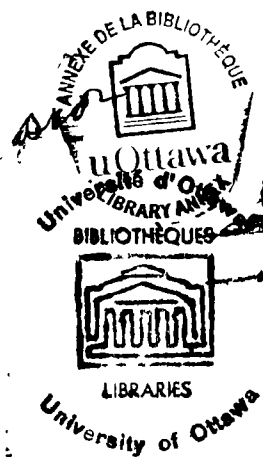


THE FRENCH CANADIANS UNDER THE
ROYAL INSTITUTION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING, 1818-1829

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMGU-LRI (F)	Archives of McGill University, <u>Letters from the Royal Institution.</u>
AMGU-LRI (T)	Archives of McGill University, <u>Letters to the Royal Institution.</u>
JALC	Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada.
PAC	Public Archives of Canada.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1801 the Assembly of Lower Canada passed an act to establish a system of public education. The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning thus came into being. Since this system was controlled by the governor and the Anglican bishop of Quebec, the French Canadians refused to accept schools under its authority. In so doing they contributed to its failure to remain in the fields of elementary and secondary education after 1829.

Traditionally the French Canadians have looked upon the Royal Institution as having been established by the English to assimilate them. On the other hand, English Canadians have seen in it a genuine attempt by the authorities to improve education in Lower Canada. While some English-speaking historians will concede that the system was poorly planned and badly organized, few will agree that it was meant as a serious attempt at assimilation.

The first detailed study of this educational system appeared in 1933 in Canon Groulx's L'Enseignement français au Canada. He found that in the early nineteenth century the English authorities in Lower Canada had made a serious attempt to use education, and particularly the Royal Institution, to assimilate the French Canadians. Groulx used principally the correspondence of English officials of the time to support this conclusion. Furthermore, since he saw that English Protestants had been virtually in complete control of the administration of this system he concluded that the French Canadians had acted wisely in refusing to accept its schools.

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In 1952, Louis-Philippe Audet re-examined the question using a source of documents heretofore unknown, the correspondence of the Board of the Royal Institution. He failed to find in these and other documents evidence to indicate that the English had tried to use education to assimilate the French Canadians. Furthermore, he found that since the aims of the Board in 1818 were different from those of the founding fathers in 1801, those French Canadians who had accepted these schools in no way had endangered their language or their faith. In fact, Audet could see nothing in the Act itself that could have prevented the French Canadians from using it to their own advantage.

Although Audet does suggest that the English officials of the Royal Institution had respected the rights of the French Canadians under their authority he does not examine the question in great detail. Therefore, it would seem useful to do so at this time. It is important to know what actually happened to those French Canadians who did accept schools under these conditions. Was there truly a serious attempt to assimilate them? Was there any interference with their language or with their faith?

Actual conditions in these schools will be determined by examining further the correspondence of the Board of the Royal Institution. All significant data in these documents pertaining to the distribution of French-Canadian pupils, to the selection, qualifications and activities of teachers, to the role played by visitors, ministers and priests as well as to the conditions under which religion was taught and practiced in these schools will be investigated. The evidence gathered

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from this study should determine whether or not the Royal Institution was used to try to assimilate the French Canadians.

CHAPTER I

THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, THE HISTORY AND THE CONTROVERSY

The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning was created in 1801 by an Act of the Assembly of Lower Canada. It granted free education to the people of that province.¹ Because the French Canadians and the Catholic clergy suspected the English authorities of wanting to use education as a means of Anglicizing and Protestantizing them, they opposed the system so effectively that the Royal Institution, after obtaining some success with English schools in the province, failed to establish itself as the central authority for education in Lower Canada.

Canadian historians have disagreed regarding the real purpose of the Royal Institution and the potential benefits it could have granted to Canada had it succeeded. They are generally divided along ethnic lines. The French Canadians claim that since the Royal Institution was basically an agent of Anglicization and Protestantization founded and controlled by such well-known assimilators as Jacob Mountain, Jonathan Sewell, Herman Witsius Ryland and Robert Shore Milnes, the Catholic clergy was justified in its policy of opposition and non-cooperation. That policy was the basic cause for the ultimate failure of the Royal Institution. On the other hand, most of the English-speaking historians tend to minimize the question of assimilation. They point out that the founders of the Royal Institution were misunderstood by the French

¹See Appendix 1 for a copy of the Act.

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Canadians and that the English authorities really had the interest of public education at heart. There was nothing in the Act that the French Canadians could not have used to their own advantage. Notwithstanding a few variations, these are the stands generally supported by Canadian historians of both groups.

This division was defined further in 1933 when Lionel Groulx, in support of the traditional French-Canadian view, gave the subject the most thorough and well-documented treatment it had yet received.² However, in 1948, Louis-Philippe Audet presented a completely new approach to the subject, for a French Canadian, in a short paper for the Royal Society of Canada praising the work of the Royal Institution.³ In 1952, he published a complete and detailed study of this question based on a new source of documents.⁴ This study strengthened his thesis that there was nothing in the Act that could have prevented the French Canadians from adapting the system to suit their own needs. His work tried to show that the Royal Institution had been misunderstood by the French-Canadian historians.

Audet's opinions were criticized, but not his thorough and exhaustive research. One of the main contributions of his research was

² Lionel Groulx, L'Enseignement français au Canada, Tome I, Dans le Québec, Montréal, Granger, 1933, p. 74-94.

³ Louis-Philippe Audet, "La loi scolaire de 1801", in Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Vol. XLII, Third Series, Section 1, May 1948, p. 1-8.

⁴ Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Québec, les Presses universitaires Laval, 1952, Vol. III, 323 p., Vol. IV, 416 p.

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the discovery of a new source of documents - the minutes and the official correspondence of the Board of Trustees of the Royal Institution. These documents formed the basis of his new approach.

Audet mentions eleven French-Canadian parishes that did accept the authority of the Royal Institution. He claims that there was absolutely no pressure brought to bear upon these establishments by the English authorities and had all French Canada followed their example, an official, efficient and centralized school system would have been organized far sooner than it was.

This paper proposes to examine the official correspondence of the Royal Institution on these eleven parishes and to make a complete study of the activities of their schools, keeping in mind always the problem of pressure towards Anglicization and Protestantization. It will attempt to clarify further the relationship between the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning and the French Canadians.

Prior to beginning the study of the French-Canadian schools of the Royal Institution it is necessary to review briefly the history of that institution.⁵

After the conquest in 1760 it was thought by the French Canadians - and with some justification - that the English wanted to assimilate them through a program of Anglicization and Protestantization.

⁵The facts given in this short summary of the work of the Royal Institution have been taken from:

Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Québec, les Presses universitaires Laval, 1952, Vol. III, 323 p., Vol. IV, 416 p.

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The government wanted complete political control and the Church of England wanted its traditional privileged position. The Church of Rome was to be restricted. The British authorities wanted to rebuild the country along Anglo-Saxon lines.

It follows that this influence would be felt in education. Between 1787 and 1789 Lord Dorchester organized committees to review the state of the colony and to propose means to improve conditions. One of these committees was concerned with education. When the report was submitted it recommended a system controlled by the state and based on religious neutrality. When the study became known it created quite a stir among the Catholic clergy. None of the recommendations, however, were adopted into a system of education.

In 1793, when Jacob Mountain came to head the Church of England in Canada he found education in a deplorable condition and took steps to remedy this situation. By 1799, with Milnes, Sewell, Ryland, Smith and Portland as his allies he began to revive the proposals of 1789 on education. By the eighth of April, 1801, this group had succeeded in having the Assembly pass Lower Canada's first act of education, the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning.

Most historians agree that one of the aims of the British authorities in passing this Act was to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians. What is equally important to keep in mind is that these people were also genuinely interested in the progress of education. They feared that the lack of a proper school system would compel more and more people to send their children to the United States, thereby

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exposing them to republican influence.

The bill was passed by the Assembly and became law. It was not well received by the French Canadians, particularly by their clergy. Too much authority was invested in the governor and the Anglican Church for the system to be acceptable to a population nineteen-twentieths of whom were French-speaking and Roman Catholic. The Catholic hierarchy refused to cooperate and even issued instructions to its clergy to boycott the proposed school system.

This opposition of the Catholic clergy was one of the reasons for the failure of the Royal Institution. Another reason was lack of financial support by the British Government. Land grants had been promised for the support of the schools but these promises were never fulfilled. It is easy to see why the Royal Institution, faced with these difficulties from the very beginning, achieved only limited success.

The first period of the Royal Institution, from 1801 to 1818, was one of relative inactivity. During that time the few schools of that institution were under the direction of the Executive Council and were supported by annual grants from the Assembly. The Board of Trustees responsible for the organization and direction of the Royal Institution was formed only at the end of this first period.

From 1801 to 1814 the Royal Institution was a dead letter in the Assembly except for the annual payment of a few teachers' salaries. In 1801 there were four schools and by 1818 the number had risen only to thirty-five, eleven of which were in French-Canadian parishes and under

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French-Canadian teachers.

However, in 1811 James McGill bequeathed ten thousand pounds and his Burnside estate to the Royal Institution provided that ten years after his death a university bearing his name would be erected there. This proposed legacy moved the authorities to action.⁶ They had to organize the Board of Trustees in order to have a body capable of receiving the grant and administering the property. The future of the Royal Institution looked somewhat brighter.

The Assembly was also starting to move into the domain of education. By 1814 there was considerably more activity than the automatic granting of a sum of money for the support of a few teachers. The French-Canadian members proposed new schemes to replace the Royal Institution which they claimed was a total failure. On the other hand, those who wanted the grant from the McGill estate in turn began to agitate for the organization of the Royal Institution and the formation of the Board of Trustees.

Mgr. Plessis was invited to become a member of the Board but he refused to participate in any body in which he would in fact be subservient to Jacob Mountain, the Anglican prelate. The reorganized Royal Institution faced the same problem that had limited it in the beginning.

Despite this, on the eighth of October, 1818, the Duke of Richmond issued the necessary letters patent to form officially the Board of Trustees of the Royal Institution. The composition of the first Board

⁶ Groulx, Op. cit., p. 82-83.

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was as follows:

1. The Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada;
2. The Lord Bishop of Quebec;
3. Jonathan Sewell, Chief Justice of Lower Canada;
4. James Monk, Chief Justice of the Court of the King's Bench in Montreal;
5. The Chief Justice of Upper Canada;
6. The Speaker of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada;
7. The Speaker of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada;
8. John Richardson, of the Executive Council of Lower Canada;
9. Ross Cuthbert, of the Executive Council of Lower Canada;
10. The Reverend John Strachan, of the Executive Council of Upper Canada.⁷

Mgr. Plessis was nominated but he refused to take part in a body that was so predominantly Protestant. His withdrawal again meant the opposition of the whole of the Catholic clergy.

According to Audet, the regulations of the Board of Trustees were quite fair and liberal. However, these were not promulgated until about 1822. No official date has been found regarding these rules but they start to appear in letters around that period.

The main points of the rules of the Board of Trustees are as follows:

1. Uniformity of textbooks was prescribed. One list was chosen

⁷Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada, 1824, Appendix "Y".

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by the Catholics for their schools and another was adopted by the Protestants.

2. Priests and ministers were invited to inspect the schools and pupils of their denomination.

3. There were to be regular inspections by persons named by the corporation. These would report directly to the Board.

4. There was to be a separation of religious worship in the schools.

5. There were also various rules regarding holidays, hours of classes, tuition, fuel, maintenance of buildings, etc.⁸

With all this activity on the part of the Royal Institution, the question of education returned to the House with new vigour. Between 1819 and 1823 the Assembly presented numerous proposals aimed at the reorganization of education in the province. Many laws were passed by that body either to be rejected by the Council or refused Royal assent.

In order to obtain more data on the question of education, a committee was formed by the House in 1823 to examine and report on the state of education. The committee was formed by Messrs. Bourdages, Taschereau, Stuart, Heney, Taché, Viger, and Lageux. They questioned Antoine Parant, the Superior of the Quebec Seminary; J. L. Mills, the Secretary of the Royal Institution; J. F. Perrault, of the Society of Education for the District of Quebec; Daniel Wilkie, director of a Quebec academy; R. R. Burrage, director of the Royal School of Quebec;

⁸Audet, Op. cit., Vol. III, p. 190-197.

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J. B. Corbin, a former schoolteacher.⁹

The report of this committee can be summarized as follows:

1. The state of education in the country parishes is humiliating but the Royal Institution has done some good in the English schools.

2. There is a lack of competent teachers, especially those with adequate moral background. To this is added a great lack of funds for all schools.

3. Several causes were suggested for the slow progress of education: lack of teachers and proper facilities; the poverty of some parents and the avarice of others; the opposition of the Catholic clergy to the Royal Institution; the predominance of the Anglican authorities in the field; the ignorance and the lack of understanding of the values of education by the habitants.

4. Many proposals were made for the improvement of education: setting up independent schools under the authority of the parish priests; the establishment of two separate but identical Royal Institutions, one for the Protestants and one for the Catholics; the adoption of the present system under the Royal Institution but with the cooperation of the Catholic clergy. These suggestions were given to the Assembly and that body acted upon some of them.¹⁰

One of the results of this investigation was the Fabrique Act of 1824. It provided for the establishment of schools in the parishes

⁹Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada, 1824, Appendix "Y".

¹⁰Ibid.

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under the authority of the pastors and the wardens. For their maintenance one-fourth of the parish revenues was to be assigned. This system was not too successful because of the lack of funds in the parishes themselves.

During this time negotiations were initiated between the Royal Institution and the Catholic hierarchy represented by Mgr. Plessis and later by Mgr. Panet. Between 1821 and 1829 attempts were made to form two Royal Institutions, one for the Catholics and one for the Protestants. However, after Dalhousie and Plessis had reached a workable agreement the Colonial Office refused to authorize such a scheme under the pretext that the law had been passed only for one Royal Institution.

When Mgr. Plessis died in 1824 his successor, Mgr. Panet, took over the negotiations with Dalhousie. The next proposal made was that of forming two committees of the one Royal Institution, one for the Catholics and one for the Protestants. Proposals and counter proposals were exchanged between 1826 and 1829 and by that time most of the difficulties had been ironed out and a solution acceptable to all the parties concerned seemed possible. Mgr. Panet himself thought that a suitable compromise had been reached. It remained for the Legislature to act upon it.

On February 9, 1829, the bill was placed before the Assembly. By March 2, it had received the first reading. Unexpectedly, on the fifth, it was referred to the next session by the originator of the motion, Vallière de Saint Réal. No reasons are given for this action. Despite this, until 1830 Mgr. Panet remained hopeful for a settlement.

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However, the death blow had been administered to the compromise.

The passing of the bill establishing the Syndics schools in 1829 was responsible for the rapid decline of the schools of the Royal Institution and the ascendancy of the Legislature in education. The Assembly had been active on the subject of education. Numerous discussions had arisen in the House, committees formed, studies made and recommendations suggested. All this was going on at the same time as the negotiations between Dalhousie and the Catholic hierarchy regarding the two committees of the Royal Institution compromise. The Assembly acted first. On March 14, 1829, royal sanction was given to the Syndics' Act. It put education firmly in the hands of that body.

This Act was designed to help all elementary schools regardless of their origin as long as they satisfied certain conditions. All schools had to come under the authority and supervision of the Assembly. These schools were then sufficiently well endowed to carry on their work efficiently. Even the schools of the Royal Institution were eligible for this financial assistance. However, since any school that complied with the regulations would receive financial help, this law eliminated the need for the existence of the Royal Institution. From that date, the Royal Institution was on the decline. Within five or six years the Syndics could boast of supporting 1,500 schools. This Act had achieved in a few years what the Royal Institution had fought for during close to thirty.

However, the Catholic Church was not wholly pleased with this law since it placed the ultimate control of education in the hands of

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the Assembly. Even at this point Mgr. Panet was still hoping that the compromise for the two-committee system would be accepted. This never materialized but in 1830 the Syndics' Act was amended to include supervision by the clergy.

The Royal Institution started to diminish rapidly. It controlled a smaller and smaller number of schools until in 1846 it ceased to have any elementary schools under its jurisdiction. After 1837, the Royal Institution was interested primarily in its grammar schools and in McGill University. In 1852 the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning became identified only with the governors of McGill University.

The following is a summary of the various phases of the activities of the Royal Institution:

1. The Beginnings, 1800-1819 ¹¹

It evolved from four schools to thirty-five, eleven of which were French-Canadian. The Royal Institution was under the control of the Executive Council and was supported by annual grants from the Assembly.

2. Uncertainty, 1819-1825 ¹²

The Institution grew slowly from thirty-five schools to forty-one. The Board of Trustees was formed; the dispute with the McGill heirs was in progress; attempts at a compromise between it and the Catholic Church were made; the House was becoming very active in education.

¹¹ Audet, Op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 117.

¹² Ibid., p. 118.

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3. Prosperity, 1825-1832 ¹³

In 1825 there were fifty-five schools. This increased to eighty-four in 1829 and slowly began to decline to sixty-six in 1831. Eight of these schools were still in French-Canadian parishes.

4. Decline and Decay, 1832-1846 ¹⁴

Sixty-nine schools were still under the Royal Institution in 1832. This rapidly declined to three in 1844 and disappeared completely by 1846. The Royal Institution began to be linked exclusively with McGill University.

After being exposed to a brief history of the Royal Institution the different points of view of various Canadian historians should be enlightening. The French-Canadian historians will be examined first.

On consulting the works of several French-Canadian historians, one can detect a certain unanimity of view regarding the Royal Institution. The theme of this pattern is that the Royal Institution was a pernicious system founded in order to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians. This view is generally common to all these historians. Some, however, are more bitter than others in their denunciation.

The main criticism directed at the Royal Institution is that the English authorities and the Church of England wanted to use this educational act to assimilate the French-Canadian population. Some historians are extremely bitter on this point. They seem to think that the Royal Institution was founded solely for this purpose. They denounce the

¹³Ibid., p. 134.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 165.

original founders, Mountain, Milnes, Ryland, Sewell and Smith in the most violent language.

Francis Audet commented in this way talking of Ryland:

Aussi fut-il un des inspireurs de la fameuse Institution Royale, créée dans le but de répandre la connaissance de la langue anglaise parmi nos compatriotes afin de les angliciser et protestantiser plus sûrement. Mais la fermeté et la clairvoyance des chefs canadiens, clergé et laïques, surent déjouer ses projets.¹⁵

T.P. Bédard is of a similar opinion: "On comprend toute l'iniquité d'un pareil système destiné comme l'a si bien dit Garneau, dans l'esprit de ses auteurs, à l'anglification du pays par un système général d'instruction publique de la langue anglaise."¹⁶

Jean Bruchési follows the same pattern when talking about the Royal Institution: "... fin primordiale qui était de défranciser et de décatholiciser les Canadiens."¹⁷ He continues in that vein and stresses that French-Canadian survival depended upon the close cooperation of the faithful with the Church in opposition to the English attempts. Everything is linked together, French-Canadian survival, education and the official recognition of the Catholic Church.¹⁸

Thomas Chapais and F.X. Garneau also see the underhanded attempts on the part of the English to Anglicize the French Canadians.

¹⁵Francis J. Audet, "Ryland", in Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Vol. XXIII, Third Series, Section I, May 1929, p. 50.

¹⁶T.P. Bédard, Histoire de cinquante ans, 1791-1841, Québec, Léger Brousseau, 1869, p. 48.

¹⁷Jean Bruchési, Histoire du Canada, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1951, p. 374.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 364, p. 370-371.

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Garneau: "On autorisa également l'établissement de l'Institution Royale, créée en apparence pour l'encouragement de l'instruction publique, mais destinée, dans la pensée de ses promoteurs, à faciliter l'anglicisation du pays."¹⁹

Chapais: "On vit par la suite quel esprit en avait inspiré la création. L'évêque anglican fut nommé président de l'Institution Royale, et la plupart des membres choisis pour y siéger furent des protestants."²⁰

Olivier Maurault perceives the Anglicization question as one originating immediately after the conquest. This was followed by the survey of 1787 and the recommendations of 1789. The law of 1801, to him, was only another step in the same direction - the strong hand of the colonial authorities grasping at the minds of future generations.²¹

These historians, and others, are convinced that the English were out to complete the conquest by using education as a means to make the whole population English, Protestant and loyal to the British Crown. Some who are less severe in their criticism point out that the British did not follow any policy of assimilation out of malice, but out of the conviction that theirs was a superior way of life. They wanted the French Canadians to share in the benefits of being Britishers. They

¹⁹ F.X. Garneau, Histoire du Canada, Montréal, Editions de l'Arbre, 1945, Vol. VII, p. 51.

²⁰ Thomas Chapais, Cours d'Histoire du Canada, Québec, Librairie Garneau, 1921, Vol. II, p. 105.

²¹ Olivier Maurault, Propos et Portraits, Montréal, Editions Bernard Valiquette, 1940, p. 133-134.

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wanted to raise the status of the French Canadian to that of an Englishman.²² However, despite these differences of opinion, the French-

Canadian historians agree that the Royal Institution was a plan to Anglicize the conquered population. As Chapais points out, this was a grave error in judgment:

'Le projet était voué à l'avortement, comme on aurait dû le prévoir, à cause du défaut de coopération et d'appui cordial, pour ne pas dire de l'opposition d'un corps aussi influent que le clergé catholique romain, qui insiste avec raison, comme toutes les autres dénominations religieuses, pour diriger exclusivement l'éducation de son propre troupeau.' L'erreur commise par la création de l'Institution royale, qui empêchait l'adoption d'un système accepté de tous et capable de produire d'heureux résultats, paralysa l'instruction publique dans le Bas-Canada pendant un quart de siècle.²³

How could they hope to make the French Canadians accept such a system controlled by English Anglican authorities? Most English-speaking historians concur.

This error in judgment on the part of the English authorities is explained partly by the way in which the French Canadians looked upon education. It was not thought of as an independent facet of their society but as something closely related to the survival of their language, their faith, their church and their whole way of life. The clergy, the schools and the development of the French-Canadian culture were thought of as one entity, whole and indivisible.²⁴ That is why, as

²² Francis J. Audet, Op. cit., p. 50.

²³ Chapais, Op. cit., p. 105-106.

²⁴ Bruchési, Op. cit., p. 364, p. 370-371.

the French-Canadian historians point out, the Royal Institution was fought so vehemently at the time and why to this day it is still being criticized. That was the error in judgment. The English did not grasp fully the importance that the French Canadians gave to their schools. A handful of English found it very difficult to impose their authority on a population nineteen-twentieths of which was French-speaking and Catholic, and determined to have its way.

Neutrality of religion in education was anathema to the French Canadians. They felt that since education was to prepare individuals for life sound moral principles must be taught. Close cooperation between the church and the school was the best way to achieve that end. However, the church felt left out of the Royal Institution and it feared the secularism and neutralism of these state schools. This is justification enough for the French-Canadian historians to denounce the Royal Institution.²⁵

In the end the French Canadians won their point. A system of public education was organized based upon their principles: a recognition of parental authority, the parish as the basic social unit and the segregation of religions. The point was won, but won dearly, the cost being a whole generation of illiterates.

To summarize, these are the objections that the French-Canadian historians saw in the Royal Institution. First, and most important, the intentions of the English founders were based on a scheme of assimilation

²⁵Groulx, Op. cit., p. 70-71.

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of the French Canadians into the English Protestant minority. This, coupled with the close link between education and the Catholic Church that was being threatened further emphasized French-Canadian objections to this system. Also, the Royal Institution initiated too sudden and too complete a break with the past and with tradition, a tradition that was solidly entrenched in the belief that religion was the basis of good education. Therefore, for these reasons the French-Canadian historians stand firm in their views that the Royal Institution was a nefarious organization which was opposed and defeated by the French Canadians under the leadership of the Catholic clergy. They revel in their victory, despite the fact that it was won at a tremendous price.

There seems to be less unanimity among the English historians. Their views vary from a firm support of the Royal Institution to a mild disapproval of it because of its awkward and unsuccessful methods engendered by a grave error in judgment on the part of the authorities. Some claim that the English really had the best of intentions but were misunderstood by the French Canadians, particularly by their clergy who wanted to control education at all costs. Others do not follow the line quite so rigidly. They feel that the authorities did commit a grave error in judgment in trying to establish the Royal Institution at that particular time and in such a manner, and that the Royal Institution question was badly handled and so deserved to fail.

Generally the English historians seem to hold the opinion that the British authorities in Canada really did have a genuine interest in education, particularly since they feared that their children might be

forced to study in the United States and thus fall under republican influences.²⁶ Regardless of the French Canadians, the English were interested in an educational system. William Kingsford is of this opinion. In his view, the English genuinely wanted to establish a system of liberal education.²⁷ Mountain, among other things, did want to remedy the poor circumstances of education.²⁸ George Parmelee also follows the same line of thought. He stresses that the English were trying to organize education for themselves, and had the French Canadians cooperated they would have reaped the benefits.²⁹ Contrary then to what the French Canadians believe, the English historians think that there is some evidence to indicate that the British authorities showed serious interest in building an educational system for its own sake.

The question of assimilation is then brought up. The French Canadians' views on the subject have already been explained. The English, however, look upon the same question in a far different light. They talk of a need of fusing the two races to create a body of citizens instilled with loyalty and devotion to the British Crown. They talk of an enlightened and liberal system of education geared to create a new race of men - well-educated Christians possessing a sense of loyalty to British customs

²⁶William Kingsford, The History of Canada, Toronto, Rowsell and Hutchison, 1894, Vol. VII, p. 480-481.

²⁷Ibid., p. 285-286.

²⁸Ibid., p. 285-286.

²⁹George Parmelee, Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. 16, p. 449 and p. 452.

and laws. Kingsford again is a supporter of this view.³⁰ Mason Wade, however, calls this a real step towards Anglicization.³¹ His views tend to be somewhat sympathetic to the French Canadians.

Examining critically the British plans for education in Lower Canada it becomes obvious, claims Parmelee, that they did not understand the French Canadians. They were not aware, or failed to consider as important the tradition of the French Canadians to link their culture and education closely with their religion. However, to the French Canadians these elements were inseparable. Either that was not taken into consideration or it was dismissed lightly by the English planners.³²

There are numerous reasons suggested regarding the failure of the Royal Institution to become the established authority in education. The opposition of the Catholic Church, particularly of the hierarchy through its directives to the parish priests, is always mentioned as one of the principal causes. As a matter of fact, the French Canadians agree and take pride in it. Without going so far, Robert Christie, Arthur Buller and Mason Wade join in saying that the withdrawal of the support of the Catholic Church was fatal to the Royal Institution. Buller in particular in his report to Lord Durham seems to harbour no particular liking for the Royal Institution. He calls it offensive to the national pride and

³⁰Kingsford, Op. cit., p. 285-286 and p. 480-481.

³¹Mason Wade, The French Canadians, 1760-1945, Toronto, MacMillan, 1955, p. 104.

³²Parmelee, Op. cit., p. 454.

religious aspirations of the French Canadians.³³

The other main cause for the failure of the Royal Institution was the lack of financial support from the British government. The land grants that had been promised were never given. Christie and Kingsford are both in agreement on that point.³⁴ Therefore, the two basic causes for the failure of the Royal Institution are generally accepted as being the opposition of the Catholic Church and the lack of financial support from the British government.

Arthur Lower presents one of the most interesting appreciations of this controversy. His theme is misunderstanding. He criticizes the French Canadians for seeing in the Royal Institution only an attempt at Anglicization and Protestantization. He readily agrees that the intentions of the English ruling class were not always pure and free from ulterior motives but he also maintains that the spirit of the law was not offensive and contained nothing that the French Canadians could not have used. Undoubtedly the English committed a grave error in judgment by appointing so many English Protestants to control the Royal Institution. There was too much power in the hands of the governor and the Anglican bishop. However, he also points out that there was nothing to prevent the French Canadians from adopting and adapting the Royal Institution to

³³ C.P. Lucas, Lord Durham's Report of the Affairs of British North America, Vol. III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, p. 248.

³⁴ Robert Christie, A History of the Late Province of Lower Canada, Montreal, Worthington, 1866, Vol. I, p. 216.

Kingsford, Op. cit., p. 481-482.

serve their own needs as they did with the Assembly. They certainly could have worked it the way they worked responsible government. They misunderstood the British concern for convention rather than for law. Had the French Canadians made use of the Royal Institution they would have had schools twenty-five years earlier than they actually did.³⁵

This criticism of Lower is important since it represents a new interpretation of the problem. It is also important because it became the theme that Audet used in his controversial work on the Royal Institution, both in 1948 and in 1952.

The opinions and points of view of the various Canadian historians do not constitute a really important source of documentation in the study of the Royal Institution. Most of the works merely pause on this controversial subject. The French Canadians dwell upon it more than the English since they are more vitally concerned with the question. The English historians, including Lower, mention the topic only very briefly. Therefore, for a long time the history of the Royal Institution had received a very sketchy treatment indeed. Accusations and defences were made on traditional beliefs and points of view rather than on a serious study of documents. There was a need for a thorough study of the Royal Institution.

The first well-documented study of the Royal Institution was undertaken in 1933 by Lionel Groulx as part of a larger work in the field of education in French Canada. Approximately twenty pages are devoted to

³⁵ Arthur Lower, Colony to Nation, A History of Canada, Toronto, Longmans Green, 1946, p. 156-157.

the work of the Royal Institution. This is not merely a passing remark in a general work on the history of the country. It is a study of education in the Province of Quebec and the Royal Institution receives its share in the examination.

Because of his background Groulx attacks the Royal Institution rather bitterly. The main object of his work lies in proving that the intentions of the English in founding the Royal Institution were questionable. He cites at length letters and statements made by Mountain, Sewell, Ryland, Milnes and even Charles Inglis, the Anglican bishop of Nova Scotia who paid a visit to Lower Canada before Mountain was given authority over the Church of England in that province. Groulx comes to the conclusion that these indeed were agents of assimilation, assimilation of the worst kind since it meant the control over the minds of future generations.

He calls the Royal Institution "la loi funeste" which attempted to break up the traditional system of education controlled by the clergy. He is convinced of the importance of the parochial system, basing himself on the theory that whoever holds the schools holds the faith of the people. He wholeheartedly approves of the actions of the Catholic hierarchy of the time that eventually destroyed the Royal Institution. The stakes were high since the minds of future generations and the survival of the French-Canadian race was endangered.

Not only does he criticize the intentions of the founders of the Royal Institution but he exposes further their real views in the way they organized the system. There was too much authority in the hands of the

governor and the Anglican bishop. Even the Board of Trustees that was founded in 1818 was almost exclusively English and Protestant. Groulx is convinced that the Catholic clergy did the only thing possible under these circumstances: follow a policy of non-cooperation. He takes pride in the fact that this policy was entirely successful. The Royal Institution was an utter failure and eventually the French Canadians obtained what they wanted, a system of education of their own.³⁶

This at last was a study of the foundation and the work of the Royal Institution that was well documented from original sources. It was not merely traditional hearsay that had become accepted as the truth. There was no startling difference regarding a change in point of view, however. In fact, Groulx was more violent in his denunciation of the Royal Institution than most French-Canadian historians had been. However, there was a difference. His denunciation came as the product of a serious study, the first of its kind on the Royal Institution. Nothing revealing was unearthed, but the French Canadians now had ample material and references to support their views.

The work was not universally successful. An English-speaking critic, W.L. Grant, reviewing it in the *Canadian Historical Review*, accused Groulx of writing solely as a priest and an ultramontane. The reviewer took issue with Groulx's conviction that confessional schools are the only good kinds of schools. He also questions the author regarding the excessive linking of the words French and Catholic as

³⁶Groulx, Op. cit., p. 94.

synonymous. Groulx, he further argues, sees too much conspiracy against his race and religion. That persecuted outlook is not justified since there was in reality only routine and inefficiency in the Colonial Office.³⁷ Obviously, Groulx's work did nothing to reconcile the opposing points of view.

This is how the situation stood for fifteen years. Groulx's was the most authoritative study of the Royal Institution available. However, it did not satisfy everyone.

In 1948 Louis-Philippe Audet wrote a short article for the Royal Society of Canada on that same topic.³⁸ In general it reiterated Lower's view that the Royal Institution had not really contained anything that the French Canadians could not have used. They could have adapted it the way they adapted the Assembly and thus establish a system of education much sooner. The price of a generation of illiterates did not have to be paid. Considering Lower's version this did not bring too many new ideas to the question. The difference, however, was that these words had been written by a French Canadian.

Audet was criticized for holding this opinion. This prompted him to further action. He set about to write the definitive work on the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning.

³⁷ W.L. Grant, Review of "L'Enseignement français au Canada", in The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 14, 1933, p. 67-68.

³⁸ Louis-Philippe Audet, "La loi scolaire de 1801", in Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Vol. XLII, Third Series, Section I, May 1948, p. 1-8.

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His work was published in two volumes in 1952.³⁹ It is part of a greater project on the history of education in the Province of Quebec six volumes of which have now been published.

Audet reviews carefully the documentation cited by Groulx. Over and above that he discovered a whole new source of documents that had been hitherto unused - the complete correspondence and the minute book of the Board of Trustees of the Royal Institution. This valuable source of documents shows the Royal Institution in action.

Audet's conclusions support his original thesis. The Royal Institution had been needlessly abused by the French-Canadian historians. It could have been of great benefit to this province. He acknowledges that some of the ideas of the founders in 1801 were not exactly honourable since Mountain and his supporters did have sinister ideas about Anglicization and Protestantization. However, they also had an honest desire to improve the state of education.

In his work he repeated the previously stated fact that the French Canadians could have used the Royal Institution, as they did the Assembly, to serve their own purpose. The clergy could have found ways to protect the faith of its flock and educational institutions would have been established in Lower Canada that much sooner. Furthermore, he states that those parishes that did accept the Royal Institution schools were not renegades. They lost nothing and were not subject to pressures.

³⁹Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Québec, Laval, 1952, Vol. III, 323 p., Vol. IV, 416 p.

What would have happened had all the parishes accepted the benefits of the Royal Institution?

The intentions of the founders are often confused with the aims of the Board of Trustees that was founded in 1818. By that time these men were seriously interested in education. The situation had changed and there was not so much hostility. The authorities of the Royal Institution honestly tried to obtain the support of the clergy and get full French-Canadian participation. Genuine attempts were made to reach a compromise by first trying to establish two separate Royal Institutions, and when that failed, to try to organize two independent committees of that same body. The Royal Institution wanted to secure the support of the majority of the population and it did all in its power to further this end. Those eleven parishes that did accept the rule of the Royal Institution did not suffer in any way. They had their freedom of religion respected and the correspondence of the Royal Institution shows that they were treated with fairness. Audet blames the Catholic clergy for failing to lead the people to better educational roads. In reality there was adequate supervision in the schools and both Catholics and dissenters were carefully treated.

This policy of abstention played a vicious trick on the French Canadians. They were left without schools for a complete generation. They rejected an organized and centralized system of education without having anything to take its place. Had they wanted to cooperate, the Royal Institution would have been a virtual department of education.

Audet summarizes this whole situation in these words:

Concluons. A la lumière des innombrables pièces d'archives que nous avons consultées, des procès-verbaux du Bureau et surtout de la correspondance officielle de l'Institution Royale, nous estimons que le jugement de l'histoire sur la loi de 1801 et surtout sur le rôle de l'Institution Royale devrait être le suivant: sans minimiser l'influence de Jacob Mountain et de Jonathan Sewell dans l'élaboration du projet de 1801, il reste évident que le texte de cette loi ne contient à peu près rien qui n'aurait pu être utilisé par les Canadiens français catholiques à leur propre avantage. Les provisos des articles 4 et 8, soustrayant les écoles catholiques à l'autorité de l'Institution Royale, constituent, à toutes fins pratiques, un système scolaire pour les Canadiens de langue anglaise, mais avec l'espérance que les Canadiens français voudront, eux aussi, en profiter. Il est faux de dire que l'Institution Royale fut un organisme tyrannique qui s'appliqua à défranciser et à décatholiciser les Canadiens: les documents historiques prouvent le contraire. Enfin, même si elle a rendu assez peu de services à la population Canadienne-française, l'Institution Royale ne fut pas la faillite, car elle contribua à l'éducation de la jeunesse de langue anglaise dans les trois domaines de l'enseignement élémentaire, secondaire et supérieur. Tout compte fait, elle fut une pierre d'attente, ou mieux encore, une étape décisive dans la conquête de nos libertés scolaires, préparant ainsi une ère de justice pour tous.⁴⁰

Therefore, basing himself on numerous new sources, primarily the correspondence of the Board of the Royal Institution, Audet found that a reappraisal of our views was needed.

The text of the law provided safeguards for the French Canadians; the system could have been used to great advantage by them; it did not attempt to Anglicize the French Canadians; the Royal Institution provided great benefits for the English-speaking section of the population and it was a step towards the conquest of freedom and ignorance. Audet, with his new documents really studies what happened to the schools of the

⁴⁰ Audet, Op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 391-392.

Royal Institution, particularly when the latter started to operate under the management of the Board of Trustees after 1818.

Audet's work is of the highest scholastic achievement. As a definitive study of the Royal Institution it is both thorough and exhaustive. Everything is orderly and well documented. Because of the new source of documentation the author succeeded in writing a comprehensive study of one of the controversial questions of our history.

Because of the controversial aspect of the problem, Audet's work did not pass without criticism. Influential French-Canadian historians did not draw quite the same conclusions from the facts presented. On the contrary, the work was not too well received by the followers of Groulx. The following is a sample of French-Canadian reaction to his study.

Father Rodrigue, in La Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, compliments Audet for his scholarly research. No one denied him that honour. However, he feels that his conclusions come as a little bit of hindsight after the battle has been won. At that time, he explains, the Church was fighting for its very existence. It could not afford to take chances. The Church did not lack foresight, because when concessions came from the Royal Institution they came too late. The reviewer is convinced that one must still accept Groulx's conclusions despite Audet's work. The Royal Institution was a creation of the bureaucracy to serve its own ends.⁴¹

⁴¹Louis-Joseph Rodrigue, "Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. III, IV", reviewed in Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. VI, 1952-3, p. 582-583.

Not all the French Canadians rejected Audet's point of view and conclusions. Father Maheux from Laval, in that institution's quarterly publication, praises his work. He calls it a great debunking of traditional ideas. Audet was classed with the heretics because he dared disturb the established beliefs. He stressed the fact that a new documentation necessitated a new appraisal and a new point of view. Maheux, in support of Audet shows that the relationship of the Royal Institution with the educational problems of that time in Lower Canada was similar to the present systems that the Catholic Church has found adequate to support elsewhere in Canada. He cites the case of the link between the University of Toronto and St. Michael's College, the situation in London with the University of Western Ontario; St. Boniface and the University of Manitoba. Catholic education is now linked in many places with non-Catholic institutions. This is a system of compromise for the benefit of the Catholic population. It is more profitable than the policy of all or nothing.⁴²

In following both of these appreciations one must not lose sight of the fact that Father Rodrigue was writing in a periodical that has been greatly influenced by Groulx and that, on the other hand, Father Maheux was Audet's thesis director at Laval. Both may not be without some prejudices.

⁴² Arthur Maheux, "Sur l'oeuvre de Louis-Philippe Audet", in Revue de l'université Laval, Vol. X, (7), March 1956, p. 626-632.

The English reviews were extremely favourable. Paul Fox, in the Canadian Historical Review praises Audet for having discovered a new source of documentation as well as for his scholarly treatment of the subject. He agrees with the author when he finds fault with the traditional opinions of Garneau, Groulx and Bruchési. He recognizes that Audet's view is very similar to that of Lower's. The suspicion of the Catholic Church is deplored. The Royal Institution could have been adopted and used to great benefit.⁴³

This is where the current controversy now stands. There is very little new evidence available that could be produced in order to search further into the truth of the matter. Groulx did a commendable if somewhat incomplete job; Audet wrote a definitive work using all possible sources of available documents. The main facts of the Royal Institution have been published. The crux of the controversy comes with the interpretation of these facts. Reading Audet for his details can provide little room for argument. However, the conclusions he reaches are another matter. There, there can be room for further discussion.

There is one facet of this problem that could be explored further, that is a complete study of the eleven schools in French-Canadian parishes that did accept the authority of the Royal Institution. Audet, in one article for the Royal Society of Canada has outlined brief studies of the Royal schools at Ste-Marie de la Nouvelle-Beauce and at Cap Santé.

⁴³Paul Fox, "Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. III, IV", reviewed in The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXXIV, 1953, p. 177.

He gives a history of the foundation and progress of the schools in those districts. What this study proposes to do is to further this line of research to include all the significant facts about all the French-Canadian schools under the authority of the Royal Institution between the years 1801-1837. These facts will be examined particularly in the light of the relationship between the French-Canadian elements and the authorities of the Board of Trustees. Did they get along as well as Audet would lead us to believe? Was there any pressure at any time towards Anglicization? Towards Protestantization? Was it a system that was running efficiently for the conditions of the times? Can the state of these eleven parishes be sufficient ground to formulate generalizations in the proportions that Audet does? Did Groulx have any real cause for being so bitter?

In an attempt to shed more light on this topic, this thesis will use the same source as Audet: the official correspondence of the Royal Institution and the minute book of the Board of Trustees of that same body. Audet has merely scratched the surface of this source of documentation. He used only sufficient material to prove his point. There is more.

Therefore, this paper will study the French-Canadian schools under the Royal Institution in all their phases, from their origin to their end. Every significant piece of evidence will be examined: the teachers of the Royal Institution; the course of studies; the text books; the clergy of those areas and their reactions to these schools; the school visitors and their official reports; the policy and action of the

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Board regarding these schools. This study should shed a little more light on the work of the Royal Institution, particularly in its dealings with the French Canadians.

CHAPTER II

THE PARISHES SELECTED FOR INVESTIGATION

The problem outlined in the previous chapter could be summarized in this manner: What actually happened to those French Canadians who accepted schools under the authority of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning? To attempt to answer this question one should determine first which schools of all those controlled by the Royal Institution should be examined. At its apex in 1829 the Royal Institution controlled eighty-four schools.¹ Since it has been determined already by historians in the past and more recently by Canon Groulx and Dr. Audet that the Royal Institution was of benefit principally to the English element of the population one must be selective in the choice of schools to be examined in order to find an answer to the question stated above and in the previous chapter. One must examine the schools the French-Canadian pupils attended to see whether or not there were factors inherent in the system that could have endangered their language and their faith. Was there in effect complete segregation between the French-Canadian and English students? Was the establishment and character of the school truly French and Catholic or was it so organized as to permit English Protestant influence to expand? Were the teachers

¹ Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Québec, Laval, 1952, Vol. IV, p. 134.

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and the visitors who controlled the schools French or English? Therefore, before beginning to attempt to answer these questions it is essential to know which, out of all the schools under the control of the Royal Institution, served the French Canadians.

Before proceeding to discuss French-Canadian parishes, schools and teachers under the Royal Institution, it is essential first to define a few terms. Were there actually French-Canadian schools under the Royal Institution? If so, by what criterion could a French-Canadian school be so defined? If it was a school where the masters, all the pupils (with perhaps a few exceptions) and all the visitors were French, very few of this type could be found in the books of the Royal Institution.

In his work on the Royal Institution Dr. Audet listed eleven French-Canadian schools: St. François du Lac St. Pierre, Pointe Lévi, St. Louis de Kamouraska, Cap St. Ignace, St. Thomas de Montmagny, St. Antoine, St. Roch, Terrebonne, Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, Ste. Marie de la Nouvelle Beauce and Portneuf.² He seems to accept a French-Canadian school as one which was in a French district and had a French master.

Toutes n'étaient pas destinées à desservir uniquement la population de langue anglaise; en effet, une douzaine environ sont établies dans des centres exclusivement canadiens-français et possèdent des maîtres de cette nationalité.³

² Audet, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 136.

It is interesting to note that in Vol. IV, p. 127, Audet again lists eleven French-Canadian schools but this time, since he is covering another period in the history of the Royal Institution, the school at St. François, mentioned earlier, is now omitted and replaced by a new school, the one at Cap Santé, founded in 1817-18.

³ Audet, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 136.

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However, applying the former definition of a French-Canadian school to these, one would find that only six could be considered: Cap St. Ignace, St. Antoine, St. François, Ste. Marie de la Nouvelle Beauce, St. Roch and St. Thomas. Out of these so little data is available about St. François and St. Antoine that it leaves only the other four really able to supply adequate information regarding the life of a French-Canadian school. To this list could be added the school at St. Constant which, although not included by Dr. Audet, satisfies the writer's definition of a French-Canadian school. Therefore, according to this narrow definition, at the very most seven schools could be truly referred to as French-Canadian, and because so little information is available about two, St. Antoine and St. François, two of the first schools founded, the number from which data can be gathered is in effect reduced to five.

Since the restricted and rather arbitrary definition is the writer's it cannot be forced upon Dr. Audet. Therefore, the balance of the schools he mentioned, Pointe Lévi, Ste. Anne, Portneuf, St. Louis de Kamouraska and Terrebonne, could be included in the group to be studied. It must be kept in mind, however, that in these schools there were factors at work which did not make these institutions entirely French-Canadian. For example, in Pointe Lévi, although there were but a few English pupils, a certain amount of the local direction was in English Protestant hands: James Mackenzie, George Chapman and the Reverend R.R. Burrage, an Anglican minister and a future Secretary of the Board

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of the Royal Institution;⁴ in Ste. Anne, all the pupils were French, but one of the teachers and part of the direction were English;⁵ in Portneuf there were English pupils and the principal visitor, Edward Hale, was English;⁶ in Kamouraska, in a rather chaotic situation, although the principal visitor was Lieutenant Colonel Pascal Taché, the Seigneur, the most influential visitor in fact may have been Dr. Horsman.⁷ Also, in that school there were some English-speaking students and English teachers.⁸ In Terrebonne, the situation differed from the others in as much as there were two schools for some time, one for the English and one for the French.⁹ Soon, because of local friction and misunderstanding only one school remained to serve the whole population, and this school was largely controlled by the English element of the parish and two of

⁴AMGU-LRI (T), report of the Reverend R.R. Burrage to the Royal Institution, November 4, 1823; letter from the Reverend R.R. Burrage to the Reverend J.L. Mills, April 6, 1824; report from the visitors of Pointe Lévi to the Reverend J.L. Mills, April 15, 1825; letter from J.A. L'Hérault of Pointe Lévi to the Reverend J.L. Mills, 1825.

⁵AMGU-LRI (T), report from Ste. Anne's to the Royal Institution, September 25, 1822; letter of reference by the Reverend J. Poirier in favour of William Houston, July 18, 1826.

⁶AMGU-LRI (T), report by the teacher Charles Desroches of Portneuf to the Royal Institution, January 21, 1820; rules of the school at Portneuf, 1821.

⁷AMGU-LRI (T), letter of Dr. Horsman of Kamouraska to the Reverend J.L. Mills, September 21, 1825.

⁸AMGU-LRI (T), report of the visitors of Kamouraska to the Royal Institution, August 21, 1830; letter of Thomas Ansbrow of Kamouraska to the Reverend J. L. Mills, March 24, 1824.

⁹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Augustin Vervais of Terrebonne to the Reverend J.L. Mills, February 9, 1820; letter from Andrew Glen of Terrebonne to the Reverend J.L. Mills, February 15, 1820.

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the last three teachers, although Catholic, were English.¹⁰ Despite these factors, there was a significant enough French population and French character in these schools to yield valuable information regarding the position of the French Canadians who accepted the authority of the Royal Institution.

Continuing with this broader definition one can find other institutions that were predominantly French-Canadian. These institutions can also furnish additional data regarding the position of the French Canadians and the Royal Institution. In this category can be included the schools at: Baie St. Paul, Berthier, Cap Santé and Vaudreuil. Furthermore, there were other schools, although predominantly English, which had consistently a sufficiently large number of French Canadians to produce interesting and valuable data. These schools were at Paspébiac, Three Rivers, and Montreal. Paspébiac had generally a majority of French-Canadian pupils although the teacher, Francis Le Brun, was English-speaking and Protestant,¹¹ as was the principal visitor, J. Ferguson Winter.¹² In Three Rivers, the French Canadians composed almost half the school population, but the teacher, Selby Burn, and most of the visitors, men like the Honourable Mr. Coffin, Judge Reid and the

¹⁰ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne to the Reverend J.L. Mills, April 12, 1829; refer to the list of teachers on p. 44-45.

¹¹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Francis Le Brun of Paspébiac to the Reverend J.L. Mills, August 15, 1825.

¹² AMGU-LRI (T), report from the visitors of Paspébiac to the Reverend J.L. Mills, April 1, 1831.

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Reverend Francis Evans, were English.¹³ Both the schools at Montreal and Lachine were definitely English but served a very large number of French Canadians.

Perhaps the school at Montreal should not be included with the others since it was really a grammar school preparing students for higher education. It was a comparatively large school with an average population of approximately three hundred students. However, it is interesting to include it in this study since for a long time the French-Canadian pupils in attendance comprised about one-third of the student population,¹⁴ this despite the fact that it was controlled by the Anglican clergy, the Reverend John Bethune and the Reverend B.B. Stevens, and an English schoolmaster, Alexander Skakel.¹⁵ This large number of French-Canadian students prompted Bethune to write to Mills in 1825 that he thought this situation would strengthen the fact of their liberality in education.¹⁶ Because of these interesting developments, Montreal has been included in this study.

Other schools appear briefly in the lists of the Royal Institution giving indication that they were French-Canadian. However, not

¹³AMGU-LRI (T), report from Three Rivers to the Royal Institution January 31, 1820.

¹⁴AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend John Bethune of Montreal to the Reverend J.L. Mills, April 9, 1825.

¹⁵AMGU-LRI (T), reports from the visitors of Montreal to the Royal Institution, June 1, 1821, and October 20, 1826.

¹⁶AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend John Bethune to the Reverend J.L. Mills, April 9, 1825.

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enough information is available in the correspondence to include them in this study. L'Islet and St. Hilaire are cases in point.

All told, twenty-two schools have been mentioned where a considerable number of French Canadians were in attendance. Out of these, according to the writer's narrow and restricted definition, seven were exclusively French-Canadian; nine had a majority of French-Canadian pupils but were under some English and Protestant influence; four were quite evenly mixed or English but supported consistently a heavy French-Canadian population; two seemed French-Canadian but about them little or no information was found.

However, not all these twenty-two schools can supply the necessary information regarding the life of the French Canadians under the authority of the Royal Institution, since four of these, St. Antoine, St. François, L'Islet and St. Hilaire, offer so little data that they can be completely ignored. Therefore, eighteen schools are left from which to gather the information required for this paper: Cap St. Ignace, Ste. Marie de la Nouvelle Beauce, St. Roch, St. Thomas and St. Constant, schools that were entirely French-Canadian; Pointe Lévi, Ste. Anne, Portneuf, St. Louis de Kamouraska, Terrebonne, Baie St. Paul, Berthier, Cap Santé and Vaudreuil, schools where the majority of the pupils were French-Canadian; Paspébiac, Three Rivers, Lachine and Montreal, schools that were evenly mixed or predominantly English yet that catered to a considerable number of French Canadians. In these eighteen was found the great majority of the French-Canadian students who came under the authority of the Royal Institution, and this is why the title of this

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paper reads, The French Canadians under the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning rather than the French-Canadian schools or the French-Canadian parishes under the Royal Institution.

Since the important factor to be considered is how the French Canadians fared under the Royal Institution, this is best determined through a study of the majority of the schools where a good proportion of the French Catholic pupils were found, even though some of these schools might not be entirely French, or, as in the case of Montreal, might not even be an elementary school. This is the data that should be investigated in order to pass a careful and considered judgment on the interaction between the French Canadians and the authorities of the Royal Institution.

Incidentally, even though this paper will focus on these eighteen schools, this does not imply that there were no other French-Canadian pupils elsewhere in the system of the Royal Institution schools. There were indeed a certain number of French Canadians who went to almost exclusively English schools, at least schools which for the greater part of their existence served regularly a large English population and whose direction was definitely English and Protestant. The following are

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examples of some of these:

St. Andrew's	1826	44 pupils	7 French Canadians
	1828	89	3 French Canadians
William Henry	1825	27	7 French Canadians
	1826	41	8 French Canadians
Rawdon	1825	18	5 French Canadians
Pointe Fortune	1827	27	3 French Canadians
Coteau du Lac	1828	<u>39</u>	<u>8 French Canadians</u> ¹⁷
		285	41

Some of these figures seem to indicate that there was a considerable number of French Canadians in these so-called English schools. However, it should be noted that these institutions did not have that large a number of French Canadians in attendance continuously. Moreover, these schools were taught by English masters and were under the direction of the English element of the population and the Protestant clergy. However, these facts indicate that even these basically English schools did cater to a degree to the whole population, whether French or English, and that at times some of the French Canadians took advantage of the education provided by the Royal Institution in these parishes.

¹⁷AMGU-LRI (T), tabulated report from St. Andrew's to the Royal Institution, October 1, 1826;
 tabulated report from St. Andrew's to the Royal Institution, April 12, 1828;
 report from William Henry to the Royal Institution, April 14, 1825;
 report from William Henry to the Royal Institution, April, 1826;
 report from the visitors of Rawdon to the Royal Institution, September 30, 1825;
 tabulated report from Pointe Fortune to the Royal Institution, April 16, 1827;
 letter from (unknown) of Coteau du Lac to the Rev. J.L. Mills, January 22, 1828.

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Taking all this evidence into consideration a basic principle can be formulated, one that should be kept in mind throughout this paper: there was no hard and fast line dividing the French-Canadian from the English schools. In fact, the question of division or segregation seldom occurs in the correspondence of the Board of the Royal Institution. These were all Royal Institution schools, and if some of them were in districts that were primarily French, the pupils were naturally French. The same held true in English districts.

Lack of cooperation on the part of the French Canadians and the Catholic clergy was the most serious problem that the Royal Institution had to surmount. It did not succeed, of course, and consequently faded from the educational picture as far as the elementary schools were concerned. However, all this shows that there was but a single authority and a single organization for all the schools. This authority, this organization, was the Board of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. There were officially and in fact no French-Canadian schools but only French-Canadian pupils. Of course, this was one of the reasons why these schools were unacceptable to the French Canadians, particularly to the clergy.

Therefore, the schools of the Royal Institution must be considered as a unit, and in this study these schools where there was either a majority or fair representation of French Canadians will be considered. But this does not limit the writer to present facts solely from the schools listed. These will account for the bulk of the information included in this paper, but pertinent facts will be used from some of

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the other schools when the need arises. From the data gathered and examined, a more accurate judgment can be formulated on the conditions in which the French Canadians found themselves.

Outlined below is a list of the schools under scrutiny as well as the years when these schools were in operation. The teachers who taught during those periods are also included.

<u>PARISH</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TEACHER</u>	<u>CLASSIFICATION</u>
Baie St. Paul	1824-25	William Christie	M
Berthier	1810-24	Augustus Wolff	M
Cap St. Ignace	1807-22	Michel Perrault	F
Cap Santé	1817-18	J.P. De Salin	M
	1818-22	Charles Harper	
	1823-27	Charles Desroches	
	1827-28	M. Marceau	
	1828-32	L.C.A. St. George	
	1832-35	William Colgan	
Lachine	1810-22	John Skimming	E
	1823-31	D.T. Jones	
	1831-	Rev. Mr. Gale	
Montreal		Alex. Skakel	E
Paspébiac	1824-41	Francis LeBrun	E
Pointe Lévi	1805-20	François Malherbe	M
	1820-23	Pierre Romain	
	1824-33	J.A. L'Hérault	
Portneuf	1817-22	Charles Desroches	M
	1827-32	Olivier Aubry	
Ste. Anne	1812-22	Robert Dupont	M
	1824-26	William Houston	
St. Constant	1827-29	Joseph Mathons	F
St. Louis de	1806-18	Thomas Costin	M
Kamouraska	1818-19	Julien Perrault	
	1819-20	Daniel Salman	
	1820-21	Daniel Johnson	
	1821-26	Thomas Ansbro	
	1829-31	Jacques Vallerand	
Ste. Marie de Beauce	1814-28	J.A. Philippon	F
St. Roch	1810-17	J.B. L'Heureux	F
	1817-26	Clement Cazeau	
St. Thomas	1807-33	Antoine Côté	F
	1816-22	D.T. Jones	E

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<u>PARISH</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>TEACHER</u>	<u>CLASSIFICATION</u>
Terrebonne	1812-18	Paul J. Gill	E
	1814-26	Augustin Vervais	F
	1819-22	Andrew Glen	E
	1822-25	James Walker	E
	1826-28	Thomas Neagle	M
	1829-	Alex. MacDonald	M
	1829-32	F.X. Valade	M
Three Rivers	1815-41	Selby Burn	E
Vaudreuil	1825-27	Christopher Purcell	M

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A word of explanation is required regarding the entry opposite Montreal. Only the name of the headmaster appears in the correspondence and the records. However, since this was a rather large school there were other teachers, and, at least at one period, there was a French-speaking master on the staff.¹⁹

Some significant statistics arise from these figures. First, concerning the parishes themselves, it can be seen that according to the most severe and restricted definition, there were but five of them whose schools were totally French-Canadian (28% of the parishes under examination). There were nine parishes (50% of the total) where the population had a considerable French-Canadian majority. Four (22%) were more or less evenly mixed or were predominantly English with a substantial number of French-Canadian pupils.

¹⁸ This information was selected from the Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada, 1801-1841.

Classification: F stands for a completely French school
M stands for a school where the majority was French
E stands for an English or mixed school

¹⁹ AMGU-IRI (T), report from Montreal to the Royal Institution, June 1, 1821.

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The same thing can be done with the number of teachers. According to the table there were forty teachers who taught in these schools over a period of years. (There are forty-two on the list but Charles Desroches and D.T. Jones appear twice since they taught in two parishes.) From this list it would seem that twenty-one teachers were English and nineteen were French -- almost a 50% division.

When the visitors of these schools are examined it will be noticed that there were approximately eighty-nine of these gentlemen who served during the period under investigation. Forty-nine of them seemed to have been French and forty of them English. This means a 55%-45% division²⁰ -- quite a considerable proportion of English representation for schools that served a predominantly French-Canadian population.

Therefore, although these eighteen schools represented the great majority of the French-Canadian pupils under the authority of the Royal Institution, the above statistics show that the French Canadians were in fact a real majority only in the number of pupils present in these schools. The statistics on the teachers and the visitors show that the number of English among those in authority was out of proportion to the number of English students in these schools. Also, as will be shown later, many of these gentlemen wielded considerably more power than their French-Canadian counterpart. These schools served primarily French-Canadian pupils and yet the direction was at least close to 50% English and Protestant.

²⁰

This information was selected from the table on pages 48-50.

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Then, as a partial answer to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter one can say that after casting a quick glance at the overall situation there might have been factors inherent in the system that could have endangered the language and faith of the French Canadians. The schools were not segregated between the French and English pupils and since a good proportion of those in authority, both teachers and visitors, were English and Protestant, one could deduce that at least the organization of the Royal Institution schools was such as to allow the possibility of English Protestant influence to spread. These points will be developed in later chapters when the teachers, the visitors and the courses of studies will be examined.

Therefore, in this paper, the life in eighteen schools serving a large number of French Canadians will be examined to determine the position that the French Canadians who came under the authority of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, held. Particular emphasis will be paid to those factors, inherent in the system, that could have affected the language and faith of the French Canadians. From the information presented above, there are indications that the situation of the French Canadians could be considered at least precarious.

CHAPTER III

THE VISITORS

Now that the schools which served the majority of the French Canadians under the authority of the Royal Institution have been selected, it follows that the work of the people who controlled them at the local level, the school visitors, should be examined. To survey the whole topic first, the eighteen parishes and the names of all the visitors on record for the period that these schools were under the Royal Institution, are tabulated below. There has been no attempt to date the term of office of individual visitors. This is merely a list of those people who had some influence in determining school policy at the parochial level during the tenure of the Royal Institution in those areas.

<u>PARISH</u>	<u>VISITORS</u>
Baie St. Paul	Louis Bélair J.B. Dupré Henri Tremblay George Chaperon (English Protestant)
Berthier	Colonel James Cuthbert Major Gelland Joseph Brady Jacques Deligny Curé Lamothe
Cap St. Ignace	no visitors listed
Cap Santé	G. W. Allsopp François Rinfret dit Malouin Charles Garnaud Captain Jacques Marcotte Pierre Morisset

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<u>PARISH</u>	<u>VISITORS</u>
Lachine	James Finlay Captain Pierre Roy dit La Pensée Donald Duff Captain Venant Roy James Somerville Reverend B.B. Stevens Charles Penner James Keith
Montreal	Reverend John Bethune S. Sewell Reverend B.B. Stevens
Paspébiac	J. Ferguson Winter James Day William Scott Manuel Le Braceur Reverend Louis Doolittle Reverend William Hugh Reverend W. Arnold Reverend Andrew Balfour
Pointe Lévi	M. Masse Captain Augustin Labadie Joseph Mackenzie George Chapman Mr. Duclos Reverend R.R. Burrage John Davidson
Portneuf	E. Hale P. Bigué J.B. Marcotte
Ste. Anne	John Smith Vincent Dubé
St. Constant	Pierre Matte François Camyré
St. Louis de Kamouraska	Lt. Colonel Pascal Taché Dr. Thomas Horsman Honoré Roy Captain Paul Dupuis Captain Philippe Beaulieu Curé Varin

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<u>PARISH</u>	<u>VISITORS</u>
Ste. Marie de Beauce	A.C. Taschereau F.G. Taschereau F. Letrollier
St. Roch	Colonel J.B. Duchesnay Captain Pierre Masse Louis Besse
St. Thomas	J.B. Boisseau Dr. A.G. Couillard Louis Boucher Jean Charles Letourneau
Three Rivers	Honourable Mr. Coffin Judge Reid Judge Perrault B.P. Wagner Reverend Francis Evans Reverend Sam Wood
Terrebonne	Honourable Roderick Mackenzie Dr. Simon Fraser J.B. Turgeon Michel Turgeon Jacob Oldham F.H. Séguin J. Mackenzie Curé St. Germain Dr. Grignon J. Robitaille F. Limoges D.L. Limoges Reverend M. Portier William Hallowell
Vaudreuil	Dr. J.B. Charlebois J.M. Lefaivre John Mure Christopher Forbes Jean Baptiste Deguire Captain Michel St. --- ¹

¹ This information was selected from the Archives of McGill University, Letters to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning.

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An examination of this list discloses a number of points worthy of special notice. First, there were only four schools where all the visitors were French-Canadian, and of these four Ste. Marie de Beauce was in operation for fourteen years, St. Roch for sixteen, St. Thomas for twenty-six and St. Constant only for two. At that, the school at Ste. Marie was threatened with closure from 1826-1828 by the Secretary of the Royal Institution because of the small number of pupils registered and because of their irregular attendance.² Therefore, this coincides with the list in the previous chapter showing only five totally French-Canadian schools under the authority of the Royal Institution. Cap St. Ignace, the fifth mentioned in Chapter II, has no list of visitors available. In fact, in his initial report to the Secretary of the Board on March 29, 1820, the teacher, Michel Perrault, admitted that there was no one in charge of his school.³

Another interesting observation is that there were four Roman Catholic priests among the number of visitors - the Reverends St. Germain and Portier of Terrebonne and the Reverends Lamothe and Varin of Berthier and Kamouraska respectively. In a later chapter the part played by priests in the work of the Royal Institution will be examined. In some

² AMGU-LRI (F), letter from the Reverend J.L. Mills to J.A. Philippon of Ste. Marie de Beauce, March 7, 1826;
 letter from J.L. Mills to A.C. Taschereau of Ste. Marie de Beauce, December 2, 1826;
 letter from J.L. Mills to J.A. Philippon, January 8, 1828;
 AMGU-LRI (T), letter from J.A. Philippon to J.L. Mills, April 15, 1826.

³ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Michel Perrault of Cap St. Ignace to J.L. Mills, March 29, 1820.

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cases they made important contributions. However, when it came time to be recognized officially as visitors all but St. Germain, Portier, Lamothe and Varin declined the honour and refused to sign the reports.

Another factor is worthy of note. In these parishes where the bulk of the French Canadians who came under the authority of the Royal Institution were found, 45% of the visitors were English and Protestant. There are eighty-nine names on the list above, the Reverend B.B. Stevens being counted twice since he officiated both in Montreal and Lachine, and of these, forty are English and Protestant and forty-nine French-Canadian and Catholic. Not only was there a greater number of English visitors than the number of English pupils in these schools would warrant, but a great deal of the direction of the schools was in the hands of these individuals. As will be described later in this chapter, the English visitor was often the most influential member of his board.

However, this was the kind of situation that could have been expected considering the circumstances under which the Royal Institution schools were being conducted. An almost complete boycott of this system by the Roman Catholic Church and by the most influential French-Canadian leaders could not be a favourable condition to French-Canadian leadership in those schools that were established under the Royal Institution.

Since these eighty-nine gentlemen represented the authority of the Royal Institution at the local level their social position should be mentioned. As could be expected, many of the visitors were men of note in the communities in which they lived. There were medical men: Doctors Horsman of Kamouraska, Couillard of St. Thomas, Fraser and Grignon of

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Terrebonne and Charlebois of Vaudreuil. Many were leaders in the militia: Colonel Cuthbert and Major Gelland of Berthier, Captain Jacques Marcotte of Cap Santé, Captain Pierre Roy dit La Pensée and Venant Roy of Lachine, Lieutenant Colonel Pascal Taché, Captains Paul Dupuis and Philippe Beaulieu, all of Kamouraska, Colonel J.B. Duchesnay and Captain Pierre Masse of St. Roch, Captain D.L. Limoges of Terrebonne and Captain Michel St. ---- of Vaudreuil. The Protestant Ministers were represented by the Reverends B.B. Stevens of Montreal and Lachine, John Bethune of Montreal, Louis Doolittle, William Hugh and W. Arnold of Paspébiac, R.R. Burrage of Pointe Lévi and Sam Woods and Francis Evans of Three Rivers. There were men from the legal profession also: Judges Reid and Perrault of Three Rivers and the notary F. Limoges of Terrebonne. Among these visitors were numerous justices of the peace among whom were almost all the visitors of Terrebonne: J.B. Turgeon, Michel Turgeon, Honourable Roderick Mackenzie, F.H. Séguin and J. Mackenzie. Finally, four Roman Catholic priests must be included, the Reverends St. Germain and Portier of Terrebonne, Lamothe of Berthier and Varin of Kamouraska. Indeed, from the evidence presented it would seem that the majority of the visitors of the schools of the Royal Institution were men of rank, position and responsibility.

One can see the importance of the position held by these visitors and how, to a degree, they determined the character of education in their parish through reading the reports and the correspondence they sent to the Secretary of the Board. Therefore, an examination of these becomes imperative.

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The official reports were sent generally by the visitors to the Board of the Royal Institution twice a year - in the spring and in the fall. These reports were quite important since they were the official channels through which the Secretary was informed of actual conditions in the schools. They were particularly important to the teachers since the Royal Institution forwarded salaries only after receiving satisfactory reports. If the work was judged to be unsatisfactory, either the salary was withheld pending further investigation or the teacher was released from his position. These reports were not always a mere formality.

The reports varied a great deal from parish to parish. Some were very concise, giving a bare minimum of information while others were more elaborate, presenting considerable details of the life of the school. The following are some of the basic facts generally included in most reports: the number of pupils in the school and the record of attendance; individual statistics showing the number of boys and girls, Catholics and Protestants, French and English in the school; the number of pupils who paid fees and the rate of tuition; an appraisal of the teacher based on his scholastic background, his success in the school and his personal conduct; comments on the pupils' progress, often outlined subject by subject. A good number of the reports included most of this information while others, considerably less -- something to the effect that all was going well and that the visitors were quite satisfied with the services of the teacher. The more detailed reports added sometimes an appraisal of financial and religious conditions in the parish, lists of textbooks used, the teaching method employed by the master and the regulations of

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the school, including the number of hours of teaching. Therefore, these reports were all-inclusive and touched upon almost every phase of education in the parishes.

Most of the semi-annual reports were quite standard and routine. A few of the following should serve as examples. From Kamouraska on March 30, 1822, a report written in French stated that the visitors had inspected the school of Mr. Thomas Ansbrow. They report rapid progress made by the twenty-two pupils. Of these students, seventeen were taught gratis; ten studied French, five English, five arithmetic and two Latin. The books used were those recommended by the Board. The directions of the Board were followed exactly. The report was signed by Pascal Taché and Dr. Thomas Horsman.⁴ In the spring of the following year, March 27, 1823, in a report still written in French, similar comments were made: the school was being conducted in conformity with the rules of the Board; there were twenty-one pupils present, ten of whom were being taught gratis; generally there was closer to thirty-two pupils registered but the number was low at the time of the visit because of the season; the pupils' progress was satisfactory and the teacher was recommended to the Board; the regular schoolhouse not being suitable, the master had rented another at the cost of twenty pounds annually. This report was signed by Pascal Taché, W. Taché and Dr. Horsman.⁵

⁴AMGU-LRI (T), report from Kamouraska to the Royal Institution, March 30, 1822.

⁵AMGU-LRI (T), report from Kamouraska to the Royal Institution, March 27, 1823.

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In the report of March 26, 1822, from Portneuf the following items were mentioned: the majority of the visitors were present at the examination and found that the pupils had made satisfactory progress in reading, grammar, arithmetic, the study of languages and particularly in writing; they have the highest of praise for Charles Desroches, the teacher; sixteen pupils were present, ten of whom paid a tuition of two shillings per month, the others being taught gratis; they expected the number of pupils to increase during the summer. In addition to these general comments, the visitors complained specifically of the lack of books, something which hindered the progress of the school. The visitors expanded this topic further blaming the ignorance of parents unwilling to spend even a modest sum of money to supply their children with the necessary textbooks. The report, written in French, was signed by Edward Hale, Paul Bigué and J.B. Marcotte.⁶

In St. Roch on March 29, 1823, the visitors, Louis Besse and E. Masse made the following report in French: the school taught by Clement Cazeau was visited and the books used were found for the most part to be those recommended by the Board; there were twenty-nine pupils present, fifteen of whom were taught gratis; the progress of the pupils was satisfactory; the conduct of the teacher was good and he acted in conformity with all the regulations.⁷

⁶AMGU-LRI (T), report from Portneuf to the Royal Institution, March 26, 1822.

⁷AMGU-LRI (T), report from St. Roch to the Royal Institution, March 29, 1823.

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Augustin Vervais' school in Terrebonne was assessed by M. Turgeon and J.B. Turgeon. The report, written in French, stated: the school was inspected and twenty-four pupils were present; the small number of pupils was due to the condition of the roads; the pupils were questioned in reading, writing, catechism, the Old Testament, and they all answered well considering their ages. The visitors went on to say: "La conduite du maître n'a rien qui nous empêche de faire un rapport favorable tant sur ses moeurs que sur son assiduité."⁸

These, then, represent typical semi-annual reports sent by the visitors to the Secretary of the Board. They were a major source of information for the Secretary concerning the schools under the authority of the Royal Institution.

In addition to these reports, an important part of the correspondence was concerned with the state of the school buildings. From all but a few of the parishes there was a continual flow of letters to the Board complaining of the poor condition of the schoolhouses. Many letters were exchanged between visitors and teachers, and between visitors and the Secretary on this question. It was a major issue but little was done to remedy the situation. As usual, lack of money on the part of the local authorities was given as the excuse. An interesting study could be made of the whole question of school buildings and their maintenance, particularly concerning the legal difficulties encountered

⁸AMGU-LRI (T), letter from M. Turgeon and J.B. Turgeon of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, April 20, 1823.

in certain parishes where a clarification of the Act, particularly articles eight and nine, was attempted.

Suffice it to say at this time that the following made several direct references to the deplorable condition of their schoolhouse to the Secretary: L'Hérault of Pointe Lévi, Jones of Lachine, the visitors of St. Roch, Côté of St. Thomas, Ansbrow of Kamouraska and Dupont of Ste. Anne.⁹ Many school buildings were in a dilapidated state.

The official semi-annual reports were not the only source of information for the Board of the Royal Institution. In addition to these there was the correspondence exchanged between local officials and the Secretary, often through a particular visitor who carried on this correspondence presumably either as a representative of his board or on his own initiative. Since much of this correspondence was of a personal nature, often containing complaints and remarks about the other visitors, the Church, the inhabitants and conditions in general, it must be assumed that in a number of instances the initiative did come from individual visitors. Also, it was mentioned above that in many cases the English visitors exercised considerable leadership at the local level.

⁹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Ant. L'Hérault of Pointe Lévi to J.L. Mills, August 31, 1823;
 letter from D.T. Jones of Lachine to the Royal Institution, May 26, 1823;
 report of the visitors L. Besse and E. Masse of St. Roch to the Royal Institution, April 1, 1822;
 letter from Antoine Côté of St. Thomas to the visitors of St. Thomas, July 27, 1825;
 letter from Thomas Ansbrow of Kamouraska to J.L. Mills, September 1, 1821;
 letter from Robert Dupont of Ste. Anne to J.L. Mills, January 17, 1822.

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Therefore, an examination of this correspondence should indicate which group or which individual controlled education in a particular parish.

In Terrebonne, for instance, one can see quite readily that the leading visitor was the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie. At first, he and the English visitors, especially Dr. Simon Fraser, were concerned primarily with the English school of Glen, Gill and Walker. However, when a controversy arose over Augustin Vervais, master of the French school, they, along with a group of justices of the peace including a number of French Canadians, had Vervais released from his position and took control of all education in Terrebonne. This situation continued even though after some time there was only one school in the parish and it became predominantly French. At first, this school was given to an English-speaking master who was supposed to be bilingual. When this situation did not prove to be satisfactory, the teacher, Thomas Neagle, was replaced by a French Canadian, F.X. Valade. However, all this time, the English visitors, under the leadership of Mackenzie, were virtually in charge of the school.¹⁰

In all fairness to these English gentlemen, however, it must be stated that in no way were they oppressive in their administration. As a matter of fact, the letters of that period show that there was considerable cooperation between them and the other members of the board.

¹⁰ This information can be obtained from the Archives of McGill University, Letters from the Royal Institution, and Letters to the Royal Institution, between the visitors and teachers of Terrebonne and the Royal Institution between April 17, 1826, and June 23, 1829.

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They got along even with the parish priest, the curé St. Germain, who became one of the official visitors. For example, when the controversy to remove Vervais arose, it was not a French versus English situation. Granted, a large number of French Canadians did sign petitions to retain Vervais, but these people were for the most part totally ignorant of the situation, and a good number, many of whom were illiterate, neither lived in Terrebonne nor did they send their children to Vervais' school. Generally, they were misled into believing that this issue was entirely a question of defending the rights of French Canadians. On the other hand, a number of the more distinguished French-Canadian citizens of Terrebonne joined the English visitors and worked for Vervais' expulsion. It is true that Mackenzie was appointed spokesman for the group, but this seemed to be with the approval of the French-Canadian justices of the peace among the visitors.¹¹

Other incidents indicate that there was cooperation between the French and English visitors in that village. When it came time to hire a teacher to replace Vervais and Walker who both had been released by the Board of the Royal Institution the visitors insisted that the candidate be able to teach both in French and in English. Mackenzie wrote to Mills on July 9, 1826, telling him that their prospective teacher, Thomas Neagle, could teach in French and in English. He had been highly

¹¹ Ibid., between May 7, 1823, and April 17, 1826.

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recommended.¹² However, Mills' letter of September 18, 1826, placed the visitors in a rather difficult position. Mills told them that he had met Neagle in Montreal and that he doubted he could teach in French. He recommended then that Neagle be left in Montreal until November in order to have the opportunity to improve his French before taking the teaching position in Terrebonne.¹³ Abiding by this recommendation, the visitors did not bring Neagle to Terrebonne immediately, and when they did, it was only after an oral examination in French had been conducted before all the visitors, Dr. Simon Fraser, J.B. Turgeon, Michel Turgeon, F.H. Séguin, William Hallowell and the parish priest, Father St. Germain. After the examination, which consisted merely of some oral reading, these gentlemen declared themselves quite satisfied that in a few months Mr. Neagle would be able to handle the first principles of French quite well.¹⁴ This would seem hardly to be a satisfactory situation. However, it must be kept in mind that the people of Terrebonne had been without a teacher over six months. They were in a desperate situation.

Therefore, during this period of conflict and confusion the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie had assumed or accepted leadership. It was to him that everyone reported and he in turn reported to Mills, keeping

¹²AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, July 9, 1826.

¹³AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to an official of Terrebonne, September 18, 1826.

¹⁴AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the visitors of Terrebonne to the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie, November 4, 1826.

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the Secretary well informed of all the developments. But he and the English visitors of Terrebonne held the confidence of the French-Canadian visitors, and, what was more unusual, that of the parish priest. However, as it was pointed out before, this was still a situation where a great deal of authority was in the hands of the English, benevolent though they seemed to be.

In other parishes there were similar situations where the English visitors played a part in the administration of the school far out of proportion to the number of English-speaking pupils. In Berthier, where there was a majority of French-Canadian pupils in the school it was Colonel Cuthbert who seemed to rule the local commission, although he seemed to have done so somewhat involuntarily. In his report dated February 6, 1820, the teacher mentioned that Colonel Cuthbert visited the school occasionally.¹⁵ However, later, February 20, 1822, Cuthbert wrote to Mills refusing any official position.¹⁶ Yet, it was mentioned in a later report that at the fall examination Cuthbert had been present.¹⁷ The following winter, when the teacher Augustus Wolff was in some difficulty it was to Cuthbert that he turned for help.¹⁸ On August 20, 1823,

¹⁵AMGU-LRI (T), report of Augustus Wolff of Berthier to the Royal Institution, February 6, 1820.

¹⁶AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Colonel James Cuthbert of Berthier to J.L. Mills, February 20, 1822.

¹⁷AMGU-LRI (T), school reports from Berthier to the Royal Institution, August 20, 1823, and September 28, 1822.

¹⁸AMGU-LRI (T), letters from Augustus Wolff of Berthier to Colonel James Cuthbert, January 2, 1823, and January 17, 1823.

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Cuthbert was still one of the visitors who signed the report that followed the examination of the school. It seems fairly obvious that Colonel Cuthbert was the important visitor in Berthier.¹⁹

In Lachine, despite a large number of French Canadians in the school, the majority of the visitors were English and all the correspondence was carried on in that language. There were only two French-Canadian visitors, Captain Pierre Roy who was replaced later by his son Venant. James Finlay, the one who did most of the writing to the Board of the Royal Institution, seems to have been in charge. In his first letters to Mills he wrote concerning the appointment of new visitors. He passed judgment upon the incumbents and suggested new people to replace them: Captain Pierre Roy was now too old to keep this responsibility; Captain Allard, after leaving Lachine, had never attended meetings, being too pre-occupied with pecuniary interests. Finlay wrote: ".... in fact Sir there is manifestly such apathy and indifference exhibited as to cause the Benevolent Intentions to be of little or no" He continued further saying that he had visited his brother Joshua, Donald Duff and Venant Roy, Pierre's son, and James Somerville who were most fit persons to take over the position of visitors.²⁰ Not only did Finlay see fit to recommend new visitors but he commented to Mills also on the Catholic clergy of Lachine:

¹⁹ AMGU-LRI (T), school report from Berthier to the Royal Institution, August 20, 1823.

²⁰ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to J.L. Mills, March 10, 1822.

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We are getting on slowly -- much ignorance and some opposition to battle against. The Priest Monsieur Duranceau is suspected of efforts to injure us -- but we laugh at him -- he however caused a poor girl without fingers who was getting on surprisingly in her education and whose sample of writing I left with you, to leave the school (....) she says with the threat (....) if she did not (....) he would (....) administer the sacraments and I believe he and I are not friends, he behaved rather outrageously ²¹

Obviously, this visitor was not too sympathetic, perhaps with some justification, toward the Catholic Church. Nonetheless, it must be remembered that at that time 50% of the students in that school were French-Canadian and Catholic. This incident concerning trouble with the parish priest was not an isolated case. In subsequent letters Finlay brought the topic up again.²² He and the priest did not get along at all.

Therefore, because of this correspondence between Mills and Finlay it can be assumed that the latter seemed to be the most influential visitor in Lachine. Here was a situation where the leading visitor was not only English and Protestant but was also having serious difficulties with the Catholic clergy of the area. The situation was far from satisfactory.

Montreal's administration was completely English, and what is more significant, it was solidly in the hands of the Anglican clergy. Despite the large number of French-Canadian pupils in the school there was not a spokesman for them on the board.

²¹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to J.L. Mills May 4, 1824.

²²AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to J.L. Mills November 30, 1824.

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In the parish of Paspébiac there were only ten English families and slightly half of the pupils registered in the school were French-Canadian.²³ Yet, all but one of the visitors were English.²⁴ In fact, the founder of the school and the principal visitor was J. Ferguson Winter.²⁵

The school at Pointe Lévi started with two French-Canadian visitors, M. Masse and Augustin Labadie. However, when a teacher was hired without their permission they refused to continue to visit the school. The Reverend R.R. Burrage continued to administer the school,²⁶ until he appointed new visitors himself: James Mackenzie, George Chapman and Mr. Duclos.²⁷

In Three Rivers not only were the majority of the visitors English but all the reports and correspondence were also in that language. This was another school with a considerable French-Canadian population.

Edward Hale, P. Bigué and J.B. Marcotte were the visitors in Portneuf. Here, Hale seems to have been the dominant personality since

²³ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Francis Le Brun of Paspébiac to J.L. Mills, August 15, 1825.

²⁴ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from J. Ferguson Winter of Paspébiac to J.L. Mills, September 28, 1825.

²⁵ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from J. Ferguson Winter of Paspébiac to J.L. Mills, July 12, 1824.

²⁶ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend R.R. Burrage of Pointe Lévi to J.L. Mills, April 6, 1824.

²⁷ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend R.R. Burrage of Pointe Lévi to J.L. Mills, December 8, 1824;
report from the visitors of Pointe Lévi to J.L. Mills,
April 15, 1825.

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he was the one who carried on all the correspondence with Mills. On October 23, 1822, he wrote to Mills recommending the transfer of the Portneuf teacher (the name is not mentioned in the letter but on the same day another letter was sent by Allsopp of Cap Santé naming Charles Desroches as the teacher) to a more remunerative position in Cap Santé.²⁸ On another occasion, on April 24, 1828, he wrote again to the Secretary, this time to complain that Cap Santé had just had a schoolmaster commissioned to the detriment of the inhabitants of Portneuf. He insisted that Portneuf should have had first choice. In that same letter he made a few remarks also regarding a certain amount of intolerance on the part of Roman Catholics toward the Protestants of the parish.²⁹ On June 24, 1828, he mentioned that he would go to Quebec to see Mills personally about a certain matter.³⁰ In the fall of that year, on November 20, he was in contact again with Mills this time apparently satisfied with the situation in Portneuf and with the teacher who had been appointed. However, he complained once more of the Roman Catholics, this time because the parish priest refused to visit the school. He wrote: "... the Priests shut their ears to education and of course never come near us, but with the other two I got on very well and wish

²⁸ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Edward Hale of Portneuf to J.L. Mills, October 23, 1822.

²⁹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Edward Hale of Portneuf to J.L. Mills, April 24, 1828.

³⁰ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Edward Hale of Portneuf to J.L. Mills, June 24, 1828.

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them to remain in their appointment."³¹ The other two to whom he was referring were Marcotte and Bigué, the other visitors. There seems to be little doubt that Hale considered himself in charge of education in that parish.

In Cap Santé there was a similar situation. One of the visitors, G.W. Allsopp, seemed to be on rather intimate terms with Mills, often writing his own personal observations outside the regular visitors' reports and generally advising the Secretary of the course of action to follow in that parish. On April 14, 1821, he wrote to Mills informing him that the curé of the area had refused to become a school visitor, and in the same letter he proposed the names of two additional visitors, those of François Rinfret dit Malouin and Charles Garnaud. Furthermore, he advised Mills that both men had already accepted his offer.³² This would seem to indicate that Allsopp had assumed a considerable amount of authority in the administration of the school.

Further evidence leaves little doubt that he was the dominant personality on that board. In Hale's letter to Mills dated October 23, 1822,³³ and in Mills' reply on November 12, it is quite clear that Allsopp was instrumental in the transfer of the teacher Charles Desroches

³¹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Edward Hale of Portneuf to J.L. Mills, November 20, 1828.

³²AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, April 14, 1821.

³³AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Edward Hale of Portneuf to J.L. Mills, October 23, 1822.

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from Portneuf to Cap Santé.³⁴ When that schoolmaster left Cap Santé without notice, abandoning his family, it was Allsopp himself who notified Mills personally of the incident and who recommended another teacher to replace Desroches.³⁵ When that teacher left because of illness, it was Allsopp again who proposed another to the Board of the Royal Institution.³⁶ On other occasions he sent additional comments along with the official reports discussing the attitude of the inhabitants toward education and particularly their habit of removing their children from school at an early age.³⁷

Another factor that is of considerable interest is Allsopp's seemingly close and personal association with Dr. Mills. This can be seen in a letter which he sent the Secretary when the latter was about to set sail for England on a trip:

I learn with pain that you are about leaving Canada; we want every member of the Church militant to combat against those who oppose the protestant ascendancy, and none will more regret your absence than myself therefore I trust your absence will not be long -- yet -- I fear the contrary, both Mrs. Mills and yourself when once you set foot on English ground, will loath to leave it.³⁸

³⁴AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé, November 12, 1822.

³⁵AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, April 5, 1827; and letter from G.W. Allsopp to Archdeacon G.J. Mountain, April 22, 1827.

³⁶AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, February 11, 1828; and letter from G.W. Allsopp to J.L. Mills, March 15, 1828.

³⁷AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, October 16, 1828.

³⁸AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, May 29, 1829.

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In the same letter he commented further on the lack of cooperation on the part of the Catholics, particularly on the part of the clergy. Because of this he was not too hopeful for the future as far as education was concerned. Nevertheless, late that same year he wrote to the Board fighting tenaciously to retain the Royal Institution school in Cap Santé rather than accept one supported by the new Act of the Assembly, the Act establishing the so-called Syndics' school.³⁹

Without a doubt, from the facts presented it is evident that Allsopp was the power behind the Royal Institution school in Cap Santé. His correspondence with Mills showed that he was the one who suggested to the Secretary what had to be done, going as far as to nominate the other visitors himself. When trouble occurred, he was the one who contacted Mills. He also selected the teachers who came to Cap Santé: Desroches, Marceau, St. George and Thurber. He commented upon the reaction of the Catholic clergy and upon the attitude of the inhabitants toward education. However, what was perhaps the most disturbing factor of all as far as French Canadians could be concerned was Allsopp's obvious intent to foster the cause of Protestantism in this country. His comments to Mills on that subject leave little doubt regarding his own personal feelings. Yet, as will be mentioned in the following chapter, when only a Protestant teacher could be found to replace Aurez de St. George, Allsopp was unwilling to hire him until all the inhabitants

³⁹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to (J.L. Mills), June 16, 1829.

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who had children in the school had agreed to it.⁴⁰ He was for Protestant ascendancy and did not have much sympathy for the Catholic clergy, yet when he waited for the inhabitants to confirm his choice of a Protestant teacher, either he acted in good faith, wishing to obey the will of the majority or he realized that he could not have done this without upsetting the Royal Institution system in that parish. However, there is little doubt that Allsopp was the Royal Institution's leader in Cap Santé and that to some degree he favoured the cause of Protestantism.

Finally, in Kamouraska, although the leading visitor there seems to have been Colonel Taché, Dr. Thomas Horsman played an important role in the administration of the school. He corresponded frequently with Mills particularly over the problem of building a new schoolhouse.⁴¹ In 1829 he wrote to advise Mills of the controversy in the village over the newly formed Syndic schools.⁴² In one of his letters he commented to the effect that Pascal Taché was losing influence - he was getting old and was easily frightened.⁴³ Perhaps Taché was the leading visitor in Kamouraska but Dr. Horsman's position cannot be ignored.

⁴⁰AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to A.M. Mackintosh, Acting Secretary of the Royal Institution, February 18, 1831.

⁴¹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Thomas Horsman of Kamouraska to the Royal Institution, March 15, 1826.

⁴²AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Thomas Horsman of Kamouraska to J.L. Mills, June 1, 1829.

⁴³AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Thomas Horsman of Kamouraska to J.L. Mills, September 21, 1825.

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The English visitors, then, seem to have played a dominant role in the administration of half the schools selected for this study - schools with a predominantly French-Canadian population. In Kamouraska, although Colonel Taché seems to have been the leading visitor, Dr. Horsman exercised a great deal of authority. Since five of the schools have been considered already to be totally French-Canadian, it leaves only three for which, due to insufficient evidence, it is difficult to establish leadership - Baie St. Paul, Ste. Anne and Vaudreuil. Therefore, in at least half of the Royal Institution schools examined there is a strong indication that the English visitors held dominant positions out of proportion to the number of English students registered.

Because of the conditions under which the Royal Institution operated this situation cannot be considered necessarily abnormal. In most organizations it is quite customary for some individuals to accept or assume leadership. In these eighteen schools 50% of the leadership was in English Protestant hands. However, since the French Canadians and the clergy generally refused to cooperate with the Royal Institution is it surprising that this should have been the case? Yet despite this situation and despite the fact that some of the English Protestant visitors did not always appreciate the position or point of view of the French-Canadian Roman Catholic inhabitants, there is no evidence to indicate that anyone ever tried to use his authority to persuade or force them to neglect or abandon their language or their faith. However, as far as the French Canadians were concerned, any situation where so much leadership was in English Protestant hands created circumstances that

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were far from ideal. As long as the Royal Institution was organized the way it was, the majority of the French Canadians refused to accept its authority. Yet, as long as the French Canadians refused to cooperate, those French-Canadian schools that came under the Royal Institution could not help but fall under English administration. What would have happened had the French Canadians and the Catholic clergy decided to take advantage of the limited opportunities offered by the Royal Institution and had accepted the responsibility of directing their schools at the local level? Was an opportunity to control education effectively from the grass roots lost at this time? These questions will be discussed further in the final chapter.

The part the Anglican clergy played in the supervision of these schools must be taken into consideration. Although in every parish there were visitors who inspected the schools regularly, quite often the Anglican minister of the area examined the school also. He did this either with the visitors, signing the regular reports with them, or independently, in which case he reported directly to Mills. It was the prerogative of the clergy, both Protestant and Catholic, to visit the schools. As it was shown above, a number of ministers signed the regular reports with the visitors. However, there were others who were not listed among these since they visited the schools at irregular intervals independently of the scheduled inspections. Some of these ministers, the Reverend J. Abbott for example, since they served a fairly large number of parishes and missions, visited as many as ten schools in their

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travels.⁴⁴ Therefore, it would be of some value to examine the role of Protestant ministers as visitors in the French-Canadian schools under the authority of the Royal Institution.

The Reverend J.C. Driscoll acted with considerable vigour in Berthier. In fact, he was actually responsible for forcing the teacher, Augustus Wolff, into retirement on a small pension paid by the Royal Institution. However, from the teacher's letters to the visitor, Colonel Cuthbert, one can surmise that he was rather upset at this prospect. Driscoll created a great deal of friction and ill feeling in Berthier at that time.

Yet he might have been right in forcing Wolff to retire. That teacher had become old and infirm and it would seem logical that a younger man was needed for the job. However, what was objectionable was the high-handed method used by the minister in this case. At first he admonished Wolff for not having received the sacraments. Then, he criticized the teacher for having too few English pupils in his school although, as Wolff explained, there were only four of them in the whole village. Driscoll finally issued an ultimatum to Wolff to retire gracefully or be dismissed forcibly from his position. All these threats must have had a rather terrifying effect on the teacher since his letters to Cuthbert showed that he was in a state of panic -- he had trouble sleeping, he lost his appetite and he could not keep himself from

⁴⁴AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend J. Abbott to J.L. Mills, December 28, 1826.

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trembling.⁴⁵ There seems little doubt that Wolff was getting too old to teach, but it seems that Driscoll could have handled the situation more diplomatically. After all, he was not really the official visitor of that parish but merely a visiting minister.

Driscoll's actions in Berthier are more easily understood after his work in other parishes has been observed. He inspected at least the following parishes: Berthier, Crête de Coq, Yamaska, Rivière du Loup and Lake Maskinongé.

In Crête de Coq he was responsible for the dismissal of still another teacher, a man who seemed to have been satisfying the majority of the inhabitants of that area. The correspondence reveals that the previous teacher in that village, Mr. Little, drank rather heavily. When he resigned his post a Mr. Kelly was hired to replace him. The visitors must have been pleased with his work since all their reports were favourable. However, when Driscoll came for one of his visits he had Kelly dismissed because of his religion. He was a Roman Catholic. This decision does not seem to have been too popular in the community since some of the inhabitants complained to Mills stating that they had been satisfied with Kelly's teaching: "We have at present to lament that the Reverend Mr. Driscoll had discharged Mr. Kelly from his situation, inconsequence (sic) of his being a Roman Catholic and that the majority of the children attending school being protestant." These same gentlemen

⁴⁵AMGU-LRI (T), letters from Augustus Wolff of Berthier to Colonel J. Cuthbert, January 2, 1823, and January 17, 1823.

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went on to say that there were now six Roman Catholics in the school and that they were expecting the number to increase shortly. Moreover, they stated that they had been disappointed in Mr. Little and that now when they had a man they liked they wanted to keep him. The letter was signed by eleven parishioners including the visitors. Of these eleven, four had French-Canadian names.⁴⁶ However, these citizens must have been unsuccessful in their attempt to have Kelly reinstated since in the pay lists for that year, Kelly is shown to have been paid up to August 22, 1826, while all other teachers in that list were paid, as was the custom, to the end of October.⁴⁷

In a later letter to Mills for which there is no date Driscoll boasted: "The Crête de Coquians can no longer crow; their spirit is subdued." The letter gave no indication as to what the trouble might have been, and since it was not dated it is difficult to link it with the incident related. Yet, the mere wording of the statement suggests a man who enjoys exercising authority. Certainly he was a domineering person who made full use of his position to enforce his will.

Although Crête de Coq was not one of those parishes where there was a substantial number of French-Canadian students, this example serves to illustrate the powers that it was possible for one of these ministers to assume. However, this type of action was not necessarily condoned by

⁴⁶AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the citizens of Crête de Coq to the Royal Institution, August 22, 1826.

⁴⁷Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada, February 6, 1827, Appendix "A", Number 18.

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the Secretary of the Royal Institution as a letter from Mills to Cuthbert shows. Mills wrote concerning a certain teacher with whom Driscoll had had some differences. He claimed that Driscoll had misunderstood the intentions of the Royal Institution since it was a policy of the Board to name Catholic teachers in Catholic areas and to insist further that they know French. Mills felt that the incident had been primarily a personal matter between the teacher concerned and Driscoll.⁴⁸ Despite the Board's policy to respect the rights of the French-Canadian Catholics, a Protestant minister could cause them considerable trouble, particularly one of Driscoll's temperament.

In Paspébiac a succession of Protestant ministers acted as visitors: the Reverends Hugh, Arnold Doolittle and Balfour.⁴⁹ Like Driscoll, these gentlemen did not confine their activities to Paspébiac. They visited other schools in the vicinity such as New Carlisle and Hopetown. None of these ministers created the kind of problems Driscoll did. They stayed within the bounds of the official reports commenting on the condition of the school and on the teacher's competence. However, here was still one of those situations where Protestant ministers were visiting a school regularly where at least half the pupils were Roman

⁴⁸ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Colonel James Cuthbert of Berthier, April (10 or 14), 1824.

⁴⁹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend W. Arnold of Paspébiac to J.L. Mills, October 11, 1828;
letter from the visitors of Paspébiac to J.L. Mills, March 23, 1829;

letter from the Reverend Andrew Balfour of Paspébiac to the Reverend R.R. Burrage, April 12, 1835.

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Catholic.

The Reverend R.R. Burrage remained in his position as one of the visitors of the school at Pointe Lévi when the visitors Masse and Labadie declined to retain their posts after they had discovered that they had not been consulted in the hiring of the teacher L'Hérault.⁵⁰ In this instance, a Protestant minister became virtually the sole official responsible for the operation of the Royal Institution school in Pointe Lévi. This particular incident was related to Mills by Burrage in a letter dated April 6, 1824. The following year the names of Masse and Labadie were conspicuously absent from the visitors' report. The report was signed by Burrage, James Mackenzie, George Chapman and Mr. Duclos. Mackenzie, Chapman and Duclos had been appointed visitors by Burrage himself.⁵¹

Here was a situation where a school with a large majority of French-Canadian pupils was being administered by a Protestant clergyman, two English and one French-Canadian visitor. This English representation was really out of proportion to the number of English pupils registered in the school. For example, in 1825 there were thirty-six pupils present at the time of the spring visit but only one was English and Protestant.⁵²

⁵⁰ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend R.R. Burrage of Pointe Lévi to J.L. Mills, April 6, 1824.

⁵¹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the visitors of Pointe Lévi to J.L. Mills, April 15, 1825.

⁵² AMGU-LRI (T), tabulated school report from J.A. L'Hérault of Pointe Lévi to the Royal Institution for the period May 1 to November 1, 1825.

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The following spring, all thirty pupils inspected were French-Canadian.⁵³
 From 1827 to 1831 the situation did not change.⁵⁴ In 1831 the records show that out of thirty-two pupils present at the examination only four were English. Yet Burrage and Chapman were still among L'Hérault's visitors.⁵⁵

Thus it is quite obvious that Burrage did not hold merely a temporary appointment among the visitors. He was in a position where he could control the complete school organization of Pointe Lévi. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Burrage held also other positions of authority in the field of education. He was the master of the grammar school in Quebec City and later, the Acting Secretary of the Board of the Royal Institution -- a man of considerable influence in the sphere of education in the Province.

The Reverend Mr. Stevens was a visitor both in Montreal, with the Reverend John Bethune, and in Lachine. When trouble occurred in Lachine over the teacher's expulsion of a pupil, Stevens was delegated by Mills to investigate and resolve the controversy. He must have done a satisfactory job since the dispute was settled quickly and amicably.⁵⁶ Here

⁵³ AMGU-LRI (T), tabulated school report from Pointe Lévi to the Royal Institution, May 1, 1826.

⁵⁴ AMGU-LRI (T), school report from J.A. L'Hérault of Pointe Lévi to the Royal Institution for the period of November 1, 1826, to May 1, 1827.

⁵⁵ AMGU-LRI (T), school report from the visitors of Pointe Lévi to the Royal Institution, June 15, 1831.

⁵⁶ AMGU-LRI (T), statement settling the controversy in Lachine signed by all parties concerned, (March 1828).

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was another example of a Protestant minister exercising considerable influence and authority in a school which at the time had a large number of French-Canadian pupils.

In Three Rivers the Protestant ministers Francis Evans and Sam Wood shared also in the visiting of Selby Burn's school.⁵⁷ However, they seem to have done little more than to sign the official reports. Still, in that school there were numerous French-Canadian pupils.

The Reverend J. Abbott's work in education serves as a good example of the contribution made by Protestant ministers in the inspection of Royal Institution schools. In his letter to Mills dated December 28, 1826, he indicated that in his travels he visited at least ten Royal Institution schools.⁵⁸ Although none of these schools are among those eighteen considered for this study, Abbott's contribution illustrates the extent to which the Royal Institution made use of the Protestant clergy to supervise education in Lower Canada.

It was shown above that ten Protestant ministers shared in the responsibility of visiting six of the eighteen schools with a predominantly French-Canadian population:

⁵⁷ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend Francis Evans of Three Rivers to J.L. Mills, November 8, 1827; letter from the Reverend Sam Wood of Three Rivers to J.L. Mills, May 9, 1828.

⁵⁸ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend J. Abbott to J.L. Mills, December 28, 1826.

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Berthier	Driscoll
Paspébiac	Hugh Arnold Doolittle Balfour
Pointe Lévi	Burrage
Montreal	Bethune Stevens
Lachine	Stevens
Three Rivers	Evans Wood

Moreover, the actions of the Reverends Driscoll, Burrage and Stevens indicate that these ministers could assume a considerable amount of authority and could influence the administration of these schools to quite a degree. However, when the role of the Protestant clergy in visiting these schools is examined it must not be forgotten that the Royal Institution had invited the Catholic priests to share in this responsibility but that the great majority of them had refused to be associated in any way with this work. Perhaps the activities and influence of the ministers could have been curtailed had the Catholic priests accepted their share of this burden. However, since the central organization of the Royal Institution, the governor, the Anglican Bishop of Quebec, the members of the Royal Institution and the Secretary of the Board, were English and Protestant, how much real influence could the Catholic priests have had in decisions that had to be made? In cases of differences between priests and ministers, how would the authorities have reacted? These questions, of course, are purely speculative. The facts

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are that the priests did not visit the schools and the ministers did. With the possible exception of Driscoll and Burrage, they seem to have interfered little with local administration. Yet their presence cannot be ignored. Potentially, the situation could be considered dangerous for those French Canadians who attended these schools.

The information submitted to the Royal Institution by the visitors could be classified into three categories: the official semi-annual reports signed by all the visitors present at the examination of the school, the correspondence between some of the visitors and the Secretary of the Board and the reports sent by Protestant ministers who visited some of the schools periodically. The official reports commented on such items as teachers' competence, pupils' achievement, record of attendance, textbooks used and condition of school buildings. The correspondence from some of the visitors was less formal and included often personal commentaries on local conditions as well as recommendations to the Secretary. This type of report illustrated the leadership exercised by some of the visitors at the parochial level. Finally, the reports sent by some Protestant ministers were generally quite personal and showed the influence that some of these men wielded, particularly men like Driscoll and Burrage.

From the eighteen schools examined, eighty-nine visitors were listed -- forty-nine French-Canadian and forty English. There were only four schools where all the visitors were French-Canadian. This comparatively large number of English visitors did not reflect the situation realistically since the majority of the students in these schools were

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French-Canadian. Another observation made after examining the list of visitors was that there were four Catholic priests among them. Although the hierarchy did not approve of the Royal Institution, yet a very small number of priests did cooperate with it.

As could be expected, the majority of the visitors were selected from the leading classes of the parishes. There were judges, militia officers, justices of the peace, doctors and members of both the Protestant and Catholic clergy.

Through the correspondence between some of the visitors and the Secretary of the Board it was quite evident that certain visitors accepted or assumed a position of leadership in the local administration. The influence of some of these men with the Royal Institution was considerable at times. Some suggested the appointment of other visitors or commented upon conditions in the parish passing judgment at times on certain individuals or classes of people. It was noted also that many of these leaders were English and Protestant -- men like Mackenzie of Terrebonne, Burrage of Pointe Lévi, Hale of Portneuf and Allsopp of Cap Santé. In all, nine of the eighteen schools seem to have been under English leadership. Moreover, in a few cases some of these men could be suspected of a certain lack of sympathy and understanding for the Catholics in their areas.

In addition to this English Protestant influence among the visitors it was noted also that a number of Protestant ministers visited these schools. Some wielded a considerable amount of authority and caused serious disturbances in the parishes. However, most were content

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to sign the official reports as regular visitors. Linking French-Canadian schools with visiting Protestant ministers might seem somewhat incongruous, but it must be appreciated that Mills was often in difficult positions. At times problems arose that required investigation. Therefore, it is understandable that sometimes he called upon his fellow ministers for assistance, particularly since few Catholic priests were available for this type of service.

The main purpose of this thesis is to determine what actually happened to those French Canadians who accepted the authority of the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. An examination of the school visitors' activities revealed that on the whole there was an honest attempt on the part of most of these gentlemen to further the cause of education in their parishes. Except in the cases of Driscoll of Berthier and Burrage of Pointe Lévi there is no evidence to support any serious claim of conflict, interference or attempts at Anglicization and Protestantization. These eighteen schools seem to have been managed as well as any of the others that were under the administration of English visitors exclusively. In fact, there seems little to criticize regarding the treatment given the French Canadians who attended Royal Institution schools.

Despite this, however, the situation cannot be considered entirely satisfactory from the French-Canadian point of view. Although they received equitable treatment from the Royal Institution, under this system the French Canadians were not in a position to exercise much control over the education of their children. The governor as final authority, the

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Anglican Bishop of Quebec as principal and the members or trustees of the Royal Institution controlled the whole organization. With the exception of the Speaker of the Assembly, all other nine trustees first named in 1818 were English and Protestant. In 1824, after the list of trustees had been expanded to include twenty members, there were still only five French Canadians in its organization. Among these trustees there were the Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, the Chief Justice of Upper Canada and the Reverend John Strachan, a member of the Executive Council of that province. Furthermore, the system was administered by the Board of the Royal Institution through its Secretary, the Reverend Mr. Mills -- an appointee of the principal and an Anglican clergyman. Although by law the local administration was the responsibility of the visitors, residents of the community, here again even in predominantly French-Canadian areas considerable English Protestant authority was evident. The system allowed the English to extend their influence totally out of proportion to their population. The number of English visitors in French-Canadian areas might be justified by the fact that few French Canadians accepted the system and therefore few were available for these positions. However, it might be more difficult to justify in the same way the ponderous English representation among the trustees of the Royal Institution.

Therefore, although in fact the situation proved to be tolerable and even beneficial for those who received an education under the Royal Institution, legally it was at least dangerous for the French Canadians. Too much depended upon the good graces of the Governor:

Article 1 - he appointed all trustees to the Royal Institution;

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Article 4 - he appointed the president or principal and any other officer for the good of the corporation;

Article 4 - he sanctioned all statutes of the corporation;

Article 5 - he could name two or more persons of a county, parish or township as commissioners to be replaced at his discretion;

Article 10 - he appointed and replaced all teachers and fixed their salaries.

Likewise, much depended also upon the good graces of the Anglican Bishop of Quebec and his appointee, the Secretary of the Board. Where the residents of a community could have exercised some influence and authority, even here there was really nothing (except the limitation of population) to prevent English power to expand since all local appointments were sanctioned by the central authorities. The fact that in these eighteen schools considerable English control existed is indicative that it was at least possible for it to expand further.

Since it was possible for English Protestants, or any other group that had the confidence and support of the governor, to control education even at the local level, the legislation in the Act of 1801 was not particularly favourable to the French Canadians. So long as the central authorities were willing to allow the French Canadians to share in the local administration, and thus let them direct their own schools, the situation was tolerable if not entirely satisfactory. However, might not conditions change? Was it not possible for those in authority to be replaced by others with not so friendly and just an attitude? In this

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context it is interesting to look at the extent of authority that was already in the hands of English visitors and Protestant ministers.

CHAPTER IV

THE TEACHERS OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTION

In Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, specifically in Volume IV where he gives an account of the teachers of the Royal Institution, Audet stresses that these schoolmasters were not forced upon the inhabitants by the central authorities and that they were not the incompetent bunglers that some have claimed them to be. Here he supports the testimony of the Reverend R.R. Burrage, Secretary of the Board of the Royal Institution, who, before a committee of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada, testified that the Royal Institution teachers were examined either by the secretary and some members of the Royal Institution in Quebec or by the visitors in the local parishes. In all cases, Burrage stated further, these teachers had to satisfy the authorities of their suitability to teach before they were permitted to come under the auspices of the Royal Institution. Audet agrees with this testimony and claims it is supported by evidence from the correspondence of the Board of the Royal Institution. He writes:

Sommes toutes, les candidats au poste de maître d'école royale devaient convaincre l'Institution Royale de trois choses: a) de leur bon caractère et de leur parfaite moralité; b) de leur compétence pédagogique; c) de leur sentiments d'allégeance à l'égard de la couronne britannique. La correspondance officielle du Bureau nous fournit d'ailleurs d'abondantes preuves de son insistance sur ces trois points.¹

¹ Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. IV, Québec, Laval, 1952, p. 201-202.

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He goes on to show that all teachers desiring positions with the Royal Institution had to produce these necessary references. He quotes references presented by various teachers, many of which were signed by clergymen, both Protestant and Catholic. Again he points out that the prospective teacher had to show proof of competence as a teacher, and furthermore, that he was competent in both languages. Audet mentions here that : "Ce bilinguisme paraît même l'une des conditions essentielles d'engagement, bien qu'en certains cas, on semble avoir été plutôt tolérants."² Audet is certainly not being overly critical of the Board's policy in saying "... qu'en certains cas ...". It would have been more accurate perhaps to say "... in most cases ..." or at least "... in many cases ...". As the examples Audet cites indicate, this prerequisite of knowing French was enforced principally when the candidate was applying to teach in a French-Canadian parish. The letters he quotes are either from French-Canadian districts or from areas where a large segment of the population spoke that language: Cap Santé, Pointe Lévi, Terrebonne and Paspébiac.³ Here it is not necessary to discuss Audet's third point, the oath of allegiance, since it affected only those teachers who came from the United States. Then, according to Audet, the teachers who presented themselves before the Royal Institution had to show proof of sound moral character and of professional competence before being certified.

² Ibid., p. 203.

³ Ibid., p. 204-206.

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By supporting these statements with documents from the correspondence of the Royal Institution, Audet opposes effectively the critics who spoke rather harshly of these teachers. He makes an excellent case in supporting the Royal Institution's selection of schoolmasters. His summary: considering the times, the Board was as careful as could be expected in the selection of teachers. Furthermore, he states that no teacher was forced upon any parish by this organization. This point will be developed later in this chapter.

Since this thesis is concerned primarily with the French Canadians under the authority of the Royal Institution, it is imperative to explore Audet's statements further as they apply specifically to those teachers who taught in the predominantly French-Canadian areas selected for this study. Therefore, the method of appointing teachers as well as their personal references, qualifications, experience, religion and language will be examined. The interaction among teachers, visitors, the Secretary of the Board and the governor, particularly concerning the question of control over appointments, commissions and dismissals, will be studied likewise. It will be of some benefit also to discuss the policy of the Royal Institution regarding safeguards for both the French language and the Roman Catholic religion.

Although the Board had not really established any standard procedure for selecting personnel for the Royal Institution schools, it followed generally that in the majority of cases the initiative came from the local authorities. The citizens of the locality would apply to the Board to have a master, whom they were considering or whom they had hired

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already, recognized as a Royal Institution teacher. Naturally, this recognition made the teacher eligible for the government stipend. Normally the visitors would wait for official approval before engaging anyone, but on a number of occasions they merely recommended someone they had hired already, in certain cases as long as several years previously. Sometimes, when teachers seeking employment applied directly to the Board of the Royal Institution for a position, the secretary would make use of the applicants to fill vacancies where the inhabitants, having been unable to find a teacher themselves, were seeking his help. However, this was not too common since as a rule it was the local inhabitants themselves, generally through their visitors, who chose the teachers and submitted their names to the Board of the Royal Institution for approval.

These local demands for teachers came generally from the school visitors, but at times from some influential individual in the parish, like the minister or curé, or from the inhabitants at large in the form of a petition. The school visitors were responsible for taking the initiative in Cap Santé and in Kamouraska.⁴ The teachers of Paspébiac, St. Constant, Vaudreuil and Baie St. Paul were all appointed through petitions sent to the central authorities by the citizens of the

⁴AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to Archdeacon G.J. Mountain, April 22, 1827;
 letter from G.W. Allsopp to J.L. Mills, March 15, 1828;
 letter from the visitors of Kamouraska to J.L. Mills, April 15, 1829.

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area.⁵ In other parishes, despite the fact that officially the Catholic hierarchy did not support the Royal Institution, the parish priests recommended teachers to the Board. Such was the case in Berthier, Cap Santé and Ste. Anne.⁶ In Vaudreuil, although the inhabitants signed a petition to obtain a Royal Institution teacher, it seemed to have been under the leadership of their curé.⁷ Of the teachers who applied directly to the Royal Institution to be appointed to vacant posts, there is the example of P.G. Lafontaine who wrote to Mills for the position at St. Vallier.⁸ However, as was mentioned above, this kind of inquiry did not seem to have been too common since most of the parishes selected their own teachers. On the rare occasion when the Board itself appointed a teacher to a parish it did so generally at the request of the

⁵ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to J. Ferguson Winter of Paspébiac, August 9, 1824;
 letter from J.L. Mills to Civil Secretary Montizambert, April 1, 1825;
 AMGU-LRI (T), petition from the citizens of St. Constant to Governor Dalhousie, April 4, 1827;
 petition from Vaudreuil to the Royal Institution, March 8, 1824;
 petition from Baie St. Paul to the Royal Institution, (November or December), 1824.

⁶ AMGU-LRI (T), letter of recommendation signed by the parish priest of Berthier, January 24, 1823;
 letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, March 15, 1828;
 letter of recommendation from J. Poirier of Ste. Anne, July 18, 1826.

⁷ AMGU-LRI (T), petition from Vaudreuil to the Royal Institution, March 8, 1824.

⁸ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from P.G. Lafontaine to J.L. Mills, February 28, 1822.

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inhabitants. For example, after the dismissal of Augustin Vervais, the teacher in Terrebonne, the visitors, having found no replacement, wrote to Mills telling him that they depended now upon the Board to select a suitable person for them.⁹

Although the selection of teachers was done primarily by the local parishes, nevertheless, the central authorities, the Royal Institution and particularly the governor, played an essential role in this work. It was the governor, on the recommendation of the Secretary of the Royal Institution, who granted all commissions. The Board received the qualifications mentioned by Audet and submitted recommendations to the governor. His consent was mandatory. Even the Board itself could on its own authority grant only temporary commissions.¹⁰ Therefore, although the initial choice of teachers was left generally to the inhabitants, the final decision lay in the hands of the governor.

From the evidence available, this sharing by the local and central authorities in the selection and appointment of teachers seems to have worked satisfactorily for all concerned. There were no complaints from the local parishes that teachers had been forced upon them by the Royal Institution and only on few occasions were the central authorities obliged to exercise their prerogative and interfere with the local administration by dismissing teachers, sometimes for incompetence or

⁹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, April 27, 1826.

¹⁰ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Civil Secretary A.W. Cochrane to J.L. Mills, April 11, 1823.

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immorality but more often because an insufficient number of students were attending classes regularly.¹¹ The initial choice of teachers may have been in the hands of the local parishes, but the final authority regarding appointments and dismissals was always reserved to the Royal Institution and the governor.

However, whether the teacher was introduced at the request of the inhabitants at large, of the visitors or of some influential individual, he was always required to produce character references before he could be considered for a teaching commission by the Board. In many cases these references came from the curés of the parish where the prospective teacher was applying for a position. On other occasions these certificates were signed by the parish priests from the locality where the candidate had been living and sometimes teaching. There were also letters of recommendation from the leading citizens of the towns where the applicant was known. Whichever way it was done, the person applying for a teaching position had to produce some kind of affidavit certifying that he was sound morally and fit to educate youth.

From the documents available it might seem that the authorities of the Royal Institution were more interested in the personal and moral integrity of the applicants than in their professional competence. However, there being then no teacher training program as there is today, there was little to qualify a teacher except his own education and

¹¹ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Augustin Vervais of Terrebonne, April 17, 1826; letter from J.L. Mills to James Little, November 30, 1825; letter from J.L. Mills to J.A. Philippon of Ste. Marie de Beauce, January 8, 1828.

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personal recommendations from people for whom he had taught or teachers under whom he had apprenticed, sometimes as an "usher" -- a position that seems to have indicated a junior teacher or supervisor of work and assignments. The Royal Institution received many such statements of qualifications in letters from former employers, pastors and former senior teachers.

As it was shown above, the clergy, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, at times testified through letters of recommendation to the moral suitability of applicants. Examples of this were presented from the Vaudreuil and Berthier correspondence. Moreover, often these recommendations were as applicable to the professional competence of the candidates as they were to their moral standing. One of the Berthier letters mentioned that the man was a well qualified teacher and that he was to be recommended for the position.

There were also cases where more specific references were given concerning professional competence. In Cap Santé, Allsopp was looking for a teacher after the unscheduled departure of Charles Desroches. He wrote to the Archdeacon presenting a Mr. Marceau who had been recommended by Mr. Perrault of the school in Quebec. Marceau had been an usher there under Perrault.¹² In Kamouraska, the visitors themselves recommended an old boy, Vincent Martin, an alumnus of their school who had gone to the

¹²AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to Archdeacon G.J. Mountain, April 22, 1827.

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college of Nicolet for further studies.¹³ Obviously they knew the boy and they knew also that he had undertaken further studies beyond the elementary level. Later on in Cap Santé, when there was need for another teacher, Allsopp recommended Laurent C.A. Aurez de St. George to the Royal Institution. He wrote to Mills that the man had produced a number of certificates from several parish priests, including their own; also, that he was a nephew of Vallières de St. Réal; more important, he stated that St. George had spent a year in the neighbourhood employed as a teacher and that he had given the people satisfaction in that capacity.¹⁴ Apparently, this still must not have been sufficient since Allsopp had St. George take a Latin test also.¹⁵ This he completed successfully. In Kamouraska again, when the visitors hired Jacques Vallerand as teacher, it was on the strength of his sixteen years of experience in Quebec.¹⁶ Thus it can be seen that in all these cases, although the method of determining the competence of an individual was not necessarily consistent with any standard and formal procedure, there was at least a serious if informal appraisal of a candidate's qualifications. This responsibility

¹³ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Pascal Taché and Thomas Horsman of Kamouraska to J.L. Mills, April 15, 1829.

¹⁴ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, March 15, 1828.

¹⁵ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, March 28, 1828.

¹⁶ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the visitors of Kamouraska to Mr. Coghlan, June 29, 1830.

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was left generally to the local authorities. All that was required was that some responsible individual or group vouch for the suitability of the prospective teacher.

Although it may seem that this kind of freedom given to the local authorities in the selection of teachers might mean that there could be a risk that insufficient concern be given to professional qualifications, it must be kept in mind that the Board of the Royal Institution and the governor were the final authorities in all matters pertaining to teaching personnel. The secretary kept himself surprisingly well informed of the competence of the teachers. Not only did he keep himself well informed, but he was willing also to act when the information received was not of a satisfactory nature. Teachers who did not live up to expectations were released. A number of teachers were thus released by the Board for a variety of reasons. The governor approved the dismissal of Michel Perrault from Cap St. Ignace because he had not taught school regularly enough in that parish.¹⁷ The same thing happened to Philippon of Ste. Marie de Beauce.¹⁸ In Terrebonne, after considerable discussion and investigation, Augustin Vervais was released for what amounted to incompetence.¹⁹ As can be seen, the authorities of the Royal Institution

¹⁷AMGU-LRI (T), letter from A.W. Cochrane to J.L. Mills, June 19, 1822;

AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Michel Perrault of Cap St. Ignace, July 2, 1822.

¹⁸AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to J.A. Philippon of Ste Marie de Beauce, June 12, 1826.

¹⁹AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Augustin Vervais of Terrebonne, April 17, 1826;

letter from J.L. Mills to the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne, April 17, 1826.

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had adopted a policy of accepting candidates who presented suitable personal and professional references, and for these they took the word of the local inhabitants, curés, visitors and former employers, but in the final analysis it relied a great deal upon the reports of the actual performance of the individual in teaching situations. The Board kept this final authority. Teachers who did not measure up were released by the governor on the recommendation of the secretary of the Board.

This evidence supports Audet's statement that the prospective teachers had to satisfy the authorities that they were suitable morally and professionally to undertake the duties of teachers of the Royal Institution. The manner in which this was done varied with the circumstances, but nevertheless it was done. Responsible parties recommended teachers and the secretary of the Board kept fairly close supervision of their work to ensure that the recommendations had been valid. Given the circumstances, the times and the personnel available, this was perhaps as efficient a system as could be put into effect.

In the early days of the Royal Institution, before the establishment of the Board, the method of selecting teachers must have been even less stringent. There is some indication that posts for teachers might have been awarded by the governor as rewards for faithful services to the Crown. For example, Baron E. de Koenig, teacher at L'Islet, received his commission from Governor Craig in recognition of his service in the army under General Bourgoyne. De Koenig himself stated to Mills in a letter

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that he had been given the position for this particular reason.²⁰ On examining de Koenig's letters and reports it would seem that he had been commissioned solely for this reason. His writing displays extremely poor penmanship as well as a serious ignorance of grammar and spelling. Of course, all this occurred in the early days of the Royal Institution, prior to the appointment of a secretary to administer the system.

Before the Board was established the governor exercised more personal control over education since requests and petitions for schools and teachers were sent to him through the civil secretary. Once the Board of the Royal Institution went into operation, however, there is no evidence to show that he interfered directly with such routine administration as the hiring of teachers. Once a teacher was recommended by the secretary of the Board, as a rule the commission was granted automatically by the governor. Because of this, after 1820 there is no indication that teachers' positions were considered sinecures to be doled out to deserving servants of the Crown. It did happen, of course, that retired soldiers and civil servants asked sometimes to be rewarded for their services through a teaching appointment. P.G. Lafontaine's petition mentioned above was such a request.²¹ From an examination of government accounts listing teachers' salaries for that year, it does not seem that Lafontaine was given the position he sought. In justice to the Royal

²⁰ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Baron E. von Koenig of L'Islet to J.L. Mills, November 20, 1820.

²¹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from P.G. Lafontaine to J.L. Mills, February 28, 1822.

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Institution it must be stated that the teachers it commissioned were selected on their merit after evidence of moral and professional responsibility had been submitted.

Although there was a great deal of local control in the selection of teachers, in the final analysis it was the central authorities, in reality the governor, who had the last say in this matter. It may have been the secretary of the Board who handled the administration and who supervised the teachers, and it may have been he who recommended the hiring and firing of teachers to the governor, but nevertheless it must be kept in mind that it was the governor himself who granted and rescinded commissions and approved all transfers of teachers from one school to another. (These transfers, however, seem to have been purely voluntary.)

The governor, moreover, did not seem to want to relinquish this authority over the school system. Early in the regime of the Royal Institution Mills had asked him for permission to appoint teachers, replace them and move them on his own authority as Secretary of the Board of the Royal Institution. The answer he received from the governor through A.W. Cochrane, the Civil Secretary, was not too favourable. The governor agreed to let the Board appoint teachers, but these could be recognized then only as acting schoolmasters.²² Therefore, despite the influence of the Secretary of the Royal Institution and the privileges of the local inhabitants in the selection of teachers, the final authority

²²AMGU-LRI (T), letter from A.W. Cochrane to J.L. Mills, April 11, 1823.

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was in the hands of the governor exclusively. Although he exercised this power in an official capacity only, in fact interfering little with the wishes of the people, nonetheless his authority is still a factor to be taken into consideration in an evaluation of the work of the Royal Institution.

Examples showing this final authority resting with the governor are readily found in the correspondence of the Royal Institution. Allsopp of Cap Santé had been having some difficulty in securing through Mills the appointment of Mr. Marceau as the Royal Institution teacher in that parish. Finally, he wrote to the Archdeacon G.J. Mountain to ask whether it would be permissible for him to write directly to the governor to secure the necessary approval.²³ In 1825, Mills wrote to Montizambert, the Acting Civil Secretary, to obtain the governor's approval of Christopher Purcell as Royal Institution teacher in Vaudreuil.²⁴ After it had been recommended by the Royal Institution that Charles Desroches, teacher in Portneuf, be transferred from that place to Cap Santé, Cochrane, the Civil Secretary, wrote back directing Mills, through the authority of the governor, to effect the transfer.²⁵ This channel of authority was maintained also for the dismissal of teachers. Michel

²³AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to Archdeacon G.J. Mountain, April 22, 1827.

²⁴AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Montizambert, April 1, 1825.

²⁵AMGU-LRI (T), letter from A.W. Cochrane to J.L. Mills, November 12, 1822.

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Perrault of Cap St. Ignace was dismissed only after Cochrane had communicated the governor's approval to Mills²⁶ and when the latter threatened Philippon of Beauce with dismissal, it was through his recommendation to the governor.²⁷ It is then quite evident that the governor's authority was always a factor the Royal Institution had to take into consideration.

Although it has been shown that the governor was the final authority in the work of the Royal Institution this does not imply that others did not wield considerable influence in the administration of the schools. In fact, the secretary of the Board was perhaps the most influential person in the whole system. His responsibility was to give advice and submit recommendations to the governor, and as is often the case in organizations of this type, these recommendations were followed generally as a matter of course. Moreover, it was the inhabitants themselves who advised the secretary regarding the suitability of the schoolmasters to teach their children. Therefore, they shared in this work also. This, then, seems to have been the proper chain of authority. The governor appointed all teachers, but in reality, only upon the request of the people and with the recommendation of the secretary of the Board. "De jure", it was a highly centralized system controlled personally by the governor; "de facto", much of the authority lay in the hands of the people.

²⁶ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from A.W. Cochrane to J.L. Mills, June 19, 1822.

²⁷ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to J.A. Philippon of Ste Marie de Beauce, March 7, 1826.

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This statement that it was the policy of the Royal Institution to allow the local authorities to select their own teachers is supported by evidence from the correspondence of the Board. In a letter to Mr. Alexander of Durham, Mills mentioned that it was useless to attempt to impose upon the inhabitants a teacher they did not want.²⁸ Mills stated the same principle to the Reverend Abbott again that same year. He said that teachers would be appointed only after their qualifications had been tested and after they had been accepted by the majority of the inhabitants, or by the most respectable part of them.²⁹ The following year, writing to a Mr. W.B., he discussed this point once more. He mentioned that as for the inhabitants not having their choice of masters it had been the rule of the Royal Institution to consult their desires and to abide by their recommendations. Since W.B. seemed to have been experiencing difficulties in this matter, Mills allowed him to make use of this correspondence for his own purposes³⁰ -- no doubt as a statement of policy from the Royal Institution.

This considerable power in the hands of the local authorities meant that Catholic areas, like the others, could select their own teachers. This in itself, although not a legal guarantee, meant that in practice, French-Canadian parishes could have French-Canadian

²⁸ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Mr. Alexander of Durham, September 6, 1824.

²⁹ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to the Reverend J. Abbott, December 18, 1824.

³⁰ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to W.B., February 28, 1825.

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schoolmasters. Moreover, from the time the Board came into operation around 1820 it had been its policy to approve the choice of French-speaking Roman Catholic teachers in those areas where the French Canadians were in the majority. Again this statement can be well documented.

In a letter to Mr. Black of Montreal, Mills stressed this point: the nomination of teachers in Protestant areas was left to the inhabitants, and in Catholic parishes, no Protestant could be licensed as a teacher.³¹ The latter part of this statement was true only up to a point. This will be expanded later. However, the Royal Institution's policy was stated quite clearly on this question on other occasions.

In 1824, in a letter to the Honourable James Cuthbert, Mills explained that the Reverend Driscoll, a Protestant minister, must have been mistaken and must have misunderstood the intentions of the Royal Institution since it was a principle of the Board to name Catholic teachers in Catholic areas and to insist they know both languages. Mills felt that the trouble in Berthier was caused primarily because of personal differences.³² Incidentally, Driscoll was one of those ministers who made a habit of visiting Royal Institution schools and of reporting directly to Mills. He was mentioned in a previous chapter when the question of school visitors was examined. At any rate, here Mills did not seem to support even a Protestant minister on this topic.

³¹AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to the Reverend Black of Montreal, May 19, 1829.

³²AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Colonel James Cuthbert of Berthier, April 10 or 14, 1824.

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The same Reverend Driscoll, some years later, still must have had difficulties following the principles of the Board since he wrote to Mills telling him of a certain misunderstanding. He had thought that Royal Institution teachers had to be Protestant. Having been informed finally of the Royal Institution's principles by Mountain himself, Driscoll agreed that he would follow the rules of the Royal Institution and cooperate with the Roman Catholic Church.³³

After William Christy had taught in Baie St. Paul for several years, Mills wrote him to tell him that his work was finished in that parish since it was now the wishes of the inhabitants to have a Roman Catholic teacher. Mills found this request quite reasonable despite the fact that Christy had been chosen previously through a petition of the inhabitants themselves.³⁴ That same day he wrote also to Mr. Bélair, a visitor of Baie St. Paul, stating that he though his demands were reasonable and he reminded him that it was the habit of the Board to respect the decisions of the inhabitants.³⁵

In Cap Santé, Laurent C.A. Aurez de St. George had been accepted by the local authorities as the Royal Institution teacher. Everyone seemed pleased with his work. However, that young man, realizing probably

³³AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend J.C. Driscoll to J.L. Mills, March 2, 1826(?).

³⁴AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to William Christy of Baie St. Paul, May 12, 1825.

³⁵AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Louis Bélair of Baie St. Paul, May 12, 1825.

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that there was not too much future in teaching, and teaching for the Royal Institution in particular, decided to take what amounted to a leave of absence without pay to study with a notary in Quebec City. Officially, he was still the teacher for Cap Santé, but a replacement was needed while he was away studying. Edward Thurber was found willing to replace St. George. However, a problem arose since Thurber was English and Protestant. Allsopp, the visitor, wrote to Mackintosh, who was replacing Mills: "... as this person is a protestant (sic) I was unwilling to consent until a written application should be made by the inhabitants who had children at school, which was done stating in the french language and signed by the Chief persons interested in the school ..." In the same letter, Allsopp mentioned further that some of the children wanted to learn English and that Thurber had been tried first and found to be quite acceptable.³⁶

As early as 1822 Mills wrote to Finlay of Lachine saying that the teacher must give proof of his ability to speak French before being recommended for the school in Cap Santé.³⁷ Again in the fall of that year Mills told Mr. Humphry that before he could fill the vacant post at Cap Santé he would have to learn French.³⁸ Finally, a few months later,

³⁶ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to Mackintosh, February 18, 1831.

³⁷ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to James Finlay of Lachine, September 19, 1822.

³⁸ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Mr. Humphry, September 19, 1822.

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that same gentleman was sent to Pointe Lévi under the condition that he be able to satisfy both Mr. Masse and Capitaine Labadie, the visitors, of his ability to teach French.³⁹

In Paspébiac, when J. Ferguson Winter wrote to Mills to obtain aid in finding a teacher, he made the fact quite clear that since there were a large number of French Canadians in the area, the circumstances necessitated a bilingual teacher.⁴⁰ Obviously, the authorities of that town maintained this policy since later, the Reverend Doolittle, writing to the Reverend R.R. Burrage, Secretary of the Royal Institution, advised against the transfer of Francis Le Brun, the teacher, from Paspébiac to New Carlisle as Le Brun himself had requested. One of the reasons given for not recommending the transfer was that it would be difficult to find another teacher for the school at Paspébiac who spoke both French and English.⁴¹ From the statistics presented previously it must be remembered that in that village there was approximately an equal number of French and English pupils attending the Royal Institution school. Therefore, even when circumstances presented a reasonable case for appointing an English teacher, the authorities still tried to abide by the Royal Institution principle of appointing a teacher who spoke the language of

³⁹AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Mr. Humphry, November 19, 1822.

⁴⁰AMGU-LRI (T), letter from J. Ferguson Winter of Paspébiac to J.L. Mills, July 12, 1824.

⁴¹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Reverend Louis Doolittle of Paspébiac to J.L. Mills, May 12, 1831.

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the people -- in this case, a bilingual teacher.

When Augustin Vervais was removed from the school in Terrebonne for incompetence, Mills wrote to Mackenzie, a visitor, that he would have to find a replacement for Vervais -- a bilingual Roman Catholic.⁴²

Finally, there is the further example of the Reverend R.R. Burrage writing to the visitors of Coteau du Lac to try to find out what was causing trouble in that parish. Apparently the teacher, Mr. Irvine, had refused insolently to see the visitors. He was also accused of not being able to speak French although nine-tenths of the population did not speak English. Burrage, in his reply to the visitors, wanted a full explanation of this particular situation. Certainly it did not seem that he approved of the behaviour of the teacher.⁴³

Although it seems to have been against the principles of the Royal Institution to appoint Protestant teachers in Catholic areas, it was indicated in Chapter II that approximately 50% of the teachers who taught in the eighteen schools selected for this study were English-speaking, and in all likelihood, Protestant. Mr. Christy in Baie St. Paul and Francis Le Brun in Paspébiac were the most recently named teachers who fell in this category. However, in the case of William Christy, it has been explained already that he had received his appointment through a petition of the people and when later the inhabitants requested a Roman

⁴² AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne, April 17, 1827.

⁴³ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from the Reverend R.R. Burrage to the visitors of Coteau du Lac, November 26, 1831.

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Catholic teacher, the secretary agreed to their request. In Paspébiac it was shown that the visitor, J. Ferguson Winter, had asked for a bilingual teacher. Le Brun was bilingual but Protestant, but the school returns of this village, it must be remembered, showed a large number of Protestant pupils registered. These explanations do not imply that the presence of every English Protestant teacher in Catholic areas can be justified in the same way. Yet, the Board of the Royal Institution seemed willing enough to acquiesce to the will of the people in these matters. Perhaps because the French Canadians refused to cooperate with the Royal Institution many decisions that should have been theirs were left in the hands of the English minorities who did act in concert with that organization. As it was pointed out in the chapter on school visitors, the number of English-speaking visitors in the schools under consideration and the leadership they provided was totally out of proportion to the number of English-speaking children in those schools. This unwillingness on the part of the majority of the French Canadians to cooperate with the Royal Institution is the crux of the whole problem.

However, from all the cases cited it seems quite evident that the Board of the Royal Institution was not trying to force English Protestant teachers upon the French Canadians nor was it trying to Anglicize and Protestantize them. Quite the contrary, it was shown that the policy of the Board was to have the local authorities choose persons of their own language and religion to teach in their schools. As a matter of fact, even without this specific policy of the Royal Institution, the mere fact that the local authorities were allowed to select their own teachers

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could have ensured that the French Canadians would have had teachers of their own faith and language in all their schools.

Much of the criticism levelled by French-Canadian Roman Catholics at the Royal Institution regarding its teachers and its policy of appointing these annoyed the authorities of that organization to such a degree that they welcomed a proposal to establish two Royal Institutions or two committees of that body, one for the Protestants and one for the Catholics. They made that fact quite clear in a petition to the king. They stated that they would be only too happy to free themselves of the responsibility of supervising Catholic schools:

That nevertheless, in this Institution, which is affirmed to be so constituted as to create jealousy and alarm among the great body of Your Majesty's Subjects in this Province, there were before the recent death of the Honorable A.L.J. Duchesnay, whose successor has not yet been appointed, no less than seven Roman Catholic Members, among whom is the Speaker of the House of Assembly itself ex-officio, and the late Speaker who is still a Member of that House: and that so far from having afforded room for any suspicion of projected interference with Religion or indirect influence upon it, your Petitioners have uniformly felt it to be their duty to guard in the most scrupulous manner, against the shadow of such a suspicion, and they challenge the most rigorous scrutiny that can be instituted upon that subject; that they have refused the appointment to a School, in one of the Roman Catholic Parishes, to a Master whose native tongue was French, upon sole (?) of his being a Protestant, and that they committed exclusively to Members who belong to the Roman Catholic Church, the passing of the Regulations for the Schools of that Communion.

That under these circumstances, your Petitioners represent humbly to Your Majesty their concurrence so far in the views expressed by the House of Assembly, as they conceive it desirable that they should be exonerated from all charge or control of the Roman Catholic Schools. A charge, which has exposed them only to unmerited odium, and afforded to them no opportunity of usefulness; a charge, however, in the execution of which they have faithfully done all that was in their power.

That they therefore pray, Your Majesty to provide in such other manner as Your Royal Wisdom shall seem best, for the general superintendence of the Education of Your Majesty's Roman Catholic

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Subjects in the Country Parishes of this Province, and to extend your bounty for the extrication of your Petitioners from the state of embarassement and destitution in which they are placed."⁴⁴

Therefore, it is quite evident that the Royal Institution seemed only too happy to recommend that the Roman Catholics be given supervision and control of their own schools. It does sound as though they felt they were getting rid of quite a serious problem.

There are a number of factors to keep in mind when examining the whole question of Royal Institution teachers. The local authorities were given considerable freedom in selecting their own schoolmasters as long as the candidates they presented were suitable morally and professionally to teach school. Yet, there was also a certain degree of control from the central authorities over these appointments since the Board of the Royal Institution had to approve of these individuals and then recommend them to the governor for the granting of official commissions. Furthermore, the central authorities, through the Board of the Royal Institution, followed the work of these teachers quite carefully. In the event of unsatisfactory behaviour, the Board, through the authority of the governor, dismissed the delinquent from their positions. Thus, both the local and central authorities shared in the selection and appointment of Royal Institution teachers. In practice it was shown also that the local authorities could recommend almost any candidate of their choice and that there was no effort on the part of the Royal Institution to impose

⁴⁴PAC, Series "Q" - 171, p. 73-75, petition to the king by the principal of the Royal Institution, March 29, 1825.

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teachers upon the inhabitants. The Board interfered only when it was forced by circumstances -- when the regulations were not being observed and when there was trouble that needed mediation.

This amount of control over the selection of teachers by the local authorities did afford reasonable protection to the French Canadian Roman Catholics who came under this system. Since they could virtually choose their own teachers, they were free to select men of their own language and faith if they so desired. Furthermore, it was illustrated above that the Board of the Royal Institution, where it was at all possible, tried to appoint teachers of the same language and faith as the majority of the inhabitants of the area. Although this may not have always been the case, it was shown above that the Royal Institution acted in good faith, and had the French Canadians cooperated with it they could have controlled their own schools.

Therefore, as far as the work of the Board of the Royal Institution was concerned, there is every reason to believe that it tried to protect the rights of the French Canadians as much as it was able to do so. There is no evidence to claim that in the practical administration of the schools, the Royal Institution attempted to become an agent of Anglicization and Protestantization. All the documents examined point to that conclusion. There was no pressure brought to bear upon the French-Canadian parishes by the Board to force English Protestant teachers upon them. It tried quite honestly to do the best it could for all its schools, including those where there were a considerable number of French Canadians. However, this is not to say that on the whole the

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system was necessarily acceptable to the French Canadians. Since officially the Board and the governor had so much control, a change of personalities or circumstances could have altered the situation. Certainly a more equitable solution was needed.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTION

Before examining the question of religion in the Royal Institution schools it must be remembered that in Chapter II it was mentioned that a number of French-Canadian pupils attended schools which were almost entirely English. Reference to some of these may be in order at this time since if the Royal Institution had really attempted to be an agent of Anglicization and Protestantization, surely it would have found more scope for this work in schools over which the English had exclusive control. From time to time in this chapter, then, reference will be made to some of these schools as well as to those eighteen selected previously.

Therefore, in order to assess the religious problems of the Royal Institution the general policy of that body concerning religion will be examined as well as the attitude of some of the individuals in positions of authority, the treatment of the dissenting groups at the hands of the Anglicans, the views and the work of the Roman Catholic clergy and the teaching of religion in these schools.

In the past some historians accused the English authorities of the nineteenth century of trying to use education as a means of Anglicizing and Protestantizing the French Canadians. The issue was not that categoric. Of course it was obvious that these had in part been the intentions of those in authority when the Royal Institution was founded in 1801. Audet supports this statement quite firmly and agrees that at that time and for precisely that reason the Catholic clergy was justified

in opposing the work of the Royal Institution. But, he points out further that when the Royal Institution began to work effectively after 1818 with the formation of the Board, the situation had changed considerably and the views of those governing that body were not the same as those of its early founders.

It is interesting to note that in 1821 Governor Dalhousie writing to Lord Bathurst called the Roman Catholic religion the best protection against American intervention. Because of this he suggested that the Church be encouraged in the field of education.¹ It was at this time also that, since the Catholics objected to being under the Protestant bishop, he recommended the formation of two identical Royal Institutions, one to serve the Roman Catholics, the other, the Protestants. This suggestion came barely a few years after the Royal Institution had begun to function effectively. With this recommendation that the Roman Catholic clergy participate on equal terms with the Anglican clergy in the field of education, the King's representative could hardly be considered to be proselytizing.

Audet treats this topic quite fully.² He shows that not only did Governor Dalhousie and the officials of the Royal Institution try to obtain the cooperation of the Catholic bishop and the approval of the

¹PAC, Series "Q" 157-1, p. 193-194, letter from Governor Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, June 10, 1821.

²Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Québec, les Presses universitaires Laval, 1952, Vol. IV, p. 9-15 and 21-110.

British government for this plan but that the Roman Catholic hierarchy also considered the principle quite satisfactory and negotiated for more precise terms as well as a number of safeguards. Negotiations were long since everything had to be approved by the Colonial Office where Lord Bathurst, failing at first to grasp the nature of the problem, demanded explanations and investigations. Negotiations were interrupted still further by the death of Mgr. Plessis in 1825. His successor, Mgr. Panet, continued the negotiations with Dalhousie and finally agreed to a plan satisfactory to both parties and to the British government -- a plan to form not two Royal Institutions but two independent committees of the Royal Institution, one for the Roman Catholics and one for the Protestants. Despite these successful negotiations the Assembly did not pass the bill but substituted another for it, the so-called Syndics' Act of 1829. This Act, as Audet mentions, was the death blow to the Royal Institution. It hindered also the progress of the Catholic bishop in his attempt to gain control over education. However, the fact remains that as early as 1821 the official policy of the governor was to attempt to establish a system satisfactory to the Roman Catholic bishop -- a system that would have been quite similar to the one now in effect in the Province of Quebec. This attempt to grant the French Canadians control over their education could hardly be in keeping with the alleged policy of trying to use the Royal Institution for nefarious purposes. There may have been inefficiency, incompetence and a certain lack of interest on the part of the English, particularly of the Colonial Office, but this is not the kind of evidence that supports the claim that through

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education there was a definite attempt at Anglicization and Protestantization on the part of the governing classes of the times.

Not only did the governor attempt to reach an agreement with the Roman Catholic bishop but from the beginning the Royal Institution had tried also to enlist the help of the curés to supervise the schools in their own parishes. As will be shown later in this chapter, most of them refused to assume this responsibility. The Royal Institution, in a petition to the king, mentioned this fact that the curés had been invited to participate in the administration of the schools but had declined to cooperate in any way.

That if it also happen, that among the Parish Schools which are under the control of the Royal Institution in this Province, and supported by the annual Bounty of the Legislative, those in the Roman Catholic Parishes are reduced to a small number, which is still diminishing and are falling off from a flowering condition, the cause is to be found in the operation of similar scruples in the minds of the Curés, who are known to be unfriendly to a connection with the Institution, and who have, one by one, declined the Office of Visitors of the Schools, which they have been invariably requested, in due form, to accept, and which would have placed in their hands the immediate control and surveillance of the Schools in their respective Parishes.³

Although the Royal Institution system was not completely acceptable to the French Canadians because of preponderant English influence at the central level, nevertheless, it would seem that had the authorities wanted to proselytize, they could have found a more practical way of doing so than by inviting the Catholic clergy to visit the schools.

³PAC, Series "Q" 171, p. 72-73, petition of the Royal Institution to the King, March 29, 1825.

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Moreover, in the same petition the Royal Institution stressed the fact to the king that at all times it had tried to respect the position of the Roman Catholics.

That nevertheless, in this Institution, which is affirmed to be so constituted as to create jealousy and alarm among the great body of Your Majesty's Subjects in this Province, there were before the recent death of the Honorable A.L.J. Duchesnay, whose successor has not yet been appointed, no less than seven Roman Catholic Members, among whom is the Speaker of the House of Assembly itself ex-officio, and the late Speaker, who is still a Member of that House: and that so far from having afforded room for any suspicion of projected interference with Religion or indirect influence upon it, your Petitioners have uniformly felt it to be their duty to guard in the most scrupulous manner, against the shadow of such a suspicion, and they challenge the most rigorous scrutiny that can be instituted upon the subject; that they have refused the appointment to a School, in one of the Roman Catholic Parishes, to a Master whose native tongue was French, upon the sole (??) of his being a Protestant, and that they committed exclusively to Members who belong to the Roman Catholic Church, the passing of the Regulations for the Schools of that Communion.⁴

In this part of the petition the Royal Institution exposed the essence of its conflict with the French Canadians and the Church. The petition mentioned that there was a representation of Roman Catholics on the Board of Trustees of the Royal Institution implying that this should have solved the question. But this was precisely the crux of the problem. The number of Roman Catholic representatives on the Board was far from adequate considering the French-Canadian population in comparison to that of the English. This fact was described in Chapter III. It was one of the reasons why the Roman Catholic bishop had refused from the beginning

⁴Ibid., p. 73-74, petition of the Royal Institution to the King, March 29, 1825.

to join the Board of the Royal Institution. However, evidence presented previously showed that the other points mentioned in the petition were quite accurate. The Board of the Royal Institution did not attempt to interfere with the religion of the French Canadians and as much as was feasible, it appointed teachers of the same language and faith as the inhabitants of the parishes. At any rate, the fact that the local authorities were left to choose their own teachers and that the curés could have visited the schools should have afforded considerable protection for the Roman Catholics at the local level. The crux of the controversy was the lack of French-Canadian Roman Catholic representation on the central board. However, regardless of how much ineptitude, poor judgment and lack of awareness of Roman Catholic views the authorities showed in organizing the Royal Institution, nevertheless, they certainly did not indicate at this time that they were making any conscious attempt to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians.

The Anglican bishop of Quebec and Principal of the Royal Institution writing to Governor Kempt in 1829 mentioned the fact again that the Royal Institution attempted not to interfere with freedom of religion in the schools.

These schools now amount to upwards of 80;-- they are scattered throughout the Province; they now afford education without any interference with religious beliefs, to between 3-4000 children...⁵

⁵AMGU-LRI (T), letter from C.J. Quebec to James Kempt, February 13, 1829.

The Anglican bishop, writing to a fellow countryman and a fellow Anglican stated that the policy of the Royal Institution was to allow religious freedom in the schools. He gave the governor no indication, as had been done in 1801 when the Royal Institution was first proposed, that education could be used advantageously to proselytize the French Canadians.

Not only did the officials of the Royal Institution not attempt to use education as a means of converting the French Canadians into English Protestant citizens but they wanted even to relinquish all their authority over the French Canadians under the Royal Institution when they realized that the system could not function adequately.

That under these circumstances, your Petitioners represent humbly to Your Majesty their concurrence so far in the views expressed by the House of Assembly, as that they conceive it desirable that they should be exonerated from all charge or control of the Roman Catholic Schools. A charge which has exposed them to only unmerited odium, and afforded to them no opportunity of usefulness; a charge, however, in the execution of which they have faithfully done all that was in their power.

That they therefore pray, Your Majesty to provide in such other manner as Your Royal Wisdom shall seem best, for the general superintendence of the Education of Your Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects in the Country Parishes of this Province, and to extend your bounty for the extrication of your Petitioners from the state of embarassement and destitution in which they are placed.⁶

The officials of the Royal Institution were finding the opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy so disturbing that they seemed only too willing to try to hand over the education of the French Canadians to the

⁶PAC, Series "Q" 171, p. 74-75, petition of the Royal Institution to the King, March 29, 1825.

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Roman Catholic clergy. These were hardly the actions of people trying to proselytize.

There is little doubt from the statements cited above that after the establishment of the Board in 1818 it was no longer the policy of the authorities to try to use education, through the work of the Royal Institution, for the purpose of Anglicizing and Protestantizing the French Canadians. The governor, finding the Roman Catholic religion good protection against American influence, negotiated almost immediately with the Catholic bishop for a more equitable system of education for the Roman Catholics -- two Royal Institutions or two committees of that body; the Anglican bishop believed there was freedom of religion in these schools and said so to Governor Kempt; the Royal Institution offered the curés a share in the administration of the schools at the parochial level and allowed the local authorities to select their own teachers; finally, in a petition to the king the Royal Institution seemed rather eager to relinquish its authority over the French Canadians in its schools, having had enough troubles and problems trying to educate Roman Catholics. These actions, which can be interpreted as formulating the true policy of the governing authorities of the time hardly suggest that education was to be used to try to assimilate the French Canadians. Government policy of the time seemed more confused than nefarious.

The Reverend Dr. Mills, Secretary of the Board of the Royal Institution, followed the same policy. It was shown in Chapter II that he did not condone the Reverend Driscoll's interference with local authority and religious toleration; in Terrebonne, after Vervais had been

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released, he advised the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie to hire a bilingual Roman Catholic teacher; he removed William Christy from the school in Baie St. Paul, although that schoolmaster had been chosen by the inhabitants of the area, because the people now wanted a Catholic teacher; he wrote to the Reverend Black of Montreal that no Protestant was licensed to teach in Catholic areas, a statement not totally accurate, however; he wrote to both the Reverend Abbott of St. Andrew and W.B. of Montreal that the choice of teachers was in the hands of local parishes. These statements cited from Chapter II show that Mills shared the views of the governor and the Board of the Royal Institution. His actions in enforcing that policy were not those of an assimilator.

In accordance with the policy of the Board Mills favoured also the participation of the curés in the inspection of Royal Institution schools. When he sent L'Hérault's commission permitting him to teach in Pointe Lévi he mentioned that he hoped the curé would be able to assist at the coming public examination of the school with the other visitors.⁷

In 1826 he wrote to Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne that he was happy the curé St. Germain, now a visitor, was satisfied with the work of the teacher Neagle.⁸ When he sent Neagle his license he reminded him that he had to consider the clergy and the magistrates of that parish his

⁷AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to J.A. L'Hérault of Pointe Lévi, March 25, 1824.

⁸AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne, December 4, 1826.

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official visitors.⁹

He wrote to the Reverend J. Jackson of William Henry:

With respect to the Commissioners to be appointed for repairing your School House, I never thought that the Curé would be induced to take an interest in the business. I wish from my heart that they would cordially cooperate with us throughout the Province in the advancement of Education instead of entertaining and formulating such absurd and groundless jealousies as generally exist upon this.¹⁰

To the Reverend Shortt of Three Rivers he said that he wanted the curé nominated a visitor but should he refuse, to carry on as best as possible.¹¹

To W.B. of Montreal the Secretary wrote that despite the claims of Mr. Perrault and of the Catholic clergy that they have no rights to visit the schools, he stated that the facts proved otherwise: all the priests were asked to visit the schools and all but one refused.¹²

Writing to James Finlay of Lachine concerning the nomination of the curé as visitor he said that the Reverend Duranceau was no exception in refusing that appointment. There seemed to be, he added further, systematic opposition against the Royal Institution and against anything coming from the government. The Royal Institution should carry on as

⁹ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Thomas Neagle of Terrebonne, December 4, 1826.

¹⁰ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to the Reverend J. Jackson of William Henry, February 20, 1821.

¹¹ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to the Reverend Shortt of Three Rivers, February 28, 1822.

¹² AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to W.B. of Montreal, February 28, 1825.

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best it can not only without the curés' help but despite their plots. Mills felt that in all its actions the Royal Institution had a clear conscience.¹³

He wrote along similar lines to Mr. Rouville that the aim of the Royal Institution was only to help the people of the province and that he hoped in time the bigotry of the clergy would diminish and that the people would think for themselves regarding the question of education.¹⁴

Before the committee of the Assembly investigating the problems of education he was asked to give his views on the state of education in the province, on the causes of its retardment and on the means of promoting it. His answer was that education was at a low ebb but that the Royal Institution had made considerable progress but unfortunate causes were preventing the schools in the Catholic parishes from cooperating.

When asked to discuss the opposition of the Catholic clergy Mills answered:

This opposition, or, if the term be preferred -- non-cooperation (for the effect is precisely the same) has been uniform and systematic, since the time that Monseigneur the Roman Catholic Bishop, declined becoming a Member of the Board. The name of one Solitary curé will be found on the list of visitors -- one or two others, in the first instance, readily entered upon the task assigned them, but they were soon made sensible of their error, and had to retrace their steps the best way they could -- of the few who thought proper to notice the circular addressed to them by the Board, the answers, without stating any specific ground of objection or complaint, were couched in general terms, that, under present circumstances, they must

¹³ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to James Finlay of Lachine, August 23, 1824.

¹⁴ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Mr. Rouville, August 19, 1824.

decline taking any part in the superintendence of the schools in question -- the observations, however, of one of the Roman Catholic Clergy -- a gentleman of acknowledged talents, and I believe, a sincere friend to Education are worthy of remark, and I shall give them in his own words -- 'Je me ferai un plaisir, même un devoir d'agir en conformité au 2e. articles des reglements, que vous avez eu la bonté de me transmettre à ce sujet, regrettant cordialement qu'il ne soit pas en mon pouvoir d'accepter la commission de visiteur avant que ces reglements soient fixés par une Loi, qui fait l'attente des ames sincerement libérales, et dont j'en suis sur, le Bureau sent toute la convenance.'¹⁵

When asked what was the best mode of promoting education Mills said during the same testimony that it would have to be done with the cooperation of all the Catholics and Protestants and he felt that the proposal put forth about the second Royal Institution for the Roman Catholics might be the answer. He said:

It would, at all events, leave the general control of Education where I conceive it always should be, in the hands of the Government, while the immediate superintendence would also be, where it ought to be, in the hands of the respective Clergy -- a sentiment, in which, notwithstanding all the newfangled theories which are growing fast into fashion amongst us, I feel assured that every conscientious Churchman, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, will most cordially concur.^{15A}

This last statement by Mills shows that certainly it was no longer a policy of the Royal Institution to attempt to assimilate the French Canadians.

Mills was quite disappointed and frustrated in having been unable to secure the cooperation of the Roman Catholic clergy and no doubt he thought finally that they would be well rid of a chronic and annoying problem when the Catholics took over control of their own schools. On a

¹⁵JALC, Appendix "Y", February 25, 1824.

^{15A}Ibid.

number of occasions he recommended this course of action to the visitors of French-Canadian areas. He notified them that soon there would be a Catholic organization to take care of their needs.

As early as December 1826 Mills advised Taschereau, a visitor of Ste. Marie de Beauce, that he thought by the end of the year a Catholic Committee would be taking over the administration of their school.¹⁶ The following year, to the teacher J.A. Philippon of that parish he mentioned that soon the Roman Catholic Committee would be established and consequently he would be able then to present his problem to it.¹⁷

He did the same thing in Kamouraska. There were difficulties about re-opening a school in that area. Mills told the local authorities that the new Catholic Committee, as soon as it was formed, would probably re-establish their school.¹⁸

However, the new committee of the Royal Institution was never formed. Instead, the Assembly passed the Syndics' Act, an act that actually competed with the Royal Institution. In an effort to eliminate the problems that had been caused by religious differences, Mills started to encourage Roman Catholics to take advantage of the benefits of the new legislation. To the people in Lachine he mentioned that since the new

¹⁶AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to A.C. Taschereau of Ste Marie de Beauce, December 2, 1826.

¹⁷AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to J.A. Philippon of Ste Marie de Beauce, January 8, 1828.

¹⁸AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Pascal Taché and Thomas Horsman of Kamouraska, May 19, 1829.

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law made ample provisions for education, they should investigate its possibilities.¹⁹ He said the same thing to the inhabitants of Kamouraska as he pointed out that the Board had no objections to the appointment of Vincent Mathons as teacher, but:

I am instructed by the board to call your attention to the new act for the encouragement of elementary education and to suggest to you that it will probably be to the advantage of the Inhabitants to avail themselves of its provisions. The School House need be no obstacle, as the Board will readily enter into any arrangement which may be practicable with regard to it. Their only wish is to cooperate with the Inhabitants and yourselves, in promoting, as far as it is in their power, such (----) as may be thought conducive to the advancement of education in Kamouraska.²⁰

Finally, partly because of the lack of success with Catholics under its authority the Board decided to discontinue schools in Roman Catholic parishes and recommended they avail themselves of the provisions of the new legislation.²¹

The Royal Institution certainly had no intention of holding on to Roman Catholic schools any longer than they had to. They were well rid of their Roman Catholic problem.

In accordance with the policy of the Royal Institution, Mills, during his term of office, tried to support the rights of the Roman Catholics and the prerogative of the parishes to select their own teachers.

¹⁹AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to (unknown) of Lachine, April 11, 1829.

²⁰AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Pascal Taché and Thomas Horsman of Kamouraska, May 19, 1829.

²¹AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé, June 11, 1829.

He maintained these principles even to the point of disagreeing with the actions of a fellow minister, the Reverend Driscoll. He sought also the support of the curés to inspect the schools and was quite disappointed and perhaps a little bitter when that support was not forthcoming.

Finally, when it appeared as though the French Canadians might obtain a system of their own Mills seemed only too willing to relinquish control of the Roman Catholics under the Royal Institution and recommend they accept the provisions of the new law. His behaviour shows that the actions of the administrative branch of the Royal Institution followed quite correctly the policies of the executive body. There is no indication that education under the Royal Institution was used for other purposes than for the advancement of learning.

Therefore, there seems to be little evidence upon which to support the judgment that the Royal Institution, after the formation of the Board in 1818, tried to use education to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians. However, this conclusion does not imply necessarily that, except for the opposition of the Catholic clergy, everything was functioning smoothly and that all the thoughts and actions of the government, of the Royal Institution and of the English population in general regarding education, were quite acceptable to the French Canadians. Because it was not the policy of the Board of the Royal Institution to proselytize, it does not follow that it made this educational system automatically acceptable to the French Canadians and to the Catholic clergy. Some of the misunderstandings, confusion and ill feelings would have had to be eliminated first. From some of Mills' comments it seems

obvious that he did not really understand why the Roman Catholic clergy was boycotting the Royal Institution. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the fact that the governing body was predominantly English and Anglican could have been objectionable to the French-Canadian Roman Catholics who comprised the majority of the population of Lower Canada. Did he think that it was equitable to allow only local control to be placed in the hands of the inhabitants and the Catholic Church? Was the presence of a few French Canadians on the Board of Trustees of the Royal Institution a sufficient guarantee to the Roman Catholic bishop for the protection of his flock? Were not Mills and the others responsible for the administration of the Royal Institution somewhat naive and short-sighted to think that it was only prejudice and bigotry which kept the Roman Catholic clergy from cooperating with them? Two more factors have to be examined to shed further light on this topic. The personal feelings of some of the English people associated with the Royal Institution and the treatment meted out by the Anglican authorities of that body to the dissenting Protestant churches must be examined. Had Mills and those who were confused with the reactions of the Catholic Church examined their own actions more closely they could have found that the French Canadians might have had some grounds for being a little suspicious.

Some of the English Protestants associated with the Royal Institution at the local level held views and at times uttered certain comments not expected to make the French Canadians less suspicious of their true intentions, and by association, of the intentions of all Englishmen, regarding the rights of the Catholic Church in education. The

true feelings of men like Burrage, Allsopp, Hale, Burn, Chaperon and Driscoll surely must have been quite evident to the French Canadians in their association with them.

The Reverend R.R. Burrage, master of the grammar school in Quebec, visitor in Pointe Lévi and later to be Acting Secretary of the Board of the Royal Institution, testified before the committee of the Assembly investigating the state of education in Lower Canada that the Catholic schools were interested only in teaching catechism and psalms.²² This comment could not be expected to improve relations between the English and the Roman Catholic French Canadians, particularly since the Royal Institution at that time was trying to enlist the support of the Catholic clergy and the governor was negotiating with the Catholic bishop to establish an educational system acceptable to all citizens.

It was shown in Chapter III through the comments of some of the English visitors that it was possible for these gentlemen to harbour ill feelings or at least a certain lack of sympathy toward the French Canadians. Thus Allsopp of Cap Santé talked to Mills of encouraging the church militant and Protestant ascendancy²³ while Hale of Portneuf complained quite bitterly of the intolerance shown by the Catholic Church to Protestants and accused the priests of shutting their ears to education.²⁴

²² JALC, Appendix "Y", February 25, 1824.

²³ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, May 29, 1829.

²⁴ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Edward Hale of Portneuf to J.L. Mills, November 20, 1828.

Finlay of Lachine in his bitter controversy with the Curé Duranceau accused the Catholics also of prejudice toward Protestants and stated further that the Catholics persisted in their ignorance because of this prejudice.²⁵ None of these statements, regardless of their veracity, could be calculated to attract French Canadians to the Royal Institution.

Although the Royal Institution, despite Mills' claims to the contrary, through expediency allowed Roman Catholics to be placed under Protestant teachers, the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne did not seem too willing to accept a reversal of these conditions. In a letter to Mills he complained of the English Catholic teacher Thomas Neagle.

.... that Mr. Neagle does not exactly suit (?) our way of thinking for the Education of our children. As we understand there are two Boards -- I would humbly recommend to give him in charge to the Board of his own creed. We must look out for a Protestant Schoolmaster --²⁶

Even though Mackenzie seemed on good terms with the curé and the Catholics of Terrebonne, he was not satisfied to have the few remaining Protestant children of the Royal Institution school of that parish under a Catholic teacher although that teacher was English.

Selby Burn, one of the most successful Royal Institution teachers, wrote to Mills:

²⁵AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to J.L. Mills, April 3, 1821;
letter from the visitors of Lachine to J.L. Mills, April 18, 1825;
letter from James Finlay to the Royal Institution, December 22, 1827.

²⁶AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, July 12, 1827.

.... although the way the Members of the House have begun, Britons have very little reason to expect much good from this sitting, nor till the House be filled by a different sort of men --- the Jesuits' School or Baltimore Branch here will get whatever they demand either for finishing the School-House which they are fitting up as if it was intended for a Bishop's Palace -- and whatever augmentation of salary for the two teachers they will obtain -- although the first has already 100 pounds per annum -- whilst the poor fatherless R.I. here is put on short allowance -- The British Government I hope will soon find out their mistake by permitting the Parish Clergy of this Province to get the whole management of Education into their hands, which is their sole aim; they pretend not to meddle with it -- but take very good care to have none but their own creatures put in as masters -- who will poison the minds of youth by their cursed Politics --

However, I hope the Governor will soon find it absolutely necessary for the Interest and honour of Old England to take the breeches from Mr. Papineau and to wear them himself -- which is the wish of every true Briton in this Province ²⁷

Although Burn wrote this in 1831 when the Royal Institution was on the decline as an organization for elementary education, particularly as far as the French Canadians were concerned, nevertheless the feelings expressed here were not those of a person who could be said to have appreciated the position of the French Canadians. As long as conditions had been normal for him in Three Rivers (an English Protestant teacher supervised by English Protestant visitors despite a large number of French-Canadian pupils in the school) he remained quiet, seemingly satisfied with his lot. However, as soon as the French Canadians started to agitate for their fair share of power in government, including the field of education, this became an entirely different matter. Yet he had had a considerable number of French Canadians under his tutelage while the

²⁷AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Selby Burn of Three Rivers to the Reverend R.R. Burrage, November 21, 1831.

Royal Institution was flourishing. It is quite difficult therefore to imagine that a man capable of uttering such strong condemnations of the French Canadians and the Catholic clergy could have really understood these people at any time or could have been too sympathetic toward their point of view. And yet, he had been responsible for the education of a large number of their children.

In Vaudreuil the Curé Archambault had not only led the inhabitants in their petition for a Royal Institution school but he had recommended also Christopher Purcell as teacher. Then, without giving any suitable reason, he refused to act as visitor for the school.²⁸ This refusal annoyed Purcell and he complained to Mills about it.²⁹ The latter thought that the curé's actions were inconsistent with his previous behaviour,³⁰ and on the surface so they seemed. G.J. Mountain, who had replaced Mills temporarily, evaluated the curé's actions as being frivolous and unfounded.³¹ However, shortly after this Purcell renounced his faith and in a series of letters to Mills condemned the Catholic Church in most violent terms giving as some of the reasons for his renunciation his disagreement with the Church's teachings on indulgences and

²⁸ AMGU- LRI (T), letter from P.A. Archambault of Vaudreuil to J.L. Mills, July 1, 1826.

²⁹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Christopher Purcell of Vaudreuil to J.L. Mills, October 12, 1826.

³⁰ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Christopher Purcell of Vaudreuil, December 7, 1826.

³¹ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from G.J. Mountain to Christopher Purcell of Vaudreuil, March 8, 1827.

the fact that the Church kept the faithful in darkness and prevented them from reading the Scriptures.³² Later, he mentioned also to Mills that he had not been popular in Vaudreuil because he read the Bible.³³

It seems hardly probable that Purcell, for the reasons he mentioned, would have renounced his faith because the priest had refused to visit his school. These ideas had no doubt been troubling him for some time. Is it not possible that the teacher's views on religion, which no doubt would have affected his teaching of that subject, might have been the cause for the curé's refusal to visit the school? Were not the opinions of Mills and Mountain formed somewhat prematurely? Immediately they had assumed that the curé had been wrong and had been behaving frivolously. The fact that he had led the movement in that parish to obtain a Royal Institution school in 1824 at a time when he must have been aware of his bishop's policy on this matter should have led the authorities of the Royal Institution to suspect that there might have been some other underlying cause other than frivolity for this rapid change of attitude. It could be quite possible also, as Purcell suggested, that the curé had refused to visit the school in a pique when he discovered that his name was missing by mistake from the official list of visitors.³⁴ However, it seems just as likely that the curé discovered

³²AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Christopher Purcell of Vaudreuil to J.L. Mills, September 7, 1827, and October 12, 1827.

³³AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Christopher Purcell of Vaudreuil to J.L. Mills, October 26, 1827.

³⁴AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Christopher Purcell of Vaudreuil to (J.L. Mills), January 27, 1827.

Purcell's views on religion and because of this had refused to cooperate with his school in any way. Because of the circumstances, Mills and Mountain could have investigated the situation more thoroughly before making such hasty judgment.

This situation exemplifies the type of circumstances that could have made Catholics working for a Protestant administration trying and difficult. Protestants, even with the best of intentions, could not appreciate fully the importance with which the Catholic clergy regarded religion in education. Therefore, incidents such as this one could hardly help convince the French Canadians that an educational system controlled centrally by the English could be totally satisfactory.

When some difficulties arose in Baie St. Paul over the choice of a replacement for William Christy, George Chaperon, who had wanted to retain Christy in the first place even though the majority of the people in that area were French Canadian and Roman Catholic, withdrew from the ranks of the visitors because, as he admitted, not being a Catholic and alone of his group he was unable to do very much. His summary of the situation was: "They are not very liberal here."³⁵ Did he mean by liberal that the Protestant minority should have had its way and should have been able to keep the Protestant Christy as teacher? Mills, on the other hand, as it was mentioned before, thought that in view of the circumstances the inhabitants' request was most reasonable. He authorized

³⁵AMGU-LRI (T), letter from George Chaperon of Baie St. Paul to J.L. Mills, May 6, 1825.

the changes.

Furthermore, there were the incidents described in Chapter III concerning the actions of the Reverend Driscoll in both Berthier and Crête de Coq where that minister interfered in the local administration in the most high-handed fashion. His actions could not have passed unnoticed by the French Canadians and these were not expected, surely, to attract Catholics to the Royal Institution schools.

All these incidents, though not basically of great significance in this study, show nevertheless that at least some of the English Protestants associated with the Royal Institution seemed only too willing, perhaps at times with good reason, to criticize the French Canadians and the Catholic clergy for their point of view and for their actions in education. It would not be illogical to deduct from this that the feelings and views of these people must have been quite evident to the French Canadians with whom they associated. It is not difficult to see also how the French Canadians could be somewhat hesitant to place their trust in some of these individuals -- an understandable reaction.

It must have seemed strange to the French Canadians to notice that religious prejudice and difficulties were not restricted to their relations with the Anglican clergy. Indeed, the dissenting Protestant groups were subjected to a certain amount of discrimination by the Anglicans in control of the Royal Institution. Considerable pressure was brought to bear upon the Royal Institution teachers forbidding them to cooperate with other Protestant groups. These directives came from the Board of the Royal Institution itself.

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In 1822, Mills complained to Selby Burn of Three Rivers because that teacher had allowed the Methodists to use his school for their divine service. He warned the teacher that should this incident be repeated his salary would be suspended.³⁶ Mills also reminded the teacher of St. Armand that it was forbidden to let the Methodists use the schoolhouse for their meetings.³⁷ In Durham, the teacher's salary was discontinued because he allowed the Methodists to use his school for their service.³⁸ In Hull, although the teacher recommended by the inhabitants seemed well qualified for the position, one of the visitors made it a point to notify Mills that since this teacher was a Methodist minister he thought it best to advise him of that fact.³⁹ Again in St. Armand, Mills wrote to the minister of the area, the Reverend Reid, inquiring whether he realized that the teacher in his school was a Baptist minister. He pointed out that this could lead to difficulties since article four of the regulations required the teacher to take divine service on Sunday if there was no church in the area.⁴⁰ Part of the

³⁶ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Selby Burn of Three Rivers, January 17, 1822.

³⁷ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Mr. Ayer of St. Armand, July 26, 1822.

³⁸ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to Joseph Baker of Durham, November 25, 1822.

³⁹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from A. Ainsley of Hull to J.L. Mills, August 27, 1827.

⁴⁰ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to the Reverend Reid of St. Armand, November 28, 1826.

trouble that arose concerning the expulsion of a pupil in Lachine was attributed to the fact that the child's guardian, Mr. Simpson of the Hudson Bay Company, was a Presbyterian and did not like the authority of the Church of England. However, Finlay claimed that in their school equal opportunity had always been given to all faiths.⁴¹

No doubt it must have been obvious to the French-Canadian Catholics that since the Royal Institution had certain reservations about the extent of its cooperation with the dissenting churches it was not in the true spirit of religious toleration that it tried to enlist their support in this school system. The French Canadians formed the greatest part of the population and held a majority in the Assembly, and consequently, their support was needed for any public educational system to succeed. Therefore, it was not without ulterior motives that the Royal Institution urged the participation of the French Canadians in its schools and there is little doubt that these people suspected it, particularly when they saw religious intolerance being practised against the other Protestant groups.

However, regardless of the attempts of the authorities of the Royal Institution to encourage the Catholic Church to cooperate with them, the bishop and the clergy continued to refuse to participate in any way in this educational system. This active opposition of the clergy must have been considered quite serious by Governor Dalhousie since in 1821 he

⁴¹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to J.L. Mills, May 16, 1828.

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wrote to Lord Bathurst about it.

The Public News Papers (sic) of late have spoken very improperly upon the subject and I regret to hear that a Catholic Priest is the most violent writer upon it.

I have not noticed these in any manner, but I cannot shut my eyes or ears to them; I am anxious to know Your Lordships (sic) sentiments, as it may become necessary to check the mischief which might arise, by neglecting it in the bud.⁴²

It was in this same letter that Dalhousie first proposed to Bathurst to negotiate with the authorities of the Catholic Church suggesting structural reforms in the organization of the Royal Institution -- the two Royal Institution system.

Regarding the intentions of the Royal Institution in seeking to negotiate and cooperate with the French Canadians at this time, it might be interesting to note in passing that for the previous few years that organization had been going through legal actions in an attempt to secure the Burnside estates and the ten thousand pounds willed to it by James McGill in 1811. The will stipulated that the estates and the money would be given to the Royal Institution provided that within ten years a college had been established on that estate. After McGill died in 1813 the executors of the will attempted to activate the 1801 Royal Institution which, up to this time, had been merely an item in the statute books since no syndics had ever been appointed and no organization established to fulfill the provisions of this Act. The executors tried also to obtain a charter for the proposed college. Although the trustees of the

⁴²PAC, Series "Q" 157-1, p. 193, letter from Governor Dalhousie to Lord Bathurst, June 10, 1821.

Royal Institution were named in 1818 it was not until March 31, 1821, that Royal sanction was granted for the college charter.⁴³ Perhaps it was not quite accidental that in June of that year the governor became interested in the success of the Royal Institution and urged Bathurst to amend the system of that organization to conciliate the French Canadians whose support would facilitate the operation of this system. It is most interesting to note these events in the context of the Royal Institution's efforts to obtain the cooperation of the French Canadians and of the governor's attempts to negotiate an agreement with the Catholic bishop.

However, regardless of the intentions of the English authorities, the offers to cooperate were not accepted, and while the bishop negotiated for suitable terms with the governor, the Catholic clergy continued to oppose the Royal Institution. The testimonies of members of the Catholic clergy show this quite clearly.

The Reverend Antoine Robert, superior of the Seminary of Quebec, testified before a committee of the Assembly in 1815 that to the best of his knowledge only one person coming from the Royal Institution schools had entered the seminary to complete his studies. He claimed further that these schools were ill-adapted to the education of youth since the superintendence did not induce the inhabitants to send their children there. He stressed the fact that it would have been better to leave education and the supervision of the schools to the curés and the principal inhabitants of the village. He closed his testimony with the comment

⁴³Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Québec, les Presses universitaires Laval, 1952, Vol. III, p. 240.

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that the inhabitants did not want to send their children to teachers of uncertain morals and with whom they were not acquainted.⁴⁴ The Reverend Gatien, professor of theology at the Grand Séminaire testified along the same lines as the Reverend Robert, and so did the Reverend André Doucet, Grand Vicaire of the Diocese and late curé of Quebec. The latter's testimony stated that the inhabitants were against sending their children to these schools because they were not acquainted with the masters.⁴⁵

The Reverend Antoine Parant of the Seminary of Quebec testified also in the same way in 1824. He presented his views on the state of education in the province: in most parishes five or six people can write; one quarter of the Canadiens can read tolerably well; one tenth of them can write their names poorly enough. He added further:

It will perhaps be not altogether foreign from the subject, to observe that the Law 41 Geo. III, has by no means contributed to improve the state of education in this Country: that Law in truth provides for the nomination and for the Salary of School Masters, but those who from their position would be in a condition to judge of the merit of the persons who solicit such places, having no part in the nomination, nor any right of superintendence, one may judge how these Schools are kept, particularly if the Masters who are put at the head of them are persons whom the bad state of their affair has compelled them to take that situation, and who consider it only as a last resource to procure a little food for their family.

And further in his testimony he mentioned this concerning the schoolmasters:

The greater part of the Schoolmasters found there, particularly those established under the 41st Geo. III, are not of a kind to obtain the confidence of the country people, because, as we have already said, the Gentlemen of the Clergy have no right to superintend their conduct, and they are named without the participation of the principal Inhabitants of the place.

⁴⁴JALC, March 22, 1815, p. 608.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 609.

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He then went on to suggest that the best means to promote education was to place it under the parish priests, the wardens of the church and the principal members of the congregation. The pastor, being in charge, could then induce the parents to send their children to those schools.⁴⁶

The Reverend Antoine Parant must have neglected to consider the fact that the present system recommended that the teachers be nominated by the principal inhabitants of the village and that the curés be appointed visitors to supervise the schools. His testimony failed to mention the real problem, which was that the general direction of the Royal Institution was unacceptable to the Catholic clergy because it was almost totally in Anglican hands. He would have been justified in criticizing the Royal Institution on those grounds, giving these as the real reason for the clergy's policy of non-cooperation. He was definitely wrong in stating that local control in the schools was inadequate. Furthermore, it should be pointed out that the remedy recommended by this priest could have been applied just as easily to the schools of the Royal Institution since it was the policy of the officials of that body to allow the masters to be chosen by the inhabitants of the parishes and to request the parish priest to supervise the schools. There was nothing to prevent a curé from taking over education in his parish using the Royal Institution's money to do so. In fact, it was shown already that Mills had sought the curés' participation time and time again.

⁴⁶Ibid., Appendix "Y", January 22, 1824.

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No doubt it was this kind of testimony that moved the Assembly to pass the Fabriques Act that same year, an Act stating that schools could be opened in the parishes under the direction of the curés and church wardens. The fact that this Act was not particularly successful in expanding education suggests that something was lacking. What was lacking most was money, and, to a lesser degree, a central organization. As the Reverend Parant had stated in his testimony before the committee of the Assembly, the parishes were poor and could ill afford to support schools. The Royal Institution, to some extent, could have fulfilled both these needs. At least it had in the Board an established organization capable of handling education on a provincial basis, and although it was not too wealthy itself, since it depended on government grants for its teachers' salaries, there is no reason to believe that these could not have been increased had the Assembly seen that the system was functioning satisfactorily.

However, as it was mentioned before, the Catholic bishop and his clergy could be justified in refusing to become part of the Royal Institution as it was then organized because of the preponderance of Anglican control. Granted that the Royal Institution was not acceptable to the Catholics for this reason and granted that the bishop did the right thing in not cooperating since he was negotiating with the governor for a more equitable system, nevertheless, it still did not give the right to individual clergymen to criticize that organization for failing in Catholic parishes because the priests were not allowed to supervise the schools and because the teachers were not chosen by the principal inhabitants of

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the village. Such statements were made either because the priests were totally ignorant of the facts or because through their testimonies they wished to discredit the Royal Institution. It is unfair to blame the Royal Institution for not contributing to the cause of education in Catholic parishes when the priests themselves were responsible for this situation through their policy of non-cooperation. Blame should have been placed where blame was due -- on the composition of the central board. Yet the bishop was now in the process of negotiating with the governor to remedy this situation.

Now that the general policy of the Catholic clergy has been presented it would be interesting to note what actually did happen locally in the parishes, particularly in the eighteen selected for this study.

From the small number of schools that served the French Canadians under the Royal Institution, from the testimonies of the Catholic clergy and the authorities of the Royal Institution before the committee of the Assembly and from the correspondence of the Board, it must be quite obvious that the great majority of the Catholics had refused to cooperate with this educational system in any way. An examination of the conditions in a few of these parishes should help to illustrate this situation.

The curés Dénéchaud of Deschambault, Duranceau of Lachine, Brodeur of St. Roch, Parant of Cap St. Ignace, Viau of St. Nicolas, Raimbault of Nicolet, Lajuste of Chambly as well as the curé of Three Rivers had all refused to become visitors of the Royal Institution schools in their parishes. Some of the correspondence concerning these refusals is mentioned below.

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The Curé Dénéchaud of Deschambault wrote:

Mon état ne me permettrait pas d'accepter votre commission dans ma paroisse qui serait sur le même pied que celles dont il s'agit. en (sic) attendant que le mode d'administration s'ameliore, j'ai l'honneur ⁴⁷

In Lachine, not only did the Curé Duranceau refuse to cooperate but he seemed to have tried to interfere with the progress of the school in that parish. When he was first approached to accept the position of visitor he merely replied that he would have to consult his superior about the matter.⁴⁸ The answer must have been negative since the curé not only did not become a visitor but he seemed to have become involved in a controversy with the visitors of the Royal Institution school in Lachine. Finlay, writing to Mills had this to say about their relationship with the Reverend Duranceau:

We are getting on slowly -- much ignorance and some opposition to battle against. The Priest -- Mr. Duranceau is suspected of efforts to injure us -- but we laugh at him -- he however caused a poor girl without fingers who was getting on surprisingly in her education and whose sample of writing I left with you, to leave the school (---) she says with the threat (---) if she did not -- he would (---) administer the sacraments and I believe that he and I are not friends, he behaved outrageously ...⁴⁹

Mills took this news in stride since by now he was quite accustomed to hear such complaints about the non-cooperation of the priests. He told Finlay that Duranceau was no exception since there seemed to be a

⁴⁷AMGU-LRI (T), letter from D. Dénéchaud of Portneuf to J.L. Mills, March, 1822.

⁴⁸AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to J.L. Mills, June 12, 1822.

⁴⁹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to J.L. Mills, May 4, 1824.

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systematic opposition against anything coming from the government. He advised Finlay to do the best he could without the help of the clergy.⁵⁰

Later, Finlay complained again of the curé, this time because he had preached from the pulpit against the Royal Institution schools and the people in charge of them.⁵¹ But finally, in 1828, Finlay wrote to Mills again concerning the curé:

It would appear that we have silenced our most inveterate foe to it -- Messir. Le cure(sic) Duranceau who may in part have become satisfied with the liberality of our proceedings, although he may be also duely sensible of the eventual results ...⁵²

In Cap St. Ignace, one of the justices of the peace complained also of the opposition of the Curé Parant. To him it seemed that the curé did not want a Royal Institution school but one in which he would be the only patron. Apparently the priests also objected to the Royal Institution teacher on the grounds that he was a stranger.⁵³

The Curé Viau of St. Nicolas at first seemed to want to cooperate with the Royal Institution. In February 1822 he had reported to Mills in place of the visitors. In his letter he took exception to one of the visitors, Michel Bergeron, who was old, infirm and without education. He proposed the names of other people who would be more suitable for that

⁵⁰ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to James Finlay of Lachine, August 23, 1824.

⁵¹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to J.L. Mills, November 30, 1824.

⁵² AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to J.L. Mills, October 25, 1828.

⁵³ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from a Justice of the Peace of Cap St. Ignace to the Royal Institution, February 2, 1829.

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position.⁵⁴ Yet, a few weeks later he wrote to Mills again, this time to refuse quite categorically to have anything to do with the school. He had wanted to cooperate at first, he told Mills, but after obtaining the necessary information he refused the charge. He stated: "... mais pour moi qu'ils me regardent comme tout - à fait (sic) étranger à la chose."⁵⁵

The Reverend M. Rimbault of Nicolet likewise refused to become a visitor of the Royal Institution school in his parish.⁵⁶ The Reverend S. Brodeur of St. Roch refused also because of the present circumstances.⁵⁷

At the school in St. Mary's near Chambly another incident occurred that showed the extent of some priests' active intervention in the administration of the Royal Institution schools. Hugh Hogan, an American Roman Catholic who had been recommended by the bishop of Philadelphia started to teach school in that area. Hogan, writing to James Cuthbert mentioned that at first the inhabitants had seemed anxious to have the school. However, the Curé Lajuste forbade his parishioners to attend the school, threatening to refuse the sacraments to those who did. Hogan by that time was left with two pupils and because he could not

⁵⁴ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from P. Viau of St. Nicholas to J.L. Mills, February 28, 1822.

⁵⁵ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from P. Viau of St. Nicholas to J.L. Mills, March 8, 1822.

⁵⁶ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from M. Rimbault of Nicolet to the Royal Institution, February 1, 1822.

⁵⁷ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Louis Brodeur of St. Roch to the Royal Institution, March 17, 1822.

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maintain the school lost much money in his venture.⁵⁸

However, not all the priests refused to cooperate with the Royal Institution or tried to interfere with the administration of its schools. As it was mentioned in Chapter III, some of the curés visited the schools and signed the official reports with the other local officials. Others, refusing to take part officially in the administration of the school, informally did lend their support.

In Berthier it would seem quite certain that the curé, the Reverend Lamothe, visited the school. Wolff implied as much on September 28, 1822, in his fall report to Mills when he mentioned that the curé had been absent from this examination, suggesting that normally he would have been present. Moreover, in the report he enclosed a statement from the Curé Lamothe certifying that he, Wolff, was teaching in Berthier and that he followed all the regulations of the Royal Institution.⁵⁹

The Curé Varin of Kamouraska must have visited the school in his parish also. On April 8, 1822, he sent a note to the Royal Institution certifying that the enclosed reports were in conformity with the truth since he himself had been present at the examination of the school and had been very satisfied with the results.⁶⁰ In 1825, Dr. Horsman, in a letter to Mills complained about certain people "... who are inimical to

⁵⁸AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Hugh Hogan of Chambly to Colonel James Guthbert, October 17, 1823.

⁵⁹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Augustus Wolff of Berthier to J.L. Mills, September 28, 1822.

⁶⁰AMGU-LRI (T), report from Curé Varin of Kamouraska to the Royal Institution, April 8, 1822.

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all government establishments when not entirely conducted by themselves." He added, however, "I certainly do not refer to our good priest who has regularly (--) to Mr. Ansbrow's school and who progresses rapidly in the English language."⁶¹

There was a complex and intriguing situation in Terrebonne. In 1822, when first approached to accept the official commission of visitor of the Royal Institution school in that parish, the Reverend St. Germain said he was sorry but because of many reasons too long to explain he would be unable to assume these duties. Furthermore, he even took the liberty of criticizing the list of text books recommended by the Royal Institution.

Je prendrai seulement la liberté de vous observer qu'il me semble que le choix des livres pour les écoles, soit catholiques, soit protestantes, est propre à occasionner beaucoup de difficultés et de mécontentements.⁶²

After this gratuitous advice, little was heard from the Curé St. Germain until the dismissal of Augustin Vervais created a new problem -- the need for another teacher. Perhaps because of the difficulties that had been caused by the Vervais affair, St. Germain joined the visitors to help select a teacher. It was mentioned before that Thomas Neagle, Vervais' replacement, had had to submit to oral examination in French. On November 4, 1826, the results of that test were sent to Mackenzie,

⁶¹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Thomas Horsman of Kamouraska to J.L. Mills, September 21, 1825.

⁶²AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Curé St. Germain of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, February 16, 1822.

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bearing, among others, Curé St. Germain's signature.⁶³ A few days later, in a letter to Mills, Mackenzie mentioned that St. Germain was pleased with the new teacher and that he promised to lend his support to the school.⁶⁴ The curé was true to his word. In the correspondence from 1826 to 1829, St. Germain's name appeared regularly on visitors' reports,⁶⁵ and in 1829, Mackenzie, writing to Mills said he considered St. Germain the chief superintendent of the school.⁶⁶ The curé was quite active in the selection of teachers. When Neagle left Terrebonne, St. Germain found Alexander MacDonald to replace him,⁶⁷ and when MacDonald left, he found F.X. Valade.⁶⁸

Not only did the Curé St. Germain take an active part in the work of the Royal Institution but his successor, the Curé Portier, did likewise. On October 21, 1829, the new pastor of three weeks visited Valade's school and declared himself quite pleased with what he saw.⁶⁹ Curé

⁶³AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the visitors of Terrebonne to the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie, November 4, 1826.

⁶⁴AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, November 9, 1826.

⁶⁵AMGU-LRI (T), reports from Terrebonne between November 4, 1826, and April 12, 1829.

⁶⁶AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, April 12, 1829.

⁶⁷AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, September 14, 1828.

⁶⁸AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the Honourable Roderick Mackenzie of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, May 14, 1829.

⁶⁹AMGU-LRI (T), report from Curé Portier of Terrebonne to the Royal Institution, October 21, 1829.

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Portier's name appeared as late as May 16, 1831, among those of the visitors of the Terrebonne school.⁷⁰

In Ste. Anne, the Curé Painchaud told Mills that officially he was forced to refuse the commission but unofficially, he would cooperate with the Royal Institution in his parish. His was the letter that Mills quoted before the committee of the Assembly in 1824.

J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser la réception de votre imprimée en date du 23 janvier dernier, par laquelle le Bureau d'institution royale me nomme un des visiteurs pour l'école de Ste. Anne.

Faites moi l'amitié de croire, que ce n'est pas sans la plus sensible gratitude, que je vois un Bureau protestant, nommer ainsi un prêtre catholique, à une surveillance, qu'il est maître de référer exclusivement à ceux de la commission--

Je me ferai un plaisir, même un devoir d'agir en conformité au 2de articles des Reglements que vous avez eu la bonté de me transmettre à ce sujet, regrettant cordialement qu'il ne soit pas en mon pouvoir d'accepter la commission de visiteur, avant que ces reglements soient fixés par une loi, qui prit l'attente des âmes sincèrement libérales, et dont, j'en suis sûr, le Bureau lui même, sent toute la convenance.

Agréez l'assurance de mon estime particulière et de ma considération la plus distinguée.⁷¹

The priest was true to his word. The schoolhouse was located near his church, and when the teacher became involved in a serious controversy with one of the leading citizens of the village, his cause was supported before the Royal Institution by the curé.⁷²

⁷⁰ AMGU-LRI (T), tabulated report from Terrebonne to the Royal Institution, May 16, 1831.

⁷¹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Father Painchaud of Ste. Anne to J.L. Mills, February 15, 1822.

⁷² AMGU-LRI (T), report from Ste. Anne to the Royal Institution, February 6, 1820;
letter from Father Painchaud to J.L. Mills, January 17, 1822.

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The school in St. Thomas taught by Antoine Côté was one of the most prosperous of the Royal Institution. This was the evaluation of the Civil Secretary Cochrane:

The Schoolmaster at St. Thomas, who has sixty pounds has one of the best and largest schools under the R.I., and one that has maintained that character most steadily.⁷³

This school was located also near the church and Boisseau wrote to the Royal Institution in his initial report in 1820 that the commissioners, among whom was the Curé Verreau, had been named by Milnes in 1803.⁷⁴

The Curé Gatien of Cap Santé wrote to Allsopp after receiving an invitation to accept the post of visitor:

Le mode des écoles, au sujet des quelles (sic) vous m'avez fait hier la proposition d'être un des visiteurs, étant toujours le même que cidevant, je crois qu'il est de mon devoir d'en accepter aucune charge ayant rapport avec ces écoles.⁷⁵

Allsopp included this reply to Mills in one of his letters and added himself that they had done their duty in inviting the curé but "I should have been pleased had he accepted it being the most competent as well as Mr. Denechaud of Deschambault."⁷⁶

⁷³ AMGU-LRI (T), statement of A.W. Cochrane, May 2, 1831.

⁷⁴ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from J.B. Boisseau of St. Thomas to J.L. Mills, November 9, 1820.

⁷⁵ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, April 14, 1821.

⁷⁶ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, April 14, 1821.

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Father Gatien made the same type of reply to Mills the following year when the latter sent invitations to the parish priests to visit the schools.

Je suis très sensible à l'honneur que me fait le bureau de l'institution royale pour l'établissement des sciences, de m'offrir la place de visiteur d'une de ces écoles érigée dans ma paroisse je suis mortifié d'être dans l'obligation de vous dire qu'il est inutile de vous en parler ici des raisons qui motivent mon refus. vous (sic) avez certainement trop de délicatesse, pour ne pas les sentir, ces raisons.⁷⁷

Under no circumstances then was the Curé Gatien willing to accept the position of visitor of the Royal Institution school in his parish. However, despite these statements, despite his testimony before the committee of the Assembly and despite the fact that Allsopp complained to Mills about the lack of cooperation on the part of the Catholic clergy, there is some evidence to suggest that the curé of Cap Santé did not ignore completely the Royal Institution. The visitor Hale of Portneuf in a letter to Mills mentioned that the teacher Desroches' transfer had been approved by Allsopp and by the curé of Cap Santé.⁷⁸ Later, when Aurez de St. George applied for the vacant teaching post in that village, he produced a written recommendation signed by the curé of Cap Santé.⁷⁹ These actions are not really that significant to suggest that the curé cooperated with the Royal Institution, but at least it shows that, unlike

⁷⁷ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from F. Gatien of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, March 15, 1822.

⁷⁸ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Edward Hale of Portneuf to J.L. Mills, October 23, 1822.

⁷⁹ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from G.W. Allsopp of Cap Santé to J.L. Mills, March 15, 1828.

some of the other parish priests, he was not obstructing its progress.

Although there is little evidence that the curé of Beauce became a visitor of the school in that parish, there is nonetheless an interesting note written by Mills to Colonel Taschereau, one of the visitors, in which he expressed confidence that the curé would support the school and accept the responsibility of visiting it.⁸⁰ Since this occurred in 1826, and by that time Mills was certainly under no illusion regarding the Catholic clergy's attitude toward his schools, he must have had some good reason for making such an optimistic statement. However, because there is no further proof that the curé accepted the commission, this statement remains merely an interesting detail.

In the initial report from the village of Phillipsburgh at St. Armand on February 18, 1820, although everything indicated that this was an English school, the teacher, Philip Ruiter, mentioned that there were no trustees but that the curé visited the school.⁸¹

On April 23, 1829, the inhabitants of Bonaventure signed a petition requesting a Royal Institution school be established in their village. The petition, written in English, was signed mostly by French Canadians, headed by the Reverend J.A. Boisvert, a Catholic priest.⁸²

⁸⁰ AMGU-LRI (F), letter from J.L. Mills to A.C. Taschereau of Ste. Marie de Beauce, June 13, 1826.

⁸¹ AMGU-LRI (T), report from Phillipsburgh to the Royal Institution, February 18, 1820.

⁸² AMGU-LRI (T), petition from Bonaventure to the Royal Institution, April 23, 1829.

Finally, there was the case of the Curé Archambault of Vaudreuil. The details submitted above in this chapter did not explain satisfactorily why he initiated the petition to have a Royal Institution school established in his village only to decline later to become a visitor. Since no further evidence can be presented at this time to clarify this rather strange situation, it must still remain an unsolved problem, but one which does suggest that before certain circumstances occurred, the priest had every intention of encouraging the progress of education in his parish by cooperating with the Royal Institution.

In the parishes, then, the reactions of the priests varied. Not all of them follow the line of those priests who testified at the hearings of the committee of the Assembly on education. Some, like the curé St. Germain of Terrebonne accepted the visitor's commission and cooperated fully with the Royal Institution; others, like Curé Painchaud refused the commission politely but cooperated informally with the visitors; still others like Brodeur of St. Roch refused the commission and because of present circumstances, did not cooperate with the Royal Institution; finally, men like Curé Duranceau and Curé Lajuste not only refused to be associated with the Royal Institution in any way but even tried to obstruct its progress by preaching against it and going as far as to threaten their parishioners with refusal of the sacraments if they did not follow their directives.

At this time, therefore, a summary of where the Catholic priests stood on this question in each of the eighteen parishes under scrutiny would be in order.

Baie St. Paul

It was mentioned already that William Christy was removed from his position in that parish at the request of the inhabitants. It seems as though the pressure for this request came from the parish priest since he was the one who offered a lot near the church to build the school on the condition that the teacher be a Roman Catholic. Furthermore, since no salary for a schoolmaster appears in the government lists for Baie St. Paul after Christy's departure, the new school must have been outside the jurisdiction of the Royal Institution. Therefore, the curé of that parish not only refused to cooperate with the Royal Institution but he was successful in terminating the work of that organization in Baie St. Paul.

Berthier

It was mentioned in this chapter that Curé Lamothe cooperated with the work of the Royal Institution in his parish.

Cap St. Ignace

It was mentioned also in this chapter that the Curé Parant objected to the work of the Royal Institution and refused to be associated with it in that village.

Cap Santé

Curé Gatien refused to become a visitor and refused to associate himself with the work of the Royal Institution. However, there are indications to suggest that he might have cooperated on a few occasions, particularly when it came to choosing a new teacher.

Lachine

From the evidence presented in this chapter, Curé Duranceau not

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only refused to cooperate with the Royal Institution but he attempted, in many ways, to obstruct its progress.

Montreal

There is little evidence in the correspondence concerning the reactions of the Catholic clergy in Montreal. However, by 1827 the Bishop de Telmesse established a school for the Roman Catholics. Since the Royal Institution school in that town was strictly an Anglican effort, and since the Catholic bishop objected strongly to that organization, it can be assumed that the Catholic clergy offered little cooperation.

Paspébiac

The only reference found regarding the Catholic clergy in that parish was one which suggested the nomination of the Reverend Boisvert as visitor. Since no further mention was made of Boisvert or the Catholic clergy, and since Anglican ministers did most of the visiting in Paspébiac, obviously the Catholic clergy did not cooperate in the work of the Royal Institution.

Pointe Lévi

The only reference to the Catholic clergy in that village was made in a letter by Mills to the teacher L'Hérault. The Secretary hoped that the curé would assist the visitors at the public examination of the school. Nothing further was ever mentioned. The curé probably refused to cooperate.

Portneuf

Marcotte, Bigué, Hale, the Reverend Gatien and the Reverend Dénéchaud were nominated as visitors. As Hale mentioned, the priests

never visited the school.

Ste. Anne

It was shown previously in this chapter that although the curé Painchaud had refused to become a visitor, unofficially he cooperated with the Royal Institution in its work.

St. Constant

Nothing was mentioned on the subject in that parish.

St. Louis de Kamouraska

It was shown in this chapter that the curé Varin of that village cooperated with the Royal Institution.

Ste. Marie de Beauce

The only evidence available from that parish is that Mills seemed quite confident that the curé would accept the commission of visitor.

St. Roch

It was shown in this chapter that the curé Brodeur had refused to visit the school.

St. Thomas

It was shown in this chapter that the curé Verreau cooperated with the Royal Institution.

Terrebonne

Although the curé St. Germain had refused to cooperate at first, later, both he and his successor, the curé Portier, worked very closely with the Royal Institution in Terrebonne.

Three Rivers

The correspondence from that village mentions that the curé had

refused to visit the school.

Vaudreuil

Curé Archambault at first seemed quite eager to cooperate with the Royal Institution. However, for some reason that was not too clearly defined, later he changed his mind and refused to have anything to do with the school.

An important factor to consider when examining the topic of religion within the framework of the Royal Institution is the manner in which that subject was taught in the schools. Some obvious questions come to mind: by whom was religion taught; were Catholic and Protestant pupils segregated for this instruction; how did the teacher go about this task; what books were used? In the schools where the teacher was Roman Catholic one would expect few problems for the French-Canadian pupils. On the other hand, how did the French Canadians who had English Protestant masters fare? It must be remembered that approximately 50% of the teachers employed by the Royal Institution in the eighteen schools selected for this study were English and Protestant. Furthermore, what was the situation like in those English schools where there were a few French-Canadian Catholics?

Since each parish solved the problem as it saw it and in its own way, one cannot expect that a common solution was adopted. However, one principle seems to have been accepted in a number of parishes: the teaching of religion is a delicate subject, therefore pupils are best instructed in segregated groups and by people competent to teach the subject. This is where the cooperation of the curés would have been most helpful.

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In Lachine, where there was so much misunderstanding between the visitors and the curé a policy of segregating the pupils of the various faiths for religious instruction and services was followed. In one of his reports to the Royal Institution, Finlay mentioned that no-one was forced to attend school on the holy days of either sect.⁸³ As far as the religious services were concerned, the Episcopalians attended those of the Reverend Bethune, the Presbyterians, those of Messrs Essen and Pollock of the Kirk of Scotland and the Catholics, those of the Curé Duranceau.⁸⁴ In the school the children were divided into five classes, provision being made for teaching in both languages "... as well as in the Catechisms of the respective Persuasions"⁸⁵ It does seem as though the faiths and morals of the Catholic pupils were well protected in that school, this despite the conflict between the curé and the visitors.

In Berthier, although the teacher Augustus Wolff was Protestant and the majority of the pupils were Catholic, no difficulties were encountered in the teaching of religion. In his reports Wolff mentioned that the Catholic religion was taught to the pupils of that faith by a proper person.⁸⁶ Although Wolff did not mention who that proper person

⁸³ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to the Royal Institution, April 16, 1816.

⁸⁴ AMGU-LRI (T), tabulated report from Lachine to the Royal Institution, May 1826.

⁸⁵ AMGU-LRI (T), letter from James Finlay of Lachine to the Royal Institution, December 22, 1827.

⁸⁶ AMGU-LRI (T), report from Berthier to the Royal Institution, February 6, 1820.

was, since the curé Lamothe endorsed his school, it must be assumed that whoever taught religion there was doing it to the curé's satisfaction.

The school in Portneuf also accepted the principle of segregation for religious instruction. However, there the situation was slightly different since the teacher, Charles Desroches, taught religion to both groups.⁸⁷ Perhaps the Protestants could have found this situation objectionable, yet there was no indication that the leading visitor, Edward Hale, himself an English Protestant, found it so.

There were a number of Roman Catholics attending the English school in Frampton. The visitors reported to the Royal Institution on the way in which the Protestant master handled the problem of religious instruction:

That the schoolmaster has been particularly attentive to the religious instruction of the Protestant portion of the school, and has also been attentive in requiring the Catholic part of the school to read such religious books as have been furnished by their parents, and has set apart particular hours for the respective discharge of this duty, to avoid all clashing of religious instruction ⁸⁸

Although the solution does not seem as satisfactory as those adopted in Lachine, Berthier and Portneuf, considering the circumstances of an English Protestant school, it was certainly at least adequate. The teacher did the best he could. Since he was incapable of teaching religion to the Catholic pupils, he showed sound judgment in leaving the

⁸⁷AMGU-LRI (T), report from Portneuf to the Royal Institution, January 31, 1820.

⁸⁸AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the visitors of Frampton to the Royal Institution, October 16, 1828.

task to the parents.

Edward Kelly, a Roman Catholic teacher in the predominantly Protestant school of Crête de Coq, was involved in a rather unusual situation. The only books used for religious education were the English testament and the catechism of the Church of England. At the suggestion of the teacher, the French Canadians had purchased some English testaments also. As the visitors put it: "A school carried on on these principles cannot be injurious to our religion."⁸⁹ It is easy to see now why the Protestant inhabitants of Crête de Coq were well satisfied with the services of Kelly and why they protested to the Royal Institution when the Reverend Driscoll dismissed him. However, this situation might not have been so acceptable to the Roman Catholics in the school. Had there been some kind of cooperation between the visitors and the curé it is doubtful that this kind of situation would have developed.

Selby Burn, reporting on his school that had a large number of French Canadians present said:

As I have scholars of different Religious persuasions I am obliged to act very cautiously about Religion-Morality. I pay every attention to, and I believe I go as far in Religious Instructions as the visitors here wish me to go.⁹⁰

⁸⁹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from the visitors of Crête de Coq to the Royal Institution, March 27, 1827.

⁹⁰AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Selby Burn of Three Rivers to J.L. Mills, January 22, 1826.

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This is the same teacher who wrote to Burrage later:

The British Government I hope will soon find out their mistake by permitting the Parish Clergy of this Province to get the whole management of Education into their hands, which is their sole aim; they pretend not to meddle with it -- but take very good care to have none but their own creatures put in as masters -- who will poison the minds of youth with their cursed Politics ⁹¹

How cautious would a teacher who held so much bitterness against the Catholic Church have been? Perhaps he was very cautious and the faith of the Roman Catholics in his school was well protected. However, it would not be too difficult to imagine the contrary, particularly since Protestant ministers visited that school regularly. Therefore, although there seemed to be no uniform system established for the teaching of religion to the pupils of mixed schools, yet, as it was mentioned above, in many instances the pupils were segregated for this instruction, and in a number of cases instruction was given by a person qualified to do so. However, whatever means were employed to teach religion, little evidence can be found to substantiate the claim of those who said that the Royal Institution schools were used to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians since in those schools the teaching of religion does not seem to have caused any serious problems. Where the master was French-Canadian, the problem did not exist, and where he was English Protestant, in many cases someone else taught religion. Some teachers, like Selby Burn of Three Rivers, were somewhat vague about the procedure they followed, yet no complaints were found in the correspondence to suggest

⁹¹AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Selby Burn of Three Rivers to the Reverend R.R. Burrage, November 21, 1831.

that what they did was not satisfactory. Generally speaking, it does not seem as though the teaching of religion created much of a problem for the majority of the French Canadians in Royal Institution schools.

The textbooks recommended by the Royal Institution could have had some influence on the religious training given in those schools. There were two separate lists of textbooks, one for the French Canadians, one for the English. The only criticism of these books found in the correspondence of the Royal Institution came from the curé St. Germain of Terrebonne when he first refused the appointment of visitor.

Je prendrai seulement la liberté de vous observer qu'il me semble que le choix des livres pour les écoles, soit catholiques, soit protestantes, est propre à occasionner beaucoup de difficultés et de mécontentements.⁹²

However, St. Germain did not explain what he meant by "beaucoup de difficultés et de mécontentements." It is difficult to understand why he was dissatisfied, particularly since there were two separate lists.

Since the lists were quite extensive, the books used varied somewhat from school to school. However, there was a basic core of textbooks found frequently in most of the schools. These are listed below.

English Books:

The First Book for Children, by Lindley Murray.
Collections of Precs in Prose and in Poetry,
by Lindley Murray.
Exercises in English Grammar, by Lindley Murray.
Spelling Book, by Lindley Murray.
French Grammar, by Chambaud.
French Grammar, by L'Homand.
French ABC with Moral Instruction, by Bélin le Prieur.

⁹²AMGU-LRI (T), letter from Curé St. Germain of Terrebonne to J.L. Mills, February 16, 1822.

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Arithmetic, by F. Walkington.
 Tutor's Assistant, by F. Walkington.
 Arithmetic, by George Fisher.
 Family Assistant, by George Fisher.
 English Grammar, by Porney.
 Spelling Book, by Dilworth.
 Elements of English Conversation, by J. Perrin.
 Protestant Catechism.
 Divine Songs for Children, by T.D. Watts, D.D.
 History of Our Blessed Saviour.
 Miracles of Our Blessed Saviour.
 Old Testament; New Testament.
 Christian Manual, by J.O. Bishop of Quebec.
 Rudiments (Latin), by Rudiman.
 Cornelius Nepos.
 Tellemachus.

French Books:

L'instruction de la jeunesse.
 Abécédaire critique et morale.
 Grammaire, par L'Homond.
 Grammaire française et anglaise, par Chambaud.
 Syllabaire français et anglais, par Porney.
 Le grand alphabet français.
 Méthode pour bien lire et orthographier,
 par Jean Plairet.
 Lecture française, par Lindley Murray.
 Le nouveau pensez-y bien.
 Arithmétique, par Bibaud.
 Arithmétique, par Bouthillier.
 Petit manuel de chrétien.
 L'histoire abrégé de l'ancien testament.
 Imitation de Jésus Christ.
 Le nouveau testament.
 Le catéchisme du diocèse de Québec.
 Petit catéchisme.
 Histoire générale de l'univers.
 Eléments de la langue latine, par L'Homond.
 Télémaque.

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 List taken from the correspondence of the Royal Institution
 for the Advancement of Learning.

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Although this is by no means a complete list of all the texts used in the Royal Institution schools, it is extensive enough to show that there was what seemed like an adequate selection for both the French and English pupils. The only real problem regarding textbooks was their scarcity. Time and time again teachers complained of this.

However, another factor to consider when examining this list is the number of religious textbooks on it: the testaments as well as catechisms and dissertations on morals and virtues. This is a factor to consider when discussing the religious education of the pupils. It would seem that on occasion some of the English religious books were used by French-Canadian pupils as readers outside religion periods.⁹⁴ Possibly a Protestant teacher could influence indirectly the religious beliefs of Catholic children, even without consciously seeking to proselytize. Therefore, it is not sufficient to state that many of the Protestant teachers left the teaching of religion to others. Here is where the visit of Catholic priests could have reduced or eliminated such potential dangers.

The material presented in this chapter stresses one point in particular, and this is that little evidence can be found to support the claim that the Royal Institution schools were used to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians. The facts show otherwise. There may

⁹⁴AMGU-LRI (T), report from Lachine to the Royal Institution, April 5, 1823;

letter from the visitors of Montreal to the Royal Institution, April 29, 1826;

letter from the visitors of Crête de Coq to the Royal Institution, March 27, 1827.

have been thoughtlessness, indifference and inefficiency on the part of the English authorities, but certainly no conscious attempts at proselytization.

This statement is supported by the actions of the authorities of the Royal Institution after the formation of the Board in 1818. Whatever the intentions of Governor Dalhousie were, he had opened negotiations with Bishop Plessis in order to establish a more equitable educational system for Roman Catholics. Moreover, the Anglican bishop was quoted as being in favour of religious freedom in the schools and his statement can be supported by the actual conditions in the parish schools: the policy of the Board to invite the curés to participate in the supervision of the schools and to leave the selection of teachers to the local authorities. Finally, the Royal Institution seemed only too eager to relinquish its control over French-Canadian pupils to the proposed Catholic committee, and when it did not materialize, to the new system established by the Syndics' Act. Surely, these actions can hardly be interpreted as those of assimilators.

However, the views, feelings and convictions of some of the English Protestants working with the Royal Institution at the local level must have been felt by the French Canadians and no doubt served to increase their suspicions of the whole system. It is not that men like Burrage, Allsopp, Hale, Burn and Chaperon showed themselves particularly hostile to the French Canadians and tried to repress and persecute them, but only that they seemed to lack sympathy and understanding for their views and for their way of life. Some awkward situations arose, and the

actions of the Reverend Driscoll in Berthier and in Crête de Coq and those of Purcell in Vaudreuil created further difficulties that could only serve to increase these suspicions.

Furthermore, the way the Anglicans treated the dissenting Protestant groups would not have led the French Canadians to believe they were being offered better treatment because of Anglican liberalism. They realized surely that the Anglicans were somewhat tolerant and conciliating toward them because circumstances dictated it. Would it be always so?

Therefore, because of these factors the French Canadians and the Catholic clergy refused to cooperate in any way with the Royal Institution. While the bishop was negotiating for better terms, they continued to withhold their support. Yet, when some of the priests testified before committees of the Assembly investigating the state of education, they seemed to have complained about the wrong things. They maintained that the Royal Institution was unacceptable to them because the priests were not allowed to visit the schools and because the teachers were chosen by the wrong people. The evidence presented up to now proves that this was not the case. The rights of the parishes were respected. It should have been against the central organization of the Royal Institution that these priests directed their criticism.

Regardless of the true reasons for this policy of non-cooperation, the fact remains that considering the population of Lower Canada at that time, if only eighteen schools could be found where a substantial majority of the pupils were French-Canadian, the clergy's policy must have been

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very effective. Moreover, most of the curés in these eighteen parishes had refused to be associated with the Royal Institution in any way, and several of them were rather vigorous in their opposition. Really, only six priests in five parishes are known to have helped the Royal Institution to any appreciable extent. Therefore, even in those parishes where the Royal Institution had received the support of some of the French-Canadians, the majority of the curés had refused to help.

Despite the lack of help from the Catholic clergy, the teaching of religion in those schools does not seem to have created a serious problem. In many cases the pupils were segregated for religious instruction, and where the teacher was Protestant, someone else often was brought in to teach that subject. In some places where the teacher might have been suspected of being somewhat anti-Catholic, the teaching of religion could have created a problem. However, the documents fail to yield evidence to support this. Surely, enough other complaints found their way into the correspondence of the Royal Institution that if the teaching of religion had given rise to serious problems, these would have been recorded there also.

Yet the religious influence that some of these schools might have had over their students might not have been quite that satisfactory. Although there were two lists of textbooks in use, one for the French and one for the English, the fact that a fair number of these books were of a religious nature could have created complications. These books were used regularly to teach other subjects. Therefore, a Protestant teacher using these could have had considerable influence over the religious formation

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of his pupils, particularly over those who were learning English, without wilfully trying to proselytize. However, there is no more concrete evidence to support this hypothesis than a number of religious textbooks used by some Protestant masters to teach Roman Catholic pupils. Yet, this situation can be considered to have been at least potentially dangerous.

Therefore, the real source of conflict between the Catholic clergy and the English authorities regarding this educational system lay in the central organization of the Board of the Royal Institution -- it was controlled by the English Protestants. Yet, very shortly after the formation of the Board, when the Royal Institution actually began to function, negotiations were initiated between the governor and the Catholic bishop to remedy this situation. Since these negotiations went on quite well with both sides genuinely interested in reaching an equitable solution, the situation should not have caused the problems it did. However, the Colonial Office had to be consulted on every move, and this resulted in a number of needless complications. Moreover, the Catholic bishop died during the negotiations, and although his successor followed the same policy, this caused another delay. All in all, it took a long time before any satisfactory agreement could be reached -- from 1821 to 1829! In the meantime, the policy of non-cooperation was kept in effect.

Although the actual source of conflict lay at the central level, most of the real conflict occurred at the parochial level. It need not have been so bitter since at that level the Royal Institution's policy was most liberal. It offered the French Canadians and the Catholic clergy

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virtual control of their own schools. The evidence presented in this and the previous chapters show this to have been the case. The Royal Institution was quite sincere, although perhaps a little too patronizing, in wishing to maintain this policy. Although this policy was quite liberal granting the parishes a great deal of autonomy in the supervision of schools, the hiring of teachers, the teaching of religion and the selection of textbooks, the French Canadians and the Catholic clergy continued to boycott this system.

Until an adequate system was guaranteed by law and not solely through the good graces of the governmental authorities, the French Canadians had ample justification to oppose the Royal Institution in its present form. Yet many of them criticized that body for the wrong reasons -- for failing to provide suitable education in Catholic parishes when they themselves were at least partially responsible for this failure. On the other hand, the authorities of the Royal Institution seemed confused also as they directed a good part of their criticism likewise the wrong way. They accused the priests of prejudice and they complained bitterly that they were refusing an educational system based on very liberal policies. Somehow the authorities of the Royal Institution could not see that as long as English Protestants controlled that organization centrally, the system was totally unacceptable to the Roman Catholics. This they did not seem to be able to grasp. They were giving the French Canadians an opportunity to control their own schools at the local level, and it was beyond them why the offer was being rejected.

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From the criticism directed by both sides, one against the other, and often quite illogically, it seemed as though the governor and the Catholic bishop provided the only element of sanity and real understanding in the whole controversy. While the others were all confused, the French for seeing treachery where there was none, and the English for accusing the clergy of prejudice when it was really their organization of the Board of the Royal Institution that was responsible for this conflict, the governor and the Catholic bishop were trying to reach a suitable solution. Therefore, the whole problem of religion and the Royal Institution was the result far more of misunderstanding, groundless suspicions and perhaps a little stupidity on both sides than on any real attempt by the English at this time to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

It was mentioned in Chapter I that the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning was founded in 1801 by an Act of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada. However, the educational system it created did not please the French Canadians. This system, therefore, was opposed by their leaders and by the Catholic clergy. In 1818 when the Board was organized finally to administer the Royal Institution it encountered the same opposition. Although the original intentions and plans of the founders of the Royal Institution to use education to assimilate the French Canadians would seem to have been abandoned by that time, nevertheless the members of the board governing that body were almost entirely English and Protestant. Naturally this situation neither pleased the French Canadians nor encouraged them to reconsider their stand on the question. On the contrary, perhaps it served to increase their determination to undermine its authority and its effectiveness. Yet, at the same time, the Royal Institution seemed to have been interested genuinely in promoting education, and to that end it sought continually to obtain the support of the Roman Catholic clergy. However, the hierarchy was determined equally to withhold this support until a more equitable system for educating the youth of Lower Canada could be found. An adequate solution was found eventually when the governor and the bishop agreed to establish a system composed of two independent committees of the Royal Institution, one for the French-Canadian Catholics, the other for the English

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Protestants. However, the Assembly not only failed to introduce the necessary legislation to put this compromise into effect but it passed a bill of its own, a bill that placed education under its control. This bill virtually eliminated the effectiveness of the Royal Institution at the elementary and secondary levels of education.

It was shown also in Chapter I that French-Canadian historians in general were quite suspicious of the Royal Institution claiming that its primary function had been to Anglicize and Protestantize the French-Canadian population. On the other hand, some English-speaking historians denied this accusation as being entirely false and without foundation. Others, although they did not deny that the whole situation had been rather awkward, suggested that the English authorities of the time had exhibited more poor judgment than nefarious intentions in trying to organize such a system with the expectation that it would be acceptable to the French Canadians. Furthermore, still others claimed that the French Canadians had been somewhat oversensitive and needlessly suspicious of English intentions and actions in establishing the Royal Institution. They explain further that there was nothing in the Act that could have prevented them from making use of its provisions for their own education.

Canon Groulx and Dr. Audet took opposing points of view on the question. Groulx held that because of the nefarious intentions of the founders of the Royal Institution the Catholic clergy did the right thing in refusing it its cooperation. He is proud that the actions of the Roman Catholic clergy were in great part responsible for eliminating the

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Royal Institution from public education. To him there had been danger in 1801 primarily because of the intentions of the founders and there still had been danger in 1818 because of the English Protestant character of the Board of Trustees of the Royal Institution.

Audet on the other hand stated that although the intentions of the founders of the Royal Institution could not be considered to have been above suspicion, there had been safeguards for the French Canadians written in the law itself, Articles IV and VIII of the Act (see Appendix I). Furthermore, he explained that by 1818, when the Board was established, the intentions of the founders had been forgotten and that the individuals who controlled the Royal Institution at the time were interested genuinely in furthering the cause of education. This fact was supported by the regulations issued by the Board: uniformity of textbooks was recommended with provisions for the French Canadians to select a list for their pupils; priests and ministers were given the right to inspect the schools; visitors appointed from the local population were given the right and the duty to inspect the schools regularly; Catholic and Protestant pupils were separated for religious worship. Because of the protective clauses IV and VIII of the Act, and because of the regulations issued by the Board, Audet felt that the French Canadians at that time could have made good use of the Royal Institution and still have been able to preserve their French Catholic character. He went on to show that there had been adequate supervision in the schools and that the rights of the Roman Catholic pupils had been protected carefully. He pointed out further that in fact eleven French-Canadian Catholic parishes

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had accepted the authority of the Royal Institution without adverse effect to their language or to their faith.

Therefore, an important factor to consider when examining this controversy is the fate of those eleven Catholic parishes mentioned by Audet that came under the authority of the Royal Institution and which were supposed to have suffered no ill effect from the experience. Obviously a number of questions had to be explored first before any further conclusions could be reached. Were the wishes of the French Canadians in these parishes always respected? Were their rights protected fully by the Royal Institution? Were their faith, their language and their culture threatened in any way? Were they given the same treatment as those in English schools? Generally, were the conditions enjoyed by the French Canadians sufficiently satisfactory to justify Audet's optimism or were they so potentially dangerous as to merit Canon Groulx's severe denunciation?

The fact that a mere handful of French Canadians found primarily in eighteen schools were affected by this system would certainly caution one against broad generalizations. What actually did happen to a small number of French Canadians might not have happened to a larger group. Nevertheless, an examination of the conditions under which the French Canadians attending Royal Institution schools received their education revealed one basic fact. Although theoretically there might have been potential danger to the faith and language of French Canadians due to English control of the central organization of the Royal Institution, in fact, and quite conclusively, there was no determined or organized effort

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on the part of the English to use the Royal Institution to Anglicize and Protestantize them. This fact is well supported by documents.

In analysing the conditions of the French-Canadian pupils under the Royal Institution it was established that there was no actual French-Canadian organization within that system since in most parishes French-Canadian and English pupils shared the same school. Only in Cap Santé and Terrebonne were separate facilities available and only for a limited period of time at that. In all other parishes there was but one Royal Institution school available to all pupils. Furthermore, in the eighteen schools selected for this study only five were considered to be completely French. Therefore, it seems rather evident that either it was not the intention of the Royal Institution to provide separate facilities for French Canadians or that due to a number of circumstances it was unable to do so.

Considering that at that time the French Canadians held a rather commanding majority of the population of Lower Canada this lack of separate schools for French and English students might have worked to their advantage, other factors remaining equal. Surely had they accepted the Royal Institution even as it was constituted, they would have had an overpowering majority of the students in most schools. Under these circumstances, a policy of assimilation might have been somewhat difficult for the English to implement.

This marked superiority of population in favour of the French Canadians must be considered in conjunction with the actual policies of the Board: the inhabitants were allowed to choose their own teachers;

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the Roman Catholic priests were encouraged to visit the schools; a separate list of French textbooks was provided. Considering these circumstances, with the exception of the central administration in the Bureau and the Board of the Royal Institution, this could have become in fact a French-Canadian system of education. However, this hypothesis is highly speculative since under these circumstances this theory could easily be projected further to suggest that perhaps, had this situation really occurred, the English authorities might have altered their regulations and their policy so as to restrict the power of the French Canadians. However intriguing this trend of thought might be, it remains purely in the realm of speculation.

The facts remain that except for a small minority found primarily in eighteen schools, the French Canadians refused to accept the authority of the Royal Institution. Its inability or unwillingness to provide separate facilities for French and English students should be examined in this context. The total situation as it really existed in the eighteen parishes must be taken into consideration: a large proportion of visitors and teachers were English Protestant and the central direction of education likewise was in the hands of the English authorities. Under these conditions, conditions certainly not favourable to the French Canadians, the English might have tried to pursue a policy of assimilation. Yet, as it has been shown already, no evidence was found to suggest that such a policy was attempted. Neither the language nor the faith of those French Canadians who accepted the authority of the Royal Institution seem to have been affected by this experience. The only Roman Catholic

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on record to have lost his faith was a schoolmaster, Christopher Purcell of Vaudreuil. If it had been the policy of the English to try to use education as a means of Anglicizing and Protestantizing the French Canadians, the results would not seem to have been very encouraging.

What of the other factors? As could be expected, since the French Canadians generally had refused to cooperate with the Royal Institution, a considerable number of English Protestants assumed the position of visitor, even in the eighteen schools where the French Canadians were in the majority. Eighty-nine visitors have been recorded as having inspected these schools -- forty-nine French, and forty English. Moreover, in only four of these schools were all the visitors French.

Because of the unwillingness of the French Canadians to cooperate with the Royal Institution in any way this large proportion of English visitors in these schools should not come as a surprise. French-Canadian leadership just was not forthcoming. Yet, even these English visitors, with the possible exception of the Reverends Burrage and Driscoll, seemed more interested in concentrating their efforts in furthering the cause of education in their own parishes than in interfering with the language and faith of French-Canadian pupils. These eighteen schools seem to have been conducted on a fair and equitable basis, despite the large number of English visitors and despite preponderant English leadership at the central level.

However, as far as the French Canadians were concerned, a rather undesirable feature of this English rule was the role played by Protestant ministers in the supervision and administration of schools. It was shown

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that in six of the eighteen parishes eleven ministers acted in this capacity during the Royal Institution's tenure. Some of these Anglican clergymen seemed to behave like peripatetic inspectors reporting directly to the secretary on the state of education in the parishes. This condition did not please the French Canadians although it was caused certainly in part by the refusal of the Roman Catholic priests to cooperate in any way with the Royal Institution. Nevertheless, it has been shown that with the exception of the Burrage and Driscoll incidents these ministers interfered no more with the language and faith of the French Canadians than did the authorities of the Royal Institution. No complaints from French Canadians have been found in the correspondence of these eighteen schools concerning the actions of these ministers.

Generally it can be said that although much of the local authority in these eighteen schools was in English Protestant hands, and in some cases under the supervision of the Anglican clergy, French-Canadian pupils do not seem to have suffered from this condition. The visitors, responsible members of the community interested in the progress of education, provided these eighteen schools with leadership and management that was as efficient as that found in any of the other schools under the Royal Institution. Even visitors like Allsopp of Cap Santé who did not seem to be always sympathetic toward the French Canadians did not infringe upon their rights. The Thurber incident mentioned previously showed that he was careful to obtain the consent of the French-Canadian parents with children in the school before hiring an English Protestant teacher. The French Canadians did not control these eighteen schools principally

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because they refused to do so. Therefore, it is somewhat difficult to criticize the Royal Institution for its choice of visitors. Given these existing conditions, the situation could have been far worse. As it was, the local authorities controlled education in the parishes with a minimum of interference from the central agency. The men in charge of supervising the schools at the local level conducted themselves well and their conduct suggests that there were no attempts on their part to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians.

To continue this exposition of the actual conditions in these eighteen schools the selection, appointment and supervision of teachers was examined. It was found that both the central administration and the visitors in the parishes shared this responsibility. Although the system was not particularly acceptable to French Canadians it seems to have worked quite well in practice.

On the whole, teachers were neither the incompetent bunglers that some have accused them of being, nor were they total strangers forced upon the parishes by the central authorities. Except in very particular situations, the local authorities chose their own teachers and presented them to the Royal Institution for certification. Only when visitors were unable to find suitable teachers themselves did the Board come forth with specific recommendations. As long as the local authorities presented candidates with suitable moral and professional background, the Royal Institution did not interfere.

However, to the French Canadians the disturbing feature of this system was the absolute control held by the Royal Institution, and parti-

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cularly by the governor, in commissioning teachers. The latter sanctioned all appointments, dismissals and transfers. This power he guarded so jealously that he refused to delegate it even to the Secretary of the Royal Institution. Therefore, legally, the appointment of teachers was made through the pleasure and good graces of the governor. Although theoretically this could be considered somewhat prejudicial to the protection of French-Canadian rights, in practice there was little interference on the part of the governor. As a rule, he accepted the recommendations of the secretary who in turn was guided by the wishes of the inhabitants made known to him through the visitors. The secretary interfered only when the schoolmaster was delinquent in his duty either morally or professionally or when there was an insufficient number of students to warrant the cost of supporting a teacher at public expense.

On numerous occasions the principle of allowing the local authorities to select teachers was stated by the secretary, and on numerous occasions his statements were supported by events recorded in the correspondence. Considering this and the fact that it has been shown already that teachers were commissioned generally through the recommendation of the visitors, it would seem unlikely that schoolmasters were forced upon the inhabitants against their wills. The system seems to have worked satisfactorily since it was centralized only in theory, not in fact.

Not only did the central authorities generally respect the selection of teaching personnel made by the visitors, but often the secretary suggested that teachers of the same language and faith as the majority of the inhabitants of the parishes be appointed. This principle

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he stated time and time again. For example, it was mentioned previously that he had suggested, because of local conditions, that the visitors of Terrebonne replace Augustin Vervais by a bilingual teacher. When Thomas Neagle applied for the position Mills warned the visitors that he doubted the applicant could speak French sufficiently to teach in that parish. Other similar circumstances were cited. It seems obvious that the secretary preferred to commission teachers who were of the same language and faith as the people they were going to teach.

Despite the fact that the local authorities could choose their own teachers and that the secretary encouraged the visitors to select teachers of the same language and faith as the majority of the inhabitants of the parish in which they were to teach, approximately 50% of the schoolmasters in the eighteen schools that served primarily French-Canadian Roman Catholic pupils were English and Protestant. From the evidence found in the correspondence it would seem unlikely that Mills had not been sincere when he stated that policy. Yet the facts are there. Presumably the same reason that was given to explain the large number of English visitors in these same schools can be repeated here to attempt to clarify this rather anomalous situation. The French Canadians and the Roman Catholic clergy had refused to cooperate with the Royal Institution in any way.

The inhabitants had been free to choose their own teachers and the secretary had recommended that these teachers be of the same language and faith as the pupils they would teach. Had the French Canadians wished to take advantage of the benefits of the Royal Institution, under

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these given circumstances, undoubtedly they could have had virtually their own school system, unless, of course, the English authorities had changed their policy had this situation materialized.

Taking these circumstances into consideration, the privileges of the local authorities, the role of the governor and the secretary's policy regarding the language and faith of the candidates in the selection of teachers, it would seem that these conditions could have been advantageous to the French Canadians. At any rate, they certainly do not support any claim that the policy of the Royal Institution was designed to Anglicize and Protestantize them, particularly in view of the fact that that organization had become so satiated with the problems caused by the French Canadians under its jurisdiction that it was only too willing to relinquish its control over these schools and turn them over as soon as possible to the proposed Catholic Committee or to the new Syndics' Law.

Furthermore, after examining the rather sensitive topic of religious relations between Catholics and Protestants within the framework of the Royal Institution no evidence was found to suggest that any attempts were made to use education to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians. It would seem that the views of the governing authorities had changed considerably since 1801. As a matter of fact, not long after the Board was founded in 1818, the governor, in conjunction with the Royal Institution, entered into serious negotiations with the Roman Catholic bishop to seek a solution to the problems caused by education. Regardless of the governor's and the Royal Institution's intentions (and the problems caused by the controversy over the McGill estates at that time

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might have played an important part in making that decision) there was some willingness on the part of the governmental authorities to try to satisfy the demands of the French Canadians on the question of education.

Unlike in 1801 when there had been considerable talk of using education to Anglicize the French Canadians, this time even the Anglican bishop was talking in terms of religious toleration and freedom of religion for all schools. Moreover, it was now the policy of the Board to invite formally all the curés to act as supervisors for the Royal Institution schools in their parishes. This principle was stated by Mills quite frequently and numerous invitations were found in the correspondence requesting the parish priests to act in this capacity. Before the Committee of the Assembly investigating education Mills stressed that he favoured a system of two Royal Institutions since general control of education should be in the hands of the government while immediate supervision and direction should be the responsibility of the respective churches. This, added to the fact that the Royal Institution seemed rather eager to relinquish its authority over the French Canadians would suggest that a policy of assimilation through education was no longer considered very seriously.

Yet, although the Royal Institution and the governmental authorities sought quite sincerely the cooperation of the French Canadians in the work of education often their deeds did not support their words. For example, while they talked of religious toleration for the benefit of the French Canadians, they forbade the use of their school buildings for Sunday worship to all dissenters. Moreover, some of their local supporters

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did not seem to have too much sympathy and understanding for the French-Canadian position in this controversy -- feelings that were undoubtedly quite evident to the French Canadians with whom they associated.

Although these factors might not be particularly significant in the total picture, nonetheless they must have served in their own way to set the tone of the relationship between the Royal Institution and the French Canadians.

However, the evidence mentioned up to this point fails to show any indication of positive intentions on the part of the Royal Institution or of the government to pursue a policy of assimilation. The following factors have been well established: local control over the administration of the schools and the selection of teachers; the policy of the Board to recommend the appointment of teachers of the same faith and language as the inhabitants of the parishes in which they were to teach; request by the Board for the support of the parish priests in the supervision of the schools; the beginning of serious negotiations between the governor and the bishop to establish a system of education equitable to the French Canadians; the willingness, if not eagerness of the Royal Institution to surrender its authority over the schools with a majority of French-Canadian pupils.

Although it does not seem that the true intentions of the Royal Institution were to assimilate the French Canadians, and even though the Roman Catholic bishop must have seen that it was within his power, in time, to reach a satisfactory agreement with the governor, nevertheless all this did not prevent the Catholic clergy from criticizing this system

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bitterly. Feelings ran high -- feelings caused perhaps by the unhappy memory of 1801, perhaps by the words of local supporters of the Royal Institution in their criticism of the French Canadians, or perhaps by the treatment meted out to the dissenters by the Church of England. Whatever the reason, the local Catholic clergy was most intemperate in its evaluation and criticism of the Royal Institution.

This extreme position was demonstrated particularly when members of the clergy testified before committees of the Assembly investigating the state of education in Lower Canada. They testified, unjustly it would seem from the evidence already presented, that the inhabitants had no control over the Royal Institution schools in their parishes, no control over the selection of teachers and that the curés were not allowed to supervise the schools. The Royal Institution was being blamed, it would seem, for circumstances which arose particularly because of the Catholic clergy's policy of non-cooperation. Granted, there was a rather heavy proportion of English teachers in these schools. Granted also that Protestant ministers at times did act as visitors and inspectors. However this occurred not because the inhabitants and the priests had been denied the right to participate in the administration of the schools but partly because they themselves had refused to accept this responsibility. Because of the central organization of the Royal Institution the Catholic clergy might have felt that it was its duty to withhold its cooperation from it. That was its privilege. However, it was unjust of the clergy to turn around and accuse that body publicly of denying it these rights, rights which the hierarchy and the priests had rejected themselves.

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Not only did most of the curés criticize the Royal Institution or ignore its existence entirely but some, by their active opposition often obstructed its progress, going even to the point of refusing the sacraments to those who supported its schools. The records show that in the eighteen parishes under discussion, only six priests offered the Royal Institution any real cooperation. Yet, these priests, instead of expending their energy criticizing and opposing the existing system, through their positive approach were able to have a voice in the selection of teachers and the administration of the schools in their parishes. For example, Curé St. Germain of Terrebonne became the leading visitor of the school in his parish seemingly without prejudice either to his faith or to his standing in the community. In fact, his cooperation was a positive asset to his flock since he was able to ensure that all the teachers hired were Roman Catholic. Moreover, his position and his views were highly respected by the authorities of the Royal Institution. Therefore, there is no reason to believe, taking into consideration the policy of the Royal Institution at that time, that other priests might not have secured similar control over the Royal Institution schools in their parishes.

Yet, despite the fact that the majority of the curés had refused even to visit the schools, in general the teaching of religion seems to have been handled quite satisfactorily. It was shown previously that it was the policy of the Board to separate Catholic and Protestant pupils when it came time for worship or religious instruction. Of course, where the schoolmaster was French-Canadian the teaching of religion

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presented no problem for Roman Catholic pupils. Moreover, quite often Protestant teachers would have someone else, a competent person, teach religion to the Catholic pupils in their schools. (In these cases, the curé's cooperation would have been most helpful.) In one of the English schools, the teacher, a Protestant, not wishing to interfere with the religious beliefs of his Catholic pupils, had them read, during the period of religious instruction, religious books supplied by their parents. Generally, then, there seems to have been no serious problems regarding religious instruction in these eighteen schools, certainly no pressure brought to bear on Roman Catholic students by Protestant masters.

Nevertheless, it was mentioned before also that there might have been some rather slight element of danger for the French Canadians in this system of education since the contents of many of the textbooks in use were of a religious nature. This, presumably, could have afforded the teachers opportunities to pass personal comments on matters of religion and of morality. Since a large number of the teachers were English and Protestant, there was perhaps inherent danger in this system, particularly with men like Selby Burn of Three Rivers who did not seem to have been too sympathetic toward French Canadians. However, this potential danger, if it can really be called that, could have been avoided had the French Canadians and the curés taken charge of their own schools. Considering the policy of the government and of the Royal Institution at that time, this could have been done. However, this does not suggest necessarily that it would have been the best possible policy to follow, but merely that it could have been done without undue danger to the

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language and faith of the French-Canadian Roman Catholic students.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore what actually did happen in the eighteen schools where the majority of the pupils were French-Canadian. From the evidence examined one must conclude that the Royal Institution did not attempt to use education to try to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians. No undue pressure or interference was placed on the inhabitants by the central authorities in this respect. Generally, these schools functioned quite smoothly, no major conflict being recorded. It was shown that it was the general policy of the Royal Institution to let the inhabitants, in the persons of the visitors, residents of the community, control the local administration and select teachers. Furthermore, it was the stated intention of the Secretary of the Board to try to recommend teachers of the same language and faith as the inhabitants of the parish where they were to teach as well as to try to obtain the cooperation of the curés in the supervision of the schools. The authorities even went to the trouble of recommending the separation of Catholic and Protestant pupils for both worship and religious instruction. The English authorities further demonstrated their good intentions by opening negotiations with the Catholic bishop with the hope of establishing an educational system that was acceptable to the French Canadians and also by showing their willingness to relinquish their authority over the French Canadians in their schools when it became possible to do so. Therefore, it certainly does not seem to have been the policy of the Royal Institution or of the government to use education to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians. Although the system as it was then

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organized could not be considered completely satisfactory for the French Canadians, there was really nothing dangerous about it to prevent them from using it to serve their own needs. In fact, it is quite conceivable that it would have been possible for them to be in complete control of education at the local level within a short period of time.

Although there were really no attempts by the English to use the Royal Institution to assimilate the French Canadians the real issues and the real source of conflict concerning this controversy were clouded by mistrust, suspicion and ill will on both sides. From the beginning the French Canadians were extremely suspicious of English motives in trying to establish such a system of education. Considering the situation of 1801, the treatment received by the dissenters at the hands of the Royal Institution and the views of some of the English visitors, fellow inhabitants, there were at least grounds for suspicion. Moreover the French Canadians, a conquered people struggling to maintain their identity, were perhaps hypersensitive toward anything that might endanger their position. Therefore, not only were the true issues of the controversy distorted by this suspicion but so was the constructive work done by the Royal Institution in the schools. It would seem then from much of the criticism recorded against the Royal Institution that many French Canadians missed the true nature of the controversy. The work of the Royal Institution at the parochial level was criticized, yet, as it has been shown already, this is really the area where it deserved the least criticism. In fact, the French Canadians were criticizing the Royal Institution for conditions for which they were at least equally

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responsible. They should have levelled their criticism at the central organization of this system of education which was almost totally in English Protestant hands. However, as is often the case, many were blind to the real issues.

On the other hand, the English were no more objective in their evaluation since they also misunderstood the true basis of the French-Canadian point of view. They accused them and the Roman Catholic clergy of ill will, lack of interest in education, prejudice and bigotry. They criticized the behaviour of the inhabitants and of the curés. However, they failed to understand the real issue behind this controversy, the issue they were responsible for creating -- English control over the central organization. They could not see that the powers of the governor, the preponderance of English members on the Board of Trustees, the principalship of the Anglican bishop, the appointment of an Anglican minister as Secretary of the Board could conceivably make the French Canadians suspicious. They seemed oblivious to all this. They felt that there were no ulterior motives behind their actions and could not see why the French Canadians should be so obstinate. All they could see was obstruction and lack of cooperation. For this they too should bear some of the responsibility for the misunderstandings that occurred. They could see only that they were trying to provide a system of free education for the inhabitants of Lower Canada, a system which in reality could have worked quite well at the local level. Unfortunately, this was not the complete story.

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From the facts presented it should be obvious that the real issue lay in the organization and the membership of the central administration. Since it was so heavily weighted in favour of English Protestants, the Catholic bishop, although he had been invited to sit as a member of the Board, understandably had refused to be associated with it in any way. It could be argued that it was not quite reasonable to expect the French Canadians to accept education under these conditions. The whole system was obviously badly planned, if not because of nefarious ulterior motives, certainly through a lack of intelligent analysis of the situation. Beside the heavy English representation on the Board and the role of the Anglican clergy, the powers of the governor must have frightened the French Canadians. He held effective control over visitors, teachers and members of the Board of the Royal Institution. There were no real legal guarantees protecting the rights of the French Canadians against this authority. (Articles IV and VIII only meant that the French Canadians did not have to accept Royal Institution schools.) Therefore, perhaps it was felt that too much depended upon the person of the governor and upon his good graces. Subsequent governors with other policies would have been able to alter the system considerably. Therefore, the bishop and the French Canadians must have felt that this system lacked adequate protection for them. For these reasons they cannot really be condemned for resisting the Royal Institution.

The real intentions and policies of both parties can be examined now. It was quite obvious that the governor, far from wanting to use the Royal Institution in a programme of assimilation, sought almost from the

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beginning the cooperation of the Catholic clergy. For a number of reasons (not all altruistic) he initiated negotiations with the Catholic bishop in an attempt to reach some kind of compromise solution to the problems created by the Royal Institution. To some extent this is proof that it must not have been his intention to try to assimilate the French Canadians through education. Following numerous proposals, counter proposals, consultations with the Colonial Office, the death of the bishop, the appointment of a successor, a satisfactory solution was reached finally in 1829 -- the proposal of two independent committees of the Royal Institution. Unlike many English who suspected the French Canadians of prejudice and unlike the mass of the French Canadians and the curés who feared a policy of assimilation, the governor and the bishop went right to the heart of the matter in their negotiations as their proposed solution indicates -- the organization of the central administration of the Royal Institution. In this light and that of the actual conditions that existed in the eighteen schools it would seem reasonable to conclude that the Royal Institution was not an agent of assimilation trying to Anglicize and Protestantize the French Canadians. However, it must be accepted also that as it was constituted, it did not warrant the confidence of the French Canadians. The situation was complex and confused.

The question of what could have happened had the French Canadians acknowledged the authority of the Royal Institution and accepted its schools is an interesting and intriguing one. Obviously it cannot be answered. However, a number of factors should be examined in this light.

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As the system was administered in actual fact and with no basic change in English policy, the French Canadians could have controlled education and the Royal Institution eventually at the local level. Such potential dangers as mixing French and English pupils, the number of English Protestant visitors and teachers, the number of visiting Protestant ministers, the teaching of religion and textbooks with religious content would have been eliminated. Considering the French-Canadian population, it is reasonable to assume that the great majority of the pupils in the schools, except in a few areas, would have been French-speaking, likewise the visitors and the teachers. The curés would have replaced the Protestant ministers and the problem of textbooks and of religious instruction would not have existed. All this speculation hinges on the supposition that the policy of the Royal Institution and the actual conditions in the schools at the local level would have remained, on a large scale, the same as they were in the eighteen schools.

Would the English governing authorities have altered their policy had they realized the French Canadians were actually taking over control of the schools? Would there have been reaction, pressure brought to bear and additional conflict had these conditions occurred? The willingness of the governor and the English authorities to negotiate for a system of education acceptable to the French Canadians would seem to suggest not. Would the English authorities have surrendered some of their power in terms of seats on the Board of Trustees of the Royal Institution? The facts are that when the Royal Institution was founded only two French Canadians were invited to sit as members of the Board -- the bishop and

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the Speaker of the Assembly. Yet, in his testimony before the Committee of the Assembly investigating the state of education in 1824 Mills testified that at that time there were seven French-Canadian members on the Board. French-Canadian representation was being increased gradually, an indication that perhaps the English authorities would have surrendered some of their power at the central level.

In practice, was it possible at that time for a school system where Roman Catholics worked under a basically English Protestant administration to have functioned smoothly? Generally, the evidence examined of actual conditions in the eighteen schools would indicate the affirmative. Yet, because of the lack of appreciation of one group for the other's national character, religious beliefs, aspirations and way of life it might not have succeeded as well on a large scale over a long period of time without serious tensions developing.

Would a change of personnel at the central level, the replacement of the governor, the appointment of a new secretary and members of the Board or serious deterioration of relations between the two groups have meant a reversal of the actual tolerant policy of the Royal Institution? This is difficult to determine, yet, at that time the political situation could have hardly been more difficult than it was. Still, no evidence of recrimination against French Canadians in these schools nor any curtailment of their rights and privileges were found to have occurred because of this.

Therefore, it would seem that most French-Canadian historians might have qualified some of their more extreme criticisms of the Royal

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Institution had they examined more closely actual conditions in the eighteen parishes. Yet, this need not necessarily have altered their final judgment that such an educational system was really quite unacceptable to the majority of French Canadians. This position can still be defended. However, the fact that there had been no real attempt at assimilation should not have been ignored totally.

On the other hand, although Audet made a strong case for a re-appraisal of our views on the Royal Institution, he need not have been so optimistic. There were dangers inherent in the system. Lower pointed out some of these in his appraisal of the situation in his book Colony to Nation.

Lower says:

The Royal Institution is held up by many French Canadians today as an example of the 'tyranny' to which their ancestors were subject, another English attempt to anglicize and proselytize them. Complete purity of motive need not be attributed to the authors of the project but a reading of the Act in the spirit of English parliamentary institutions suggests that it contained little that could not have been used by the French and Catholic people to their own advantage. Too much power was given to The Governor, yet as early as 1802 those words had some similarity to The Crown. The first membership of the Institution was far too heavily weighted with English and for that (a condition common to every phase of the government in the province at that time) there is no defence. Yet if the French people had taken the Act and worked it, as they afterwards worked Responsible Government, they would sooner or later have brought matters to the same point of democratic control and would have had a system of free elementary education long before they actually obtained it. The difficulty lay not so much in the Act as in the French misunderstanding of the genius of English institutions, especially the great part of government that resides in convention rather than in law; and it lay still more in the opposition of the bishop and clergy, who, not finding themselves given specific mention and place under the terms of the Act, believed they were shouldered out of the all-important field of education. But they too, a reading of the Act

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would suggest, could have found their place in the scheme, if they had desired it. They did not desire it: they thought in terms of a church which should have a position in society independent of, if not superior to, the state, not of a church subject to the general laws of the land. The charge of tyranny would seem to have little foundation when levelled against an act carried in an assembly of which the great majority were French and Catholic.¹

It is significant to note that Lower does admit that: "Too much power was given to The Governor, ..." and "The first membership of the Institution was too heavily weighted with English and for that (a condition common to every phase of the government in the province at that time) there is no defence." Here lies the crux of the problem. Perhaps Audet could have given this more consideration in his final evaluation.

This study of the work of the Royal Institution in eighteen selected parishes shows only that as the system was actually applied after 1818 it was not part of a nefarious plot to assimilate the French Canadians. A more complete judgment would have to be based on a deeper study of the Royal Institution not as an isolated entity but as an integral part of the whole question of French-English relations after the conquest -- the problem of assimilation and of French-Canadian survival as a collectivity.

¹ Arthur R.M. Lower, Colony to Nation, A History of Canada, Toronto, Longmans Green, 1946, p. 156-157.

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1. PRIMARY SOURCES

Archives of McGill University, Letters from the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, 1820-1855.

The correspondence of the Board gives an account of the life and problems of the Royal Institution. These letters were written principally by the Secretary of the Board to school visitors, teachers, ministers, priests, the Civil Secretary and the Governor. Although most of the letters are concerned with the business of the Board some are personal and give interesting insights into the behaviour of some of the officials of the Royal Institution.

Archives of McGill University, Letters to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, 1820-1849.

These files contain letters coming to the Board from school visitors, teachers, parents, ministers, priests and the Civil Secretary as well as petitions, deeds of assignments and salary returns. These documents contain a record of actual conditions in the schools: the work of schoolteachers and visitors, reports of inspections by ministers and priests, outlines of the curriculum, lists of textbooks, complaints by parents and accounts of controversies within the parishes and of the parishes with the Board.

Public Archives of Canada, Series "Q", Vol. 157-1, p. 73-75, and Vol. 171, p. 193-194.

These documents contain the correspondence between the Governor and the Colonial Office as well as petitions from the Royal Institution to the King. Some of Governor Dalhousie's comments to Lord Bathurst give insights into the thinking of the governing classes toward education, while the Royal Institution petitions admit the failure of this system among the French Canadians.

The Journals of the Assembly of Lower Canada.

Reports from the various committees of the Assembly investigating the state of education in Lower Canada are available in these documents. They include also the testimonies of witnesses before these committees. More pertinent to this particular study were the appendices containing lists of salaries paid by the government. From 1801 one can use these lists to verify the tenure of the schoolmasters of the Royal Institution.

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2. SECONDARY SOURCES

A. Special Works

Audet, Francis J., "Ryland", in Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Vol. 23, Third Series, Section I, May 1929, p. 47-56.

Audet's judgment on the Royal Institution is based upon the intentions of its founders. It is typical of the comments made by historians prior to the more detailed research of Canon Groulx and Louis-Philippe Audet.

Audet, Louis-Philippe, "La loi scolaire de 1801", in Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada, Vol. 42, Third Series, Section I, May 1948, p. 1-8.

This brief article by Audet arrives at similar conclusions to Lower in Colony to Nation - the French Canadians could have adapted the Royal Institution to suit themselves. This is not really a serious contribution except that it indicated a change of view for a French-Canadian author and it encouraged Audet to do additional research on the subject.

Audet, Louis-Philippe, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Québec, les Presses universitaires Laval, 1952, Vol. III, 323 p., Vol. IV, 416 p.

This history of the Royal Institution is the best documented work on the subject. Audet found a source of documents heretofore unknown, the correspondence of the Board of the Royal Institution. This study is important not only because it gives an accurate and detailed account of the work of the Royal Institution but also because it presents the controversy from a new point of view for a French-Canadian scholar, a point of view which suggests that this educational system was not so bad that it could not have been used advantageously by the French Canadians.

Fox, Paul, "Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. III and IV", reviewed in The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 34, No. 2, June 1953, p. 177.

This review praises Audet's work, particularly his discovery of new documents. It agrees that because of this discovery a new interpretation was in order. The reviewer supports Lower's and Audet's views deploring the suspicion of the Catholic Church. He feels that had the Royal Institution been adopted it would have benefited all, including the French Canadians. This review places the reader in the recent developments of the controversy.

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Grant, W.L., "L'Enseignement français au Canada, Tome I, Dans le Québec", reviewed in The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 14, No. 1, March 1933, p. 67-68.

This review of Groulx's work on the Royal Institution criticizes the author for seeing confessional schools as the only satisfactory ones and for seeing too much conspiracy instead of the reality of routine and inefficiency in the Colonial Office. It brings into juxtaposition some of the traditional French-Canadian and English evaluations of the work of the Royal Institution in education.

Groulx, Lionel, L'Enseignement français au Canada, Tome I, Dans le Québec, Montréal, Granger, 1933, p. 74-94.

In these twenty pages Groulx presents a well documented case supporting the traditional French-Canadian evaluation of the work of the Royal Institution. He condemns the system categorically as an attempt at assimilation. In 1933 this represented the most complete study of the question. The existence of the correspondence of the Board was still unknown.

Lucas, C.P., Lord Durham's Report of the Affairs of British North America, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912, Vol. III, 380 p.

This represents particularly Charles Buller's view of the Royal Institution derived from his investigation of education for Lord Durham. He found the Royal Institution offensive to the national pride and aspirations of the French Canadians. This is of particular interest since Buller studied the question when the Royal Institution was still in operation, although very much in its decline.

Maheux, Arthur, "Sur l'oeuvre de Louis-Philippe Audet", in La Revue de l'Université Laval, Vol. 10, (7), March 1956, p. 626-632.

Maheux is another French-Canadian scholar who supports the view that the Royal Institution could have been useful. He stresses the need for a new interpretation of the question because of the discovery of new documents. He mentions also that today there are many Catholic educational institutions that cooperate with the state and with Protestant organizations.

Rodrigue, Louis-Joseph, "Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. III, IV", reviewed in La Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 6, No. 4, March 1953, p. 582-583.

This review criticizes Audet's conclusions as hindsight. The reviewer supports the French-Canadian point of view as expressed by Canon Groulx. He brings the controversy to its present state.

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B. General Works

Bédard, T.P., Histoire de cinquante ans, 1791-1841, Québec, Léger Brousseau, 1869, 419 p.

This appraisal of the Royal Institution leans heavily on secondary sources, particularly on the works of F.X. Garneau. The author's criticism of the Royal Institution is based upon the intentions of its founders. It is representative of the stand taken by most French-Canadian historians on this issue.

Bruchési, Jean, Histoire du Canada, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1951, 682 p.

Although this evaluation of the Royal Institution is found in a relatively recent work it adds very little to the traditional interpretations. It makes the point that the English committed an error in judgment in trying to establish this system of education. This serves as a further example of French-Canadian views on the topic.

Chapais, Thomas, Cours d'histoire du Canada, Québec, Librairie Garneau, 1921, Vol. II, 343 p.

This appraisal of the Royal Institution is useful since it comes from a major French-Canadian historian. Like most authors on the subject he stresses the initial organization of this educational system as being dangerous to French Canadians. He mentions further that although the Royal Institution was doomed to failure from the beginning because of clerical opposition, nevertheless it was particularly harmful because it retarded the establishment of an adequate system of education for the French Canadians for at least a generation.

Christie, Robert, A History of the Late Province of Lower Canada, Montreal, Worthington, 1866, Vol. 1, 360 p.

The author sees the failure of the Royal Institution as a result of lack of financial support on the part of the British authorities and of the opposition of the Roman Catholic Church. This work presents the topic from an English point of view.

Garneau, F.X., Histoire du Canada, Montréal, Editions de l'Arbre, 1945, Vol. VII, 230 p.

This appraisal of the Royal Institution, like many others written by French Canadians, suggests a nefarious plot by the English to use education to assimilate them. The actual work of the Royal Institution is not studied. The basis for Garneau's judgment is the intentions of the founders.

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Kingsford, William, The History of Canada, Toronto, Roswell and Hutchison, 1894, Vol. VII, 526 p.

This is typical of the traditional English approach to the question in as much as it stresses such factors as genuine interest in promoting education and fear of American republican influence to explain the founding of the Royal Institution. It avoids mentioning the possibility of other motives, such as the intentions of the founders to use education to assimilate the French Canadians. The author sees the failure of the Royal Institution as a result of inadequate help from the authorities in the form of land grants.

Lower, Arthur, Colony to Nation, A History of Canada, Toronto, Longmans Green, 1946, 600 p.

The author brought a new interpretation to the topic, one which seems to have influenced Audet considerably. He admits the dangerous intentions of the founders but fails to see why the French Canadians could not grasp the spirit of the law and use these schools to their own advantage.

Maurault, Olivier, Propos et Portraits, Montréal, Editions Bernard Valiquette, 1940, 299 p.

The Act of 1801 is seen as part of the attempt by the English authorities to assimilate the French Canadians right from the conquest. The author follows the traditional French-Canadian view.

Parmelee, George W., "English Education", in Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. 16, Toronto, Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914, p. 445-501.

This is typical of the English appraisal of the question. The English wanted a system of education for themselves and the French Canadians could have benefited had they cooperated. He recognizes that the English did not understand the French-Canadian view on education but he does not really come to grips with the question.

Wade, Mason, The French Canadians, 1760-1945, Toronto, MacMillan, 1955, 1136 p.

This is one of the few works written in English that recognizes the problem of assimilation as expressed by French-Canadian historians regarding the establishment of the Royal Institution.

APPENDIX 1

Anno quadragesimo primo Georgii III. A.D. 1801

C A P. XVII.

An Act for the Establishment of Free Schools and the
Advancement of Learning in this Province.

8th. April 1801, Presented for His Majesty's Assent and
Reserved "for the signification of His Majesty's
Pleasure thereon."

7th. April 1802, Assented to by His Majesty in His Privy
Council.

12th August 1802, The Royal Assent signified by Proclama-
tion of His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN.

Preamble.

Whereas Your Majesty from your Paternal Regard, for the
welfare and prosperity of your Subjects of this Province,
hath been most graciously pleased to give directions, for
establishing of a competent number of Free Schools for
the instruction of their Children, in the first Rudiments
of useful Learning, and also occasion may require, for
Foundations of a more enlarged and comprehensive nature;
And whereas Your Majesty hath been further most graciously
pleased to signify your Royal Intentions, that a suitable
proportion of the Lands of the Crown, be set a part, and
the revenue thereof appropriated to such purposes,
Therefore We, Your Majesty's Faithful and Loyal Subjects,
the Legislative Council and Assembly of your Province of
Lower Canada, with the most lively gratitude for this new
instance of Your Majesty's Paternal Attention, to the
wants of Your Majesty's Subjects, and desirous to contri-
bute every thing in our power, for the execution of a
plan so peculiarly beneficial to the rising Generation, do
most humbly beseech Your Majesty, that it may be enacted,
and be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty by
and with Advice and Consent of the Legislative Council and
Assembly of the Province of Lower-Canada, constituted and
assembled by virtue and under the Authority of an Act,
passed in the Parliament of Great Britain, intituled,
"An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act passed in the
"fourteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An

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Governor im- "Act for making more effectual Provision for the Govern-
 powered to ap- "ment of the Province of Quebec in North America," And
 point Trustees "to make further provision for the Government of the said
 of the Schools "Province;" And it is hereby enacted by the authority
 of Royal Foun- aforesaid, that it shall and may be lawful to and for His
 dation. Excellency the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person
 administering the Government of this Province for the time
 being, by an Instrument under the Great Seal of this
 Province, to constitute and appoint such and so many
 persons, as he shall see fit, to be Trustees of the
 Schools of Royal Foundation in this Province, and of all
 other Institutions of Royal Foundation, to be hereafter
 established for the advancement of Learning therein, as
 also for the management and administration, improvement
 and amelioration of all Estates and Property, moveable or
 immoveable, which shall in any manner or way whatsoever,
 be hereafter appropriated to the said Schools and Insti-
 tutions, for the purposes of Education and the advancement
 of Learning, within this Province, to remove from time to
 time, the said Trustees or any or either of them, and to
 appoint others to be the successors of such as shall be so
 removed, or shall die, or resign their Trust.

Declared a II. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
 Body corpor- that the said Trustees and their Successors, to be named
 ate and Poli- in manner herein before directed and appointed, shall be
 tic. 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," and that by
 the same name, they shall have perpetual Succession and a

To have per- Common Seal, with power to change, alter, break and make
 petual succes- new the same, when and as often as they shall judge the
 sion. Corpora- same to be expedient, and that they and their Successors,
 tion to have a by the same name, may sue and be sued, implead and be
 Common Seal. impleaded, answer and be answered unto, in all or any
 Court of Record or Places of Judicature within this
 Province, and that they and their Successors, by the name
 aforesaid, shall be able and capable in Law, to purchase,
 take, have, hold, receive, enjoy, possess and retain,

Authority to without licence in mortmain or Lettres d'amortissement,
 purchase pro- all Messuages, Lands, Tenements and Immoveable Property;
 perty without money, goods, chattles and moveable Property, which here-
 licence in after shall be paid, given, granted, purchased, appropri-
 Mortmain. ated, devised or bequeathed in any manner or way whatso-
 ever for and in favor of the said Schools and Institutions
 of Royal Foundation, to and for the purposes of Education
 and the Advancement of Learning, within this Province, and
 do, perform and execute, all and every lawful Act and
 Thing, in as full and ample manner and form, to all
 intents, constructions and purposes, as any other Body

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Politic or Corporate, by Law, may or ought to do.

Property ve-
sted in the
Trustees.

Authority to
demise the
property.

Rents etc.
to be account-
ed for to the
Receiver Gen-
eral and by
him to the
Crown.

Governor im-
powered to ap-
point the Pre-
sident of the
Corporation.
And other
Officers etc.

III. And be it further enacted by the authority afore-
said, that all Lands, Messuages, Tenements and Heredita-
ments and Immoveable Property, and all rents, sum and sums
of money charged upon, and issuing or payable out of any
Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments or Immoveable
Property, and all sum or sums of money goods chattles,
effects or moveable Property, which shall hereafter be
paid, given, granted, purchased, appropriated, devised or
bequeathed in any manner or way whatsoever, for and in
favour of the said Schools and Institutions of Royal
Foundation, to and for the purposes of Education and the
Advancement, of Learning within this Province, shall and
the same are hereby vested, in the said Trustees and their
Successors, to and for the uses, and purposes herein men-
tioned, declared and enacted, concerning the same; and
that the said Trustees, or the major part of them, shall
and may have power and authority, to demise, let and lease
such Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments and immo-
veable property, as shall or may be so as aforesaid given,
granted, purchased, appropriated, devised or bequeathed,
for any term of years not exceeding twenty one years, and
have, take and receive the rents, issues and profits there-
of. Provided always, that the said Trustees, from time to
time, shall pay or cause to be paid, into the hands of the
Receiver General of this Province for the time being, all
and every such rents, issues and profits, sum and sums of
money, which they shall receive by virtue of this Act,
forthwith upon the receipt thereof, subject to the dispo-
sition of His Excellency, the Governor, Lieutenant Governor
or Person administering the Government of this Province,
to and for the purposes of this Act, by Warrant under his
Hand and Seal; and the said Receiver General is hereby
required to receive and account for the same, in like
manner, as other public monies, now by him received, are
by him accounted for, to His Majesty, through the Commis-
sioners of His Majesty's Treasury: for the time being, as
the Crown shall direct.

IV. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,
that is shall and may be lawful, to and for the Governor,
Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government
of this Province, by an Instrument, or Instruments under
the Great Seal of this Province, from time to time, to
nominate a President or Principal of the said Corporation,
hereby erected, and such other Officers, Clerks and
Servants, as he shall judge necessary, for the well order-
ing and governing of the affairs and business of the said

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Corporation, to fix the place, times and manner in which the said Corporation shall assemble, and the number and description of Members which shall be requisite, for transacting the business of the said Corporation, and for the execution of the trust reposed in them; and the President and such number of Members of the said Corporation, which shall be so fixed, being assembled, at such place and times, and in such manner as shall be also so fixed, shall have full power and authority, to make, ordain and constitute such and so many Bye-laws, Rules, Orders, Constitutions and Ordinances, not repugnant to the Statutes, Customs or Laws of this Province, or the express Regulations of this Act, as to them, or the greatest part of them, then and there present, shall be judged necessary and expedient, as well for the direction, conduct and government of the said Corporation of the Free Schools of Royal Foundation of this Province, and all other Institutions of Royal Foundation for the Advancement of Learning, which shall be hereafter established within this Province, and of the Masters, Ushers, Tutors, Professors and Students thereof, respectively, as for the management and administration, improvement and amelioration of all estates and property, moveable and immovable, which shall in any manner or way be hereafter paid, given, granted, purchased, appropriated, devised or bequeathed, in any manner or way for and in favour of the said Schools and Institutions of Royal Foundation, for the purposes of Education and the advancement of Learning within this Province. Provided always, nevertheless, that no such Law, Rules, Orders, Constitutions or Ordinances, shall have any force or effect until the same shall have been sanctioned and confirmed by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government of this Province, for the time being, under his Hand and Seal at Arms. Provided also, that nothing herein before contained shall extend, or be construed to extend to, or prejudice directly or indirectly, the Religious Communities that now exist de facto, nor to any School or House of Instruction that exists also de facto in this Province, nor to any Corporation legally established or that shall be established by Law in this Province, nor to any private School or other private Establishment, by Individuals for the purposes of Education now made, or hereafter to be made.

President and Members of the corporation to set down rules, orders and statutes of the Schools.

Not however to have force until sanctioned by the Governor.

A saving of the rights of others.

Governor empowered to erect Free Schools in the Parishes or

V. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when and so often as it shall be judged expedient by the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government of this Province, to erect one or more Free Schools in any Parish or Township of this Province, it

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Townships of the Province. shall and may be lawful, to and for the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government of this Province, by an Instrument, under his hand and Seal at Arms, to declare the same and to nominate and appoint two or more Persons residing in the County, wherein such Parish or Township may be situated, for the purpose of erecting one or more School-houses with convenient apartments for one or more School-Masters, in such Parish or Township, to remove from time to time, such Persons or either of them, and to appoint others in the place and stead of such as shall be removed or shall die, or resign their trust, and the said Persons so nominated and appointed, shall be and they are hereby constituted Commissioners, for the purposes aforesaid.

Commissioners to fix on Lots of Ground, for the erection of School Houses. VI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the said Commissioners, being so appointed, shall forthwith after due consideration, fix upon some convenient Lot or Lots of ground in such Parish or Township, whereon such School-house or School houses may be erected, and shall also fix upon the dimensions of the said School house or School-houses to be erected, which shall not in any case exceed, eighty feet in length and forty feet in breadth, and shall contain the apartments proper and convenient, for the residence of the School-Master or School-Masters therein. Provided always, that the situation of such Lot or Lots of ground and the dimensions of such School-house or School-houses, shall be reported to, and be approved by His Excellency the Governor, Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government of this Province for the time being, before the same shall be finally fixed upon.

To be approved by the Governor. VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when such Lot or Lots of ground shall be so fixed upon, with such approbation as aforesaid, the said Commissioners or any two of them, in each of the said Districts respectively, shall as soon as may be, contract for the absolute purchase of the said Lot or Lots of ground in such Parish as aforesaid, for the purpose of erecting thereon, such School-house or School-houses in such manner as is herein after directed, which Lot or Lots of ground, so to be purchased, shall be conveyed to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning.

Lots of ground so fixed and approved, Commissioners empowered to contract for the purchase of the Lots of Grounds. VII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that when such Lot or Lots of ground shall be so fixed upon, with such approbation as aforesaid, the said Commissioners or any two of them, in each of the said Districts respectively, shall as soon as may be, contract for the absolute purchase of the said Lot or Lots of ground in such Parish as aforesaid, for the purpose of erecting thereon, such School-house or School-houses in such manner as is herein after directed, which Lot or Lots of ground, so to be purchased, shall be conveyed to the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning.

School Houses to be provided by the Inhabitants. VIII. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the School-houses with convenient apartments for the School-Master herein before mentioned, shall be erected and completed by the Inhabitants of the Township

APPENDIX 1

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or Parish as the case may be, in which in manner aforesaid, it shall be found expedient to erect the same, and to this end, it shall and may be lawful, when such Lot or Lots of ground as aforesaid shall be fixed upon and conveyed in manner aforesaid, to and for the Commissioners, so as aforesaid appointed, to issue their Warrant under their Signatures, appointing the Church-Wardens of the Parish or Parishes, in which such School-houses are to be erected, to be Sindics for the erection of the same, and requiring them or any two of them, to make an estimate of the sum to which the erection of such School-houses may amount. And also to make an Act of repartition thereof assigning what each Inhabitant in the Parish or Parishes, in which such School-houses are to be erected, in manner aforesaid, shall be held to pay and furnish, which estimate and repartition shall be made in like manner as is now provided for the erection of Churches and Parsonage Houses and shall, by the Church Wardens or any two of them, be laid before the Commissioners aforesaid, who or a majority of them, are hereby authorised to homologate or reject the same, and the said repartition being homologated, shall be binding on all the parties concerned therein; and the Church Wardens or any one of them, may compel each and every of the Inhabitants aforesaid, to pay and furnish his or her proportion in conformity to the said repartition; And in case of refusal or neglect, it shall and may be lawful, to levy by Warrant of distress and sale of the Goods and Chattles of such defaulter, to be granted on the Oath of one or more credible Witness or Witnesses, and issued under the hand and seal of any Justice of the Peace, acting in the District wherein such neglect or refusal shall be made: rendering the overplus, if any there be, to the said defaulter, after deducting the costs and charges of such distress and sale. Provided always, that no prosecution shall be commenced for such refusal or neglect, until fifteen days after the repartition homologated, as aforementioned, shall have been published, by one of the Church-Wardens aforesaid, at the Church-door of the Parish in which such School-houses are to be erected, on a Sunday or Holy day after the morning service. Provided also, that no School-house or School-houses shall be erected in manner aforesaid in any Parish or Township, unless a majority of the Inhabitants of such Parish or Township, shall present a Petition to His Excellency the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Government for the time being, praying to have a School or Schools established therein, or unless a certain number of the Inhabitants of any Parish or Township shall, in like manner present a Petition, praying to have a

Penalty on defaulters.

Limitations of actions.

How School Houses may be obtained in the several Parishes.

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School-house, and undertake to build the same at their own expence.

Commissioners IX. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, to superintend, that it shall be the duty of the said Commissioners, to and to give superintend the erection of the School houses and Apart- information to ments as aforesaid, within the limits of their Commis- the Governor sions respectively; And when and so soon as the same shall when School be compleated, to give information thereof to the Governor, Houses are Lieutenant Governor, or Person administering the Govern- compleated. ment of this Province for the time being.

Governor to X. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, nominate the that it shall and may be lawful, to and for the Governor, School Masters Lieutenant Governor or Person administering the Government of this Province, by an Instrument under his hand and Seal at Arms, to nominate and appoint one or more fit and proper person or persons, to be the School-master or School masters of every Free School of Royal Foundation, to be established and erected by virtue of this Act, to remove, from time to time, such School Master or School Masters and to appoint another or others in the place and stead of such as shall be so removed, or shall die or resign his or their trust; and to fix and determine the Salary or annual stipend to be allowed to such School Master or School Masters, and that from and after the passing of this Act, no such Master or Masters shall teach in any Free School of Royal Foundation hereafter to be established, without a Commission for that purpose first had and obtained, from the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Person administering the Government of this Province, for the time being, under his hand and Seal at Arms.

Inhabitants to XI. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, repair School that when any School or School houses, erected by virtue Houses. of this act, in any Parish or Township in this Province shall require repair, the same, shall be repaired by the Inhabitants of the Parish or Township, in and for which the same shall be erected, and in the same manner and form, as is herein provided for the erection of School houses.

School Houses XII. And be it further enacted by the authority afore- may be appro- said, that the School houses erected by virtue of this priated to the Act, shall and may be appropriated to the sittings of the sitting of Circuit Courts or any other of His Majesty's Courts which Circuit Courts may be held in any Parish in which such School house is etc. erected, and for holding the Polls for the election of Members to serve in the Provincial Parliament, when the same shall be held in any Parish in which such School is erected.