectorate	
6. The Sicotte Commission's Report	
7. The Final Years	
III.- THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF P-J-O. CHAUVEAU, 1855-67.	47
1. Chauveau's Educational and Political Background	
2. Chauveau's Annual Report for 1855	
3. The School Laws of 1856	
4. The Advancement of Teachers	
5. The Education Journals	
6. Chauveau and Teaching Supplies	
7. Continuing Problems	
IV.- THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF REV. DR. RYERSON, 1844-67	74
1. Ryerson's Early Life and Education	
2. Ryerson's First Report	
3. The School Act of 1846	
4. The Bill of 1850	
5. Ryerson and Separate Schools	
6. The Training of Teachers	
7. Ryerson's Contribution to Education	
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	104
BIBLIOGRAPHY	108

TABLE OF CONTENTS

v

Appendix	Page
1. SUMMARY OF CHAUVEAU'S FIRST REPORT	118
2. THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT (1867) SECTION 93	120
3. DUTIES OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION . .	121
4. ABSTRACT OF The Role of the Superintendents in the Development of Public Education in Upper and Lower Canada, 1842-1867	123

INTRODUCTION

THE ROLE OF THE SUPERINTENDENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN UPPER AND LOWER CANADA, 1842-1867

The nineteenth century saw the gradual establishment of systems of public education in many western nations. Canada was by no means in the rearguard of educational reform and innovation at this time. Just as France had its Victor Cousin, and the U.S.A. its Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, so too Canada had its Egerton Ryerson, its J-B. Meilleur and P-J-O. Chauveau.

From early colonial days the provision of educational facilities had been almost exclusively the preserve of the Church: the Roman Catholic Church for the most part in Quebec, and the church missionary societies, both Anglican and non-conformist, mainly in Ontario. Various attempts were made by colonial governments to encourage the growth of education in the early nineteenth century, but the passing of the Education Act of 1841 marks the first significant step towards the establishment of central systems of public schools.

One of the provisions of this Act provided for the creation of the superintendency of education, a non-political office designed to supervise and promote education in the

United Provinces. Subsequently, separate superintendents of education were appointed for each of the administrative districts of Upper and Lower Canada, with the result that by Confederation in 1867 two parallel systems of public education had evolved. It was thus upon the shoulders of the incumbents of this office, the Superintendents themselves, that the responsibility for education was placed. The purpose of this study is to determine the role they played in the development of public systems of education during the period 1842-1867. The term public education refers to the establishment of public elementary schools, and does not include grammar schools, French schools in Upper Canada or universities.

It is hypothesised that the personal impact of the superintendents was considerable; that the nature of their problems differed in Upper and Lower Canada, and that Meilleur encountered greater resistance to his proposed reforms in Lower Canada than did Ryerson in Upper Canada.

An introductory chapter reviews briefly what had been achieved educationally in each province prior to this study, viz., by 1842. Chapters two and three deal with the problems faced and the progress made during the superintendencies of Dr. J-B. Meilleur and P-J-O. Chauveau in Lower Canada. A fourth chapter discusses the problems and achievements of Superintendent Ryerson in Upper Canada, and a final chapter summarises the difficulties and achievements of the three superintendents.

The terms Canada West and Canada East, and Upper and Lower Canada are used interchangeably as was the custom at this time to denote the present-day provinces of Ontario and Quebec.

In researching this study, primary sources have been used wherever possible and practical. These include the Journals of the Legislative Assembly located in the Advocates Library, Montreal; the Statute Law of Canada published by Stewart Derbishire and George Desbarats of which there are copies in the McGill Law Library; and contemporary newspapers. The correspondence of the Provincial Secretary's office (in the National Archives, Ottawa) has yielded many valuable letters in Meilleur's own hand.

The personal correspondence of Meilleur with his friend the Abbé Bois (preserved on microfilm in the McLennan Library, McGill University), which extends over half a century, sheds further light on the problems of the time. These papers, as yet unedited, would constitute a source of further exploration. For Upper Canada, Hodgkin's 28-volume Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada has proved a valuable primary source.

Secondary sources covering this period are quite inadequate. C. E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (1957) is the best known comprehensive text, based

largely on primary sources, but it is not free from inaccuracies. Similarly, F. Henry Johnson's, A Brief History of Canadian Education (1968) gives a concise résumé of the historical development of education in the two Canadas. These books have been consulted to verify some of the better-known landmarks in the development of education. Howard Adams, The Education of Canadians 1800-1867: The Roots of Separatism (1968) (reviewed by the author of this thesis in the McGill Journal of Education, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1968), lacks objectivity in interpreting historical facts. Of French-language sources, Louis-Philippe Audet's, Le Système Scolaire de la Province de Québec (6 vols.) has been of most value. Since this study was initiated a useful contribution to the history of Canadian education has been published under the title, Canadian Education: A History, edited by J. D. Wilson, R. M. Stamp and L. P. Audet (1970).

CHAPTER I

PUBLIC EDUCATION IN THE CANADAS, 1842

This chapter attempts to summarise the main developments in public education in Lower and Upper Canada prior to 1842, the year in which the present study begins.

1. Lower Canada

Following the British Conquest in 1763, the supply of priests from France ceased, and many of the native French nobility and clergy had returned to France, leaving some 60,000 French Canadians in Lower Canada. These Canadiens were accorded the free exercise of their Roman Catholic religion under the Quebec Act of 1774, and they clung tenaciously to their language and to their agricultural economy as well. The Constitutional Act of 1791 helped them to maintain their identity by giving Lower Canada a government of its own, and the introduction of an Assembly gave them an opportunity to voice their views publicly. Nonetheless, an acute shortage of priests put them in a disadvantageous position vis à vis the English-speaking invaders. Thus, by 1837, when their numbers had increased to about 434,000 as against some 166,000 English, the French Canadians held only about one-quarter of the

public positions and sometimes only one-third of the seats in the legislative council.¹

English settlers meanwhile had been establishing themselves mainly in Montreal and Quebec where they engaged in trade or occupied administrative positions. It was not without reason that the French-Canadians soon considered them as egotistical exploiters, only too eager to subdue a brave people. Simultaneously, immigrants were arriving from the New England States and establishing farms in the Eastern Townships. They were of Puritan background, accustomed to regarding a parish school as a necessity. By 1824 they were joined by Scottish and Irish immigrants who, together, posed an increasing threat to the French habitants. These latter complained of the high-handed attitude of the government which had confiscated the Jesuit estates and had taken away the property of the Recollets, forcing closure of their schools in Montreal and Trois Rivières. Furthermore, for the first twenty years or so of the British rule, religious orders were forbidden to recruit new teachers. British policy was explicit from the outset:

And to the end that the Church of England may be established in Principle and Practice, and that the said inhabitants may by degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant Religion, and their children

1 C. E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada, Toronto, Gage & Co., 1957, p. 76.

be brought up in the Principles of it . . . all possible Encouragement shall be given to the erecting of Protestant Schools . . .²

A proposal was made as early as 1789 to erect in each district free parish schools of a non-denominational character, but opposition led by Mgr. J-F. Hubert, Catholic Bishop of Quebec was so strong, that it was defeated on the spot. Further attempts were made by an Act of 1801 which established the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, whose role was to establish vernacular schools, leaving the teaching of religion to priests or ministers who would visit the schools for this purpose.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Trustees and their Successors . . . shall be and they are hereby declared to be, a Body Corporate and Politic, in name and in deed, by the name of "The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning."³

Opposition came from the Roman Catholic Church and from many Protestants, not so much on religious grounds, but due to the stipulation that the schools were to be owned and operated by a central authority which was to appoint teachers and to control the courses of study and selection of texts.⁴

2 Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty, Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, Ottawa, King's Printer, 1918, p. 191.

3 Geo. III, cap. 17 presented 8th April 1801 Provincial Statutes of Lower Canada, 1795-1803, Quebec, J. C. Fisher and Wm. Kemble, Vol. 1, p. 130.

4 Phillips, op. cit., p. 82.

Despite French-Canadian opposition, the Royal Institution did open schools in both predominantly French as well as English districts. It can also be credited with having founded Royal Grammar Schools at Quebec and Montreal, but for financial reasons these schools were doomed to a short life.⁵ By 1838, only three schools were operating under the Institution and they were already moribund, and the Royal Institution owes its survival today only to the endowment entrusted to it for the establishment of McGill University.^{5a}

The Fabrique Act of 1824 permitted the fabrique or vestry of a parish church to use one-quarter of its revenues for the operation of a school in a parish of two hundred families.⁶ The fabrique thus became in effect a school board empowered to erect a school, hire the teacher and determine the course of study. In the ensuing five years some fifty to sixty fabrique schools had opened and were operating without any financial support from the government.⁷

5 John Calam, "The Royal Grammar Schools," Educational Record, Vol. 79, no. 4, Oct-Dec., 1963, p. 256.

5a For a detailed account of the history of the RIAL, see Real G. Boulianne, The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning: The Correspondence, 1820-1829, A Historical and Analytical Study, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, 1970, v-1400 p.

6 Geo. IV, cap. 24, dated 9th March 1824, Provincial Statutes of Lower Canada, 1823-1827, Quebec, J. C. Fisher and Wm. Kemble, p. 720-721.

7 L-P. Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Québec, Editions de l'Erable, 1950-56, vol.5, p.85-95.

The Act of 1829⁸ introduced for the first time schools controlled by representatives of the voting public, providing for trustees or commissioners to be elected locally to control the schools. It further provided grants of up to £50 to pay half the cost of erecting a schoolhouse, with grants of £20 to schoolteachers, plus ten shillings for each indigent child admitted free.⁹ Further legislation in 1835-1836 sanctioned inter alia the establishment of model and normal schools for the training of teachers.¹⁰ The proposed expenditure was considered excessive to the extent that rebellion broke out in 1837 and many schools were closed.¹¹ In addition the government grants to these schools were cut off completely.

The uprising in Lower Canada and concurrent disturbances in Upper Canada shocked the British Government into appointing Lord Durham Governor-General under a special commission to investigate the causes of discontent

8 Geo. IV, cap. 46 dated 14th March 1829, Provincial Statutes of Lower Canada, 1828-1829, Quebec, J. C. Fisher and Wm. Kemble, p. 328-334.

9 Ibid., p. 332.

10 Wm. IV, cap. 12 dated 21st March 1836, Provincial Statutes of Lower Canada, 1835-1836, Quebec, J. C. Fisher and Wm. Kemble, p. 54-64.

11 For a full account, vide L. O. David, Les Patriotes de 1837-1838, Montréal, Librairie Beauchemin, 1884, 312 p.

and report back to the British Government. More will be said later of this notorious report.

2. Upper Canada

Upper Canada was explored initially by the Frenchmen, Etienne Brûlé and Nicholas Vigneau, and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries small settlements of French-Canadians were established at Fort Frontenac, Sault Ste. Marie, Rouillé and Sandwich.¹² Following them came settlers from the U.S.A. who for the most part settled and farmed in Southern Ontario. After the war of 1812 they were joined by United Empire Loyalists determined to remain under the British crown. Thus by 1815 the population was something in the ratio of one-fifth United Empire Loyalist stock, three-fifths non-Loyalist Americans and one-fifth British, with a minority of French-Canadians.^{12a} The ensuing two decades saw a rapid increase in the rate of immigration from Britain, and arduous but determined efforts to "conquer" the land and eke out an existence from it.

To a greater degree than in Lower Canada where the Roman Catholic church held the monopoly, common schools were opened in Upper Canada by almost anyone who felt the desire. Many of these teachers were itinerant ne'er-do-wells and most of them were themselves rarely more than semi-literate.

¹² Arthur Godbout, "Les Franco-Ontariens et leurs écoles de 1791 à 1844, Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, vol.33, 1963, p. 146.

^{12a} G. D. Craig, Early Travellers in the Canadas, 1791-1867, Toronto, Macmillan, 1955, p. 38.

Others plied a trade so that schools were often found in the rear of a shoemaker's store or the village smithy. In such cases the tradesman would divide his time between his two callings, invariably to the cost of his pupils. It is clear that a sharp distinction was made between what was considered good for the children of the rich and for the children of the poor. Two of the earliest private schools had been established in Kingston¹³ (1785) and Fredericksburgh (1786), but John Stuart, a United Empire Loyalist from Virginia who opened a select classical school in Quebec and later moved to Kingston (1785) deserves mention since, with the erection of a new building in 1792, he received a regular annual grant of £100 from the government.¹⁴

The fact that Lord Simcoe chose his advisors in the Legislative and Executive Councils largely from well-to-do members of the original Loyalist families, while the elected Assembly reflected the preponderance of American and British immigrants led to the clash between the "Family Compact" and the "Reformers" which culminated in the Rebellion of 1837.¹⁵ Political differences were reflected in the attitudes towards education, with the Compact staunchly in favour of grammar schools to train the elite for leadership, and the Reformers advocating common schools to which all classes

¹³ J. D. Wilson, R. M. Stamp and L. P. Audet, Canadian Education: A History, Scarborough, Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 190.

¹⁴ Phillips, op. cit., p. 106.

¹⁵ F. H. Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education, Toronto, McGraw-Hill, 1968, p. 23.

could send their children. The government attempted a compromise. Accordingly, the District Public Schools Act¹⁶ of 1807, authorised the establishment of a Grammar School in each of eight large districts with an annual government grant of £100 towards the salary of each schoolmaster. To offset this concession to the wealthier classes, the government later passed the Common School Act (1816).¹⁷ This act provided that when the people of a locality had built a school-house and furnished it with 20 pupils, they might elect three trustees who should have authority to examine and appoint a teacher:

When the teacher had taught for six months, and had received from the trustees a certificate of acceptable service, he was to present this chit to the district treasurer and receive his portion of the public money voted for the purpose. The only qualification demanded of the teacher was that he should be a British subject, or have taken the oath of allegiance. The trustees had complete control over their school, although they were required by law to report every three months to a district board appointed by the lieutenant-governor. The act was to be in force for four years only and was passed with some reluctance by the legislative council in return for non-interference by the

16 Geo. 3, cap. 6 passed March 10th, 1807, Statute Law of Upper Canada, Kingston, Francis M. Hill, 1831, p. 127. The term Public here was used in the context of the large private schools in Britain, and implied the perpetuation in Canada of the British class system.

17 Geo. 3, cap. 36 passed April 1st, 1816, loc. cit., p. 206-209.

assembly with the grammar schools. The total grant was £6000, and the amount received by a teacher depended on the number of scholars and was in no case to exceed £25 or \$100.¹⁸

It further reflects the American tradition of the New England States, of elected school boards exercising local initiative and control of elementary education.

Some eight years later the lieutenant-governor appointed a General Board of Education under the chairmanship of John Strachan to exercise supervision over the colony's schools.¹⁹ Strachan, a Presbyterian minister, had arrived in Kingston from Scotland in 1799 to take charge of an academy which failed to materialise. He continued to show his interest in secondary and higher education, and was doubtless qualified to be given a position of influence whence he hoped to create a school system according to his own ideals. Strachan had meanwhile transferred allegiance to the Church of England, later becoming Bishop of Toronto, and following his conversion, he struggled tirelessly to obtain a privileged position for the Church of England in Canada. The Board had a special annual grant of £150 to purchase religious books and tracts for distribution amongst

18 Phillips, op. cit., p. 112.

19 J. G. Hodgins (ed.), Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, Toronto, Warwick Bros. & Rutter, 1894, Vol. 1: 1790-1830, p. 180 and p. 196.

the children of the poor, and many of these books like Mavor's Spelling Book were of a distinctly Anglican nature. Opposition from the other Protestant denominations to Strachan as an agent of the Family Compact was strong, and continued long after the General Board's demise in 1833, occasioned by his support of the traditional classical grammar school (he was instrumental in founding both the Cornwall Grammar School and Upper Canada College), and in his long struggle to achieve an Anglican University in Toronto, culminating with the opening of Trinity College in 1852.

3. The Legislation of 1841

Lord Durham who arrived in Quebec in May 1838 appointed Arthur Buller commissioner to enquire into the general state of education in the province,²⁰ and a young medical doctor, Jean-Baptiste Meilleur, readily accepted Buller's invitation to make public his views and plans for education in a Montreal newspaper, Le Populaire, writing under the nom-de-plume of C.D.²¹ Meilleur had received his medical training in Vermont, returning to his native Quebec

²⁰ C. W. New, Lord Durham, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929, p. 386.

²¹ Léon Lortie, "Les Lettres de J-B. Meilleur sur l'Education," Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Montreal, Ecole Polytechnique, Vol. 24, 1938, p. 253.

enthused over educational developments in New England, and determined to do all in his power to raise the pitiable low condition of education at home. His account of his feelings at this time is to be found in his Mémorial.

Plongé dans une profonde tristesse, et en proie à un grand découragement à la vue des désordres qui affligeaient encore le pays en 1838, je n'étais guère en état de me livrer à un travail sérieux et suivi lorsque je fus ainsi prié de faire part au gouvernement de mes observations et de mes vues sur le sujet important de l'éducation primaire. . . . Or, en faisant la part des circonstances difficiles et alarmantes où se trouvait alors le pays, on concevra facilement que, comme Canadien, comme catholique, et j'ose dire comme patriote, je devais redouter l'intervention et l'arbitraire du gouvernement dans une affaire aussi délicate et aussi importante que l'éducation de nos enfants. Notre origine, notre foi, notre langue et notre nationalité sont trop intéressées à cet égard pour nous permettre d'être un instant indifférents à ce qui peut y avoir trait surtout y porter atteinte.²²

Meilleur, always a prolific writer, thereupon took up his pen with renewed vigour and in a series of letters elaborated on his views for the restructuring of education in Lower Canada. Buller was unquestionably indebted to Meilleur, although their views cannot always have been compatible as, for example, when Buller asserts:

Until Canada is nationalised and anglified, it is idle for England to be devising schemes for her improvement. In this great work of nationalisation,

²² J. B. Meilleur, Mémorial de l'Education du Bas-Canada, Québec, Léger Brousseau, 1876, p. 347-348.

education is at once the most convenient and powerful instrument.²³

Meanwhile strong views on education were emanating from another source. Joseph-Charles-Elzéar Mondelet, a Montreal lawyer and later a judge, published a series of letters in The Canada Times in November 1840. These letters were published in book form the following year under the title Letters on Elementary and Practical Education.²⁴ In them Mondelet advocates common schools with religious instruction as a common basis, and he proposes means of financing, administering and inspecting these schools. He discusses in detail such problems as discipline, internal management, the site and facilities of the school house, the course of study for the normal schools, as well as suggesting salary scales for the various levels of officers of education. Despite opposition from many sources, both Catholic and Protestant, to the concept of common schools, Mondelet's proposals are with the important addition of the dissentient clause, reflected in the Education Act of 1841.

23 C. P. Lucas, Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, Vol. 2, p. 136.

24 J. C. E. Mondelet, Letters on Elementary and Practical Education, Montreal, J. J. Williams, 1841.

This Act, applicable to both Lower and Upper Canada,²⁵ provided inter alia the establishment of a common School Fund, the appointment of a Superintendent of Education, the selection of school commissioners, the right of "minority dissent" and the setting up of Boards of Examiners. The specific duties²⁶ of the Superintendent included apportioning of the government grant, accounting for such apportioning to the Receiver-General, visiting annually the municipal districts and inspecting the schools, preparing forms and maintaining uniformity in the conduct of the common schools.

It was soon apparent to the governor, Sir Charles Bagot, that one man could not adequately administer both areas and deal with the varying problems of the two Canadas, so he decided to split the job amongst three men.²⁷ Accordingly, the Honorable Robert Jamieson, President of the legislative council under the Act of Union, was appointed Superintendent of the whole province without salary, and on the understanding that his sole duty would be to reply in Parliament to any questions of an educational character. The Rev. Robert Murray and Dr. Jean Baptiste Meilleur were appointed Superintendents of Upper and Lower Canada

25 The bill of union had become law in July 1840; 3 and 4 Vic., cap. 35.

26 See Appendix 3, infra. p. 121.

27 Meilleur, op. cit., p. 351.

respectively, and agreed to share the salary of £750 until separate and independent acts had been passed for each province.

C'est en vertu de cette commission d'un surintendant en trois personnes, en date du 11 mai 1842, que nous fûmes autorisés à prendre le nom de commission d'éducation "Board of Education." Or, cette commission ne fut convoquée qu'une seule fois, pour convenir de quelques règles générales pour sa gouverne.²⁸

Just as Meilleur had petitioned for office,²⁹ so apparently had the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, a Methodist minister, elicited a promise of appointment from Lord Sydenham, Bagot's predecessor. It was not, however, until 1844 under the Metcalfe administration that Ryerson's wish was fulfilled upon the appointment of Murray to the chair of philosophy in Toronto.

Thus the development of education in Upper and Lower Canada was again to go its separate ways. Subsequently, it will be seen that the influence of Superintendents Ryerson, Meilleur and Chauveau was to affect this development to a large degree.

28 Ibid., p. 351.

29 Meilleur to H. D. Daly, Montreal, 26 Dec. 1841, Provincial Secretary's File, No. 4274.

CHAPTER II

THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF DR. J-B. MEILLEUR, 1842-1855

It has been seen how provision was made under the legislation of 1841 for the appointment of a superintendent of Education and how, subsequently, Dr. J-B. Meilleur was entrusted with this office for Lower Canada. This chapter discusses the contribution of Dr. Meilleur to the development of public education during his superintendency in Lower Canada. It embraces his own educational background, many of the recommendations he personally made for the advancement of common schools, and some of the difficulties with which his administration was beset.

1. Meilleur's Educational Background

Jean-Baptiste Meilleur's early schooling appears to have been fraught with difficulties due, in no small part, to the death of his father at the age of twenty-one before the boy was yet two years old. His father had been a small farmer in St. Laurent on the island of Montreal where Jean-Baptiste was born in May 1796. At the remarriage of his mother within a year of his father's death, Jean-Baptiste was entrusted largely to the care of his grandparents. Despite meagre financial resources, Meilleur proved to be industrious, studious and ambitious, earning money at odd jobs with a view, eventually, to pursuing his classical studies.

Finally, according to Mgr. Forget,¹ an inheritance enabled Meilleur to enrol at the age of nineteen (1815) in the Petit Séminaire de Montréal. It was here that he met and became a close friend of John Holmes, a young American who had studied at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, and who was later to gain renown as an educator at the Quebec Seminary. It was also about this time that Meilleur decided to abandon his early plans for studying law and to embark on medical studies in the United States, first at Castleton Medical Academy and then at Middlebury College in Vermont from which he obtained his M.D. degree in 1825.²

During this period of medical studies in New England it is possible that Meilleur supplemented his income by giving French lessons, as the following advertisement in the Vermont Standard of 17 December 1822 suggests:

The subscriber having come to the United States for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the English language, and having accomplished that object, proposes a school in Middlebury, to instruct those young ladies and gentlemen who may wish, in his vernacular language. The elementary principles of the French language, the etymology of words, and accentuation will be taught viva voce by way of lecture. Young gentlemen who

1 Anastase-Ernest-Paul Forget, Histoire du Collège l'Assomption, 1833-1933, Montreal, Imprimerie Populaire, 1932, p. 20.

2 F. C. Waite, The First Medical College in Vermont, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, 1949, Catalogue of Graduates, p. 221.

design to attend Dr. J. A. Allen's Summer Medical School, are informed that for a trifling expense they can have an opportunity of attending to French through the season. By devoting only a small proportion of their time to the subject, a knowledge of the language can be obtained. J.B.Meilleur.

Whether there was any response to this advertisement is a matter of conjecture. What is certain is that Meilleur's ardent, life-long interest in education was nurtured at this period.

It is held that Meilleur was "Professor of French at Dartmouth College for several years,"³ but if this is so, it is possible that it was on a part-time basis, for by May 1826 he was installed at l'Assomption whence he contributed an article on prussic acid to the Journal médical de Québec.⁴ In this article he refers to having practised medicine in l'Assomption and district since the previous February. As a country doctor, Meilleur continued to show a keen interest in education, commending from time to time the initiative shown by parish priests, or writing to the press in an attempt to rouse public interest in the advancement of education.⁵ In a lengthy letter to the editor,

3 H. J. Morgan (ed.), Dominion Annual Register, Montreal, Dawson Bros., 1879, p. 102.

4 Léon Lortie, "Le Retour de Jean-Baptiste Meilleur au Canada," Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Ottawa, 1956, p. 71.

5 For an account of Meilleur's public correspondence on education see Léon Lortie, "Jean-Baptiste Meilleur,

under the title, "Analyse de l'Acte pour l'Encouragement de l'Education," he pointed out the shortcomings of the Syndic Act,⁶ and made recommendations to remedy them.⁷

Meanwhile, with the interests of his own community at heart, he was active in an even more practical way. Having been elected along with Dr. Cazeneuve and the curé F-X. Labelle as syndic of the parish schools in L'Assomption, he himself visited these schools to instruct in practical grammar, geography, mathematics and other subjects.⁸ He was also a founder of the Collège de l'Assomption, as he records in his Mémorial:

Le collège de l'Assomption fut fondé en 1832 et ouvert aux élèves en 1833, par Messire Frs. Labelle, curé de la paroisse et par MM. les Drs. Cazeneuve et Meilleur, au moyen de leurs contributions volontaires, de celles des habitants de la paroisse au montant de plus de £300, et d'une somme de £300 obtenue de la Législature provinciale par ce dernier, pour cette fin.⁹

Educateur et Polygraphe, 1796-1878," Courtes Biographies canadiennes, Montréal, Editions ~~é~~oliennes, 1949.

6 "An Act for the Encouragement of Education," 14 March 1829, Provincial Statutes of Lower Canada, 1828-1829, Quebec, Printed by J. C. Fisher & Wm. Kemble, 1829, p. 328-334.

7 La Minerve, le 10 août 1829. This letter is signed "Un compatriote" and dated l'Assomption, le 2 août 1829.

8 Léon Lortie, "Les Lettres de J-B. Meilleur sur l'Education," Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Montréal, Ecole Polytechnique, 1938, Vol. 24, p. 253.

9 J-B. Meilleur, Mémorial de l'Education, Québec, Léger Brousseau, 1876, p. 156.

After paying special tribute to his co-founders, Meilleur continues:

Cependant il n'est que juste de dire ici, que c'est le Dr. Meilleur qui, le premier, fit la proposition d'établir un collège classique à l'Assomption; qui la développa et la fit agréer sur les lieux et dans le parlement provincial dont il était membre, et ce, malgré une forte opposition qu'une manière différente de voir suscitait à l'entreprise. Ce qui faisait dire à M. Frs. Labelle: "Docteur Meilleur, il n'est pas raisonnable que, vous et moi, qui sommes deux étrangers dans cette paroisse, nous entreprenions d'en faire le bien malgré ses premiers citoyens."¹⁰

According to his own report, Meilleur waged a one-man war against the strong opposition, since his two colleagues

. . . n'avaient ni le temps ni la volonté de faire face à cette opposition intempestive, puissante sur les lieux, et influente jusque dans le parlement, dont l'aide sollicitée était nécessaire pour le succès de l'entreprise.¹¹

Thus Meilleur served a useful apprenticeship for the important office he was shortly to assume. He also published several text books which were to be adopted for school use, prominent among which was his Treatise on the Pronunciation of the French Language (Montreal, Lovell, 1841), based on his teaching experience in the United States; Nouvelle Grammaire Anglaise (St. Charles, A. C. Fortin, 1833); Cours Abrégé de Leçons de Chymie (Montreal, L. Duvernay, 1833) and Court Traité sur l'Art Epistolaire (Montreal, Gendron,

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 158.

¹¹ Idem.

1853). His magnum opus, however, was his Mémoirel de l'Education du Bas-Canada, which in addition to being the first history of Education in Quebec also contains his account of and observations on his superintendency of education, and thus constitutes a primary source for this study.

2. Initial Difficulties as Superintendent

Meilleur's superintendency was from the beginning beset with difficulties which were enhanced by the provisions of the Education Act of 1841. This Act gave to the municipal councillors appointed by the crown the power of taxation for both municipal and school purposes. The boards of school commissioners were elected, but their powers being limited, the commissioners were in fact little more than school visitors. Thus with the power of taxation for school purposes entrusted to a body not responsible to the people, at a time when taxation was unpopular and democratic principles of local self-government were strongly held, it was not surprising that Meilleur became the butt of strong opposition. Parmelee summarises his position:

Dr. Meilleur, first Superintendent of Education of the province, who had done much in the legislature in previous years for the promotion of education, laboured enthusiastically and incessantly amidst discouragement from all sides without being able

to accomplish much beyond keeping the question under constant discussion in the press and among the people until the passage of the Act of 1846.¹²

Nonetheless Meilleur applied himself to his new job with a will, and immediately set about drafting a circular in English to the school commissioners and members of the municipal districts to enjoin their support and cooperation in pursuing the aims of education.¹³ In this circular he endeavours to explain the nature of the law and the duties which it imposes on the commissioners. Meilleur took his role as a public relations officer very seriously, and much of his time was spent subsequently in writing to inspectors, commissioners and schoolteachers and in visiting municipalities in an effort to explain the fine points of the various educational legislation. He expresses his aim in the first circular thus:

Cette tâche agréable [to obtain the best possible education for the youth of the country] nous est imposée à tous collectivement, à chacun de nous séparément; mais pour pouvoir nous en acquitter avec honneur pour nous, et avantage et satisfaction pour les autres, il est essentiel de bien connaître l'étendue de nos pouvoirs, de bien comprendre la nature de nos devoirs respectifs, et surtout de bien s'entendre sur les moyens et la fin que la loi met à notre disposition. Car nous ne pouvons nous

12 G. W. Parmelee, "The Education System" in Canada and its Provinces, Vol. 16, 1914, p. 472-473.

13 Meilleur, Circular to School Commissioners, 26 May 1842, Provincial Secretary's File, No. 1623. Published in French, Mémorial, p. 414.

dissimuler que pour atteindre sûrement le but de la loi, nous avons des difficultés à surmonter, des obstacles à vaincre, des sacrifices à faire, et peut-être aussi quelques préjugés à combattre.¹⁴

Referring to the commissioners as "Elite de la société et formés au sein de la vertu et de la science"¹⁵ Meilleur announces that he has the sum of £50,000 to apportion amongst school districts in accordance with the number of resident children between the ages of five and sixteen years, eligible to receive instruction. He then calls upon the commissioners to take a correct census of children residing in each municipal district, if it is not already taken:

. . . second, to make the division of each school district; third, to send me, with all possible speed, a certified statement of these preliminary proceedings; fourth, to prepare the ways and means to raise, "by assessment or otherwise," a sum equal to that apportioned to each municipal district, in proportion to the number of children residing therein, and able to go to school; fifth, to hire teachers, to organise the schools, and to set them into full operation as soon as possible; sixth, to prepare the way for the assessment of fifty pounds currency to be added to a similar sum which, in this case, the government will grant for the acquisition of a school house in each school district wherein there is none.¹⁶

14 Meilleur, Mémorial, p. 414.

15 Ibid., p. 415.

16 Meilleur, First circular to school commissioners, English version, 26 May 1842, loc. cit.

Following his first tour of the school districts of Quebec, Trois Rivières and the Gaspé, Meilleur reports strong popular opposition to the connection between the municipality and the school act, and recommends that the government separate the two acts. He feels that the powers exercised by the municipality as a Board of Education should be conferred on the school commissioners, and that the clergy should receive copies of the laws as they are "the best friends of education."¹⁷

In each of the twenty-two districts of the province the appointment of the warden (mayor or prefect), and of the treasurer, was made directly by the governor who also had the prerogative of determining, and even of changing at will, the boundaries and centres of the municipalities. Lord Sydenham chose from the Anglo-Saxon population, that is to say from the minority group in Lower Canada, more than two-thirds of the wardens.¹⁸ Since the municipalities were to collect the taxes and receive the grants, it is apparent that the people had no direct control over their own revenues. This, coupled with a widespread fear of a

¹⁷ Meilleur, Provincial Secretary's File, No. 2597, dated 4 October 1842.

¹⁸ Abbé Lionel Groulx, L'Enseignement Français au Canada. Montréal, L'Action Canadienne-Française, 1931, Vol. 1, p. 217.

general tax imposed for all manner of things, was a constant source of unrest and dissatisfaction. Meilleur, speaking of Lord Sydenham in connection with the passing of the 1841 Act, has this to say:

. . . il est connu que Lord Sydenham, qui était instigateur et le conseil de cette disposition de loi, en aurait volontiers fait l'instrument de son ostracisme et de son machiavélisme politique. Autorisé par la loi à le faire, sa volonté n'aurait pas manqué à l'accomplissement de son dessein qui n'était rien, moins que la ruine du catholicisme et de la race franco-canadienne.¹⁹

In 1845, an amendment to the Act of 1841 was made, allowing for voluntary contributions and granting to the school commissioners the right to take over school lands and buildings including those vested in the Royal Institution. However, these changes did little to alleviate the situation and Meilleur, being strongly opposed to voluntary contributions as a means of financing education,²⁰ requested still further revision. In his report of 15 April 1846, addressed to Earl Cathcart, we find the old plaint:

It is with deep regret that I have to inform Your Excellency, that the regular working of the present School Act has been in general impossible, chiefly from two causes, namely: the almost universal opposition made to the Act at the outset, and the defects of the Act itself.

The fact is, that the School Law has either not worked at all, or has in most cases worked very

19 Meilleur, op. cit., p. 189.

20 Ibid., p. 191.

badly, and this, notwithstanding the constant and courageous efforts made everywhere by the friends of education, and principally by the members of the Clergy of every creed and origin, to further its operation.²¹

To remedy the situation Meilleur proposes twenty amendments of which the following are of most interest:

1. To repeal the 15d a month levy for each child attending school and to exact that amount for each child of school age (i.e., 5-16 years).
2. To augment the grant by "some thousand pounds" in favour of model schools.
3. To make the Act permanent.
4. To exempt from assessment, real estate consecrated to religious purposes or to education.
5. To allow members of the clergy, the exclusive right of choosing, for use of the schools of their respective needs, the books having reference to morals and religion.
6. To separate the School Act from the Act regulating Rural Municipalities.²²

The remainder consist largely of a repetition of his previous demands, but, by way of a footnote to his twenty points, he advocates (1) county academies, (2) normal

²¹ Meilleur, Report of Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, 15 April 1846, Journals of Legislative Assembly, Appendix P of Appendix No. 2 to Vol. 5, 1846, n.p.

²² Ibid., n.p.

schools with, possibly, grants in aid, (3) a deaf and dumb school (there had been one previously), (4) uniformity in the books used in the schools and the establishment of parish libraries, (5) teaching elementary principles of horticulture and agriculture in the "main schools," and (6) a Journal of Education which would serve as a source of information between the Superintendent, commissioners and teachers.²³

3. The Education Act of 1846

Largely as a result of this report, in 1846 an Act²⁴ was passed which a prominent French-Canadian historian has described as the magna carta of our educational system.²⁵ The main points of this Act which, with but few subsequent minor amendments, was to remain the basic law of education in Quebec for over a century, include:

1. The school commissioners were to be entirely independent of the councils and could engage teachers, regulate the course of study to be followed in each school, levy

²³ Ibid., n.p.

²⁴ 9 Vic., cap. 27, dated 9 June 1846, Statutes of Canada, 1844-5-6, Montreal, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1845, p. 757.

²⁵ L-P. Audet, Le Système Scolaire de la Province de Québec, Québec, Editions de l'Erable, 1951, Vol. 1, p.48.

taxes, fix the fees and set the time for the annual public examinations and attend same, and generally manage the schools.

2. The principle of "dissent" was reaffirmed and provided for three trustees for each school board. In order to receive a grant, schools must be in operation for eight months.
3. The Boards of Examiners were to approve all textbooks and teacher certification.
4. The system was to be administered by the Superintendent who was to organise school municipalities, establish schools and distribute grants.
5. Elementary teachers must be qualified in reading, writing, the elements of grammar and geography, and arithmetic as far as the rule of three.
6. The abuse of dismissing teachers "at pleasure" was removed. Henceforth they might be discharged only "for cause."
7. The maximum fee that could be charged to pupils was raised from one shilling and three pence to two shillings a month but the minimum fee might be reduced to three pence at the discretion of the Boards.²⁶

²⁶ 9 Vic., Cap.27, dated 9 June 1846, Statute Law of Canada, 8-9 Vic., p. 757-774. Also, W. P. Percival, Across the Years, A Century of Education in the Province of Quebec, Montreal, Gazette Printing Co., 1946, p. 20-22.

In addition, a government grant of about \$116,000 was to be divided amongst the municipalities in proportion to the population of school children, provided each board raised a sum at least equal to the grant. Exception was made in the case of Montreal and Quebec, however.²⁷ The principle of voluntary contributions was rejected in favour of compulsory taxation, and the establishment of Boards of Examiners in Quebec and Montreal was authorised. Each Board was to comprise fourteen members, seven Catholic and seven Protestant. They were to admit to their examinations only those candidates who had obtained certificates of good moral character from their clergyman or priest, and countersigned by at least three of the trustees or commissioners of the school district in which they were teaching. A ten-year period of grace was allowed to teachers before they were obliged to appear before the board and even then, priests, members of religious orders and all female teachers were entirely exempt from this obligation. It is obvious then that Meilleur was keen to get the educational machine into action; refinements could come later.

One thing that really disturbed him was the quality of the school commissioners who, he felt, should at least

²⁷ Elson T. Rexford, The Jewish Population and the Protestant Schools, Montreal, Renouf Publishing Co., 1924, p. 9.

be literate. But it was not until the bill reached the Legislative Council that the following provision was included:

That no person shall be capable of being elected or appointed a School Commissioner, or named an Assessor under this Act, unless he shall be seized, or possessed, to his own use, of real or personal estate, or both within the Province, of the value of 250 pounds currency, after payment or deduction of just debts.²⁸

It was generally held at this time that there was a strong correlation between property and education and responsibility.

Unfortunately, this legislation did not immediately solve any problems. On the contrary, opposition was increased and a series of violent outbursts, known as the war of the Éteignoirs,²⁹ broke out throughout the province. They were directed against the compulsory contribution clause of the Act of 1846. The Abbé Groulx talks of

. . . violentes pratiques d'intimidation contre les partisans des écoles, notaires, médecins, marchands, sont sommés de se tenir cois sous la menace des pires représailles. Ailleurs, comme à Beaumont à Saint Grégoire, d'iniques persécutions sont dirigées contre les curés; le curé de l'Ile Bizard

28 Statutes, 9 Vic., Cap. 104, Section LI.

29 Eteignoirs (extinguishers or candle snuffers), attempting to extinguish the lights of learning.

est en butte, en son église, à des scènes scandaleuses, et se voit menacé de l'incendie de son presbytère.³⁰

The Bishop of Montreal personally intervened in the disturbance in the parish of St. Raphael on Ile Bizard:

Mgr. l'Evêque de Montréal a interdit une paroisse, celle de St. Raphael de l'île Bizard, et en a retiré le digne curé, parce que les habitants, malgré les remontrances de celui-ci, s'étaient mis en opposition ouverte à la loi d'éducation. Cette paroisse ne fut relevée de son interdiction, et le curé n'y fut rétabli qu'après leur soumission entière et parfaite à la loi d'éducation et aux instructions et recommandations du surintendant de l'instruction publique.³¹

Meanwhile insurrections had occurred elsewhere in the province and, though the Eteignoirs appear to have been unorganised and uncoordinated, offering nothing positive as an alternative educational policy, they did, nonetheless cause considerable frustration to the Superintendent and delay for a few years the uniform operation of the education law.

The formation of teachers' associations in Quebec and Montreal also marked Meilleur's tenure of office, and was a source of gratification to him. The members met every six months, held colloquia and freely expressed their views, which were communicated in due course to the

30 Groulx, op. cit., p. 241.

31 Meilleur, op. cit., p. 377.

Department of Education. In this way they were influential in establishing normal schools and in the formation of the boards of examiners and of the system of inspection.³²

4. Continuing the Struggle

A great deal of Meilleur's time and energy must have been devoted to the compilation of his annual reports which provided him with the opportunity to analyse and criticise existing legislation and to propose amendments and draft new laws on education. In his report of 11 March 1848, he lists ten defects of the 1846 Law, prominent amongst which are:

Want of means, to be placed at disposal of
Superintendent of education for the publication of
a Journal of Education.³³

and
Want of normal schools.³³

Neither of these needs was met during his term of office and it was his successor, Chauveau, who was credited with their realisation. Meilleur goes on to complain of the restrictions imposed on the office of superintendent:

³² Abbé A. Desrosiers, "French Education 1763-1913" in Canada and its Provinces, ed. Shortt and Doughty, Glasgow, 1914, Vol. 16, p. 426.

³³ Meilleur, Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, for the Scholastic Year 1846-47, dated 11th March 1848, Journals of the Legislative Assembly, Vol. 7, 1848, Appendix (P), n.p.

In the exercise of his powers and the performance of his important duties, the Superintendent of Education has, by law, no right to interfere in the local management of schools, except by way of advice, and generally at the special instance of the parties interested, unless they have themselves neglected or refused to perform, within the time prescribed by the Act, the duties which, in their turn the law has imposed upon them for educational purposes With this exception, the Superintendent is, by his position, only the advisor of the School Commissioners and of the Government, and the ostensible interpreter of the law, whether it be for the general or for the local direction of Common Schools.³⁴

This impotence is substantiated by the Parent Report

In Lower Canada (Quebec), his [the Superintendent's] duties included the distribution of public funds, the personal inspection of schools, the making of suggestions about the application of the law to local authorities, and the preparation for the legislative of an annual report on the state of the public schools. With insufficient personnel, without authority over local bodies, with no final discretion in the appointment of teachers or the approval of curricula and textbooks, he was often subjected to pressure, to criticism and even to open attack.³⁵

Crémazie, an examiner in the Quebec office, in his report to the Sicotte Commission,³⁶ speaks disparagingly of the Superintendent:

34 Ibid.

35 Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, Part 1, "The Structure of the Educational System at the Provincial Level," Montreal, Pierre des Marais, 1963, p. 8.

36 Crémazie in Rapport du Comité Spécial de l'Assemblée Législative nommé pour s'enquérir de l'Etat de l'Education et du fonctionnement de la Loi des Ecoles dans le Bas Canada, Quebec, John Lovell, 1853, p. 32.

Il n'est qu'une simple machine à recevoir des rapports, à recevoir et distribuer les deniers affectés à l'instruction publique. Sans contrôle aucun sur les actes des commissaires que la loi a affublés d'une omnipotence sans égale qui ne reconnaît audessus d'elle que la puissance de la législature, le surintendant et les inspecteurs d'école, ses députés ou représentants, sont sans pouvoir, et messieurs les commissaires peuvent, s'il leur en tient, se moquer impunément du surintendant et ses députés.

Whilst only reiterating somewhat more forcibly his own plaint this verdict must, nevertheless, have come as a blow to Meilleur's pride. Meanwhile, however, he had had the pleasure of seeing Parliament enact a permanent school law (1846) despite considerable opposition within the government and without. The principles of dissent and of compulsory taxation appear to have been the divisive factors when the bill was presented to the Executive Council. Now his job was to see that the provisions of the Act were upheld, and in so doing, he not only had to cope with the demonstrating Eteignoirs, but with the Anglicans too since they felt they were being discriminated against. They did not hesitate to use the press to voice their complaints:

Dissentients awake! . . . Let not a Superintendent, or any other official rob you of that which the Legislature has in their wisdom and bounty given you. . . . Appeal unanimously to the Legislature and they will do you justice and protect you from oppression.³⁷

37 The Witness, Montreal, March 8th, 1847.

Such an attack on Meilleur cannot be completely justified since it was the law which forced "dissentient" trustees to some degree of dependence on the school commissioners. As one of the architects of the common school system in Lower Canada, Meilleur had fixed ideas on the direction he wanted things to take, and he found it difficult to envisage a viable dual system such as was eventually to emerge. His aim, therefore, was to keep the number of dissentient schools to a minimum.³⁸ However, his lengthy report of 1848, containing twenty-nine proposed amendments which became law early the following year, sought to placate both the Catholic church (les amis de la cause) and the Protestant dissentients.

From the beginning the Roman Catholic church, realising the considerable power entrusted to the School Commissioners, feared that its personal involvement in education might be vitiated. In view of the property qualification, priests were ineligible for the office of school commissioner. Meilleur resisted a demand to make priests school commissioners ex officio, and retained the elective principle by the following amendment:

³⁸ Appendix 2, Report of Superintendent of Education for 1843, Journals of Legislative Assembly, 1844.

That the Clergymen of all religious denominations in each School Municipality shall be eligible to be such Commissioners without any property qualification; any Law or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.³⁹

Another amendment gave the trustees of dissentient schools corporate rights for themselves, making them independent of the school commissioners of the municipality. Thus Meilleur soothed his two main protagonists, whilst the creation of the post of Deputy-Superintendent was designed to ease his own work-load, and facilitate his visits to distant school districts.

The apparent ease with which Meilleur's lengthy proposals passed the Legislature and became law became the envy of his counterpart in Upper Canada, Egerton Ryerson, who wrote that:

The School Law of Lower Canada was introduced and passed under the auspices of the late administration; Dr. Meilleur submitted Remarks and a Draft of Bill to remedy the defects in some of its details, maintaining the general principles of it inviolate.⁴⁰

There is little doubt that this accomplishment marked the zenith of Meilleur's superintendency, and it is perhaps the sole occasion that the tables were turned and Ryerson could for once be envious of Meilleur.

³⁹ 12 Vic., cap. 50 dated 30th May 1849, Statutes of Canada, Montreal, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1848, Vol. 3, p. 334.

⁴⁰ Egerton Ryerson to Robert Baldwin, Toronto, 14 July 1849, Appendix N to Journals of Legislative Assembly, 1849-50.

It is noteworthy that Meilleur was strongly opposed to the use of foreign books, particularly American ones, in the schools. He is thus justified in recommending his own Nouvelle Grammaire Anglaise and l'Art Epistolaire, at the same time carefully pointing out that he has gained no personal profit from these publications.⁴¹ He puts in a strong plea for bilingualism, emphasizing especially the need for English teaching in French schools.

La langue française étant la nôtre, et constituant une partie importante de notre nationalité, elle doit sans doute être la langue de nos salons, la langue de notre littérature. Mais l'anglais étant devenu généralement la langue des affaires et des routes, dans presque toutes les parties de l'Amérique du Nord, la connaissance de ses principes . . . devrait contribuer à compléter le cours d'instruction pratique que l'on donne aux jeunes gens dans nos premières maisons d'éducation. Nous devons accepter, étudier et utiliser ce moyen de succès comme une nécessité.⁴²

It is seen that, despite his own bilingualism and his education in New England, Meilleur remained a Frenchman at heart, stressing the value of English from a purely utilitarian point of view.

41 Meilleur, Mémorial, p. 402.

42 Ibid., p. 401.

5. Extending the Inspectorate

The legislation of 1849 had made provision for a Deputy-Superintendent, but Meilleur was still inundated with paper work, and the enormity of his job still severely restricted the amount of time he could devote to visiting school districts and inspecting schools. In 1851 he petitioned the legislature for the appointment of deputy superintendents who would be directly subordinate to himself.⁴³ Commenting on the appointment of twenty-two county superintendents in Upper Canada, he emphasises the latter desideratum.

These superintendents must also have a strong feeling of subordination and of perfect submission to the orders of the superintendent-in-chief, otherwise it would be impossible to reckon upon that regularity and uniformity so desirable in the working of the law.⁴⁴

The education law of 1851, "to provide for the establishment of a Normal School, and further to promote Education in Lower Canada,"⁴⁵ did, in fact, empower the governor to

43 Meilleur, "Report on Education in Lower Canada," 12th June 1851, Appendix No. 2 to the Tenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, Session 1851, Appendix (K.K.), n.p.

44 Meilleur, "Report of Superintendent of Education in Lower Canada," 11th March 1848, Journals of Legislative Assembly, 1848, Appendix (P), n.p.

45 15 Vic., Cap. 97, dated Aug. 30th, 1851, Statutes of Canada, Toronto, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1851, p. 2072.

"appoint Inspectors for each District of Lower Canada."

These inspectors were to have all the powers and authority of the Superintendent of Schools, unless otherwise defined or restricted, and they were to make quarterly reports to the superintendent. In September 1851, Meilleur submitted his recommendations for appointment as inspectors,⁴⁶ but complains that appointments were delayed for three months after his list had been submitted. He charged that there was a great deal of political patronage in connection with the appointments, and about one-third of the inspectors nominated were not even listed by Meilleur:

Bien que, afin de laisser du choix au gouvernement, j'eusse fait et transmis une liste presque double de noms convenables, en contenant généralement deux pour chaque district d'inspection, environ un tiers des inspecteurs fut pris en dehors de cette liste qui comprenait nombre d'instituteurs qui s'étaient distingués dans l'enseignement. Cependant, c'est moi qui déterminai le nombre de districts d'inspection, qui fixai leurs limitations territoriales, et leur étendue respectivement, et, par conséquent, le nombre d'inspecteurs d'école à nommer.⁴⁷

Accordingly, Meilleur wasted little time in reorganising his department around the inspectors, and within three weeks of the Act, he had prepared his first circular outlining their duties under 33 headings and enclosing tabular forms

46 Meilleur, Mémorial, p. 335.

47 Ibid., p. 336.

to be completed and returned in duplicate.⁴⁸ He showed his support in a very practical way by petitioning the legislature for an increase in their salaries in view of the heavy expenses many of them were obliged to incur.⁴⁹ At the same time, he did not hesitate to assert his own authority in a way that we should find repugnant today. In one circular he complains:

I observe that certain Inspectors are trying to introduce into the schools which they visit their own systems and regulations, producing disorder, interrupting the uniformity in the management of the schools, and affording a subject of dissatisfaction and complaint.

There are 24 school Inspectors; if each was allowed to enforce the practice of his own system and his own peculiar regulations, we should have as many different systems as Inspectors; this, instead of introducing uniformity in the teaching and management of the schools, would produce confusion, place the Inspectors in a false position with respect to each other, and all of them in opposition to the Superintendent.⁵⁰

In addition to the above complaint, Meilleur complained of the extra work imposed on his office by the appointment of inspectors, especially the dilatory ones whose reports were rarely submitted on time.⁵¹

48 Meilleur, Instructions to Inspectors of Schools, 20 Sept. 1851. Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1850-51, Quebec, John Lovell, 1852, p.38-41.

49 Meilleur, Provincial Secretary's File, No. 99, dated 12 Jan., 1855.

50 Meilleur, Circular No. 10 to the Inspectors of Schools, 19 Dec. 1854.

51 Idem.

A further source of annoyance to the Superintendent was the Quebec Teachers' Association which in applying to Parliament for a charter, referred to the lack of qualifications among teachers, the absence of uniform standards in instruction and other defects of which Meilleur was undoubtedly aware. It also agitated for an increase in salaries and authority to publish a Journal of Education; all this, whilst the prerogative of a healthy growing organisation, served to antagonise the Superintendent.⁵² Unlike the Montreal Association, the Quebec teachers refused to accept the text-books which Meilleur recommended from time to time for use in the schools, and he therefore charged them with insubordination.

6. The Sicotte Commission's Report

These and other factors, including Meilleur's apparent contempt for the large and generally effective private sector of education, prompted the Legislative Assembly⁵³ to appoint a special committee under the chairmanship of Louis-Victor Sicotte to enquire into "the state

⁵² K. D. Hunte, "The Development of the System of Education in Canada East, 1841-1867, An Historical Survey," M. A. Thesis, Montreal, McGill University, 1962, p. 153.

⁵³ By a resolution of 22 February 1853. Vide: Rapport du Comité Special, p. 1.

of education in Lower Canada, the functioning of the school laws, the effectiveness of the Department of Education and ways of making the various laws more effective for the advancement of education in Lower Canada."⁵⁴ The report of this committee was damning to Meilleur to say the least. In listing the main deficiencies, the committee stated that out of 1991 men and women teachers only 422 were qualified according to the law. In the municipalities investigated, only 502 out of 1025 commissioners knew how to read and write. Of 205 secretary-treasurers making returns, only 100 reported that the law worked "more or less well," and out of 140 priests, only twenty made a similar declaration for their parishes. Of Meilleur's administration the report notes:

Une direction n'ayant que le droit d'aviser, est dans le Bas-Canada, une anomalie et une absurdité; elle doit pouvoir faire exécuter tout ce qu'elle conseille dans l'esprit de la loi. Il doit y avoir beaucoup de coercition dans les pouvoirs accordés à la direction; autrement, elle ira toujours s'affaiblissant dans l'opinion, jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit, comme la présente direction, complètement inefficace.⁵⁵

One contributor, J. Olivier Arcand of St. Michel d'Yamaska, one of the main trouble spots, accused the Superintendent of making the incapacity of the school commissioners an

54 Supra, p. 32, footnote 36.

55 Rapport du Comité Spécial, p. 9.

excuse for inertia on his own part: "Il a beau dire qu'il ne pouvait se multiplier partout, un bon général doit se montrer sur les points les plus menacés du territoire dont la défense lui est confiée."⁵⁶ Crémazie thought that neither Superintendent nor Inspectors served any useful purpose since they lacked authority and he recommended that their salaries be used for other educational purposes:

On dépense pour le salaire de ces officiers plus de £3000 par an, en pure perte, sans aucun résultat utile à la cause de l'instruction élémentaire.⁵⁷

Such harsh criticism, failed to take into account the manifold difficulties which hampered Meilleur's work. It is not surprising that the Superintendent was hurt and resentful.

7. The Final Years

On 12th January 1853 Meilleur had submitted a draft for a new law on education which, whilst retaining the essential features, would unify and simplify the earlier acts.⁵⁸ Efforts were made to suppress this draft on the grounds that it was incompatible with government policy, but pressure was brought by some members to have it

56 Ibid., p. 22.

57 Ibid., p. 32-33.

58 Meilleur, Mémorial, p. 394.

discussed in the Legislature where, after a heated debate, it was defeated by a majority of four, and consigned to the title of "private correspondence."⁵⁹ Those who favoured a completely new law for education did a great deal of talking, but Meilleur, who repeatedly asked to see the draft of the new law in order to compare it with his own, was frustrated all along the line:

Le plan de ce système nouveau est encore à faire, le système lui-même peut être encore à naître, mais mon projet, qui a au moins vu le jour, qui a une existence formelle et utilitaire, est à l'état de manuscrit et de document historique.⁶⁰

The final blow to Meilleur's ego came in 1855 with the withholding for some months of the allocation for teachers' salaries. The Department of Finance informed Meilleur that the school fund was empty.⁶¹ Contrary to the custom of the twelve preceding years, the money remaining in the public schools fund had been declared "unappropriated balance," and diverted for other educational purposes. By the time Meilleur received in two instalments the sum he had claimed for teachers' salaries for the latter part of 1854, most of the teachers had earned a further salary, and many of them were experiencing very real financial hardship.

59 Ibid., p. 399.

60 Ibid., p. 400.

61 Ibid., p. 333-334.

This situation was a source of considerable embarrassment to Meilleur and prompted him to tender his resignation almost immediately:

C'est à la suite de ces faits et de ce dernier et pénible embarras que j'offris au gouvernement ma résignation, toutefois en demandant d'être pourvu ailleurs. Son Excellence, le gouverneur-général, en acceptant ma résignation, eut la complaisance de me témoigner, par M. le secrétaire provincial, sa reconnaissance pour les services que j'avais rendus à l'éducation.⁶²

In addition to some of the problems discussed: to convince an agricultural population of the need for common schools and for taxation to support them; to allay the fears of both Catholics and Protestants who felt their religious interests threatened; to steer legislation through a sometimes hostile Assembly; to enforce the school law and to set up a central authority to administer it - problems which were by no means unique to Lower Canada - Meilleur was subjected to further difficulties of a more personal, but none-the-less important nature. From his appointment in May 1842 until February 1844 he was without both a fixed office and a permanent clerk, as he complains:

Un des défauts de la loi de 1841 était de n'avoir pourvu, ni d'une manière ni d'une autre, au frais d'établissement et d'entretien d'un bureau d'éducation, ni à ceux d'aides de bureau nécessaires pour le succès de l'oeuvre. Je fus pendant plus d'un an et demi, c'est-à-dire, depuis le 11

62 Ibid., p. 334.

mai 1842, jusqu'au mois de février 1844, sans bureau fixe, et sans commis ni copiste permanent. Ma fille aînée a souvent rempli, pendant ce temps, le devoir de copiste.⁶³

In February 1844, Meilleur was allowed to employ a regular clerk at a salary of £175 per annum, and in July 1846, on the appointment of a second clerk at the princely salary of £60, Meilleur's first assistant was accorded the title of secretary. In 1849, the salaries of these two positions were raised to £175 and £225 respectively, but the staff of the education office never exceeded two and a part-time messenger throughout Meilleur's administration of almost thirteen years.⁶⁴

This makes a sad contrast to Upper Canada, where the eminent Dr. Hodgins was appointed Secretary at the outset of Ryerson's administration. Similarly, Meilleur's own salary was not overly generous.

Pendant trois ans, mon salaire ne s'est monté qu'à la modique somme de £375 par an, et, pendant plus de dix ans, à celle de £500 par an; tandis qu'en entrant, le salaire de mon successeur a été porté à la somme de £750 par an, et que, depuis le premier janvier 1857, il a été élevé à la somme de £1000 par an.⁶⁵

Despite many vicissitudes, however, Meilleur worked diligently and conscientiously over many years for the

63 Ibid., p. 354.

64 Ibid., p. 354.

65 Ibid., p. 380.

advancement of education in his native province. His more tangible accomplishments include the replacement of voluntary contributions by compulsory taxation for the support of education; the establishment of Boards of Examiners with the power to approve text-books and control teacher-certification; the formation of teachers' associations; the appointment of District School Inspectors, and the independence of school commissioners from the municipal councils. Through his writings he showed himself to be a good Public Relations Officer, advocating bilingualism and the use of Canadian textbooks in the schools, and agitating, albeit unsuccessfully, for literate School Commissioners, the establishment of normal schools and a Journal of Education.

Meilleur resigned then amidst much personal bitterness and with little recognition. His resignation was promptly accepted, and he began his third career, as Postmaster in Montreal. It was only at his death that Meilleur was hailed as "un des citoyens les plus utiles qu'ait produits le Canada, et il laisse un nom honoré, et des oeuvres du plus grand mérite à l'histoire du pays."⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Mémorial Nécrologique, La Minerve, Montreal, lundi, 9 décembre 1878.

CHAPTER III

THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF P-J-O. CHAUVEAU, 1855-1867

The educational reforms initiated under Dr. Meilleur's administration were continued, refined and consolidated during the superintendency of his successor, P-J-O. Chauveau. It is he who is generally credited with the opening of Normal Schools for the training of teachers and with the publication of a Journal de l'Instruction Publique, although, as has been seen, both were included in the plans of Dr. Meilleur. This chapter discusses the educational background of Chauveau, his first annual report for 1855, his recommendations for change in the educational laws, and it attempts to assess his contribution to the development of education in Lower Canada.

1. Chauveau's Educational and Political Background

Chauveau, although only thirty-five years old when he succeeded Meilleur, had already attained considerable experience as both a lawyer and a politician, an experience which doubtless helped him to advance the cause of education for which he was now responsible. He was educated at the Quebec Seminary, called to the Lower Canada Bar in 1841, becoming a Q.C. twelve years later. He represented Quebec

County in the Legislative Assembly of Canada from 1844 to 1855, serving as both Solicitor-General for Lower Canada and later (1853-54) as Provincial Secretary. It was in the latter office that he had been directly associated with education, since it was through the Provincial Secretary's Office that the Superintendent of Education conducted business with the government. That good relations prevailed between Superintendent and Government is substantiated by the Cabinet's decision to increase immediately the Superintendent's salary to £750 per annum.¹ Expenditure for office furniture and a professional, departmental library was also sanctioned, a fact which the jealous Meilleur was quick to note.²

Chauveau was also an orator and writer of note, being at various times president of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, the Institut Canadien of Quebec and the Institut Canadien-Français of Montreal. He was a charter-member of the Royal Society of Canada in 1882, and its president from 1883-84. His writings include poems, novels and essays on politics and education. His poetry, much of which appeared in Le Canadien and other journals between

1 Cartier to Chauveau, Provincial Secretary's File, No. 1772 dated 20 June 1855, National Archives, Ottawa.

2 Meilleur, Mémorial, p. 356.

1838 and 1850, was collected in Le Répertoire National (4 vols., 1848-50). His best-known novel was Charles Guérin (1852), a tale of French-Canadian life.³ Other writings include a history of the universities of Laval, McGill and Toronto which appeared in serial form in his Journal de l'Instruction Publique and L'Instruction Publique au Canada: précis historique et statistique (1876).

Thus Chauveau was well endowed with literary and professional talents and political background, to assume a leading role in the development and growth of his country. From 1855 until Confederation then his primary goal was to advance the cause of education in Lower Canada. His efforts were to continue beyond Confederation when he became the first Premier of the province of Quebec, with the additional portfolios of education (he was also the first Minister of Education) and of Provincial Secretary. However, this post-Confederation period, whilst evidencing the stature of the man, does not fall within the scope of the present study.

2. Chauveau's Annual Report for 1855

The take-over from Meilleur was effected speedily, and although Chauveau was restrained from immediately

³ Encyclopedia Canadiana, Ottawa, Canadiana Co. Ltd., 1958, Vol. 2, p. 323-324.

devoting his full time and attention to his new job because of the illness and ultimate death of a child,⁴ nonetheless his first annual report dated 25th February 1856, reveals an acute awareness of the problems he had to face. Picking up where his predecessor had let go, Chauveau reports:

The present state of public instruction in Lower Canada was perfectly described by my worthy and zealous predecessor in his last Report, where he says:

"The law now in force was perhaps suitable to the times in which it was passed, but now several modifications are necessary, in order to give to the system its full development, to place it in harmony with the progress since made, and to give to public instruction that high degree of utility and perfection to which every system of national education should tend."⁵

In further tribute to Meilleur, Chauveau reports:

To say what constant and persevering efforts, what surpassing patience, my predecessor must have required, to succeed even in bringing into operation a law, at the time of its passing unfortunately unpopular, would subject me to a task almost as painful as the trials which it would record. It is only astonishing that the success which crowned his efforts (however limited it may appear to some), did not render him . . . incapable of discovering in his work all its inevitable defects, and omissions difficult to remedy; there is nevertheless hardly any important reform demanded today by public opinion, which has not been proposed and even urgently called for by the former Superintendent in his Reports.⁶

4 Chauveau, Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1855, dated Montreal, 25th Feb. 1856, Toronto, John Lovell, 1856, p. 1.

5 Ibid., p. 4.

6 Ibid., p. 4-5.

He continues by defining the areas which he felt were of most pressing concern. These are:

1. Improvement of the body of teachers;
2. Uniformity of school books;
3. Centralization of authority, and as a consequence, better and more vigorous discipline through the whole Department of Public Instruction;
4. The establishment in every county or division of county, of at least one of the schools to which our Legislature has given the name of Academy, and of a Model Primary School in each municipality.⁷

Aside from obvious educational values per se, Chauveau advocates normal school training in terms of increased teacher salaries which in turn lead to better social conditions and prestige. He suggests that a useful source of teacher supply was to be found amongst those students leaving the classical colleges without completing their studies, but emphasised that they must be assured of "proper remuneration."⁸ He recommends that annual prizes be awarded for outstanding teacher performance, and that pensions be provided for the aged and infirm.⁹ He thought that the creation of a type of educational hierarchy with prospects of advancement from the common schools and secondary schools, through the inspectorate, even to the

7 Ibid., p. 5.

8 Ibid., p. 7.

9 Ibid., p. 7.

office of Superintendent, would be an incentive to the teachers to improve their background, and would enhance the profession as such.¹⁰

Chauveau further stressed the value of teacher associations and conferences, noting that the Quebec association had already obtained a permanent budgetary grant, and suggesting that this in itself was recognition of the value of such associations.¹¹ He also advocated the payment of an indemnity to teachers dismissed without cause.¹²

Reverting to a favourite theme, the urgent need for normal schools, Chauveau states:

I cannot too often repeat, that normal instruction, well directed, will soon bring things to a proper level. The Normal Schools will contribute not only to produce teachers but also directly to improve their position. Having equal acquirements, they will be able to compete with professional men for some of the municipal offices to which salaries are attached. Vocal and instrumental music, which are taught in all well-conducted Normal Schools, will enable them to add something to their income, as every parish vestry devotes a certain sum to procure music for public worship.¹³

The long-prevailing acceptance that teachers can supplement their incomes by moonlighting is here sustained.

10 Ibid., p. 8.

11 Ibid., p. 8.

12 Ibid., p. 9.

13 Ibid., p. 10.

Legislation up to this point provided for only one Normal School for Lower Canada:

That it shall be lawful for the Governor of this Province to adopt all needful measures for the establishment of a Normal School in Lower Canada, containing one or more model schools, for the instruction of Teachers of Common Schools in the Science of Education and Art of Teaching.¹⁴

However, in this first report, the new Superintendent argues against the concept of a single provincial normal school:

But I think that in establishing under the active and incessant superintendence of this department, several Normal Schools, means might be found of affording to the principal sections of our population, heterogeneous in language and religion, guarantees which, without the odium of a system of exclusion, would induce each individual to go to that institution which he would expect to find most suited to his own views.¹⁵

Chauveau's summary of his recommendations in this first report is to be found in Appendix 1 to this study. It must suffice here to reiterate briefly its major points, which were:

to assure to Lower Canada a "Budget for Public Instruction invariable as to its minimum amount"; and to establish a fund at the disposal of the Superintendent for: the establishment of academies and normal schools; pensions to

¹⁴ 14 and 15 Vic., cap. 97 dated 30th Aug. 1851, Provincial Statutes of Canada, Toronto, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1851, Vol. 3, p. 2071.

¹⁵ Chauveau, op. cit., p. 11.

aged and infirm teachers; bursaries for poor children attending school; publication of a "Journal of Public Instruction"; maps, globes and "similar articles"; aid in construction of school houses; a departmental library and parish libraries. In addition he asked for certain powers to be accorded to the Superintendent for organising and administering the normal schools and for ensuring the election of competent and literate school commissioners.¹⁶

3. The School Laws of 1856

It must have been gratifying to Chauveau that within a matter of weeks from the submission of his report, most of his recommendations had been enacted into the law. The first of two school laws of 1856, An Act to amend the Common School Laws, and further to promote Elementary Education in Lower Canada was assented to on May 16th, 1856.¹⁷ This law contained certain clauses to ensure that School Commissioners took a yearly census of children in each school municipality, "distinguishing those who are from five to sixteen years of age, those from seven to fourteen years, and those actually attending school; and

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 37.

¹⁷ 19 Vic., cap. 14, Statutes of the Province of Quebec (19 and 20 Vic.), Toronto, Stewart Derbishire and Geo. Desbarats, 1856, p. 23-30.

shall transmit such census to the Superintendent of Schools within ten days after its completion."¹⁸ It imposed a penalty on commissioners for refusing to fix or collect monthly fees, whilst exempting dissentient trustees from attesting on oath; and it also made provision for the establishment of additional Boards of Examiners.¹⁹ Female teachers were no longer to be exempted from examination:

After the first of July 1857, any female not being a member of any religious community, who shall desire to become a teacher in a common school, shall undergo the required examination before the Board of Examiners . . .²⁰

As a means of strengthening the administration provision was made for the establishment of a Council of Public Instruction:

And inasmuch as it will be conducive to the furtherance of Education in Lower Canada to establish therein a Council of Public Instruction - the Governor shall have authority to appoint not more than fifteen and not less than eleven persons (of whom the Superintendent of Schools for Lower Canada shall be one) to be a Council of Public Instruction for Lower Canada, and such persons shall hold their office during pleasure, and shall be subject to all lawful orders and directions in the exercise of their duties, which shall from time to time be issued by the Governor in Council.²¹

18 Ibid., p. 23-24.

19 Ibid., p. 25.

20 Ibid., p. 24.

21 Ibid., p. 27.

Five members would constitute a quorum, and the Superintendent was charged with providing a meeting place for the Council and with defraying its expenses. Prominent amongst the duties of the Council was to make rules and regulations for the Normal Schools; to make regulations for the organisation, government and discipline of common schools, and the classification of schools and teachers; to select books, maps, globes to be used exclusively in the schools; to make rules and regulations for the Boards of Examiners and to keep a classified list of teachers holding certificates. It was also empowered to revoke certificates in certain cases and to make charges against teachers.²²

It may be noted here that the Council of Public Instruction was created by an order in Council on December 17th, 1859, and was composed initially of fifteen members: eleven Catholic and four Protestant.²³

One further clause of this Act is important since it authorised from the Common School Grant:

1st - A sum not exceeding one thousand pounds, for special aid to Common Schools in poor School Municipalities; 2nd - A sum not exceeding four hundred and fifty pounds, to encourage the publication and circulation of a Journal of Public

22 Ibid., p. 27-29.

23 L-P. Audet, Histoire du Conseil de l'Instruction Publique de la Province de Québec, 1856-1964, Montreal, Editions Leméac, 1964, p. 37.

Instruction; and 3rdly - A sum not exceeding five hundred pounds, towards forming a fund for the support of superannuated or worn-out Common School Teachers in Lower Canada, under such regulations as may be adopted from time to time by the Superintendent of Schools, or by the Council of Public Instruction of Lower Canada as soon as such Council shall be established therein, and approved by the Governor in Council . . .²⁴

The second school law of 1856, An Act to make better provision for promotion of superior Education and the Establishment and Support of Normal Schools in Lower Canada and for other purposes,²⁵ was concerned almost exclusively with the establishment of Normal Schools, but it authorised the appropriation of the Jesuits' Estates as an Investment Fund for Superior Education and guaranteed that the Income Fund therefrom be made up to £22,000, if necessary. From the latter, grants were to be made to institutions of higher learning as well as to parish and township libraries "and such libraries shall be under such management, inspection and regulations as the Superintendent of Schools shall from time to time determine . . ."²⁶

24 Ibid., p. 24-25.

25 19 Vic., cap. 54, assented to 19th June 1856, Statutes of the Province of Quebec (19 and 20 Vic.), Toronto, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1856, p. 229-234.

26 Ibid., p. 231.

Provision was made for the establishment and maintenance of "one or more Normal Schools, containing one or more Model Schools, for the instruction and training of Teachers of Common Schools in the Science of Education and Art of Teaching."²⁷ Moreover, the organisation, control and administration of the Normal Schools was entrusted to the Superintendent of Common Schools who, in his yearly report to the Legislature, was to state "what he may have done under this Act during the period to which such Report may relate."²⁸

His responsibilities from the outset were specific:

. . . [the Superintendent of Schools] shall cause to be made from time to time such rules and regulations as may be required for the management of such Normal Schools, and for prescribing the terms and conditions on which Students shall be received and instructed therein, the course of instruction to be gone through and the manner and form in which the Registers and books shall be kept, and certificates of attendance granted to Students; and shall likewise . . . determine who shall be the Teachers and the persons to be employed therein, and the number and remuneration of such Teachers and persons to be so employed; and Reports shall be made from time to time by the Principals of such Normal Schools to the Superintendent of Schools, containing such particulars as he shall direct, whenever need shall be or he shall require such Reports.²⁹

27 Ibid., p. 232.

28 Ibid., p. 234.

29 Ibid., p. 232.

Thus Chauveau saw not only his wish for teacher training facilities realised, but at the same time found himself shaping the future policies and programmes of the Normal Schools. This Act, then, marks the beginning of centralised control of teacher education in Quebec, and gives very real authority to the chief executive officer, the Superintendent.

4. Chauveau and the Advancement of Teachers

Much has already been said of Chauveau's continuing demand for teacher training, for enhancing the profession of teaching with a view to securing quality education in the schools, and for securing and retaining efficient teachers. For him the advancement of teachers was the primary objective, and his annual reports abound in recommendations for the realisation of this objective. Chauveau speaks with pride of the opening of the Normal Schools:

On the 3rd of March last I was enabled to inaugurate the Jacques Cartier and McGill Normal Schools at Montreal. The Laval Normal School at Quebec was inaugurated on the 12th of the present month. I considered it expedient that the ceremony of opening those schools should be attended with an éclat calculated to impress upon the public mind the importance which the Government attached to their establishment, and in this I met with the most cordial cooperation of the religious, military and civil authorities.³⁰

³⁰ Chauveau, Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1856, dated Montreal, 23rd May 1857; Toronto, John Lovell, 1857, p. 11.

In these days of mass education, it is interesting to note the initial enrolment figures:

Jacques Cartier - 18 male pupil-teachers

McGill - 5 male, 25 female

Laval - 22 male

and Chauveau's accompanying observations:

It is expected that boarding houses for the female teachers attending the Jacques Cartier and Laval Normal Schools will soon be established. Until then, male pupil-teachers only will be admitted.³¹

Apparently, the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame at Montreal, whom Chauveau had approached to board the female students, refused to cooperate as they did not wish to accept teachers from outside their community, and because they considered the government grants inadequate.³²

Chauveau felt that the role of the Normal Schools should extend beyond the mere training of teachers, and that they should be effectual leaders in the field of Education:

I considered it my duty to take advantage of the inauguration of the Normal Schools for the purpose of establishing Teachers' Associations in connection with each of them. At a time when a formidable competition was about to be entered into with the actual teachers, it appeared to be nothing more than just, that the advantages of conferences at which they could discuss among themselves, or hear discussed by the Professors of each school,

³¹ Ibid., p. 12.

³² Wilson, Stamp, Audet, op. cit., p. 179.

pedagogical questions, in which they are so especially interested, should be procured for those among them who could not attend regularly at the Normal Schools.³³

Some years later, in 1863, Chauveau is seen adopting a more ruthless policy towards uncertificated teachers, although it is to the employers rather than to the teachers themselves that he addresses himself:

In consequence of the large number of Boards of Examiners organised, and of the facility with which persons can present themselves for examination in every part of the country, the Department will not feel justified in tolerating any male or female teachers in instruction subsidised by government, unless they are possessors of diplomas. For some years past, I have been careful in limiting the indulgence thus granted to needy and distant localities, but now there is no longer the excuse which could formerly be offered.³⁴

The following year, he reports that:

The number of lay teachers, male and female, without diplomas, who were employed during the year in schools under control of the school commissioners and trustees, was only 41; and, in each case, payment of the grant was withheld.³⁵

Thus pressure was brought to bear on the school commissioners who, for reasons of ignorance or economy,

33 Ibid., p. 13.

34 Chauveau, Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1862, dated Montreal 26th April 1863, Quebec, Hunter, Rose and Lemieux, 1863, p. 13.

35 Chauveau, Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1863, dated Montreal, May 15th, 1864, Quebec, Hunter, Rose and Lemieux, 1864, p. 12.

continued to employ unqualified teachers. Recognising a correlation between salary and competence, Chauveau argued in like vein for increased teacher salaries:

Men of education throughout the country have a new duty to perform toward society: it is to persuade the people among whom they reside, that it is not only necessary to have schools (and to show this has already cost some trouble), but to prove to them that good schools are required, and to secure these good teachers whose services cannot be obtained for a miserable pittance, or who at least will not remain long without an increase of salary. The Department has hitherto laboured with all its power to obtain an increase in the salaries given to teachers; but to succeed the assistance of the friends of education in each locality is absolutely required. It has been suggested as a cure for the bad tendencies of a number of municipalities in this respect, that a minimum rate of salaries for teachers should be fixed, and that the commissioners should be compelled to show a certain amount of education as a condition of eligibility.³⁶

Other steps taken by Chauveau to enhance the teacher's lot have already been noted in discussing his first and lengthiest report, for 1855. As a result of his recommendations a pension fund for sick and worn-out teachers had been established;³⁷ one more indication of Chauveau's insistence that an effective teacher must be worry-free, and that he must deserve the respect of the public at large.

36 Chauveau, Report for 1862, p. 10-11.

37 Supra., p. 57.

5. Chauveau and the Education Journals

The first volume of the Journal de l'Instruction Publique was published in January 1857, followed by the English edition, The Journal of Education, in February of the same year. The function of these journals served the same ends although their format differed, and the English version was an entity unto itself and by no means simply a translation from the French. In his editorial of January 1857,³⁸ Chauveau went to great pains to state the objectives of his Journal which appear to embrace the whole spectrum of education. He hoped to reach the general public, the school commissioners, the teachers and pupils alike. Speaking of contemporary journals, he says:

Il y a des revues d'un genre élevé où se discutent scientifiquement les questions pédagogiques et qui s'occupent en même temps de science et de littérature. Il y a encore des journaux particulièrement destinés aux instituteurs et dont la rédaction toute spéciale offrirait peu d'attrait à la grande masse des lecteurs. D'autres, au contraire, sont conduits dans un genre tout populaire et combattent pied-à-pied les préjugés et les routines sur leur propre terrain. Certains recueils sont destinés à la jeunesse, d'autres à l'enfance: les uns s'occupent de l'instruction secondaire, les autres de l'instruction primaire uniquement, et tous enfin concourent, par des moyens divers, à la même oeuvre à laquelle d'ailleurs travaille si puissamment toute la phalange du journalisme moral et intelligent.

³⁸ Editorial, Journal de l'Instruction Publique, Montreal, Jan. 1857, Vol. 1, no. 1, p. 10, col. 2.

Etant le premier de son espèce publié en langue française en Amérique, notre journal devra participer, à un certain degré, du caractère de tous ceux que nous venons de décrire, et notre plus grand embarras sera de combiner, dans les proportions voulues, tous les élémens qui doivent composer un journal général de l'instruction publique.

. . . on devra en faire un véritable journal des familles, qui, sous une forme agréable et pour un prix modique, répandra les connaissances utiles dans tout le pays, inspirera à la jeunesse le goût des saines lectures et sera l'auxiliaire et le complément des bibliothèques de paroisse.³⁹

Thus the contents of this first number of the Journal de l'Instruction Publique include a photogravure of the Cour intérieure de l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier; some poems; a lengthy article on Discipline; composition and grammar exercises for pupils; official announcements; anecdotes; official documents and statistics; circulars to school commissioners; prospectuses of the three Normal Schools - Laval, McGill and Jacques Cartier; a total of some thirty-two pages. To assemble and edit such a mass of information, and to produce a monthly journal averaging sixteen pages must in itself have been a job of some magnitude, and yet it constituted only a small fraction of the Superintendent's responsibilities. Even with the support of an assistant editor, Chauveau realised the burden he was assuming from the outset, yet he took it up with courage:

39 Idem.

Nous ne craignons point, du reste, de succomber sous le fardeau; car nous avons mis, dès le début, notre entreprise sous la protection du symbole glorieux des chrétiens, la croix civilisatrice qui éclaire le monde. Sans elle il n'y aurait, à l'heure présente, NI RELIGION, NI LIBERTE, NI SCIENCE, NI PROGRES, et sans elle nous désespérions d'accomplir une tâche que nous résumons en un seul mot: RENDRE LE PEUPLE MEILLEUR!⁴⁰

Unfortunately the budget did not allow for the free distribution of the Journal and, at twenty-five cents a copy, sales must perforce have been restricted.

Chauveau's financial concern is shown in his report for 1863:

I am happy to say that last year, as during the year previous, the expense of Le Journal de l'Instruction Publique and of the Lower Canada Journal of Education did not exceed the receipts; there was in fact a small profit which will be applied to the reduction of the deficit on former years. This deficit, amounting to \$1918.98 on the 31st December, 1861, had been reduced to \$1491.04 on the 31st December last. If it be borne in mind that this sum does not equal in amount the grant for any one year, and that distributed over seven years, the time during which these periodicals have been in existence, it gives an annual deficit of only \$213, or 7.05 per cent per annum in excess of the government grant (of \$1600), it will be admitted, that this circumstance, though much to be regretted, is by no means surprising, especially if we take into account the fact that the Department of Education in Upper Canada is allowed as much for the publication of one journal.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 12, col. 1.

⁴¹ Chauveau, Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1863, dated Montreal, 15th May 1864, Quebec, Hunter, Rose and Lemieux, 1864, p. 12.

Labarrère-Paulé, paying tribute to Chauveau's initiative, says of the Journal:

Oeuvre de littérateurs distingués, d'hommes reconnus pour la largeur de leurs préoccupations, le Journal de l'Instruction Publique désire donner un nouvel élan au journalisme canadien-français. Ses chroniques sont très variées. De larges emprunts faits aux publications étrangères. Cependant les difficultés apparaissent très vite. Le nombre d'abonnés n'augmente pas suffisamment et surtout la publication ne satisfait pas les instituteurs. Ceux-ci n'y trouvent rien de vraiment pratique. Le journal de Chauveau, trop officiel, devient chaque mois plus lourd à digérer.⁴²

Nonetheless, the publication of the Journals continued until 1879.

6. Chauveau and Teaching Supplies

Much time and effort were expended by Chauveau in the provision of teaching supplies and teaching aids. From the outset of his administration he deplored the paucity and lack of uniformity in school texts:

The second reform required is uniformity in the school books. The Inspectors in their Reports constantly complain of the great variety of those in use. The choice of books is practically left to the teacher, and as each one has his own particular habits and predilections, a change of books generally accompanies a change of teacher, and this as we know takes place too frequently. There is nothing more likely to retard the progress of the

42 André Labarrère-Paulé, Les laïques et la Presse pédagogique du Canada-français au XIX^e siècle, Quebec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1963, p. 174.

children, and disgust the parents than the useless expense thus imposed upon them. But, what is still worse in many schools, the teachers are weak enough, or perhaps are forced by the poverty of the parents, and the parsimony of the Commissioners, to allow each child to use the grammar, the geography or the reader, which chance may have placed in his hands; I leave it to be imagined what confusion this must produce!⁴³

Like his predecessor, Chauveau also deplored the lack of Canadian texts which resulted in an over-dependence on American and British texts:

My suggestion, relative to the publication of a series of reading books, adapted to the wants of the country, are found repeated in the reports of several of the inspectors this year. I do not hesitate to declare my conviction of its great importance and necessity.⁴⁴

This surely was a recognition of the need to provide for pupil interests and relevance, rather than a mere patriotic gesture.

Maps, globes and other visual aids to teaching were in short supply, and Chauveau suggested that a depository be established as a convenience to School Commissions:

It is also my opinion that the schools can never be properly supplied with books, maps, object lessons, globes, counters, orreries and other implements of this nature so long as a Depository is not established by the Department well supplied

43 Chauveau, Report for 1855, p. 14.

44 Chauveau, Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1857, dated Montreal, 25 July 1858, Toronto, John Lovell, 1858, p. 27.

with all kinds of school apparatus, etc., from which the schools in the municipalities could be supplied at cost price, as is the case in Upper Canada.⁴⁵

In fact, it appears to have been a matter of pride for Chauveau that such artifacts were available in the Normal Schools:

The three institutions are alike furnished with maps, globes, orreries, blackboards, boards for object lessons etc. The McGill and Laval Schools will require more extensive libraries than they at present possess. Although that of the Jacques Cartier School is also limited, the pupils have access, under certain restrictions, to the library of the Department of Public Instruction, which is in the same building. This collection which is also open to the professors of the other Normal Schools, to the officers of the Department, and indeed to all persons who are engaged in serious study, now amounts to over 3000 volumes, thanks in great measure, to the various donations which I have received.⁴⁶

Other facilities, long taken for granted in our contemporary schools, were heralded by Chauveau with much pride:

At the Jacques Cartier normal school, a complete gymnasium has not only furnished all the pupils with an opportunity of taking salutary exercise, but has also qualified them to spread throughout the country a taste for physical education. . . . Tolerably complete cabinets of apparatus for the exemplification of physical science (though of course the strictest economy has been observed in collecting them), have been provided for each school.⁴⁷

45 Chauveau, Report for 1856, p. 20.

46 Chauveau, Report for 1857, p. 8.

47 Idem.

There are examples elsewhere in his reports where Chauveau shows ingenuity in tackling problems which sprang from the perennial problem of education - a shortage of funds. He solicited contributions to his own departmental library from "friends residing both within and without the province."⁴⁸ Like his colleague Ryerson in Upper Canada, Chauveau appreciated the potential of parochial or public libraries as a means of educating the populace, and he proposed to organise a type of wholesale bookstore to help in supplying such libraries:

I hope that by permitting the amount of the allowance to accumulate for some time, I shall be enabled, with the consent of the Government, to set on foot a store or depository, the establishment of which may be a means of encouraging the literature and books of the country, and also of facilitating the formation of Mechanics' Institutes and Literary Societies.⁴⁹

But no doubt the example par excellence of the Superintendent's frugality is the manner in which he obtained books for distribution as prizes to the better students:

. . . I have obtained permission to distribute myself, and to give for distribution to the Inspectors, instructive books as a reward to the scholars who should merit them by their assiduity, their good conduct and their success in any particular branch . . . I have for this object

48 Chauveau, Report for 1856, p. 18.

49 Ibid., p. 20.

obtained from the Government the 200 remaining copies of the Essays on Canada, published by the Committee of the Universal Exhibition, and 400 copies of a treatise on Flemish agriculture which the Minister of Agriculture had just got reprinted

. . .

I hope to be able by spring to send to each of the Inspectors a case of assorted books, appropriate to the wants of his district, with precise instructions as to the manner of their distribution. Several advantages will result from this measure: it will provide an excellent substitute for the too numerous holidays . . . excellent books will be put into circulation, to the great advantage not only of the children, but of their parents also; the visits and advice of the Inspectors will be agreeably impressed upon the minds of the children

. . .⁵⁰

Crude and improvised though this incentive may sound, Chauveau's report one year later states, without specifying criteria, that "the distribution of prize books has produced very beneficial results."⁵¹

7. Continuing Problems

In his Report for 1858,⁵² the Superintendent laments that certain obstacles still persist. These include:

. . . the conduct of many of the commissioners elected as they are on account of their disposition to save the money of the rate-payers, rather than for their qualifications for so important an office;

50 Chauveau, Report for 1855, p. 19-20.

51 Chauveau, Report for 1856, p. 18.

52 Chauveau, Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1858, dated Montreal, April 14th, 1859, Toronto, John Lovell, 1859.

the excessive number of schools, and the insufficiency of the salaries paid to the teachers; the too great range of the scheme of tuition in many elementary schools; the indifference of many commissioners who neglect to visit the schools; and the remissness of the children, particularly of those between 12 and 16 years of age, in attending school.⁵³

It was these problems in particular which Chauveau strove diligently and laboriously to solve, both through his writings and public utterances. That he was far from successful is evidenced by the fact that they existed in varying degree for many years after his death. It must be remembered, however, that at this point in history the main job of the Superintendents was of a missionary nature; they had to induce both government and the public of the need for common schools. Chauveau's efforts in this context were quite remarkable, and he received a tangible vote of confidence when the government decided to send him on a fact-finding trip to Europe and the United States. Thus he spent seven months (from November 1866 to June 1867) studying educational systems abroad, much as Ryerson had done some twenty-one years earlier. He returned to Canada on the eve of Confederation, the better informed, one would suppose, to continue his leadership in the educational development of his Province.

53 Ibid., p. 6-7.

In his eulogy to Meilleur, Desrosiers tends to under-estimate the part played by Chauveau in the development of education in Lower Canada:

En somme, le magnifique essor que Meilleur a imprimé à l'éducation nationale dans notre province le rend encore présent parmi nous. Mais le nom de son successeur, M. Chauveau, est si populaire et si connu du public, qu'il faut faire effort pour reconnaître l'influence persistante du premier surintendant sur nos institutions scolaires. Chauveau n'a été pourtant que le continuateur aussi brillant que solide de l'oeuvre dont Meilleur a été le fondateur et l'organisateur puissant.⁵⁴

This assessment is true inasmuch as Meilleur had pointed the way for many of the innovations that Chauveau introduced, the Journal of Education being a case in point. It has been shown, moreover, that Chauveau was quick on more than one occasion to acknowledge his very real debt to Meilleur.⁵⁵ But to say that Chauveau merely continued the work of his predecessor is to do him an injustice. It has been seen that he was a prolific writer, a sound administrator, a good public relations officer and an effective leader. As Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, Chauveau is best known in connection with Normal Schools,

⁵⁴ Adélard Desrosiers, Les Ecoles Normales primaires de la Province de Québec et leurs oeuvres complémentaires. Récit des Fêtes jubilaires de l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier, 1857-1907, Montreal, 1909, p. 90.

⁵⁵ Supra., p. 50.

Journals of Education and a teacher superannuation scheme. But, in addition, credit must be accorded him for the establishment of a Council of Public Instruction, for the opening of Departmental, Parish and Township libraries, and for securing a minimum budget for Public Instruction along with grants in aid to common schools in poor municipalities. It has further been shown that he did much to advance the status of teachers, to eliminate to some extent the uncertificated, and to assist in the teaching-learning process through the provision of equipment and teaching aids.

CHAPTER IV

THE SUPERINTENDENCY OF REV. DR. EGERTON RYERSON, 1844-1867

In this chapter an attempt is made to trace the personal contribution of Superintendent Ryerson to the development of public education in Upper Canada. It has already been shown how Ryerson succeeded to the superintendency,¹ an office which he was to hold until his retirement in 1876. However, as this study is concerned with the period immediately prior to Confederation, this chapter will cover his work until 1867 only.

1. Ryerson's Early Life and Education

Like his confrère, Dr. Meilleur, in Lower Canada, Egerton Ryerson was a farmer's son, but there the similarity ends. Ryerson's father was a United Empire Loyalist who had settled first in New Brunswick and then in Upper Canada where Egerton was born in Charlotteville (Norfolk County) in 1803. After a somewhat incomplete education at the London District Grammar School, supplemented by his own further reading, Ryerson left home to become an usher in his old school. This was due, in part, to the fact that he

1 Supra, p. 14.

had at eighteen fallen under the spell of Methodism whose militancy at this time was strong. Two of his older brothers were already Methodist ministers, and now the fact that a third son was showing leanings in the same direction, may have been a little too much for Ryerson senior.²

However, after two years in London, Egerton was summoned home to resume farming. At age twenty-two, he decided to travel as a Methodist missionary and in due course, he was assigned a charge on Yonge Street in York township. His circuit was a large one entailing a great deal of travel, so that he was able to get to know the people of Upper Canada by moving and living amongst them. This knowledge of people and conditions was to stand him in good stead when later he was entrusted with the development of educational programmes. Subsequently, he was appointed missionary to the Chippewa Indians of the Credit River where he earned respect by the sweat of his brow and by sharing in their way of life:

In one of these bark-covered and bush-enclosed wigwams, I ate and slept for some weeks; my bed consisting of a plank, a mat, and a blanket, and a blanket also for my covering; yet I was never more comfortable and happy:- "God, the Lord, was the strength of my heart, and -

"Jesus, all day long, was my joy and my song."
Maintaining my dignity as a minister, I showed the

2 J. H. Putman, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada, Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1912, p. 8.

Indians that I could work and live as they worked and lived.³

In 1827, Ryerson was moved to the Cobourg circuit which at that time extended from Bowmanville to Brighton. Thus, again his duties entailed much travel, and it was his custom to compose sermons and replies to his ecclesiastical adversaries, on horseback. A break came, however, when in 1829 he was appointed editor of the newly founded Methodist newspaper, the Christian Guardian.⁴ This paper started with a circulation of 500, which in three years was increased to some 3,000. Besides defending Methodist principles and institutions, the paper made a strong stand for civil liberty, temperance, education, and missionary work. It soon came to be looked upon as one of the leading journals of Upper Canada.⁵ Ryerson gave up the editorship in 1832 and the following year, made a trip to England to negotiate a union between the Canadian Methodist Conference and the Wesleyan Conference of England. On his return, following a successful mission, he was re-elected editor of the Guardian.

A second visit to England in 1835 shows Ryerson as an educational "activist"; his interest in educating the

3 E. Ryerson, The Story of My Life, ed. J. G. Hodgins, Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1883, p. 58-59.

4 N. Burwash, "Egerton Ryerson," The Makers of Canada, vol. 13, Toronto, Morang & Co., 1906, p. 27.

5 Putman, op. cit., p. 13.

populace having already been shown in his letters and sermons. The purpose of this visit was to secure funds and a royal charter for the Upper Canada Academy, the cornerstone of which had been laid by the Methodists in 1832 at Cobourg. Back at the Guardian, Ryerson was again championing the Methodist cause, and attacking the attempts of the Church of England minority to found an Anglican Establishment. He even wrote a letter to The Church, the official organ of the Church of England in Upper Canada:

. . . I have stated on former occasions . . . that my objections had no reference to the existence, or prosperity, of the Church of England as a church, but simply and solely to its exclusive establishment and endowment in Upper Canada, especially, and indeed entirely, in reference to the clergy reserves. . . . I believe it would be a moral calamity for either the Church of England, or Church of Scotland, or the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Congregational or the Baptist Churches to be annihilated in this province. I believe there are fields of labour which may be occupied by any one of those Churches with more efficiency and success than by any of the others. They need not, and I think, ought not, to be aggressors upon each other.⁶

A better example of Ryerson's tolerance would be difficult to find. It was his objective, of course, that the Clergy Reserves should be appropriated for general educational purposes:

⁶ Ryerson, The Story of My Life, Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1883, p. 292-293. Letter dated 21st December 1841.

In nothing is this Province so defective as in the requisite available provisions for an efficient system of general education. Let the distinctive character of that system be the union of public and private effort. . . . To Government influence will be spontaneously added the various and combined religious influences of the country in the noble, statesmanlike and divine work of raising up an elevated, intelligent and moral population.⁷

In October 1841, Ryerson was appointed first principal of Victoria College, the former Upper Canada Academy which had recently attained university status. About the same time, the Wesleyan University of Middletown, Conn., conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.⁸

2. Ryerson's First Report

His appointment as Superintendent of Education did not come as a surprise to Ryerson⁹ who, in accepting, stipulated that he should be allowed to make a tour of Europe before taking up the active duties of his office. He left Canada for Europe in November 1844, and returned in December 1845, having visited schools in Great Britain and

7 Ryerson, editorial, The Guardian, Toronto, 11th July 1838.

8 J. D. Wilson, R. M. Stamp and L-P. Audet, Canadian Education: A History, Scarborough (Ont.), Prentice-Hall, 1970, p. 217.

9 For a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding this appointment, see J. G. Hodgins (ed.), Historical Educational Papers and Documents of Ontario, Vol. 1, p. 155-159.

Ireland, France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland and other European countries, besides New York and the New England States.

From the outset, there was opposition in the press and elsewhere to Ryerson's appointment and to his fact-finding mission. One editorial hailed his return:

It is now more than twelve months since the Province was insulted by the appointment of Dr. Ryerson to the responsible situation of Superintendent of Public Instruction. To hide the gross iniquity of the transaction, Ryerson was sent out of the country on pretence of inquiring into the different systems of education. After being several months in England this public officer, paid by the people of Canada, has for the last eight months been on the Continent on a tour of pleasure. . . . Let the people of Canada rejoice and every Methodist willing to be sold throw up his cap. Ryerson is here ready to dispose of them to the highest bidder, the purchase money to be applied to his own benefit, with a modicum for Victoria College.¹⁰

During his travels, it was Ireland, Germany and Massachussets which gave him the most valid, practical suggestions. In Prussia, he saw the advantage of trained teachers and a strong central bureau of administration; in Ireland he saw a simple solution of religious difficulties and a fine system of national textbooks; in Massachussets, he saw an efficient system financed by the people and managed by properly elected boards of trustees. Thus in his report

¹⁰ The Globe, Toronto, December 16th, 1845, editorial.

of 1846 to the Provincial Secretary, Ryerson discussed the organisation of public education under the following headings: schools, teachers, textbooks, control of inspection and individual efforts. He stressed the principles that property generally be taxed for the support of elementary schools, that school attendance be compulsory, that schools be systematically inspected; that teachers receive professional training, and that a large measure of local autonomy be granted in school affairs.¹¹

It is interesting to note that Ryerson's Report contains comparatively little that is original, being made up of ninety per cent of quotations from Horace Mann's Report and from reports of eminent European statesmen and educators. For this lack of originality Ryerson was attacked, but it is in the selection, organisation and synthesis of his report that he is to be commended. His shrewd common sense and intimate first-hand knowledge of Canadian conditions told him exactly what ought to be done, and he wisely allowed others to tell in his Report their own stories.¹²

11 Ryerson, "Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada," in J. G. Hodgins (ed.), Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, Part 2, Vol. 6, Toronto, Warwick Bros. and Ruther, 1899, p. 195-213.

12 Putman, op. cit., p. 111.

It appears that Ryerson was something of a traditionalist in his views on education. He made no attempt to break down class barriers; on the contrary he aimed to provide education to meet the needs of the citizenry for their preordained roles in life. Such modern concepts of "equality of opportunity" and "individual differences" were alien to his times.

By Education, I mean not the mere acquisition of certain arts, or of certain branches of knowledge, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects of it for their appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business and also as members of the civil community in which they live.

The basis of an Educational structure adapted to this end should be as broad as the population of the country; and its loftiest elevation should equal the highest demands of the learned professions, adapting its gradation of schools to the wants of the several classes of the community, and to their respective employments or profession, the one rising above the other - the one conducting the other; yet each complete in itself for the degree of education it imparts; a character of uniformity as to fundamental principles pervading the whole; the whole based upon the principles of Christianity, and uniting the combined influence and support of the Government and the people.¹³

He emphasised the value of religion and morality as basic school subjects.¹⁴ The bible could be used, he

13 Ryerson, "Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada," in J. G. Hodgins (ed.), Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, Part 1, Vol. 6, Toronto, Warwick Bros. and Ruther, 1899, p. 142.

14 Ibid., p. 147.

maintained, as a source of religious instruction without offence to any dogma or sect.¹⁵ In addition to teaching the three R's, Ryerson envisaged an enriched curriculum to include music, drawing, history, civics, inductive geography, inductive grammar teaching, concrete number work, oral instruction, mental arithmetic, nature study, experimental science, book-keeping, agriculture, physical training, hygiene and even political economy.¹⁶ Many of these subjects are only just coming into their own today, a century and a quarter later.

As for administration, Ryerson recommended the following system: Common or Primary Schools for every section of a township; District Model Schools, which would correspond with the German Real or Trade Schools; District Grammar Schools, which would correspond with the German Higher Burgher Schools and Gymnasia; and, completing all, one or more Provincial Universities.¹⁷ Normal Schools were also recommended for the training of teachers, and elaborate arguments made in their support.¹⁸ Considerable stress was

15 Ibid., p. 152.

16 Ibid., p. 142.

17 Ibid., Part 2, p. 197.

18 Ibid., p. 199-201.

laid on the importance of an efficient inspectorate,¹⁹ and the need for good, plentiful and uniform textbooks²⁰ and, finally, under "Individual Efforts," he emphasised the importance of parents taking an interest in the school,²¹ of clergymen and magistrates visiting the school,²² of good school libraries,²³ and of Teachers' Institutes,²⁴ where common problems could be discussed and practical experience be shared. This report was favourably received, and the Government asked Ryerson to draft a school bill based on his report. This he did, and the Bill of 1846 became the basis of the Common School System in Upper Canada.

3. Ryerson and the School Act of 1846

Under the School Act, the Superintendent of Education was to become the chief executive officer of the Government in all school matters, directly responsible to the Governor-General and to him alone. He was to apportion among the various District Councils the money voted by the

19 Ibid., p. 206-207.

20 Ibid., p. 203-204.

21 Ibid., p. 207.

22 Ibid., p. 209.

23 Ibid., p. 210.

24 Ibid., p. 209.

Legislature for the support of common schools in proportion to the school population. He was to supervise all school officers and inform them of school regulations; he was to discourage unsuitable books as texts and for school libraries, and to recommend the use of uniform and approved texts; he was to assume a general direction of the Normal School when it became established; he was to prepare and recommend plans for school-houses, with proper furniture; he was to encourage school libraries, and finally, he was to diffuse information generally on education and submit an annual report to the Governor-General.²⁵

The first General Board of Education was established, and was to consist of the Superintendent and six other members appointed by the Governor-General.²⁶ This Board was to manage the Normal School, to authorise texts for schools and to aid the Superintendent with advice upon any subject which he should submit to it. The Act provided for a Model School as well as a Normal School.

And be it enacted, That, as soon as practicable, there shall be established a Normal School, containing one or more Elementary Model Schools for the instruction and practice of Teachers of Common

25 9 Vic., Chap. 20, An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada, 23 May 1846 in Hodgins, Documentary History, Vol. 6, p. 59-60.

26 Ibid., p. 60.

Schools in the Science of Education and Art of Teaching . . . and that a sum not exceeding One Thousand Five Hundred pounds (£1500) be expended by the Board of Education, in procuring and furnishing suitable Buildings for the said Normal School.²⁷

It required each Municipal District Council to appoint a Superintendent of Schools, and to levy upon the ratable property of the District a sum for support of schools at least equal to the Legislative grant. These councils were to divide each township, town or city into numbered school sections. They were also given power by bylaw to levy rates upon any school section for the purchase of school sites, erection of school buildings or teachers' residences in that section.²⁸

The District Superintendents became very important officers,²⁹ being required to apportion the District School Fund, consisting of the Legislative grant and Municipal levy, among the various school sections in proportion to the number of children between five and sixteen years of age resident in the section; to visit all schools in their Districts at least once a year and report on their progress and general condition; to examine candidates for teachers' certificates, and grant licences, either temporary or

27 Ibid., p. 61.

28 Idem.

29 Ibid., p. 62-63.

permanent, to those who were proficient; to revoke licences held by incompetent or unsuitable teachers; to prevent the use of unauthorized textbooks; and finally, to make an annual report of the schools in their districts to the Chief Superintendent.

The Act also declared that all Clergymen, Judges of the District Court, Councillors and Justices of the Peace were to be school visitors with authority to question pupils, conduct examinations and advise the teachers, or make reports to the District Superintendent; and with the duty to encourage school libraries. One remarkable power was conferred upon them: any two school visitors of a district were allowed to examine a candidate for a teacher's licence and grant such licence if they saw fit for a term not exceeding one year in a specified school.³⁰

In order to ensure continuity, the Act detailed that school trustees be elected for three years with one retiring annually.³¹ These officers had to raise by a rate bill upon parents of pupils attending school such sums as were required over and above the two school grants for payment of the teacher's salary and the incidental expenses of the school; they were required to exempt indigent

30 Ibid., p. 64.

31 Ibid., p. 65.

parents fully or in part from school rates and they were required to select school books from a list sanctioned by the Department of Education.³² Ryerson's draft bill had proposed that the rate bill be levied upon the property of the section to give virtually free schools, but the Legislature of 1846 amended this clause and made the rate bill assessable only upon parents of children in actual attendance at school.

And be it enacted, that it shall be the duty of the Trustees of each school section:

.
Sixthly. To prepare and determine a rate-bill quarterly, containing the name of every person liable to pay for the instruction of children sent by them to such schools, and the amount for which he is liable, and by themselves, or any one of them, or by their collector, to collect from every person named in such rate-bill, the amount therein charged against him, . . . and to pay the amount so collected to the Teacher, or Teachers, entitled to receive the same. . . .³³

This move naturally displeased Ryerson who felt that all citizens should accept the moral responsibility of providing for an educated citizenry.

Teachers' duties were defined by the Act much as they are today.

32 Ibid., p. 66.

33 Ibid., p. 65-66.

And be it enacted, That it shall be the duty of every Teacher of a Common School.

First. To teach diligently and faithfully, all the branches required to be taught in the School according to the terms of his engagement with the Trustees, and according to the provisions of this Act.

Secondly. To keep the daily, weekly and quarterly Registers of the School, and to maintain proper order and discipline therein, according to the Regulations and Forms, which shall be prepared by the Superintendent of Schools.

Thirdly. To have, at the end of each quarter, a public examination of his School, of which he shall give notice, through his children, to their parents and guardians, and shall also give due notice to the Trustees and any School Visitors, who may reside in, or adjacent to, such School Section.

Fourthly. To act as the Secretary to the Trustees, if they shall require it, in preparing their Annual Report: Provided always, that he is a Teacher in such School at the time of preparing such Report as is required by this Act: Provided likewise, that the District Superintendent shall have authority to withhold from any School Section the remainder of the share of the Common School Fund which has been apportioned to such Section, and which shall be in his hands on the first day of December of each year, until he receives from the Trustees of such Section their annual Report, required by law for such year.³⁴

Here is evidenced the assumption of bureaucratic control by the central authority, deplored today by the teaching profession, but desirable and necessary in the light of conditions in the middle of the last century.

The clauses in the Act of 1843 relating to the formation of Separate Roman Catholic or Protestant schools

34 Ibid., p. 67.

were also embodied in the Act of 1846.³⁵ What then is Ryerson's claim to fame? Primarily the fact that he organised a system that worked. He recognised that the people were very jealous of their power of local control, and yet unless this local control could be subject to some central control, improvement was hopeless. It was here that he did what no other man had done: he lessened local, and strengthened central control, and did it so wisely, so gradually, and so tactfully, that local prejudices were soothed and in many cases the people scarcely recognised what was being done until the thing was accomplished. Ryerson had two temperamental qualities that stood him in good stead; he had an idealist's faith in humanity and an infinite capacity for hard work, and for taking pains, as exemplified in the way he met the many and varied objections to his Act. He saw that public opinion must be educated and, having been a missionary preacher of the Gospel, he now became an educational missionary. He sent carefully prepared circulars to Municipal Councils, to District Superintendents, to school trustees and to teachers. He established at his own financial risk and edited a Journal

35 Ibid., p. 67-68.

of Education.³⁶ He called District Educational Conventions lasting two days and invited the general public to them, in addition to the teachers, District Superintendents, School Visitors and Municipal Councillors. During the day he discussed the new Act and its operation, dispelling prejudices and gaining good will, and in the evening he gave a public lecture. For example, his subject for 1847 was "The Advantage of Education to an Agricultural People."³⁷ No subject could have been more appropriate to secure the sympathy of the mass of the people and to give the speaker an opportunity to show what he hoped to do for Upper Canada.

Ryerson continued his efforts to secure free education for all by drafting further proposals in 1848-49,³⁸ but when he discovered that the proposed new bill had been so mutilated by his enemies in the Baldwin government as to destroy its essential provisions, he threatened to resign.³⁹

36 See F. H. Johnson, The First Canadian Journal of Education - An Historical Review. Paper presented at C.A.P.E. Conference, Winnipeg, May 1970.

37 Putman, op. cit., p. 143.

38 Ryerson, Report to the Government, Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 83-94 and p. 217-221.

39 A full account of this incident and of Ryerson's objections to the Cameron Bill (12 Vic., Cap. 53, passed 30th May 1849) is contained in Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 8, Ch. 14, p. 223-250.

The bill was suppressed and Ryerson, meantime, perfected his plans for a new Bill to go before the Legislature in 1850.

4. Ryerson and the Bill of 1850⁴⁰

Ryerson's draft of this bill was based in part on replies received from local superintendents, ministers, and other officials to an official government circular canvassing their views and suggestions for school legislation. It further reveals his patience in moving towards his ultimate goal of free education for all. The outstanding feature of the Act was the strengthening of the Trustee Boards by recognising them as corporate bodies⁴¹ with full power to manage schools under Government regulations and full power to levy taxes upon the District they represented. Putman summarises:

Provision was made for securing school sites, erecting and furnishing new buildings, electing trustees, holding board meetings, keeping school accounts, appointing collectors for school moneys, providing books and apparatus, educating indigent children and forming school libraries. . . . County Boards of Public Instruction were formed, consisting of the County Superintendents and the

40 13 and 14 Vic., Cap. 48 dated 24th July 1850, Statutes of Canada, Toronto, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1850, p. 1255-1274.

41 Ibid., p. 1257.

Trustees of the district Grammar School. These boards were to meet four times a year, to hold examinations and licence teachers. . . . District Superintendents were limited to one hundred schools each, and were to receive one pound per annum for each school plus travelling expenses. The Superintendent was no longer the custodian of school money, but gave orders to the Township Treasurer to pay to teachers their proper allowances. . . . (He) was to visit every school in his District once each quarter, and to deliver a public lecture in every school section once each year. . . . He was to become a link between the Department of Education on the one hand and the District Council and Trustee Boards on the other. He was a local officer, but his duties were definitely prescribed by a central authority.⁴²

Thus through the local Superintendents, the Chief Superintendent and the Council of Public Instruction were able to keep in touch with pupils, teachers, school visitors, trustee boards, county boards and district councils. The General Board of Education was merged into the Council of Public Instruction, with duties substantially the same as those assigned the former body in 1846.

An important feature of the new Act was the setting aside of £3,000 p.a. for the establishment and support of school libraries.⁴³ The Chief Superintendent was authorised to issue provincial certificates to Normal School graduates. About this time too, his salary was increased to £500, and it is interesting to note that his former adversary, the

42 Putman, op. cit., p. 151-152.

43 13 and 14 Vic., Cap. 48, loc. cit., p. 1271.

Globe, was beginning to show a more enlightened though grudging attitude:

Now, why not say at once that five hundred pounds is the proper salary for the Superintendent of Education of nearly a million people, and stick to it? We are no admirers of Egerton Ryerson, and we have always thought, and we think still, that the present ministry should have turned him out to neck and crop the moment they got into power; but we are free to admit that he is a man of very great talent, who, at any mercantile or professional business he might engage in, would readily make five hundred pounds a year, and we do think this sum is as little as could be assigned to an office of such public importance.⁴⁴

Even more surprising, perhaps, is its final acceptance of and publicity for the concept of free schools; in little more than two years it showed a complete volte face in this respect.⁴⁵

5. Ryerson and Separate Schools

In 1843, the Act of 1841 was repealed insofar as it pertained to Upper Canada. The new Act⁴⁶ made it unlawful in any common school to compel the child to read from any religious book or join in any religious exercise to which his parents or guardians objected. It also provided that

44 Editorial, The Globe, July 16th, 1850.

45 Ibid., Jan. 30th, 1851 and Jan. 5th, 1852.

46 7 Vic., Cap. 29 dated 9th December 1843, Statutes of Canada, Kingston, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1843, p. 232.

if the teacher of a school were a Roman Catholic, then any ten householders or freeholders might petition for a Separate School with a Protestant teacher or, in the same way, Roman Catholics might form a Separate School if the teacher were a Protestant.⁴⁷

The grants to these Separate Schools were to be that proportion of the total school fund in any Municipal District that the children in actual attendance at the Separate School bore to the total number of children of school age in the district, and they were subject to the same rules and regulations regarding courses of study and inspection as the Common Schools.

Ryerson had consistently stressed the importance of religious and moral training in the common schools, insisting that by being non-sectarian, such training should be acceptable to all religious faiths. At the same time, he respected the provisions of the legislation of 1841 which granted separate schools. It is noteworthy that up to 1852, fifty separate schools had been established, of which thirty-two had been discontinued in the last three years. Of the remaining eighteen, three were Protestant, two being in sections where the majority of the population was French, and two were schools for coloured children in

47 Idem.

Kent and Essex, leaving only thirteen Roman Catholic separate schools in operation at the close of 1852.⁴⁸ No better proof could be afforded of the success of the fair and conciliatory policy of Dr. Ryerson:

My Report on a system of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada, as well as various decisions and opinions which I have given, amply show that I am far from advocating the establishment of denominational schools; but I was not prepared to condemn what had been unanimously sanctioned by two successive Parliaments.⁴⁹

Ferment amongst both Roman Catholics and Protestants for a better deal for separate schools was meantime increasing, with the result that the Act of 1850 made it compulsory upon local authorities to establish one or more Separate Schools for either Protestants or Roman Catholics upon the written request of twelve or more resident heads of families. Ryerson, however, was against the Anglicans being allowed Separate Schools since he felt that such a concession extended to two denominations would wreck the Common School system. However, Separate Schools were granted more as a privilege or concession, rather than as a right, and they were not placed on an equality with Common Schools. Their supporters were still liable to be taxed by

48 Burwash, op. cit., p. 219.

49 Ryerson, Report of Superintendent of Education, 1847, Hodgins, Documentary History of Education, Vol. 7, p. 178.

the municipality for the support of Common Schools in addition to the support of their own. It would seem only just then that in 1853 it was legislated that Separate School supporters receive a pro rata share of the legislative grant only, and upon subscribing for school purposes a sum equivalent to the grant secured were relieved of all taxation for Common School purposes.⁵⁰ The Act of 1853 also gave the Separate School trustees power to issue certificates to the teachers employed by them, and the same power of levying rates upon the supporters of their schools as that exercised by trustees of Common Schools.⁵¹ Whilst this bill was before the Legislature, there was an attempt to introduce a clause establishing a general Board of Trustees for Separate or sectarian schools in towns and cities which so incensed Ryerson that he went to Quebec to confer with the Attorney-General.

Despite considerable opposition from many quarters other than the office of the Superintendent, the Taché Bill of 1855⁵² dealing exclusively with Roman Catholic Separate

⁵⁰ 6 Vic., Cap. 185, dated 14th June 1853, Statutes of Canada, Quebec, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1852, p. 905.

⁵¹ Idem.

⁵² 18 Vic., Cap. 131, dated 30 May 1855, Statutes of Canada, Quebec, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1855, p. 553-557.

Schools was adopted. It made possible the establishment of a Roman Catholic Separate School in any school section on petition of ten Roman Catholic ratepayers and gave them a Separate School Board with their own Superintendent in towns and cities.⁵³ Such Roman Catholic ratepayers were relieved from all municipal rates for Common School purposes, and received for their own school a pro rata share of the Legislative grant if they had an average attendance of 15 pupils.⁵⁴ Surprisingly enough, this Bill led to no rapid increase in the number of Separate Schools. In 1862, Ryerson proposed to satisfy what he called the reasonable demands of Roman Catholics by making four changes:

. . . to allow the formation of Separate Schools in incorporated villages and towns (the Taché Act allowed a Separate School only in the ward of a town and not a school for the town as a whole); to allow a union of two or more Separate Schools; to make it unnecessary for a Separate School supporter annually to declare himself such; and to exempt Separate School trustees from making oath as to the correctness of their school returns.⁵⁵

These provisions were adopted in the Bill of 1863 which, inter alia, submitted Separate School teachers to the same examinations as Public School teachers.⁵⁶ It further

53 Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 12, p. 9.

54 Putman, op. cit., p. 193-194.

55 Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 18, p. 192-193.

56 26 Vic., Cap. 5 dated 5th May 1863, Statutes of the Province of Canada, Quebec, Stewart Derbyshire and Geo. Desbarats, 1863, p. 14-19.

provided that all teachers qualified by law in Lower Canada be automatically qualified to teach in Separate Schools in Upper Canada.⁵⁷ This was obviously designed to allow French teachers of religious orders to move freely within the united provinces. Contention continued during the Ryerson administration, especially with regard to the inspection of Separate Schools, but no significant legislation was effected after Confederation until 1886. Thus, although Ryerson had shown himself opposed to the whole concept of Separate Schools, he had shown tact and diplomacy in accepting what he could scarcely hope effectively to oppose.⁵⁸

6. Ryerson and the Training of Teachers

It has already been seen that Ryerson was a champion of the Normal School which he had observed in Britain and Europe. The Bill of 1846 had appropriated £1,500 for fitting up a Normal School building and a like sum for annual maintenance.⁵⁹ Consequently, the Toronto Normal School was opened in November 1847 under the direction of

57 Ibid., p. 15.

58 For a detailed study of the Separate School question, see George M. Weir, The Separate School Question in Canada, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1934.

59 Supra, p.85.

Thomas Jaffray Robertson. Regulations were issued by the Council of Public Instruction outlining entrance requirements and providing free tuition and board for students who fulfilled certain requirements. Unhappily, there was a dearth of well-qualified applicants, many of whom came direct from the Common Schools. It was therefore necessary to place the major emphasis on a broad academic course to the detriment of professional training. However, a model school was opened early in 1848 providing an opportunity to the aspiring teachers to observe and practice the principles they were being taught.

In his report of 1853, Ryerson advocated the provision of a Model School for the training of Grammar School teachers,⁶⁰ and in 1858 a Model Grammar School was opened. Grammar school teachers visited this school for short periods of two or three weeks to observe the best methods in actual practice in the classroom. However, it was soon found that the teachers visiting and attending the Model School were predominantly from the immediate Toronto area. This Ryerson thought to be unfair and so the Model Grammar School was closed in July 1863. The Normal School continued to operate with two sessions a year, awarding both

⁶⁰ Ryerson, Annual Report of the Normal, Model, Grammar and Common Schools in Upper Canada, for the Year 1853, Quebec, Lovell and Lamoureux, 1854, p. 11.

first and second class certificates to its graduates according to the number of sessions attended. As for the Grammar Schools, it was generally held that a sound academic background was the prime requisite for teaching, taking precedence over professional training. Some attempt at professional training was being made meantime through the teachers' institutes. Conventions were held periodically and the Normal School professors took an active interest in them. However, it wasn't until after Confederation that any appreciable expansion of the Normal Schools took place.

Putman claims that Ryerson found the schools in 1844 taught by teachers without certificates and without professional training; he left them in 1876 with teachers, all of whom were certificated under Government examinations, and many of whom were Normal School graduates. More important still, he had, by his lectures at County Conventions and by his writings in the Journal of Education, created a sentiment throughout the Province in favour of trained teachers.⁶¹

7. Ryerson's Contribution to Education

There are other aspects of Ryerson's work which deserve consideration, but which can only be summarised

61 Putman, op. cit., p. 255-256.

briefly here. In his first Report (1846) Ryerson had recommended a graded, unified system of schools from the Common School to the University.⁶² He pointed out that the Grammar Schools were not fulfilling their role of producing university entrants, and that in many cases they were teaching everything taught in a Common School. He proposed bringing the Grammar Schools under popular control and administering them on lines similar to those governing the Common Schools. This was effected by legislation in 1855 and thereafter the Grammar Schools were subject to Government inspection.

A further witness to Ryerson's enterprise and industry is to be found during his travels in Europe in 1854 and 1856 when, under the authority of the Provincial Government, he began a collection of objects of art for the Educational Museum in the Education Department.⁶³

In a letter dated 3rd January 1857, his former opponent, Malcolm Cameron, author of the previously mentioned abortive Education Act of 1849, wrote to Ryerson:

I have myself witnessed the result of the labour and reading which you must have gone through with [sic], in order to obtain the information and cultivation of judgement necessary to get the things which our young Canada can afford; things,

62 Supra, p. 82.

63 Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 247.

too, of such a character and description as shall be useful, not only in elevating the taste of our youth, but of increasing their historical and mythological lore, as well as to inform them of the facts of their accuracy in size and form.

.
Your determination to obtain a few works of Art and Statuary, a few paintings, prints of celebrities, and Scientific Instruments, has cost you much labour, anxiety and thought.⁶⁴

As Harris says⁶⁵ of him, Ryerson's views on education are not remarkable for their originality, but they are remarkable for their inner consistency. He was not an original thinker on educational matters in the sense that Rousseau and Pestalozzi were. His claim to originality must be based on his genius for synthesis, his capacity for drawing together into one system items derived from many sources. His early training, his determination, hard work, and perseverance as a public relations officer, helped him to achieve his goals.

One final tribute, again from Cameron, this time on the occasion of his nomination as Member for the County of Lambton in October 1857, referring to the School System of Upper Canada and its founder:

64 Cameron to Ryerson, in Hodgins, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 249. See also F. H. Johnson, "A Colonial Canadian in Search of a Museum," Queen's Quarterly, vol. 77, no. 2, Summer 1970, p. 217-230.

65 Robin S. Harris, "Egerton Ryerson," in Our Living Tradition (ed. R. L. McDougall), U. of Toronto, 1959, p. 259.

On the whole the system has worked well. The Common Schools are admirable, and had attracted the commendation of the first Statesmen in the United States, and, even in Great Britain, they proposed to imitate Canada.⁶⁶

He (the Speaker) was opposed to Dr. Ryerson's appointment politically; but he would say, as he had said abroad, that Canada and her children's children owed to him a debt of gratitude, as he had raised up a noble structure, and opened up a way for the elevation of the people.⁶⁷

To Ryerson, as to his counterpart Chauveau in Lower Canada, goes much of the credit for the opening of model and normal schools, for the inauguration of a Journal of Education, and for the establishment of school libraries. It has been shown that Ryerson was instrumental in the setting up of a General Board of Education and for the introduction of District Superintendents. He also did a great deal to advance the education and status of the public school teacher, at the same time helping him in a very practical way by providing an educational museum and book depository.

⁶⁶ Ryerson, The Story of My Life, Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1883, p. 426.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 515.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The role of the Superintendency from 1842-1867 was inevitably a major one, for it was during this period that, developing pari passu with the attainment of responsible government, centralised school systems were established in each of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada.

It has been shown that the responsibility for developing these centralised systems was almost exclusively that of the chief administrative officers, the Superintendents of Education. Economic and political conditions were to a large extent similar in each administrative district. The population, predominantly rural, had to be convinced of the need for public schooling and for the imposition of taxes to pay for it. It was the task of the Superintendents to take this message to the people and, at the same time, to guarantee the freedom of religious minorities. Their problems therefore were not dissimilar in the two districts, but rather they differed in degree and extent. For example, major opposition to Ryerson in Upper Canada came from the Family Compact and the Anglican Church, whereas in Lower Canada it was more the rural Roman Catholic clergy and their agricultural followers who resisted change.

All three Superintendents tackled their duties with faith, determination and diligence to the best of their

abilities. It appears that for Chauveau, the sophisticated politician, it was easier to effect change, though the pioneering efforts of his predecessor were undoubtedly a contributing factor. Similarly, Meilleur, the country medical doctor, and a man of less renown, encountered greater opposition to his reforms, whilst Ryerson, the aggressive Methodist preacher, by sheer force of personality was largely able to attain his objectives. Thus in his different way each Superintendent made an effective contribution to the extent that at the time of Confederation (1867), each province jealously safeguarded its acquired rights and freedom of future action in educational matters by insisting on the inclusion of Section 93 in the British North America Act (Appendix 2 in the present study).

Ryerson and Chauveau each initiated Journals of Education as a medium for conveying their views and explaining the various legislation to teachers, school trustees, visitors and inspectors. Both men initiated legislation leading to the opening of Normal Schools for the training of teachers, and yet Meilleur must be credited with consistently advocating both expedients - the occasion was just not ripe in Lower Canada.

The backgrounds of Meilleur, Chauveau and Ryerson varied considerably, and yet each man laboured conscientiously for the public good. Chauveau and Ryerson appear

to have had fewer frustrations, better salaries, good office assistance and facilities, and to have met with less government opposition. They may have been more tactful and less irascible when opposed, or it may simply be that, as an older man, Meilleur was unable to withstand the pressures and stress of his onerous task. In any event, Chauveau was quick to acknowledge his personal gratitude to his predecessor who had done much of the spadework in Lower Canada.

It is virtually impossible to assess the precise individual contribution of these three eminent Canadians. Suffice it to conclude that together they left their respective provinces the richer for providing centralised systems, inspected, controlled and financed, in part, at the local level; staffed with teachers who at least had a modicum of training and such fringe benefits as pensions and unions; and with the right of parents to have their children educated in Catholic or Protestant elementary schools according to their wishes firmly entrenched.

The fact that during this period, none of the three held any official government position, that their only approach to the government was through the Provincial Secretary's office, makes their achievements the more remarkable. The power they attained and the influence they wielded were of necessity of their own making.

Thus it is clear that the personal impact of the superintendents on the development of Education was indeed considerable; the nature of their problems was not dissimilar in the two provinces, and yet Meilleur encountered greater resistance to his proposed reforms in Lower Canada than did Ryerson in Upper Canada.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adams, Howard, The Education of Canadians 1800-1867, Montreal, Harvest House, 1968, iv-145 p.

A biased interpretation of the historic facts.

-----, The Role of Church and State in Canadian Education, 1800-1867, Berkeley, University of California, 1966, microfilm, 1 reel.

An unpublished Ph.D. thesis.

Adams, J., The Protestant School System in the Province of Quebec, Montreal, E. H. Renouf, 1902, xiv-138 p.

A British educationist reports on his tour of Protestant educational institutions in Quebec at the turn of the century.

Althouse, J. G., The Ontario Teacher: A Historical Account of Progress, 1800-1910, Toronto, W. J. Gage, 1967, iv-184 p.

Doctoral dissertation presented to University of Toronto, 1929; published for the Ontario Teachers' Federation.

Audet, Louis-Philippe, "P.-J.O. Chauveau et l'Education," Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, 4th Series, Vol. 4, Ottawa, 1966, p. 13-14.

A comprehensive study of Chauveau's Annual Reports as Superintendent of Education.

-----, Le Système Scolaire de la Province de Québec, Québec, Editions de l'Erable, 1950-56, 6 vols.

-----, Histoire de l'Education au Québec, Montréal, Centre de Psychologie et de Pédagogie, 1966, 6 cahiers. Vol. 6. La Situation Scolaire à la Veille de l'Union 1836-40.

-----, Histoire du Conseil de l'Instruction Publique de la Province de Québec, 1856-1864, Montréal, Editions Leméac, 1964, xxi-346 p.

A comprehensive study of the founding and early history of the Council of Public Instruction.

Bockus, E. C., The Common Schools of Upper Canada, 1786-1840, unpublished Master's thesis, McGill University, 1967, 193 p.

A useful background study to the period under discussion.

The Bois Correspondence, microfilm, copy at McLennan Library, McGill University.

A collection of letters written by Meilleur to his friend and confidant, the Abbé Bois. Many of these letters, as yet unedited, concern educational matters.

Bolger, Josephine A., A Comparative Study of the Educational Tradition of New England and those of French Canada, unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1942, iii-223 p.

Shows the impact of American thought on Quebec education.

Bracq, Jean C., The Evolution of French Canada, New York, MacMillan, 1924, v-459 p.

A standard work of reference.

Calam, John, "McGill Trains Teachers: 1857-1964," The Teachers' Magazine, Vol. 45, No. 223, September 1964, p. 18-32.

An account of the development of the McGill Normal School.

Le Canadien, Quebec, 1842-57.

Editorials and contemporary letters on education.

Careless, J. M. S., Brown of the Globe: The Voice of Upper Canada, 1818-1859, Toronto, Macmillan Co., 1959, 348 p.

Definitive biography of a staunch advocate of free, secular, public schools.

-----, The Union of the Canadas, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1967, 256 p.

Excellent treatment of the period 1840-1857.

Chauveau, Pierre J. O., L'Instruction Publique au Canada: précis historique et statistique, Quebec, 1876, xii-366 p.

An outline of educational achievement in the Canada of his time.

The Christian Guardian, Toronto, 1829.
United with Presbyterian Witness and Canadian Congregationalist to form New Outlook.

Christie, Robert, History of the Late Province of Lower Canada, 6 vols., Montreal, 1866.
Useful background to educational developments.

The Church, Cobourg, Toronto, 1837-53.
The Anglican mouthpiece of Upper Canada.

Coleman, H. T. J., Public Education in Upper Canada, New York, Ph.D. thesis, Columbia, 1907, 121 p.
Chap. 9 deals especially with Ryerson's contribution to the growth of elementary and normal schools.

Cook, Ramsay, Canada and the French Canadian Question, Toronto, MacMillan, 1966, 219 p.
Comprises nine essays.

Cremin, L. A. (ed.), The Republic and the School: Horace Mann on the Education of Free Men, New York, Columbia Teachers' College, 1965, 112 p.
A study of the views of a great contemporary educator by whom Ryerson was influenced.

David, L-O, Biographies et Portraits, Montreal, Beauchemin and Valois, 1876, 301 p.

-----, Mes Contemporains, Montréal, Sénécal et Fils, 1894, 285 p.
Includes Meilleur and Chauveau.

-----, Les Patriotes de 1837-1838, Montreal, Librairie Beauchemin, 1884, 312 p.
In praise of the rebels, both English and French, who protested the anglicisation of French Canada.

Desrosiers, Abbé Adélard, "French Education, 1763-1913," in Canada and its Provinces, ed. Shortt and Doughty, Toronto, Brook and Co., 1914, Vol. 16, p. 397-441.
A useful, concise statement.

Durham, Earl of, A Report on Canada, London, Methuen and Co., 1902, xxviii-246 p.
A valuable primary source and background to the development of education in Canada. Includes Buller's Report on Education.

Finley, E. G., The Bi-Religious Basis of Quebec's Public School System: Its Origins and Subsequent Development, unpublished doctoral thesis, Columbia University, 1959, 325 p.

Gerin-Lajoie, A., Dix Ans au Canada de 1840 à 1850. Histoire de l'Etablissement du Gouvernement Responsable, Quebec, L. J. Demers et Frère, 1888.

The move towards responsible government.

Gibbon, John M., Canadian Mosaic: the Making of a Northern Nation, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1938, xxvi-455 p.

Deals with cultural problems of minority groups.

The Globe, Toronto, 1844-67.

Edited for several years by George Brown, whose ideas on education it reflects.

Gosselin, Abbé A. E., "Education in Canada under the French Regime," in Canada and its Provinces, ed. Shortt and Doughty, Toronto, Brook and Co., 1914, Vol. 16, p. 323-393.

Treats the growth of French educational institutions.

Groulx, Lionel A., L'Enseignement Français au Canada, Vol. 1. Dans le Québec, Montréal, L'Action Canadienne-française, 1931, 327 p.

A nationalist's evaluation of French education in Quebec.

Guillet, E. C., Early Life in Upper Canada, Toronto, Ontario Publishing Co., 1933, xiii-782 p.

Useful sociological background.

Harris, Robin S., "Egerton Ryerson," in Our Living Tradition (ed. R. L. McDougall), University of Toronto, 1959, p. 244-267.

One of a series of lectures given at Carleton University. Attempts to justify Ryerson as an "original thinker."

-----, Quiet Evolution, A Study of the Educational System of Ontario, University of Toronto Press, 1967, xiv-168 p.

An excellent history of Ontario education.

Hodgins, J. G., Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, Toronto, Warwick Bros. and Rutter, 1894, 28 vols.

Vital primary sources collected and edited by Ryerson's Secretary at the Department of Education.

-----, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910, Toronto, King's Printer, 1911, 3 vols.

-----, Historical and Other Papers and Documents illustrative of the Educational System of Ontario, 1792- Toronto, L. U. Cameron, 1911, 6 vols.

A useful primary source containing papers additional to those found in Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada.

-----, The Legislation and History of Separate Schools in Upper Canada, Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1897, x-225 p.
Selected documents, faithfully edited.

-----, Ryerson Memorial Volume, 1844-1870, Toronto, Warwick and Sons, 1889, x-131 p.
Compiled for the unveiling of the Ryerson statue at Toronto Normal School.

Hunte, K. D., The Development of the System of Education in Canada East, 1841-1867, unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1962, v-254 p.

A good study of the political and social background to the period.

Jobling, J. K., The Contribution of Jean-Baptiste Meilleur to Education in Lower Canada, unpublished M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1963, v-132 p.

A more detailed account of Meilleur's educational activities.

Johnson, F. H., A Brief History of Canadian Education, Toronto, McGraw Hill, 1968, viii-216 p.

A concise account of the major trends in educational history.

The Journal of Education for Upper Canada, 1848-1877, Toronto, Ontario, 1848-1877.

Initiated and edited by Ryerson as a means of arousing public interest in education.

The Journal of Education for Lower Canada, Montreal, 1857-1879.

The English organ of the Department of Education, edited by Superintendent Chauveau.

Journal de l'Instruction Publique, Montreal (B.C.), Département de l'Instruction Publique, Senecal and Daniel, 1857-1879.

The official publication of the Department of Education, edited by the Superintendent, P. J. O. Chauveau.

Karr, W. J., The Training of Teachers in Ontario, Ottawa, R. J. Taylor, 1916, microfilm, 1 reel.

Interesting account of early developments in teacher education.

Labarrère-Paulé, André, Les Laïques et la Presse pédagogique du Canada français au XIX^e siècle, Cahier No. 5 de l'Institut d'Histoire, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1963, xii-185 p.

Contains a valuable analysis of the Journal de l'Instruction Publique.

-----, Les Instituteurs laïques au Canada français, 1836-1900, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1965, xviii-471 p.

Lortie, Léon, "Le Retour de Jean-Baptiste Meilleur au Canada," in Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Ottawa, S.R.C., 1956, p. 69-84.

-----, "Jean-Baptiste Meilleur, Educateur et Polygraphe, 1796-1878," in Courtes Biographies canadiennes, Montréal, Editions écoliennes, 1949.

An account of Meilleur's writings on education.

Lower, A. R. M., Canadians in the Making, Toronto, Longmans, 1958, xxiv-475 p.

-----, Colony to Nation: A History of Canada, Toronto, Longmans, 1946, xiii-600 p.

Reputable reference books.

Lucas, Charles P., Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, 3 vols.

A reliable source of reference.

Magnan, C. J., L'Instruction Publique dans la Province de Québec, Quebec, 79 Chemin Ste-Foy, 1932, 61 p.
An historical curiosity.

Manning, Helen Taft, The Revolt of French Canada 1800-35, Toronto, Macmillan Co., 1962, xx-426 p.
A standard work of reference.

Matthews, W. D. E., The History of the Religious Factors in Ontario Elementary Education, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1950, micro, 1 reel.
A careful analysis of the Separate School problem.

McCutcheon, J. M. Public Education in Ontario, Toronto, T. H. Best, 1941, vii-283 p.
A useful source of reference.

McInnes, Edgar, Canada: a Political and Social History, New York, Rinehart and Co., c.1959, 619 p.
A useful contribution to the sociological literature.

Meilleur, Jean-Baptiste, Mémorial de l'Education du Bas-Canada, Montreal, J. B. Rolland Fils, 1860. Second, enlarged edition, Québec, Léger Brousseau, 1876, 454 p.
The first history of Quebec education and the memoirs of the province's first Superintendent of Education.

Mélanges Religieux, Montreal, Dec. 1840 - Jul. 1852.
Mouthpiece of the Roman Catholic church in Quebec.

La Minerve, Montreal, Nov. 1826 - May 1899.
Contains letters and editorials on educational issues.

Moir, John S., Church and State in Canada West, three studies in the relation of denominationalism and nationalism, 1841-67, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959, xv-223 p.

Includes an excellent study of the separate school question.

Mondelet, Charles J. E., Letters on Elementary and Practical Education, Montreal, J. J. Williams, 1841.
The rationale behind the Education Act of 1841.

New, Chester W., Lord Durham, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1929, xiv-612 p.
A Biography of John George Lambton - First Earl of Durham (by a Canadian history professor).

Quellet, Fernand, Histoire économique et sociale du Québec, 1760-1850, Montreal, Fides, 1966, xxxii-639 p.

A scholarly study of the background to the period.

Parmelee, Geo. W., "English Canada" in Canada and its Provinces, ed. Shortt and Doughty, Toronto, Brook and Co., 1914, Vol. 16, p. 445-501.

Includes an account of educational practices.

Percival, Walter P., Across the Years, A Century of Education in the Province of Quebec, Montreal, Gazette Printing Co., 1946, xvii-195 p.

An interesting, largely subjective survey.

-----, The Education Act of the Province of Quebec, Quebec, Department of Education, 1951.

With explanatory notes by the author.

Phillips, C. E., The Development of Education in Canada, Toronto, Gage and Co., 1957, xv-528 p.

The first comprehensive study of the history of Canadian education. A useful source of reference.

Le Populaire, Montreal, Apr. 1837 - Nov. 1838.

Contains, inter alia, the lengthy correspondence of Meilleur on educational issues. His letters to the editor bear the nom de plume C.D.

The Presbyterian Witness, Toronto, 1848-1925.

Contains some pertinent, contemporary views on education.

Provincial Secretary's Files, 1842-1867, National Archives, Ottawa.

Contain original correspondence to and from the Provincial Secretary's office and the offices of the Superintendents of Education. Valuable primary source.

Putman, J. H. Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada, Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1912, 270 p.

A survey of the work of Ryerson by a former Inspector of Ottawa Public Schools.

-----, Fifty Years at School: An Educationist Looks at Life, Clarke Erwin, Toronto, 1938, xv-253 p.

Rapport du Comité Spécial de l'Assemblée Législative nommé pour s'enquérir de l'Etat de l'Education et du Fonctionnement de la Loi dans le Bas-Canada, Québec, John Lovell, 1853, 40 p. (Louis-Victor Sicotte, Chairman)
A vital, primary source.

Rennie, H. L., History of Education in the Eastern Townships, Unpublished Master's thesis, Bishop's University, 1930, micro, 1 reel.

Report of the Royal Commission of Enquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec, Montreal, Pierre des Marais, 1963-1966, 5 vols. (Mgr. Alphonse-Marie Parent, Chairman)

The blueprint for educational reform in Quebec, it includes useful historical résumés.

Reports of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, 1843-1867.

The annual reports of Meilleur and Chauveau published as Appendices to Journals of the Legislative Assembly until 1850, separately from 1851. Priceless primary materials.

Rexford, Elson T., The Jewish Population and the Protestant Schools, Montreal, Renouf Publishing Co., 1924, 50 p.

An authoritative study of the beginnings of the Jewish "problem."

Rexford, O. B., Teacher Training in the Province of Quebec, a historical study to 1857, unpublished Master's thesis, McGill University, 1936, ii-111 p.

Early attempts at teacher education in Lower Canada.

Ross, G. W., The School System of Ontario: Its History and Distinctive Characteristics, New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1896.

Royal Institute for the Advancement of Learning. Letter Books, 1820-49, Microfilm, eight reels.

A valuable primary source.

Ryerson, E. The Story of My Life, Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1883, 622 p.

Papers and letters of Ryerson, edited by J. G. Hodgins.

Ryerson, Stanley B., Unequal Union. Confederation and the Roots of Conflict in the Canadas, 1815-1873, Toronto, Progress Books, 1968, 477 p.

An interesting exposé of the political background of the period.

Sissons, C. B., Church and State in Canadian Education, Toronto, Ryerson, 1959, x-414 p.

An authoritative work.

-----, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters, Toronto, Clark Erwin and Co., 1937, 2 vols.

-----, ed., My Dearest Sophie, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1955, xxxvi-350 p.

Letters from Rev. Dr. Ryerson to his daughter.

Thomas, Clara, Ryerson of Upper Canada, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1969, viii-152 p.

A recent biography which details the social background under which Ryerson worked.

Valade, François-Xavier, Guide de l'Instituteur, 2e éd., Montréal, Gendron, 1851, 32 p.

A manual, compiled by one of Meilleur's school inspectors.

Wade, Mason, The French-Canadian Outlook, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1964, 96 p.

-----, The French Canadians, Toronto, Macmillan Co., 1968, 2 vols.

Excellent background for the understanding of contemporary problems.

Weir, Geo. M., The Separate School Question in Canada, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1934, x-298 p.

A standard work.

Wilson, J. D., R. M. Stamp, and L-P. Audet, Canadian Education: A History, Scarborough (Ont.), Prentice-Hall, 1970, xv-528 p.

A new and useful addition to the literature on Canadian Education.

Woodley, Elsie C., The History of Education in the Province of Quebec: A Bibliographical Guide, unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1932, iv-199 p.

A very useful early bibliography.

Audet, Louis-Philippe, "Charles Mondelet et L'Education," Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Ottawa, S.R.C., 1957, p. 1-27.

-----, "Jean-Baptiste Meilleur était-il un candidat valable au poste de Surintendant de l'Education au Bas-Canada en 1842?" Les Cahiers des Dix, Montréal, vol. 31, 1966, p. 163-201.

Boulianne, Réal G., The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning: The Correspondence, 1820-1829, A Historical and Analytical Study, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, 1970, v-1400 p.

Burwash, Nathaniel, "Egerton Ryerson," The Makers of Canada, vol. 13, Toronto, Morang & Co., 1906, 303 p.

Calam, John, "The Royal Grammar Schools," Educational Record, vol. 79, no. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1963, p. 256-262.

Craig, G. M., Early Travellers in the Canadas, 1791-1867, Toronto, Macmillan, 1955, xxxvi-300 p.

Desrosiers, Adélard, Les Ecoles Normales primaires de la Province de Québec et leurs oeuvres complémentaires. Récit des Fêtes jubilaires de l'Ecole Normale Jacques Cartier, 1857-1907, Montréal, 1909, 300 p.

Forget, Anastase-Ernest-Paul, Histoire du Collège de L'Assomption, 1833-1933, Montréal, Imprimerie Populaire, 1932, 809 p.

Godbout, Arthur, "Les Franco-Ontariens et leurs écoles de 1791 à 1844," Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa, vol. 33, 1963, p. 462-479.

Johnson, F. Henry, "A Colonial Canadian in Search of a Museum," Queen's Quarterly, vol. 77, no. 2, Summer 1970, p. 217-230.

-----, "The First Canadian Journal of Education - An Historical Review," Paper presented at C.A.P.E. Conference, Winnipeg, May 1970.

Lortie, Léon, "Les Lettres de J-B. Meilleur sur l'Education," Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, Montréal, Ecole Polytechnique, vol. 24, 1938, p. 251-271.

Morgan, H. J. (ed.), Dominion Annual Register,
Montreal, Dawson Bros., 1879, 8 vols.

Shortt, Adam and A. G. Doughty, Documents Relating
to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791, Ottawa,
King's Printer, 1918, xv-734 p.

Waite, F. C., The First Medical College in Vermont,
Montpelier, Vermont Historical Society, 1949, Catalogue of
Graduates, 280 p.

APPENDIX 1

SUMMARY OF CHAUVEAU'S RECOMMENDATIONS IN HIS FIRST ANNUAL REPORT

As the practical inference to be drawn from this Report, I shall now sum up in a few words some of the things most essential to be done. I think then that we ought:-

1st. To assure to Lower Canada a Budget for Public Instruction invariable as to its minimum amount;

2ndly. To provide a fund different from that destined for distribution amongst the boards of Schools Commissioners, to be placed at the disposal of the Superintendent, and by him, with the approbation of the Executive, devoted to the following objects: 1, Usual allowances to Colleges; 2, The establishment of Academies or Secondary Transitory Schools; 3, Establishment of Normal Schools; 4, Creation of bursaries for the poor children attending these schools; 5, The creation of bursaries for poor scholars for the Secondary Schools, to be from time to time selected by the Inspectors from amongst the pupils of the Primary Schools; 6, Annual progressive graduated premiums for teachers; 7, Creation of a fund for pensions to aged and infirm teachers; 8, Publication of a "Journal of Public Instruction;" 9, Purchase of maps, globes and similar articles, as also of books to be given as prizes; 10, Formation of parish libraries; 11, Aid in the construction of school houses; 12, Special allowances to municipalities whose share of the grant is too small; 13, Prosecutions to be carried on by the department, against officers in default; 14, Formation of a library for the department.

3rdly. To give the Superintendent the right:
1, Of discharging incapable, negligent or immoral teachers;
2, Of retaining out of the share of each municipality in the grant, a sum for the establishment of a Normal School;
3, Of dividing amongst the other school districts of a municipality the share of any district contributing nothing or scarcely any thing to the common fund; 4, The exclusive selection of books for all the schools under the control of the department.

4thly. To give to the Governor in Council the right, on the recommendation of the Superintendent: 1, To make all necessary rules for the establishment and government of

Normal Schools; 2, To fix the minimum of salaries for male and female teachers; 3, To confiscate the share of any refractory municipality, and reunite it to the sums appropriated to other objects; 4, To make all the necessary rules for the internal government of schools, and the conduct of the various officers entrusted with the execution of the law, and, in general, for all cases for which the law has not provided; all these powers to be shared with the Council of Public Instruction, of which my predecessor has already recommended the establishment.

5thly. To give the municipalities authority to assess themselves for more than the amount of their share of the grant; to require from female as well as from male teachers certificates of qualification; to render executory the decisions of the Superintendent on appeals brought before him, and to impose heavy fines for all infractions of rules sanctioned by the Governor in Council.

6thly. To fix the pecuniary qualification of Commissioners, exempt the trustees of dissentient schools from swearing to their certificates, or else subject all the Commissioners [sic] to the same formality, raise the remuneration of Secretary Treasurers, and more accurately define their duties, and correct some other obscure and imperfect clauses in the present law.

7thly. To require that School Commissioners should read and write their oath of office, and give the Superintendent the power of replacing those who shall be found unable to do so, by persons of more ability, whenever for this reason he shall consider it expedient not to ratify the election; and to fix a period after which the same condition should be attached to the nomination and election to any office in this province.¹

Vide Chauveau, Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1855, dated Montreal, 25 Feb. 1856, Toronto, John Lovell, 1856, p. 37.

APPENDIX 2

THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT¹ (1867) SECTION 93

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

1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province of the Union.
2. All the powers, privileges, and duties at the Union by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.
3. Where in any Province a system of separate or dissentient schools exists by law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.
4. In any case such Provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf then and in every such case, and as far only as circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.

1 30-31 Vic., cap. 3 dated 29 March 1867.

APPENDIX 3

DUTIES OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION¹

The Superintendent shall hold his office during pleasure, and shall receive such yearly salary, not exceeding the sum of seven hundred and fifty pounds, currency, as the Governor may appoint; and the duties of the said Superintendent shall be:

Duties

To apportion the money according to population among the municipal Districts

Firstly: To apportion in each and every year, on or before the third Monday in May in such year, the money annually granted by the Legislature as aforesaid, among the several Municipal Districts, in the ratio of the number of Children over five and under sixteen years of age, that shall appear by the then last census of the Province, to be resident within such District, respectively.

Secondly: To furnish the Receiver General of the Province, for his rule and guidance, with a certified statement or list of the apportionment of the money granted by the Legislature, under the provisions of this Act as aforesaid, among the several Districts.

To certify each District Treasurer of the amount awarded to his District

Thirdly: To certify the apportionment of the public money as aforesaid, to the Treasurer of each and every of the said Districts, respectively, who shall lay the same before the District Council, to the end that such District Council may direct, and they are hereby authorised and required to direct, such a sum to be raised and levied for the purposes of this Act, and within their respective Districts, over and above all rates laid for other purposes, as shall be equal in amount to the money so apportioned from the Provincial Treasury.

¹ Statutes of Canada, 4 & 5 Vic., cap. 18, Kingston, Stewart Derbyshire and George Desbarats, 1841, Vol. 1, p.104,

To visit annually the municipal
Districts and inspect the Schools

Fourthly: To visit annually each of the Municipal
Districts in the Province and ascertain the state of the
Common Schools therein, and for so doing he shall be
allowed his reasonable expenses.

To prepare forms; and maintain
uniformity in the conduct of
Common Schools

Fifthly: To prepare suitable forms for making reports
and conducting the necessary proceedings under this Act,
and to cause the same to be communicated to all such persons
as shall be employed in carrying the provisions of this Act
into effect; and to address to the said persons such sug-
gestions as may tend to the establishment of uniformity in
the conduct of the Common Schools throughout this Province:
And the said Superintendent shall submit annually to the
Governor of the Province, on or before the thirty-first day
of December in each year, a Report on the actual state and
condition of Common Schools throughout the Province, shewing
the monies expended on such Schools, and from what sources
derived, with plans for their improvement, and stating such
other matters respecting Education generally, as the Super-
intendent may deem useful and expedient, in order that the
same may be laid before the Legislature at the meeting
thereof then next following.

APPENDIX 4

ABSTRACT OF

The Role of the Superintendents in the Development of Public Education in Upper and Lower Canada, 1842-1867¹

The nineteenth century saw the gradual establishment of systems of public education in many western nations. Canada was no exception, and the period 1842-1867 in particular, saw an increasing interest on the part of government in public education which until this time had been predominantly the preserve of the religious orders: the Roman Catholic Church for the most part in Lower Canada and the Church Missionary Societies, both Anglican and non-conformist in Upper Canada.

Following the Education Act of 1841, Superintendents of Education had been appointed in each of the two administrative districts, and it is on the assumption that these superintendents were to a large extent personally responsible for subsequent educational developments that this study is based. The problems facing these men had much in common; it was their nature and solution that differed.

1 J. Keith Jobling, doctoral thesis presented to the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, April 1971.

The purpose of this study is to determine the role of the superintendents in the development of education in Upper and Lower Canada from 1842 to 1867.

An introductory chapter reviews briefly what had been achieved educationally in each province prior to this study, viz by 1842. Chapters two and three deal with the problems faced and the progress made during the superintendencies of Dr. J-B. Meilleur and P-J-O. Chauveau in Lower Canada whilst a fourth chapter discusses the problems and achievements of Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson in Upper Canada.

By Confederation in 1867 both provinces had established normal schools for the training of teachers, both had Journals of Education edited by their Superintendent, and both had guaranteed the rights of the religious minorities to maintain their own public schools. The combined efforts of the three superintendents had enriched their respective provinces by providing centralised systems of public schools, inspected, controlled and financed, in part, at the local level; administered by literate commissioners or trustees, and staffed for the most part with teachers who had at least a modicum of training. A start had been made, but there remained much to be done.