

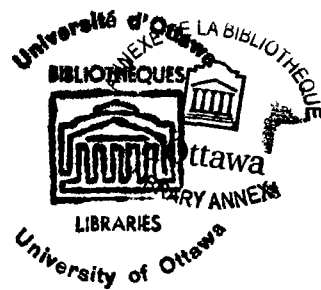
CSP-2

001582

A STUDY OF THE RYERSON-CHARBONNEL
CONTROVERSY AND ITS BACKGROUND

by Joseph Jean-Guy Lajoie

Thesis presented to the Department of
Religious Studies of the Faculty of Arts
of the University of Ottawa as partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts



Ottawa, Canada, 1971

UMI Number: EC56186

INFORMATION TO USERS

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

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

UMI[®]

UMI Microform EC56186
Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

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

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis was prepared under the supervision of Professor R. Choquette, B.A. (Pol. Sc.), B.Th., M.Th., S.T.L., M.A. (Chicago), of the Department of Religious Studies of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa.

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Joseph Jean-Guy Lajoie was born February 8, 1942, in Timmins, Ontario, Canada. He received his B.A. from the University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, in 1964.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	page
INTRODUCTION	vi
I.- REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	1
Contemporary Literature	1
Subsequent Literature	9
II.- HISTORICAL BACKGROUND.	21
Development of Education in Upper Canada, 1797-1840	21
Development of Religion in Upper Canada, 1797-1849	24
Development of Education in Upper Canada, 1841-1849	36
III.- THE RYERSON CHARBONNEL CONTROVERSY	47
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.	64
BIBLIOGRAPHY	66
 Appendix	
1. NOTE ON TERMS, "PUBLIC", "COMMON" AND "SEPARATE" SCHOOLS.	71
2. A SUMMARY OF THE BISHOP'S IDEAS	72
3. <u>ABSTRACT OF A Study of the Ryerson-Charbonnel Controversy and Its Background.</u>	74

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- D.H.E. - Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada,
1792-1876
- H.O.P. - Historical and Other Papers and Documents of
Ontario, 1792-1876

INTRODUCTION

While the 1840's and 1850's were two important decades in the development of education in Upper Canada, historians have often been puzzled by the differences between these two decades. During the 1840's, there was a rapid development of general education in Upper Canada, while in the 1850's, bitter religious conflicts accompanied the development of a separate school system. Egerton Ryerson attributed the differences between these two decades to a change of policy on the part of the Roman Catholic authorities, and especially to the influence of Bishop Charbonnel. Non-Catholic historians have generally accepted Ryerson's judgment while Roman Catholics have consistently blamed Ryerson and his education policies.

The question of separate schools was a point of controversy during those years. Ryerson felt that separate schools for Roman Catholics or any other group were not a necessity since he felt that all children could receive religious education in mixed schools. Bishop Charbonnel insisted that Roman Catholics required separate schools attended only by Roman Catholics. This issue has remained a point of controversy in this province and a study of the issue is as relevant in our time as it was in the 1850's.

The first chapter presents a study of the literature concerning the change of attitude and includes the traditional arguments given by Ryerson and historians in agreement with him, as well as the arguments of the Roman Catholics who have opposed Ryerson.

The second chapter contains a presentation of the historical background relevant to the controversy of the 1850's. This presentation contains a study of the early development of education, the position taken by the churches on education, and the early acts of the 1850's.

In the last chapter, the events of the 1850's are presented. The controversy which developed between Egerton Ryerson and Bishop Charbonnel provides an understanding of the position taken not only by the Roman Catholics, but also by Egerton Ryerson.

The topic of this thesis is not the problem of separate schools, but rather, a study of the changes in Roman Catholic educational policy in Upper Canada during the two decades mentioned. Nevertheless, the discussion of this question is inseparable from the whole separate school problem.

CHAPTER I

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Since the inception of separate schools in 1841, many men have studied and written about the separate school question. In the historical material and the many articles which appeared in the press during the time of the separate school controversy, the problem of a "change of attitude" was usually discussed.

Contemporary Literature

In 1852, Egerton Ryerson's position was first expressed in a letter to Bishop Charbonnel.¹ Concerning a "change of attitude", he said:

...and did I not feel it my duty to defend, as well as to explain and impartially administer the Common School system which the Legislature has established in Upper Canada; - a system which has been in operation for ten years; which was cordially approved of and supported by the late lamented Roman Catholic Bishop Power; which was never objected to, as far as I know, by a single Roman Catholic in Upper Canada, during the life of the excellent Prelate and patriot, nor until a recent period.

¹ "Egerton Ryerson to Bishop Charbonnel", letter dated April 24, 1852, quoted in Egerton Ryerson's Doctor Ryerson's letters in reply to the attacks of foreign ecclesiastics against the common schools and the municipalities of Upper Canada, Toronto, Lovell & Gibson, 1857, p. 71.

If your Lordship has thought proper, during the last twelve months, to adopt a different course, and to introduce from the Continent of Europe, a new class of ideas and feelings among the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada, in regard to schools and our whole school system, I must still adhere to my frequent unqualified expressions of admiration at the opposite course pursued by your honoured and devoted predecessor, Bishop Power.¹

Ryerson expressed and defended this opinion in many of his reports on the school system.

In 1856, an article attacking Egerton Ryerson appeared in a Toronto newspaper, "The Leader". It was written by Father J.M. Bruyere, a priest appointed to take charge of the diocese during the absence of Bishop Charbonnel², who had gone to France for reasons of health. In this article, Father Bruyere attacked Egerton Ryerson because Ryerson had sent a circular to the municipalities in which he advised the officials of Upper Canadian Municipalities to use their share

1 Ibid, p. 7.

2 Francois Marie Comte de Charbonnel, son of Jean Baptiste Comte de Charbonnel, was born near Monistrol-sur-Loire and educated at the Basilian College of Arinay and at St. Sulpice Seminary in Paris. In 1839, Charbonnel left France for Baltimore, Maryland to study English which he speedily mastered. On going to Montreal a year later, he again found various avenues of advancement open. Pope Pius IX consecrated him Bishop of Toronto on May 26, 1850. He served as Bishop until 1860, when he retired to a monastery in France. He died in 1891. (This is a precis of the presentation on Bishop Charbonnel in W.P. Bull, From Macdonell to McGuigan, The History of the Growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada, Toronto, The Perkins Bull Foundation, 1939, p. 275-276.)

of the clergy reserves to establish public libraries and to furnish the common schools with supplies.¹ The question of the "Clergy Reserves"² had been a public issue for many years. According to the legislation of 1854, the money acquired from the sale of the clergy reserve lands was to be used for public purposes. Before this time, the money was primarily used for Anglican education and the support of the Anglican clergy. Father Bruyere contended that the use of these funds for public libraries was objectionable to Catholics and that school supplies should not be given to the common schools because this would give them an unfair advantage over the separate schools. In his letter, Father Bruyere also attacked the common school system. He deplored the inequality which existed between separate schools and common public schools³ and was in effect attacking Doctor Ryerson and his policy as Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada. As a result

1 J.M. Bruyere, "What Is To Be Done With The Clergy Reserve Funds?", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1070, issue of Dec. 10, 1856, p. 2, col. 4.

2 The "Clergy Reserves" were sections of land put aside by the government. The sale or rent of these lands was to produce a revenue which could be applied to whatever purpose the government intended. In Upper Canada, these lands were originally put aside for the support of a Protestant clergy and for education.

3 See note on "common", "separate" and "public" schools in Appendix 1.

of Father Bruyere's article, a public debate ensued between Father Bruyere and Doctor Ryerson. "The Leader" published the letters of both these men and also the letters addressed to Father Bruyere from Bishop Pinsonneault¹ of the Diocese of London.

Ryerson wrote five articles in that public debate. It was in his first letter to Father J.M. Bruyere that Ryerson touched on the topic of the so called "changed attitude" which he expressed originally in a letter to Bishop Charbonnel in 1852.² It was the opinion of the Superintendent of Education that: "In the days of the venerable Bishop McDonnell [sic] and the excellent Bishop Power, there was no such clamor against our common schools".³ According to Ryerson, the idea of advocating separate schools as opposed to common schools was a new policy introduced by

1 Adolphe Pinsonneault was born at St. Philippe de Laprairie on Nov. 23, 1815. He was consecrated Bishop of London on May 18, 1856. He died in Montreal on Jan. 30, 1883.

2 Egerton Ryerson, op. cit., p. 8.

3 Egerton Ryerson, "Dr. Ryerson And The Rev. Mr. Bruyere", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1082, issue of Dec. 24, 1856, p. 2, col. 2.

Bishop Charbonnel and the result of "the infusion of a new foreign element".¹ He insinuated that Bishop Charbonnel and Father Bruyere were against Britain and anything British, whereas Bishops' Macdonnell and Power "had grown up under British institutions and knew by privations experience and labors, how to sympathize with the wants, circumstances and interest of their people".²

In his next article, Father Bruyere denied that there was any truth in Ryerson's charge.³ In support of this denial, he quoted a letter written to the editor of "The Daily Colonist"

1 Egerton Ryerson, "Doctor Ryerson's Second Reply To The Reverend J.M. Bruyere", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1103, issue of Jan. 16, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

2 Ibid, p. 2, col. 4.

3 J.M. Bruyere, "Rev. J.M. Bruyere's Rejoinder To Dr. Ryerson", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1095, issue of Jan. 7, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

by John Elmsley.¹ In that letter, Elmsley said:

Following the unhappy example of Dr. Ryerson, and indeed almost using his words, you have thought proper to allege that Bishop Power, "understood the workings of the Public School System and died contented".

As to the first portion of this allegation I am in a position to state, that Bishop Power was certainly not long in coming to a perfect understanding of the workings of that infidel system; to that latter portion, that he died contented therewith, I am equally competent to state, and do hereby declare, that it is totally void of truth.²

Father Bruyere added that he knew nothing of the attitude of Bishop Macdonnell but concluded that since Ryerson was mistaken in his opinion concerning Bishop Power, he must also have been mistaken about Bishop Macdonnell. To refute Ryerson's charge that the new policy was a result of "the

1 John Elmsley was born in York, Upper Canada on May 19, 1801. He was the son of the second chief Justice of Upper Canada. Elmsley was a prominent convert to the Catholic faith. His conversion was brought about by the reading of a Catholic pamphlet entitled: "Bishop of Strasburg's Observations on the Sixth Chapter of St. John's Gospel", which he had picked up on a visit to London in 1830. He had copies of the pamphlet printed and distributed them in Upper Canada. Bishop Strachan was very upset at his conversion and attempted to answer the arguments presented in the pamphlet. John Elmsley donated some land for Catholic institutions in Toronto and worked for the establishment of separate schools. He died on May 8, 1863 at the age of 62. (Derived from W.P. Bull, From Macdonell to McGuigan, The History of the Growth of The Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada, Toronto, The Perkins Bull Foundation, 1939, p. 172-176.)

2 John Elmsley, "To the Editor Of the Colonist", letter to the Editor in The Daily Colonist of Toronto, No. 1349, issue of Mar. 19, 1856, p. 2, col. 6.

infusion of a new foreign element", Father Bruyere stated that: "In the Catholic Church, the Catholic of foreign birth stands on an equality with the Catholic of native origin."¹

In his reply to the second letter, Ryerson cited as proof of his opinion the fact that Bishop Power² had served as chairman of the Provincial Board of Education until his death in 1847. Ryerson pointed out that the Bishop's signature stood first among those of the members of the Board. These signatures appeared at the bottom of all the Board documents.

The answer to Doctor Ryerson was a letter sent to Father Bruyere by the Bishop of London, Reverend A. Pinsonneault. Bishop Pinsonneault criticized Doctor Ryerson for his statements in the controversy. Because of his personal conversation with Bishop Power, he felt that he knew his thoughts on the school system. Bishop Pinsonneault admitted that Bishops Macdonnell and Power

¹ J.M. Bruyere, "Rev. J.M. Bruyere's Rejoinder To Dr. Ryerson", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1095, issue of Jan. 7, 1857, p. 2, col. 6.

² Michael Power was born in Halifax on Oct. 17, 1804. He studied for the priesthood in Montreal and served as a pastor in Lower Canada. Later, he was appointed Vicar-General of the diocese of Montreal. He was appointed the first Bishop of Toronto on Dec. 17, 1841. He died Oct. 1, 1847. (Derived from F.A. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada, Toronto, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1955, p. 47, note 31.)

"tolerated to a certain extent what they could not prevent"¹. Nevertheless, he asserted that they definitely did not favour mixed education, and laboured faithfully to establish Catholic schools.

In Ryerson's last letter, addressed to the Bishop of London, he presented his most powerful arguments against the Catholic position. He said:

In reply to this statement, (Bishop Pinsonneault's statement) I remark - 1. That there is not a vestige of proof to sustain it in any circular, or letter, or writing put forth by either of the excellent prelates mentioned. 2. That although provisions of the law for separate schools have existed since the commencement of the present system in 1840, and although Bishop McDonell [sic] resided in Kingston, and Bishop Power in Toronto, but two Separate Roman Catholic Schools were established under the law in either Kingston or Toronto until after the deaths of these prelates.

¹ Egerton Ryerson, "Dr. Ryerson's Answer To The Roman Catholic Bishop Of London", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1138, issue of Feb. 26, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

3. That Bishop Power not only acted with the Board of Public Instruction (a mixed Board) and presided at these meetings until the week before his death, but his name stands first of the six members who individually signed the first circular to the Municipalities of Upper Canada on the establishment of the Normal School, - a mixed school - as the great instrument of giving effect to our system of Common Schools. Would Bishop Pinsonneault affix his name to such a circular? No, far from it, - he denounces what Bishop Power commended, and condemns school books which Bishop Power joined in sanctioning. The late Bishop McDonnell [sic] died before I had any connection with our school system; but I know the sentiments of Bishop Power from frequent intercourse and consultation with him on school matters; and I know that he, and even Bishop Charbonnel, on his first coming to Toronto, professed not to desire separate schools beyond which they termed "protection from insult", - that is, in such cases only where Roman Catholic children could not attend the Common Schools without being insulted and imposed upon on account of their religion. The necessity of a separate school they lamented as a misfortune, instead of advocating it as a principle.¹

Subsequent Literature

Most of the historians who dealt with the question of separate schools and the question of a change of attitude in 1850 simply reiterated Ryerson's arguments in some shape or form.

¹ Egerton Ryerson, "Dr. Ryerson's Answer To The Roman Catholic Bishop Of London", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1138, issue of Feb. 26, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

John George Hodgins wrote Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1792-1876¹. In those volumes, he presented Ryerson's position in the controversy. Since Hodgins had served as Ryerson's secretary for thirty-three years, he presented extensive material in support of Ryerson and repeated all of his arguments. In his post as secretary of the Provincial Board of Education, Hodgins had ample opportunity to hear Bishop Power's views on various topics. Thus, Hodgins added his own personal testimony to that of Egerton Ryerson that Bishop Power had favoured the common school system. Hodgins also wrote about the change of attitude of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in his Legislation and History of Separate Schools in Upper Canada². However, the material written about the change of attitude was quite similar to that presented in his extensive Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1792-1876.

Nathaniel Burwash wrote about the separate school question in his book entitled Egerton Ryerson³, but most of

1 John George Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1792-1876, 28 vols., Toronto, Warwick Bros. and Rutter, 1894-1904.

2 John George Hodgins, Legislation and History of Separate Schools in Upper Canada, Toronto, William Briggs, 1897, xi-225 p.

3 Nathaniel Burwash, Egerton Ryerson, Toronto, Morang and Company, 1910, iv-303 p.

his material was taken from Hodgin's historical work. His writings concerning a change of attitude favoured Egerton Ryerson's position.

C.B. Sissons studied Ryerson's personal papers in depth. He wrote Egerton Ryerson, his life and letters¹ and Church and State in Canadian Education². The first book contained many letters and papers which dealt with the question of a change of attitude. But it was in the second book that he discussed the problem at length. Sissons' presentation was similar to the presentation of John George Hodgins. He mentioned Bishop Power's position as chairman of the Provincial Board of Education and the sparse number of separate schools which existed prior to 1850.³ He also presented letters which showed that John Stanfield Macdonald was opposed to separate schools and to the ultramontane influence prevalent among some of the Roman Catholic clergy.⁴ Macdonald was the only Roman Catholic elected to the government by Upper Canadians in the 1850's and later became the premier of Ontario. According to Sissons, Bishop

1 C.B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson, his life and letters, Toronto, Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1937, x-601 p.

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

3 Ibid, p. 22.

4 Ibid, p. 29.

Charbonnel's intention was to achieve in Upper Canada what the minority in Lower Canada had achieved, but this never became apparent until 1852.¹ The change in the Bishop's policy was due to a change in Rome. In April of 1850, Pius IX had returned to Rome and was hostile to every form of political liberalism or national sentiment.² Besides the pressure applied from Rome, there was also a lack of understanding on the part of Bishop Charbonnel concerning the close connection between schools and municipalities.³ This was totally different from anything he had known in France.

The Royal Commission on Education in Ontario published its' findings in 1950.⁴ The majority report adopted Ryerson's position without making any significant contribution to the matter of a change of attitude.

In his book, Church and State in Canada West⁵, John S. Moir developed the thesis that there were two major

1 Ibid, p. 27.

2 Ibid, p. 28.

3 Ibid, p. 28.

4 J.A. Hope et alia, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950, Toronto, Baptist Johnston, 1950, xxiii-933 p.

5 John S. Moir Church and State in Canada West, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959, xv-233 p.

forces at play in Canada's early history.

On the one hand was centrifugal denominationalism - the tendency of the largest churches to claim a special privileged and protected status as the religious counterpart of the civil authority. On the other hand was centripetal nationalism - a force which in Canada West sought to equate all creeds by separating them completely from the world of politics.¹

Moir applied his theory to the Clergy Reserves, the University question, and to the topic of religion in elementary education. He stated that the Act of Union marked the end of the marriage between Church and State, but the goal of complete division between the two was not achieved. Instead, a compromise resulted. Moir thought that this was especially true in the field of education where minor provisions for separate schools in the Act of 1841 were thought to be the last of any connections between Church and State. Education would eventually "be systematized on a national scale".² According to Moir, this trend would have continued had it not been for the change of attitude in 1850. He wrote that: "at no time before 1841 or in the decade after were separate denominational schools demanded as an abstract right".³

1 Ibid, p. xiii.

2 Ibid, p. 130.

3 Ibid, p. 130.

John S. Moir devoted two chapters of his book Church and State in Canada West to the question of separate schools. The titles of the chapters indicated his complete agreement with Egerton Ryerson. Chapter six was "Religion and Elementary Education, 1841-1851: Protection From Insult" and chapter seven was "Religion and Elementary Education, 1852-1867: The War of Total Separation".¹ According to Moir, the Act of 1843 drastically curtailed the provisions for separate schools and yet it met with general approval. He stated that:

The implicit assumption of the Act was that the number of separate schools in Upper Canada, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, would be insignificant, that provision for their establishment was ample protection for the minority rights of either group and a sufficient protection against insult or the tyranny of the majority.²

Moir mentioned Bishop Power's presence as chairman of the Provincial Board.³ He argued that Hodgins was an authority on the subject since he was deeply involved in the workings of that Provincial Board when Bishop Power was alive.⁴

1 Ibid, see Table of Contents.

2 Ibid, p. 134.

3 Ibid, p. 137.

4 Ibid, p. 137.

Moir took the position of Egerton Ryerson when he said:

Power viewed the existence of separate schools in the same light as Ryerson did - as an unfortunate necessity, not as an essential principle - and for more than a year his successor De Charbonnel, also termed them a "protection from insult".¹

Moir pointed out that the restrictive measures against separate schools contained in the Act of 1847 were in force for two months prior to the Bishop's death.² Yet Bishop Power did not oppose these at least publicly or in any letter to Dr. Ryerson. Moir followed in the footsteps of Ryerson and others in attributing the change in policy of the Roman Catholic Church to the new policy adopted by Pius IX.³ He concluded that Bishop Charbonnel, being of French nobility was anti-liberal and ultramontane.⁴

Although Catholics have continued the policy of Bishop Charbonnel to this day, historians have generally conceded that Ryerson had the final word in the "1857 Controversy". The major work which presented the Catholic position was the minority report in the 1950 "Hope Commission".

1 Ibid, p. 138.

2 Ibid, p. 139.

3 Ibid, p. 144.

4 Ibid, p. 145.

In the Royal Commission on Education in 1950, four men dissented from the majority and wrote a minority report on separate schools. This report attempted to give an historical survey of the problem of separate schools.¹ The position of the authors of this report was made very clear in the introduction. They asserted that the Catholic position regarding the education of their children had never changed and stated that Ryerson's view regarding a change of attitude in 1850 was "clearly erroneous"². They wrote that:

Catholics never sought separate schools as a protection from insult, but rather because they considered Catholic schools an essential concomittant of the practice of their religion.³

Most of the material contained in the first four chapters concerned the problem of a change of attitude. In order to establish that religion and education were intimately linked, they presented a brief historical sketch of the pioneer era and in this sketch, stressed the importance of Bishop Macdonnell who worked very hard to establish Catholic schools at all levels. He petitioned and obtained some funds from the government to pay teachers whom he had brought from Scotland.⁴

1 J.A. Hope et alia, op. cit., p. 803-894.

2 Ibid, p. 804.

3 Ibid, p. 804.

4 Ibid, p. 812.

In the discussion of the first Common School Act of 1841, men of all religious persuasions expressed the hope that the religious prejudices of all groups would be respected. During these discussions, many petitions were received from religious groups. It was the hope of these men that any legislation for the education of the young would not be the cause of religious strife.¹ As a result, the Act of 1841 included provisions for the establishment of separate schools. The Act of 1843 continued these provisions, though it no longer allowed separate schools for individual protestant denominations. This Act allowed either Roman Catholic or Protestants to establish a separate school if the teacher of the common schools was not of their faith.

The minority report expressed the opinion that: "If Catholic educational institutions were few, it was the fault of Catholic poverty, not of ecclesiastical indifference".² In the letters of Bishop Power, he made his opinion quite clear that he desired Catholic schools yet tolerated attendance at mixed schools if the number of Catholics in a certain locality was very low. Another bishop who expressed his desire for Catholic schools was Bishop Phelan, the

1 Ibid, p. 819.

2 Ibid, p. 822.

coadjutor to the bishop in Kingston.¹ According to the minority report, the position taken by Bishop Charbonnel was not different from that of Bishop Power. His campaign for separate schools was prompted by the policy of Egerton Ryerson and changes made in the legislation affecting separate schools.² Ryerson was willing to allow "separate schools" but he often expressed his opposition to them. He felt that legislation allowing for separate schools had been a mistake but since it was in existence it should continue. It was his hope that they would eventually disappear.³ The authors of the minority report felt that the Catholic position had never changed and that Ryerson's opinion regarding a change of attitude was due to his complete misunderstanding of the Catholic position regarding education.⁴

Franklin Walker was one of the men who had done the research for the minority report of the Royal Commission in 1950. In his book, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada⁵, he studied the same era but in more depth. The

1 Ibid, p. 846-847.

2 Ibid, p. 846-847.

3 Ibid, p. 853.

4 Ibid, p. 844.

5 F.A. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada, Toronto, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1955, xii-331 p.

topic of the changed attitude was one which preoccupied him throughout the book. He did not devote any one chapter exclusively to that topic but he did give extensive proof of the fact that Bishops' Power and Macdonnell were as zealous for Catholic education as were their descendents in the episcopacy of Upper Canada. He also provided many historical details which gave a good background for an understanding of this topic. Walker summarized his views in the following statement:

A study of the documents has revealed in my opinion, that the separate schools agitation was of such violence in the 1850's primarily because the free, common school system expanded enormously at that time, and Catholic authorities were faced with the problem of obtaining legislation to give like benefits to Catholic schools. The very first Catholic bishops held exactly the same views on education as did Charbonnel and his associates. And the laity, with remarkable few exceptions, heartily backed the bishops, switching their votes from party to party, according to ecclesiastical suggestion. The fact was that Upper Canada hardly knew the European distinction between clerical and anti-clerical, ultramontane and cisalpine.¹

Ryerson contended that the Roman Catholic authorities had changed their position regarding separate schools in 1850. He felt that Bishop Power had shown by his actions that he did not desire separate schools except when there was danger of insult. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic authorities contended that their policy on education was the

¹ Ibid, p. 313-314.

same as that of Bishop Power. Some historians adopted Ryerson's position and even advanced his arguments while others, mostly Roman Catholic, maintained the position of Father Bruyere.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Development of Education in Upper Canada, 1797-1840

The concept of free universal education, popular in the nineteenth century, was a concept of liberalism, a philosophy prevalent at that time. Although this idea may have originated in Europe, it was put into practice most completely in the United States and to some extent in the province of Upper Canada. In Europe, the Church established private schools and convents in which the children of the rich could be educated. The state provided some funds but the major cost of education was provided by the parents. For the poor, parish schools were sometimes established and maintained by charitable donations.¹

As early as 1797, the British government took the initiative in the field of education for Upper Canada.

¹ C.E. Phillips, The Development of Education In Canada, Toronto, W.J. Gage, 1957, p. 27-41.

On November 4th, 1797, the Duke of Portland had written to Hon. Peter Russell declaring that the King was anxious to promote education in Upper Canada, first, by the erection of free Grammar Schools wherever they were needed and called for, and secondly by the establishment in course of time of seminaries of a larger and more comprehensive nature for the promotion of religious and moral learning and the study of the arts and sciences.¹

Soon after this dispatch, half a million acres of land were put aside for the purpose of education and the support of a Protestant clergy.²

In 1785, one of the first schools in the province was opened in Kingston by the Reverend John Stuart and another school was opened at Cornwall in 1803 by Reverend John Strachan, who later became the first Anglican bishop of Upper Canada.

Many educational acts were passed from 1797 to 1841, but the first act of significance was the Act of 1807³ by which eight hundred pounds per year were granted for the establishment of Grammar schools in the Districts of

1 J.E. Middleton, and Fred Landon, The Province of Ontario - A History, 1615-1927, Toronto, The Dominion Publishing Company, 1927, Vol. 1, p. 37.

2 C.E. Phillips, op. cit., p. 106.

3 "An Act To Establish Public Schools In Each And Every District Of This Province", (47th year of George III, Chapter VI), passed the 10th of March, 1807, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers and Documents of Ontario, 1792-1876, Toronto, Kings printer, 1911, Vol. 1, p. 3-5.

Sandwich, Townsend Township (Norfolk), Niagara, York, Hamilton Township (Northumberland), Kingston, Augusta Township, and Cornwall.¹

The early grammar schools were used primarily by the members of the Anglican church. In those days, the itinerant preachers, priests and ministers provided the only education for the majority of Upper Canadians. Since few of the agricultural population saw any need for education, the schools were inferior in quality and poorly attended. However, the leaders of the various churches saw the need for education and worked strenuously to have some system of general education established in the province.

In 1816, a Common School Act² was passed which provided a small amount of funds for common schools. The onus fell on the landowners of a community to build a school and put up a sum of money to pay the teacher. If these conditions were fulfilled, the government would give its share.³

1 J.E. Middleton, and Fred Landon, op. cit., p. 37.

2 "An Act Granting To His Majesty A Sum Of Money To Be Applied To The Use Of Common Schools Throughout This Province, And To Provide For The Regulation Of The Said Common Schools", (56th year of George III, Chapter XXVI), passed the 1st of April, 1816, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, H.O.P., Vol. 1, p. 5-8.

3 C.E. Phillips, op. cit., p. 112.

In 1823, the government established a central board of education with Dr. Strachan as its head. This was the first time in Upper Canada that education had been put under the control of a central authority. This proved to be the essential factor in organizing a unified provincial system of education. The leadership of Dr. Strachan in education foreshadowed the role which Egerton Ryerson would later take in the 1840's.

In 1839, a bill was introduced in the legislature to establish a common school system in Upper Canada. This bill never became law but it established once and for all that the people of Upper Canada desired a general system of education.

Development of Religion in Upper Canada, 1797-1849

The two men who have traditionally been considered the founders of our educational system, John Strachan and Egerton Ryerson were both leading churchmen; the former an Anglican and the latter a Methodist. Not only were these men clergymen but they both represented their churches' interest in the field of education.

John Strachan was a Presbyterian from Scotland and came to Canada to teach the children of a few wealthy families.¹ He became an Anglican priest on May 22, 1803 and

¹ J.L.A. Henderson, John Strachan, 1778-1867, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1969, p. 7.

was appointed pastor at Cornwall where he taught in the elementary school and later in one of the grammar schools which were set up in 1806.¹ It was through his efforts that the University of King's College was first established in Toronto. Strachan served as a member of the Executive Council of Upper Canada for several years.² Under his leadership, the Anglicans sought to maintain the privileged position which the Church had enjoyed in England as the established church. Because of the fact that the government in Upper Canada was English, Strachan was able to keep the Anglican church in its position of influence for many years. However, the Methodists led a movement in Upper Canada which sought to make all churches equal before the State and some even advocated the complete separation of Church and State.

In 1840, an act of the British parliament promised a portion of the funds of the Clergy Reserves to the various denominations, including the Roman Catholics.³ Finally in 1854, the Reserves were completely secularized.

Regarding the University question, King's College was changed into the University of Toronto and it included

1 A.N. Bethune, Memoir of the Right Reverend John Strachan, First Bishop of Toronto, Toronto, Henry Rowsell, 1870, p. 14.

2 Ibid, p. 53.

3 J.L.A. Henderson, op. cit., p. 65.

colleges of all denominations. The Anglicans also lost the right to have separate Anglican schools and gradually lost influence in the first half of the nineteenth century while the Methodist Church became more influential.

The first Methodist preachers were British soldiers who settled in Canada after the American revolution.¹ These men eventually returned to England, but soon regular preachers from the American conference came to Lower and Upper Canada.² These first itinerant preachers continued the tradition of following a circuit and would travel a given area preaching in a different community every Sunday. By this method, every community in the circuit had services several times each year.³ These men provided the only religious training for most communities in the wilderness.⁴ The circuit riders were not esteemed by the authorities, especially the hierarchy of the Anglican Church and it was known that they were not as well educated as the ministers of the established churches.⁵

1 Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, Its Epochs and Characteristics, Toronto, Briggs, 1882, p. 1-2.

2 Ibid, p. 3.

3 Ibid, p. 57.

4 J.W. Wilson, The Church Grows In Canada, Toronto, Canadian Council of Churches, 1966, p. 54.

5 Ibid, p. 53.

Since they belonged to and usually came from the American Methodist Church, it was also feared that they were spreading Republican ideas. "Some of these preachers were interrupted, and insulted, and seized by constables while preaching".¹ In addition to these difficulties, Methodist ministers were denied the right to solemnize a marriage.²

In July, 1825, at the funeral of the first Anglican bishop of Lower Canada, Jacob Mountain, the Archdeacon of York, Dr. Strachan delivered a sermon in which he traced the history of the Church of England in Upper Canada. This sermon contained an attack on the Methodists and referred to the Methodist preachers as:

itinerant preachers, who, leaving their usual employment, betake themselves to preaching the Gospel, out of idleness, or a zeal without knowledge, by which they are induced to teach what they do not know, and which from their pride they disdain to learn.³

After the text of this sermon was published, the incensed Methodist assembly asked Egerton Ryerson, then a young preacher, to write a refutation of Dr. Strachan's sermon.⁴ This refutation was published and created a controversy which focused mainly on the problem of the Clergy Reserves.

1 Egerton Ryerson, op. cit., p. 19.

2 Ibid, p. 162.

3 Ibid, p. 145.

4 Ibid, p. 141-142.

The Methodists felt that the Clergy Reserve lands should be sold and the money derived from such sale be used for general education. They desired equality of all religious groups but this was not possible as long as the Anglicans held a privileged position. This controversy was actually a struggle against the concept of union of Church and State which prevailed in England and many other European countries. The Methodists felt that a church should receive its support from the voluntary donations of its members and not from the State.

Egerton Ryerson became the spokesman for the Methodists and after his successful rebuttal of Dr. Strachan's sermon, he was chosen to be editor of the Methodist newspaper "The Christian Guardian". This newspaper became the most widely read in Canada, having 1600 subscribers in 1830.¹ It was through the "Christian Guardian" that Ryerson kept up his constant struggle to achieve the aims of the Methodist church. Concerning the Clergy Reserves, he stated in an

1 C.E. Phillips, op. cit., p. 99.

editorial in 1830:

We avow our convictions - a conviction we befoounded upon the most satisfactory evidence, that the clergy of no dissenting religious body in this Province, want a farthing of the "spoil". They expect and receive their support on more apostolic and scriptural principles. They look to the examples of the first Ministers of Jesus Christ, and to His Everlasting Gospel, and there they learn that whilst "the labourer is worthy of his hire", he is supported by the freewill offerings of those among whom he labours.¹

Despite Ryerson's great success and the rapid growth of Methodism, there were some serious setbacks which came from within the Methodist church. As early as 1824, the elders recognized the necessity of establishing a national church.² To achieve this, they applied for permission to form their own conference in Canada, a request which was granted in 1828. However, one of their preachers, a Reverend Ryan was not satisfied and created a great deal of trouble among the Methodists in Canada. He withdrew from the conference and started his own group. It was discovered later that he had been supported financially by the Archdeacon of York, Dr. Strachan and others.³ This was not the only occasion when

1 Egerton Ryerson, (No title), editorial in "The Christian Guardian" of York (Toronto), Vol. 1, No. 10, issue of Jan. 23, 1830, p. 78, col. 2.

2 Egerton Ryerson, Canadian Methodism, Its Epochs and Characteristics, p. 250.

3 Ibid, p. 304.

the Anglicans interfered with the Methodists. The Anglicans had asked the British Wesleyan church to send missionaries into Upper Canada on the grounds that the Canadian conference was spreading republican ideas and turning people against British institutions.¹ In order to resolve this difficulty, the Canadian conference met with the British Church and agreed to withdraw their preachers from Lower Canada if the British missionaries withdrew from Upper Canada.²

A few years later, the Anglicans interfered again by convincing the legislative council to promise an annual sum to the British church if they sent missionaries to Upper Canada.³ This time, the Canadian conference was able to solve the problem by uniting with the British Wesleyan church.⁴

For several years prior to 1840, the Provincial assembly attempted to legislate changes in the Clergy Reserves Act. The aim of these acts was to direct the funds to general education. In spite of these efforts, in 1840, the Imperial government passed a Clergy Reserves Act by which the Presbyterians were to share the funds with the Anglicans

1 Egerton Ryerson, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

2 *Ibid*, p. 296.

3 *Ibid*, p. 307.

4 *Ibid*, p. 310.

while the other denominations were promised small portions of the funds.¹

The Act of 1840 had been a disappointment for the Methodists who had hoped that the Reserve funds would be used for general education, but despite their disappointment, they could rejoice in 1844 when their able spokesman, Egerton Ryerson, was appointed to the post of assistant superintendent of education in Upper Canada.² In his editorials in "The Christian Guardian", Ryerson had verbalized the Methodist position on general education. In 1829, he stated:

Education in every point of view, must be considered of the highest importance - to the comforts of domestic life - the suppression of moral evil - and the stability of good Government. Like the christian religion, - of which it is the handmaid, it is designed for every human being - and is suited to the circumstances and adapted to the improvement of the happiness of every human being.³

There was little doubt that the Anglicans and Methodists played a major role in the formation of the educational system in Ontario. Nevertheless, the role of the Roman

1 Ibid, p. 231-232.

2 Doctor Ryerson was notified of his appointment by letter in September, 1844. The announcement of this appointment appeared in the "Canada Gazette" of October, 1844, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, H.O.P., Vol. 1, p. 159.

3 Egerton Ryerson, (No title), editorial in The Christian Guardian of York, (Toronto), Vol. 1, No. 1, issue of Nov. 21, 1829, p. 6, col. 2.

Catholic church was also very important, especially after the union of the two Canadas.

In the early days of Upper Canada, the Roman Catholics belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Quebec and were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec.¹ Missionaries were sent to attempt to convert Indians to Christianity and to care for the French settlements in isolated areas.

When the Scot Highlanders settled in Glengary county adjacent to the boundary of Lower Canada, their first priest was Father Alexander Macdonnell who had been the pastor of the Glengary area in Scotland.² Because of many hardships in the Highlands, he had led his people to Glasgow where he formed them into the first Roman Catholic Regiment to serve in the British army since the reformation. When the Regiment was disbanded, he obtained permission from the authorities to have his people settle in Upper Canada. When the war of 1812 broke out, the Highland Regiment was reorganized and Father Macdonnell himself helped them in the battle.³ Because of

1 See Document No. 15, a Memorandum bearing no place, date, or signature, quoted by (Canadian) Archives, series Q, Vol. 323, p. 184.

2 Alexander Macdonnell, Letter of Rev. Alexander Macdonnell to Earl Bathurst, Jan. 10, 1817, quoted by (Canadian) Archives, series Q, Vol. 323, p. 177.

3 Alexander Macdonnell, Memorial of the Rev. Alexander Macdonnell addressed to Earl Bathurst, dated London, June 15, 1817, quoted by (Canadian) Archives, series Q, Vol. 323, p. 201.

their loyalty, the Highland Scots received many favours from the British authorities. Father Macdonnell received a salary for himself and his priests and was also given sums of money to pay for teachers, to build schools and even to build churches.

Father Macdonnell became the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada in 1829. His years as Bishop were distinguished by his efforts for Catholic education. These efforts culminated in the acquiring of a Royal charter for Regiopolis College in 1839. These years were also distinguished by the cordiality and goodwill between Roman Catholics and other churches. This was reflected in a speech which Father Macdonnell delivered to the people of Stormont County in 1836:

I address my Protestant as well as my Catholic friends because I feel assured that during the long period of four-and-forty years that my intercourse with some of you, and two-and-thirty years with others, has subsisted, no man will ever say that in promoting your temporal interest I ever made any difference between Catholic and Protestant; and indeed it would be both unjust and ungrateful in me if I did, for I have found Protestants upon all occasions as ready to meet my wishes and second my efforts to promote the public good as the Catholics themselves; and it is with no small gratification that I here acknowledge having received from Orangemen unequivocal and substantial proofs of disinterested friendship and generosity of heart.

When a Prime Minister of England (Lord Sidmouth) in 1802 expressed to me his reluctance to permit Scot Highlanders to emigrate to the Canadas from his apprehension that the hold of the parent state had of the Canadas was too slender to be permanent, I took the liberty of assuring him that the most effectual way to render that hold strong and permanent was to encourage and facilitate the emigration of Scots Highlanders and Irish Patriots into these colonies.

To the credit and honour of Scots Highlanders be it told that the difference of religion was never known to weaken the bond of friendship; and Catholic and Protestant have always stood shoulder to shoulder nobly supporting one another during the fiercest of battle.¹

Bishop Macdonnell enjoyed a good relationship with the Anglicans and was one of the persons who wrote to the authorities recommending that Archdeacon Strachan be made Anglican Bishop of Upper Canada.² Bishop Macdonnell also shared the views of Bishop Strachan concerning the Methodists and in a special enquiry in 1828, he expressed the opinion that the Methodists were spreading Republican ideas.

The educational views of the Catholic Church eventually became clear in the years of union, when they demanded separate Roman Catholic Schools. What position Bishop Macdonnell would have taken in the controversy was

¹ J.A. Macdonell, A Sketch of the life of the Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell, Alexandria, The Glengarrian, 1890, p. 20-21.

² J.L.A. Henderson, op. cit., p. 58.

often disputed in the 1850's. Some indication of the position he may have taken was contained in the words of his letter to the Bishop Panet on Dec. 16, 1826:

It gives me the most sincere and heartfelt pleasure to understand that an arrangement is now in progress to extend the benefits of the Royal Institute for Education to the Catholic population of this Province and that there is to be a separate Roman Catholic committee for the exclusive superintendence of Catholic schools now or hereafter to be established and that the committee is to consist of both laymen and ecclesiastics.¹

Bishop Macdonnell's feelings regarding the Methodists were seen as the result of an enquiry conducted by a select committee in 1828. This enquiry was requested because of the controversy caused by the views of Dr. Strachan. Their questions were based on the report of Dr. Strachan to R.J. Wilmot-Horton on the state of the Church of England in Upper Canada.²

The first question was: "Do you think that the teachers or members of the different Christian denominations in this Province, unconnected with the Church of England, are for the most part from the United States, and that they there gather their knowledge and their sentiments?" To this question,

¹ J.A. Hope et alia, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950, Toronto, Baptist Johnston, 1950, p. 813.

² J.E. Middleton, and Fred Landon, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 242.

forty said no, four said yes, one gave a qualified "no". This was Reverend Alexander Macdonnell.

Bishop Macdonnell died on Jan. 14, 1840. In his years, the Catholic church enjoyed good relations with the government and with other churches. In education, the Catholics were fairly successful and had not only elementary schools but a college of their own.

Development of Education in Upper Canada, 1841-1849

When the two Canadas were united in 1841, a Common School Bill¹ was passed which established school districts with an elected school board as well as a local superintendent of education. Large grants of money were put aside to pay the teachers and one man was to be appointed as provincial superintendent of education. Thus, the idea of general education supported by the state had become a reality in the United Provinces of Canada.

Since both provinces were under the jurisdiction of this first Act of Education, the problem of religion had to be solved. Thus, a board of school visitors composed of six

1 "An Act To Repeal Certain Acts Therein Mentioned And To Make Further Provision For The Establishment And Maintenance of Common Schools Throughout The Province", (4th and 5th year of Victoria, Chapter XVII), passed the 18th of September, 1841, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, H.O.P., Vol. 1, p. 137-145.

Protestants and six Roman Catholics was established. The schools in each school district would be either Roman Catholic or Protestant depending on which group was in the majority. The board of school visitors was responsible for the matter taught in the schools. The six Roman Catholic members were responsible for the Roman Catholic schools in their district; likewise, the Protestant members handled the Protestant school. The combined board was in charge of the mixed schools in that district.

If the minority in any school district dissented from the proceedings of the school board, they could register their dissent. On the registration of twelve householders, the dissenters could then establish their own school and receive a proportionate amount of the school grant depending on the number of students enrolled at the school.

In the Act of 1841, the provision for dissentient schools was an amendment made by a legislative committee. This committee had to deal with a large number of petitions. Various Protestant churches asked that the Bible be used as a class book¹, but the committee knew that Roman Catholics would never send their children to a school where the Protestant bible was used.² Petitions had also been received

1 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 4, p. 22.

2 Ibid, p. 34.

from Anglican clergymen demanding Anglican schools and the petition of the Roman Catholics asked that no action be taken until Roman Catholics and other denominations had been consulted.¹ As the solution to the problem the committee resolved upon the idea of separate schools for dissenters. The legislators expressed the wish that this Act would not cause any strife among the various churches and they were determined that it would meet with the approval of all sections of society.²

It was stated by Ryerson and re-iterated by historians that the Roman Catholics never demanded separate schools as a right prior to 1850. With the provisions of the Act of 1841, they could have their own schools. The population of Roman Catholics in Upper Canada in 1842 was 65,203, yet in 1852 it was 167,695.³ Because of the sparsity of the Catholic population in 1841, the Act of 1841 could not have been objected to by Bishop Power. Even though most Catholic children were in mixed schools, they were to have Catholic examiners to ensure that they were not taught anything objectionable. As the population grew, Bishop Power could

1 Ibid, p. 22.

2 Ibid, p. 16, 17, 18, 19.

3 John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959, p. 148.

look forward to having many of the common schools attended only by Catholic children. In predominantly Catholic areas, the school would be Roman Catholic and in predominantly Protestant areas, they could have a separate Catholic school when there was a sufficient number.

The attempt to legislate in educational matters for the United Province did not succeed. The Act was so inefficient that in 1843, they decided that the problem of education would have to be handled on a provincial level.¹ Two separate Acts were passed; one for Canada East and one for Canada West or Upper Canada, and both these Acts were voted on by all members of the legislature.

By the Act of 1843, the provision for establishing separate schools was changed.² A separate school could be established by Protestants if the teacher of the common school was a Catholic. Likewise if the teacher was a Protestant, the Roman Catholics, on the application of ten householders could establish a separate school which was to share in the legislative grant in proportion to the attendance of children at that school. As in the case of the Act of 1841,

1 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 4, p. 222, 225.

2 "An Act For The Establishment And Maintenance Of Common Schools In Upper Canada", (7th year of Victoria, Chapter XXIX), passed the 6th of December, 1843, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, H.O.P., Vol. 1, p. 146-153.

this Act also had provisions which satisfied the Roman Catholic authorities. The separate schools were considered common schools and received equal financial benefits. Even those children who attended a mixed school often had a Catholic teacher by whom they were taught their religion. When the teacher was not a Catholic they were not required:

to read or study in, or from any Religious Book, or to join in any exercise of Devotion of Religion, which shall be objected to by his parents or guardians.¹

If the teacher was a Roman Catholic, they were assured that they could be taught the catechism and the school could be considered a Roman Catholic school.

In 1844, Egerton Ryerson became the assistant superintendent of education replacing Reverend Robert Murray. Ryerson immediately set out for Europe and the United States to study the various systems of education existing there. In 1846, Ryerson published the results of his investigations in his Report on a system of public elementary instruction for Upper Canada². The views which he expressed in that report were obviously based on his investigations in Europe and in the United States. Yet they did not differ

1 Section XIV of the Common School Act of 1841, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, H.O.P., Vol. 1, p. 139.

2 Egerton Ryerson, Report on a system of public elementary instruction for Upper Canada, Montreal, Lovell & Gibson, 1847, xii-191 p.

significantly from the views which he had expressed for many years in his editorials of "The Christian Guardian".

In 1830, the Governor of Upper Canada had referred to education in his speech from the throne. In his editorial on that speech, Ryerson gave his view on education:

These remarks lay the foundation for the principle position we would assume in reference to a judicious system of education in this Province. For this purpose two things are necessary: 1. It should be popular: 2. It should not countenance any sectarian exclusion or supremacy.¹

In an earlier editorial, he mentioned another aspect which he considered necessary in a good system of education:

But however important, interesting and animating such reflections and considerations are - how invaluable soever the advantages of education may be, they are but a sounding brass and a tinkling symbol, when not founded upon and sanctified by the undefiled and regenerating relation of Jesus Christ.²

In his Report of 1846, Ryerson repeated the same

1 Egerton Ryerson, (No title), editorial in The Christian Guardian of York (Toronto), Vol. 1, No. 9, issue of Jan. 16, 1830, p. 70, col. 1.

2 Egerton Ryerson, (No title), editorial in The Christian Guardian of York (Toronto), Vol. 1, No. 1, issue of Nov. 21, 1829, p. 6, col. 3.

sentiments:

Education must be universal and practical and therefore established on "Religion and Morality". By Religion and Morality I do not mean sectarianism in any form, but the general system of truth and morals taught in the Holy Scriptures. Sectarianism is not morality [...]. Such sectarian teaching may, as it has done, raise up an army of pugilists and persecutors, but is is not the way to create a community of Christians.¹

Ryerson's early editorials indicated that his ideas on education especially on sectarianism were also those of the Methodist Church. His words reflected the attitude expressed by the founder of Methodism, John Wesley:

The distinguishing marks of a Methodist are not his opinions of any sort [...]. We believe the written Word of God to be the only sufficient rule both of Christian faith and practice [...]. But as to all opinions which do not strike at the root of Christianity, we think and let think [...]. A Methodist is one who has "the love of God shed abroad in his heart" [...]. From real Christians, of whatever denomination they be, we earnestly desire not to be distinguished at all [...]. Dost thou love and serve God? It is enough, I give thee the right hand of fellowship.²

Ryerson's attitude regarding sectarianism in the schools was later shown in the position which he took regarding separate schools. His words revealed that he did not favour separate schools. Nevertheless, he felt that since the

1 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 6, p. 147.

2 John Wesley, "The Character Of A Methodist," in John Wesley, The Works Of The Rev. John Wesley, A.M., 4th edition, Vol. VIII, London, John Mason, 1841, p. 326-333.

legislation of 1841 and 1843 had made allowance for them, they should continue to exist. He was convinced that in elementary education, Christianity could be taught from the bible in such a way as to form good Christians and to avoid sectarianism. In his Report, he stated:

In School Districts where the whole population is either Protestant or Roman Catholic, and where consequently, the Schools come under the character of "Separate" there the principle of Religious Instruction can be carried out into as minute a detail as may accord with the views and wishes of either class of the population; though I am persuaded that all that is essential to the moral interests of youth may be taught in what are termed Mixed Schools.¹

Ryerson also expressed the hope that his free schools would become so popular that separate schools would eventually go out of existence.

The first Act of education legislated while Ryerson was superintendent of education was the Act of 1846. This Act repeated almost clause for clause the Act of 1843, but there was an attempt made at that time to change the conditions under which a separate school could be established. The amendment proposed was to add the words "and from any Common School District" after the word "school" in section XXXII of the Act of 1846. This would have given the Roman Catholics the opportunity to have their own school even if they did not have a concentrated population within one School

1 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 6, p. 158.

District. The amendment was rejected by a select committee.¹

A new clause in the Act provided for the new position of Chief Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada and this position was held by Doctor Ryerson until 1876. The Act of 1846 also established a Provincial Board of Education which Ryerson hoped would solve any difficulties arising from religious differences. For this reason, he attempted to get representatives from the various churches to serve on the board. It was significant that the man elected to be chairman of that Board was the Roman Catholic Bishop Power who was very respected by Doctor Ryerson and by the Toronto community.

Bishop Power's work as chairman of the Provincial Board of Education indicated his approval of the public school system. That his approval of the public school system did not extend to mixed schools was argued by Catholic apologists. Both the minority report of the 1950 Royal Commission on Education, and Franklin Walker's study of Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada attempted to prove that Bishop Power had always wanted Catholic schools for Catholic children. In the evidence they presented was a letter written by Bishop Power to Reverend A. Sanderl of Wilmot, dated June 28, 1844. In that letter Bishop Power

¹ Ibid, p. 54-57.

stated:

Catholics have a right to a school of their own and this ought to be the case in every school district when practicable. The trustees must be in every case Catholics chosen according to the law and the School Master a member of the Catholic Church.¹

In 1847, a change in government took place and under this new government, Egerton Ryerson drafted a new Act in which he was able to implement many of the ideas that he had advocated in his report of 1846. He attempted to place most of the responsibility for education on the municipal level. The most drastic change as far as separate schools were concerned was that their establishment was no longer automatic upon the application of ten householders. The trustees were now given the power to establish such schools if they saw fit.

In the Act of 1847, Ryerson inserted legislation that would correct the deficiencies of the Act of 1846. Since these changes were not extended to the separate schools, they were in fact restrictions on their establishment.

In the years following the Act of 1847, a movement to eliminate separate schools was advocated by some radicals. This movement culminated in the Act of 1849, commonly known

¹ Michael Power, Letter to Rev. A. Sanderl, dated June 28, 1844, in Power Papers, Personal papers contained in the Archdiocesan Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.

as the "Cameron School Bill".¹ This Act completely eliminated the provision for separate schools. Ryerson opposed the Act because he felt its clauses were completely impracticable and he feared they would destroy the common school system that he was attempting to establish. However, he did not oppose its elimination of provision for separate schools.² Ryerson submitted his resignation and refused to work under the Act.³ The administration passed a special resolution making the Act ineffective and giving Ryerson full freedom. He was asked to prepare a new Act which would be presented to the next session of the legislature in 1850.

The fact that a superintendent of education could stand up to a government and win, indicated that within a very few years, Egerton Ryerson had established a strong provincial system of education. Despite the fact that religious differences could have created serious problems in education, Ryerson had succeeded in establishing a peaceful system of education.

1 "An Act For The Better Establishment And Maintenance Of Public Schools In Upper Canada, And For Repealing The Present School Act", (12th year of Victoria, Chapter LXXXIII) passed the 30th of May, 1849, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 8, p. 167-185.

2 John S. Moir, op. cit., p. 142.

3 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 8, p. 242.

CHAPTER III

THE RYERSON CHARBONNEL CONTROVERSY

The relative peace which had existed between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants during the life of Bishop Power was replaced by a growing struggle between these two groups. Because of this, the fifties were marked by bitter controversies that had a tremendous influence on the political and educational affairs of Upper Canada.

In the years following the death of Bishop Power in 1847, the world situation changed drastically. Pius IX had returned to Rome and was now a strong opponent of Liberalism. The liberal idea that men of all religions be educated together in mixed schools was condemned by Pius IX in his allocution "Quibus Luctuossissimus", dated September 5th, 1851.¹ Since Pius IX re-established the Catholic Hierarchy in England, a great deal of fear and resentment was created among the Protestants. The "Papal Aggression" controversy was an issue in Upper Canada as well as in England and the Gavazzi riots and the Montreal Massacre were an indication of the extent of this controversy.

¹ Pius IX, "Quanta Cura", in Lettres apostoliques de Pie IX, Grégoire XIV, Pie VII, Paris, Roger et Chernoviz, 1901, p. 27-28.

Gavazzi was a former priest who was lecturing against the Roman Catholic Church. Since his talks resulted in riots in Quebec, Montreal officials summoned troops to keep order when he spoke there. As the people were leaving, the troops unaccountably fired into the crowds and several people were killed.¹ Protestants interpreted this as "an infringement of freedom of speech and conscience, and evidence of the terrible tales they had been told about Romanism."²

These strong anti-Catholic feelings provided the background for the Cameron School Act of 1849, which eliminated all provision for separate schools. Since Ryerson had refused to work under the Act of 1849, a completely new Act (drafted by Ryerson) was presented in 1850 by Francis Hincks, the Inspector General.³ By the Act of 1850, Ryerson achieved provision for universal free education and support of the common schools by legislative grants and municipal taxation. All householders were to be taxed regardless of whether or not they had children attending the common school.

The only clause which Hincks was unable to push through the legislature without amendment was the nineteenth

1 John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959, p. 17.

2 Ibid, p. 17.

3 Ibid, p. 142.

clause¹ which vested the power to establish separate schools in the municipal authority. Since it was opposed by the Anglicans and Roman Catholics, after a considerable amount of debate, the clause was amended to give the Roman Catholics provision for separate schools as they had had in 1843.

Thus, separate Roman Catholic schools could be established whenever the teacher of the common school was a Protestant.

The Act also made it:

the duty of the Municipal Council of any Township, and of the Board of School Trustees of any City, Town, or Incorporated Village, on the application, in writing, of twelve, or more, resident heads of families to authorize the establishment of one or more, Separate Schools for Protestants, Roman Catholics, or Coloured People.²

The great benefits Ryerson had won for the common schools were not extended to the separate schools. These were to receive their share of legislative grants but none of the local taxes while the cost of the building and furnishing of the schools was to be paid entirely by the parents of the children in attendance.

At this time, the new Roman Catholic bishop arrived in Toronto. Bishop Power had died in October of 1847, and no bishop had taken his place until Bishop Charbonnel came in 1850. Charbonnel had worked in the United States and Canada,

1 Ibid, p. 143.

2 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 9, p. 17.

and was consecrated personally by Pope Pius IX in Rome.¹ Bishop Charbonnel was received very cordially by the Chief Superintendent of Education, Egerton Ryerson. At Ryerson's request, Charbonnel accepted a post on the Board of Education and was also given the honor of acting as an official at the ceremonies opening the new Normal school.

On June 21, 1850, Bishop Charbonnel received a letter from the Reverend John Carroll in which he was told about the separate school problem.² In his first pastoral letter to his priests, the bishop asked to be informed of any difficulties regarding separate schools.³

During a visit to Baltimore in 1851, Bishop Charbonnel sent his first annual report to Rome in which he stated that he had asked the government for a system of Catholic schools which would be completely separate from

1 W.P. Bull, From Macdonell to McGuigan, The History of the Growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada, Toronto, The Perkins Bull Foundation, 1939, p. 275.

2 J.A. Hope et alia, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950, Toronto, Baptist Johnson, 1950, p. 847.

3 W.P. Bull, op. cit., p. 276.

the common schools. He stated:

Mixed schools, of which the best are those in which religion is excluded and the masters indifferent are here the ruin of our Catholic minority.¹

Because the Act of 1850 had given the municipality the right to establish one or more separate schools, the government of Toronto decided that only one should be established there.² Bishop Charbonnel petitioned the Government of Upper Canada for an amendment to this law; and thus, Ryerson prepared a remedial bill which was passed in 1851.³

In 1852, William Lyon Mackenzie introduced a bill which attempted to repeal the provision for separate schools.⁴ Mackenzie's bill expressed an attitude prevalent in the fifties which was bound to produce and strengthen opposition on the part of Roman Catholics.

In the same year, the Catholic bishops of the United States were called into Council at Baltimore and Bishop

1 A.F. Charbonnel, "Rapport annuel présenté par l'Évêque au Cardinal", May 26, 1851, in Letter Book 1850-1857, Unpublished papers contained in the Archdiocesan Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, p. 24.

2 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 10, p. 88.

3 "An Act To Define And Restore Certain Rights To Parties Therein Mentioned", (14th and 15th year of Victoria, chapter CXI), passed the 30th of August, 1851, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 8, p. 6.

4 "An Act To Repeal The Nineteenth Section Of The Act For The Better Establishment Of Common Schools In Upper Canada", quoted by J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 9, p. 237-238.

Charbonnel attended this General Council. One of the resolutions passed was a recommendation that every effort be made to establish separate Catholic schools. During the Council, Bishop Charbonnel sent his second annual report to Rome, in which he said that his struggle for separate Catholic schools had become open warfare against the Common School System.¹

Local taxation had become a problem and the Roman Catholics wanted a share of the local taxes or at least exemption from paying taxes for the common schools. Bishop Charbonnel interceded to Ryerson on behalf of the Roman Catholics in Chatham and Belleville, but Ryerson stuck to the letter of the Law.²

As a result, an exchange of several letters ensued between Bishop Charbonnel and Doctor Ryerson. In these letters, Bishop Charbonnel explained his position regarding separate schools. According to the Bishop, Roman Catholics were to have their own schools and should not attend mixed

1 A.F. Charbonnel, "Rapport de l'Évêque à la sacrée congrégation de la Propagation de la foi," May 18, 1852, in Letter Book, 1850-1857, Unpublished papers contained in the Archdiocesan Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, p. 30.

2 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 10, p. 178-190.

schools unless they had no alternative. The Bishop stated:

We must have, and we will have the full management of our schools, as well as the Protestants in Lower Canada, or the world of the 19th century will know, that here as elsewhere, Catholics against the Constitution of the country, against its best and most sacred interest, are persecuted by the most cruel and most hypercritical [sic] persecution.¹

Ryerson was shocked and he then expressed to Bishop Charbonnel the opinion that this was a new course of action. He felt that Bishop Power and even Bishop Macdonnell had followed a different course. Ryerson charged that Bishop Charbonnel had decided to "adopt a different course (from that of Bishop Power) and to introduce from the Continent of Europe, a new class of ideas and feelings among the Roman Catholics of Upper Canada."² In one of his letters in response to the charges of the Reverend Bruyere, Ryerson made it clear that

1 A.F. Charbonnel, "Letter to Egerton Ryerson", Toronto, April of 1852, quoted by Egerton Ryerson, Dr. Ryerson's letters in reply to the attacks of foreign ecclesiastics against the schools and municipalities of Upper Canada, Toronto, Lovell & Gibson, 1857, p. 8.

2 Egerton Ryerson, "Dr. Ryerson to Bishop Charbonnel", Toronto, April 24th, 1852, quoted by Egerton Ryerson, Dr. Ryerson's letters in reply to the attacks of foreign ecclesiastics against the schools and municipalities of Upper Canada, p. 7.

this new spirit was against anything British.

My last remark is, that the same spirit which assails, misrepresents and calumniates our public school system is equally hostile and calumnious against everything British, from the throne down to the school municipality.¹

Ryerson gave a further clarification of what he meant by this new foreign spirit in his reply to Bishop Pinsonneault in February of 1857.

What I meant in referring to the intrusion of a "new foreign element" in Canada, is the direct antagonism of this true Canadian feeling - not imagination from abroad - but foreign inspirations, feelings and views, at variance with what have heretofore existed in Upper Canada - antagonistic to Canadian independence, and to the growth of Canadian intellect, liberty and prosperity.²

Bishop Macdonnell was of Scottish background and he demonstrated many times his strong loyalty to the British Crown. Bishop Power was from Nova Scotia and also was loyal to Britain as was indicated in his letter to Lord Stanley, Secretary for the Colonies, in which he asked for approval of the plans to divide Upper Canada into two dioceses.

¹ Egerton Ryerson, "Dr. Ryerson and the Rev. Mr. Bruyere", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1082, issue of Dec. 24, 1856, p. 2, col. 2.

² _____, "Dr. Ryerson's Answer to the Roman Catholic Bishop of London", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1138, issue of Feb. 26, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

Bishop Power promised that:

They would warn their flocks as heretofore, but with much greater authority against the principles of disaffected men and inculcate with less apprehension and in more forcible terms submission to the laws, of loyalty to her Majesty, and above all unbonded attachment to the Mother Country.¹

In contrast to these two men, Bishop Charbonnel a member of the French nobility, spent most of his life in France, and a few years in Lower Canada and the United States. Ryerson questioned the loyalty of the Catholic Bishops because he knew that many of the new hierarchy in Upper Canada were French or of French origin.² It was probably this fact more than any other which caused Ryerson to attribute the changes to a "foreign spirit." In his

1 Michael Power, Power Papers, Personal papers contained in the Archdiocesan Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, quoted by J.A. Hope et alia, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950, Toronto, Baptist Johnson, 1950, p. 812 (in footnote).

2 The bishops of Upper Canada in 1856 were as follows:

- 1) Toronto: Bishop Charbonnel, 1850-1860
- 2) Kingston: a) Bishop Remy Gaulin, auxiliary 1833-1840
Bishop of Kingston, 1840-1857
- b) Bishop Phelan, auxiliary, 1843-1857
Bishop of Kingston, 1857-1857
- 3) London: Bishop Pinsonnault, 1856-1883
- 4) Ottawa: Bishop Guigues, 1848-1874

in Audet, Historical Dates and Events, 1492-1915, Ottawa, George Beauregard, 1917.

letter addressed to Bishop Pinsonneault in 1857, Ryerson stated:

If I am correctly informed Bishop Pinsonneault himself, in his first Inaugural Discourse, avowed his supreme allegiance to the Sovereign of Rome, and none but a secondary and subordinate allegiance to any other Sovereign.¹

Ryerson felt that, prior to 1850, Catholics had not established separate schools as a system of Catholic schools, but that they were willing to have their children in common schools, whether these were completely Catholic or mixed.

Ryerson stated that:

....the provision of the law for the separate schools was never asked for or advocated until since 1850 as a theory, but merely as a protection in circumstances arising from the peculiar social state of neighbourhoods or municipalities.²

1 Egerton Ryerson, "Dr. Ryerson's Answer to the Roman Catholic Bishop of London", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1138, issue of Feb. 26, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

2 Egerton Ryerson, Letter of Egerton Ryerson to Bishop Charbonnel, April, 1852, quoted by Egerton Ryerson, Dr. Ryerson's letters in reply to the attacks of foreign ecclesiastics against the schools and municipalities of Upper Canada, p. 8.

In response to this letter, Bishop Charbonnel asserted that:

The conclusion of our correspondence must be that our opinions on Separate Schools are quite different.

But I hope that by making use of all constitutional means, in order to obtain our right, I will not upset the Government of Canada, nor its institutions.¹

In order to gain revisions of the law and achieve a system of separate Roman Catholic schools, Bishop Charbonnel organized his forces.² He wanted to have a system similar to that granted to Protestants in Lower Canada. His efforts met with some success because Ryerson prepared a remedial school bill which exonerated the Roman Catholics from paying taxes in support of the common schools.³

In order to defeat the establishment of separate schools, all the trustees had to do was to hire a Roman Catholic to teach in the common school. In a school with seven or eight teachers, one could be a Roman Catholic and this would suffice to stop the establishment of separate

1 A.F. Charbonnel, Letter of A.F. Charbonnel to Egerton Ryerson, May 22nd, 1852, quoted by Egerton Ryerson op. cit., p. 28.

2 A summary of the Bishop's ideas as of 1852 can be seen in his second report to Rome, dated May 18, 1852. See appendix 2.

3 "An Act Supplementary To The Common School Act For Upper Canada Of 1850", (16th and 17th year of Victoria Chapter CLXXV) passed the 14th of June, 1853, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 10, p. 133-138.

schools.

Anti-separate school feelings had grown to such an extent that trustees in some municipalities began hiring Catholic teachers.¹ Although this provision had existed for quite a few years, common school trustees had never used it in this manner. Their intent was to make the existing separate schools illegal.

Bishop Charbonnel and his colleagues were incensed and they applied pressure on the government for a change in the legislation. Because they were no longer satisfied with the amendments and wanted a complete revision of the Act, they prepared a separate school act.

Ryerson made several attempts to appease them, but no legislation was passed until 1855, when the famous Tache Act, prepared by the Roman Catholics, was presented.² Before it was passed, Ryerson heard of it and managed to have several amendments put into effect before it became law.³ At first Bishop Charbonnel was elated but when he learned of the amendments he was incensed and immediately sent in his resignation as member of the Council of Public Instruction,

1 John S. Moir, op. cit., p. 156.

2 "An Act To Amend The Laws Relating To Roman Catholic Separate Schools In Upper Canada", (18th year of Victoria Chapter CXXI) passed the 30th of May, 1855, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 11, p. 129-131.

3 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 12, p. 16-19.

although he had not attended any meetings for almost three years.¹

The Tache Act did achieve a redress of the problem which had irritated the Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic supporters of separate schools were exempted from paying common school taxes but had to renew their intention to do this annually. The teacher of the common school no longer had to be a Protestant and in addition, Roman Catholics were entitled to a separate school whenever five or more heads of families applied for one.

There was no new legislation for the separate schools in the years 1855 to 1863. Nevertheless, there were many events which aroused controversy over the issue of separate schools. The fervor of these controversies prevented any further concessions being won by the Roman Catholics.

In 1855, a convert to Protestantism named Robert Carrigan was murdered at St. Sylvester in Lower Canada.² The men accused of the murder were tried and found innocent by a Roman Catholic jury. This created a tremendous amount of ferment in Upper Canada and there were even threats of retaliation against Catholics. Then, in his lenten address

1 F.A. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada, Toronto, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1955, p. 172.

2 John S. Moir, op. cit., p. 162.

for 1856, Bishop Charbonnel pronounced "that Roman Catholics who did not employ their franchise to further the cause of separate schools were guilty of mortal sin."¹ As a result of these and similar incidents, Upper Canadian Protestants became militant against any extension of privileges to the Roman Catholic separate schools.

In addition to these events, the Rector of St. Michael's Cathedral in Toronto wrote an article in "The Leader" attacking Ryerson's policy. Through the articles written by Egerton Ryerson and Reverend J.M. Bruyere, a vivid picture of the "Ryerson-Charbonnel Controversy" was depicted. Ryerson argued that the clamor for separate schools started with Bishop Charbonnel while Bruyere argued that the Catholic position had never changed.

Because of this, the Governor asked Ryerson for a personal report on the separate school issue. Soon after sending the report, Ryerson was called to Quebec to confer with the members of the Government because Bishop Charbonnel was leading a movement to have further modification made to the Tache Act. Ryerson was able to sway the Government

¹ The text of the bishop's address appeared in "The Mirror" of Toronto, of Jan. 25, 1856. The Line quoted is in J.A. Hope et alia, op. cit., p. 856, 857.

to act as he had advised the Governor in his report.¹ In that report, Ryerson had said:

My belief is, that in view of the past, present and future, the Separate School Sections of the School Law ought not to be interfered with, either by making an iota of concession ... , or by taking away an iota of the rights granted to, and possessed by, Roman Catholics during nearly twenty years.²

In March of 1857, John Elmsley wrote a letter to Egerton Ryerson in which he appealed to Ryerson to have the separate school issue debated by a select committee as Ryerson himself had proposed to Bishop Pinsonneault in 1857.³ Also, Elmsley enclosed the draft of two bills which he intended to have presented to the government. The first bill would have given Roman Catholics full powers in the establishment of Catholic schools.⁴ The second bill⁵ would

1 J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 13, p. 250-267.

2 Ibid, p. 272.

3 Egerton Ryerson, "Dr. Ryerson's Answer to The Roman Catholic Bishop Of London", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1138, issue of Feb. 26, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

4 "An Act To Repeal The Several Laws Respecting Separate Schools, So Far As They Relate To Roman Catholics; And To Authorize The Establishment Of Schools By Roman Catholics In Upper Canada", quoted by J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 13, p. 166-170.

5 "An Act To Repeal The Laws Relating To Separate Schools, And To Authorize The Establishment Of Schools By Any Of The Religious Denominations Recognized By Law In Upper Canada", quoted by J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 13, p. 170-175.

have given similar powers to any other recognized religious group, but Elmsley failed to accomplish what he desired.

Roman Catholics may never have achieved any further concessions, had it not been for D'arcy Magee, the editor of the "New Era." He was very liberal in his ideas and belonged to the Clear Grits led by George Brown. Magee was able to attract the Roman Catholic vote which had traditionally been with the Reform party. These votes were lost when the Reform party split into the Reform and the Clear Grits. George Brown built the party on the platform of representation by population and anti-Catholic policies. With the presence of Magee, Brown and the Clear Grits became silent on the question of Roman Catholic Separate Schools¹, and as a result, the strong anti-separate school feelings in the province abated to some extent.

In 1863, a new separate school Act was introduced by R.W. Scott, the member from Ottawa.² Similar Acts had been introduced by Scott in the sessions of 1861 and 1862.

Bishop Charbonnel had retired to France in 1860 but his successor, Bishop Lynch was as dedicated as he to the

1 John S. Moir, op. cit., p. 167.

2 "An Act To Restore To Roman Catholics In Upper Canada Certain Rights In Respect To Separate Schools", (26th year of Victoria, Chapter V), passed the 5th of May, 1863, quoted by J.G. Hodgins, D.H.E., Vol. 17, p. 275, 279.

cause of Catholic education. Nonetheless, the Catholic school system which Bishop Charbonnel had built would not change in the following century.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

From this historical survey, it is evident that there was a definite change in Roman Catholic educational policy. The Roman Catholics sought and achieved a system of separate Roman Catholic schools independent of the mixed schools. However, in doing this, they interfered with Ryerson's plan for this province's educational system.

Ryerson was correct in his opinion that a change had taken place in 1850 yet he did not perceive the true causes of the change nor its full significance. He blamed Bishop Charbonnel while the Roman Catholics thought that Egerton Ryerson and his policies were at fault. The personalities of both these men played an important role in the developments of those years. Charbonnel did not fully grasp the British form of institutions in the province, nor did he share the views of Egerton Ryerson on the role of the Church in relation to the State. Ryerson was so convinced of his position that he failed to recognize the problem which his policies created for Roman Catholics especially when his policies affected changes in legislation. In addition to the clash of personalities of these two men, there was a storm of religious conflict in the province which forced the events to move as they did. Harmony in the school was impossible when such hatred existed in the homes. The educational strife of the 1850's had its roots in the political, religious and

educational developments during Upper Canada's early years.

A further study of the events in the first half of the nineteenth century would certainly aid in an understanding of this problem. The reasons for the change in the Roman Catholic educational policy are many and complex and the evidence indicates that both parties had some justification for their positions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bethune, A.N., Memoir Of The Right Reverend John Strachan, First Bishop Of Toronto, Toronto, Henry Rowsell, 1870, vii-385 p.

A biography written by an intimate friend.

Bruyere, J.M., "Doctor Ryerson And The Roman Catholic Bishop Of Toronto", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1153, issue of Mar. 16, 1857, p. 2, col. 5.

Rev. Bruyere's answer to the letter Ryerson addressed to Bishop Pinsonneault. In this letter, he calls for Ryerson's resignation.

-----, "Rev. J.M. Bruyere's Rejoinder To Dr. Ryerson", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1095, issue of Jan. 7, 1857, p. 2, col. 3.

Rev. Bruyere's second letter to Dr. Ryerson. In this letter, he quotes John Elmsley's letter in defence of Bishop Power.

-----, "Rev. J.M. Bruyere's Second Rejoinder To Dr. Ryerson", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1115, issue of Jan. 30, 1857, p. 2, col. 3.

Rev. Bruyere's third letter. He ridicules Ryerson's answer to the Elmsley letter.

-----, "Rev. J.M. Bruyere's Valedictory Address To Dr. Ryerson", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1121, issue of Feb. 6, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

A continuation of the arguments presented in the first three letters.

-----, "What Is To Be Done With The Clergy Reserve Funds?", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1070, issue of Dec. 10, 1856, p. 2, col. 4.

Rev. Bruyere's first letter in the 1857 controversy. He attacks the common school system.

Bull, W.P., From Macdonell to McGuigan, The History of the Growth of the Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada, Toronto, The Perkins Bull Foundation, 1939, 501 p.

Biographies of all the bishops since Macdonnell. Contains valuable information of Macdonnell, Charbonnel, and Power.

Burwash, N., Egerton Ryerson, Toronto, Morang and Company, 1910, iv-303 p.

A biography of the life of Egerton Ryerson. Valuable for discussion of the change in attitude in 1850.

Charbonnel, A.F., Charbonnel Papers, Personal papers contained in the Archdiocesan Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.

Cornell, P.G., The Alignment of Political Groups in Canada, 1841-1867, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1962, x-119 p.

Aids in understanding the political background of the separate school question.

Dominique de Saint-Denis, Father, L'Église Catholique au Canada, The Catholic Church in Canada, Les Éditions Thau, Montreal, 1956, xiv-269 p.

Historical and statistical summary. Reveals the position of the Catholic minority in Upper Canada.

Dooner, Alfred James, Catholic Pioneers in Upper Canada, Toronto, Macmillan, 1947, xiv-251 p.

A brief history of the Catholic church in Upper Canada. Provides some details on Bishop Macdonnell.

Elmsley, John, "To The Editor Of The Colonist", letter to the Editor in The Daily Colonist of Toronto, No. 1349, issue of Mar. 19, 1856, p. 2, col. 6.

A response to Ryerson's comment concerning a changed attitude in 1850. This became one of the major pieces of evidence for the Roman Catholic position.

Henderson, J.L.A., John Strachan, 1778-1867, Toronto University of Toronto Press, 1969, vi-112 p.

A modern biography of John Strachan.

Hodgins, John George, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1792-1876, 28 vols., Toronto, Warwick Bros. and Rutter, 1894-1904.

A very extensive presentation of relevant documents. Contains most of the Acts of Education. This is the main source of information on education at that time.

-----, Historical and Other Papers and Documents of Ontario, 1792-1876, 6 vols., Toronto, Kings printer, 1911.

Presents a full text of many relevant documents.

-----, Legislation and History of Separate Schools in Upper Canada, Toronto, William Briggs, 1897, xi-225 p.

A good condensation of material presented in his "Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, 1792-1876". Presents Ryerson's side in the controversy.

Hope, J.A., et alia, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950, Toronto, Baptist Johnston, 1950, xxiii-993 p.

In this extensive document, both sides of the separate school controversy are presented. The minority report treats the Catholic position most extensively.

Macdonell, Alexander, "Roman Catholic Church in Upper Canada", in Report 1896-1897, letters of Macdonell, in Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ont.

Contains letters which reveal the relationship of the Bishop with the Government.

Macdonell, J.A., A Sketch of the life of the Honourable and Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell, Alexandria, The Glengarrian, 1890, 86 p.

A biography of Bishop Macdonnell. Contains copies of letters and sermons of Macdonnell which reveal his position on Catholic education.

Moir, John S., Church and State in Canada West, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959, xv-223 p.

An extensive study of the effects of the Churches on the politics in Upper Canada - especially dealing with Clergy Reserves, University question and elementary education.

Phillips, C.E., The Development of Education In Canada, Toronto, W.J. Gage, 1957, xiii-626 p.

Presents the development of the modern concept of universal education in Canada.

Pinsonneault, Adolphe, "Letter From The Bishop Of London C.W., To The Reverend J.M. Bruyere On Dr. Ryerson's Answer To His Lordship", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1141, issue of Mar. 2, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

An answer to the charges made against him by Ryerson in his letter of Feb. 26, 1857.

-----, "Letter From The Right Rev. Doctor Pinsonneault, Bishop of London, To The Rev. J.M. Bruyere, In the Subject Of The Late Controversy With Dr. Ryerson", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1133, issue of Feb. 20, 1857, p. 2, col. 3.

Power, Michael, Power Papers, Personal papers contained in the Archdiocesan Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.

Quoted by the Minority Report of the Hope Commission 1950. Contains many letters in which Bishop Power reveals his position on the school question.

Putnam, John Harold, Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada, Toronto, W. Briggs, 1912, 270 p.

Has one chapter on separate schools but deals only with its legislative history.

Ryerson, Adolphus Egerton, "A Lie Once Told Should Be Stuck To", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1105, issue of Jan. 19, 1857, p. 2, col. 5.

Ryerson's reply to the charge made against him by Rev. Bruyere regarding a book contained in the official list of books for the common school libraries.

-----, Canadian Methodism, Its Epochs and Characteristics, Toronto, Briggs, 1882.

-----, "Dr Ryerson And The Rev. Mr. Bruyere", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1082, issue of Dec. 24, 1856, p. 2, col. 2.

Ryerson's first reply to the Rev. J.M. Bruyere in which he begins the discussion on the change of attitude.

-----, "Dr. Ryerson's Answer To The Roman Catholic Bishop Of London", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1138, issue of Feb. 26, 1857, p. 2, col. 4.

Ryerson presents in detail his arguments concerning a change of attitude and continues the discussions on various questions brought up.

-----, "Dr. Ryerson's letters in reply to the attacks of foreign ecclesiastics against the schools and municipalities of Upper Canada", Toronto, Lovell & Gibson, 1857, 104 p.

Contains most of the correspondence between Ryerson and the Roman Catholic authorities concerning the separate school question.

-----, "Dr. Ryerson's Remarks In Reply To The Rev. J.M. Bruyere's Third Letter", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1117, issue of Feb. 2, 1857, p. 2, col. 33.

-----, "Dr. Ryerson's Second Reply To The Reverend J.M. Bruyere", feature in The Leader of Toronto, Vol. 4, No. 1103, issue of Jan. 16, 1857, p. 2, col. 3.

A continuation of his arguments.

-----, Report on a system of public elementary instruction for Upper Canada, Montreal, Lovell & Gibson, 1847, xii-191 p.

Ryerson's philosophy of education as developed by his investigation of the educational systems of Europe and the United States.

Sisson, C.B., Church and State in Canadian Education, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1959, 414 p.

A study of the influence of the Church on Canadian politics in Upper Canada.

-----, Egerton Ryerson, his life and letters, Toronto, Clarke, Irwin & Co., 1937, x-601 p.

An extensive biography of Ryerson.

Thomas, Clara Eileen, Ryerson of Upper Canada, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1969, 151 p.

A biography of Ryerson.

Underhill, F.A., et alia, "Upper Canadian Politics in the 1850's", in Canadian Historical Readings, Vol. 2, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967, 88 p.

Contains several articles explaining the politics in the 1850's.

Walker, F.A., Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada, Toronto, J.M. Dent & Sons, 1955, xii-331 p.

A history of separate schools and related events from 1841-1867. This book contains many details regarding the Roman Catholic position in the controversy.

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

Presents a history of the legislation on separate schools as it evolved in the provinces of Canada.

APPENDIX 1

Note on terms, "Public", "Common" and "Separate" schools

All of the Acts of Education for Upper Canada referred to "common schools" meaning elementary schools. The only act which replaced the term "common school" by the term "public school" was the Cameron School Act of 1849. In the 1850's, when the Roman Catholics achieved a system of separate Roman Catholic schools, independent of the common schools, they began to refer to any school which was not a Roman Catholic separate school as a "common" or "public" school.

The Act of 1807 referred to "public schools" while the Act of 1841 referred to "common schools". The "common schools" were intended to provide education at the elementary level, while the "public schools" or "grammar schools" provided education at the secondary level. In the early days, the "grammar schools" provided education at both levels. According to the Act of 1841, the "common schools" could be two types; "separate schools" attended only by Protestants or only by Catholics and "mixed schools" in which children from both Catholic and Protestant homes attended. The Cameron School Act of 1849 was the only act which replaced the term "common school" with the term "public school".

APPENDIX 2

A Summary of the Bishop's Ideas

A summary of the Bishop's ideas as of 1852 can be seen in his second report to Rome, dated May 18, 1852:

Après bien des représentations, j'ai dû en venir à une guerre ouverte contre notre Système d'écoles; jusque-là ma partie adverse était enebantée des procédés et de la tolérance de l'Évêque; aujourd'hui elle a peur et cherche à m'effrayer; j'ai reçu pour réponse à une de mes lettres, 23 pages in folio de personnalités et d'insinuations humiliantes de la part de notre espèce du Ministre de l'instruction publique. Je lui ai riposté avec les canons des conciles de Baltimore sanctionnés par le saint Siège et avec la lutte et le triomphe de l'épiscopat Irlandais, en 1832, dans la même cause que la nôtre. Et le 9 Mai, on a dû signer dans toutes mes missions une pétition au Gouvernement à l'effet d'obtenir de la legislature une administration d'écoles entièrement catholique, des écoles catholiques séparées, une protection pour nos enfants dans les écoles communes, et une part égale et proportionnelle à notre population dans les fonds publics pour l'éducation.¹

¹ A.F. Charbonnel, "Rapport de l'Évêque à la sacré congrégation de la Propagation de la foi", May 18, 1852, in Letter Book, 1850-1857, unpublished papers contained in the Archdiocesan Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto, p. 30.

Translation

After many negotiations, I have been driven to the point of open warfare against our school system. Up to this time, I have been tolerant and have proceeded with due formality in my dealings with them. Today (At the present moment) they are frightened men and they seek to frighten me. In reply to one of my letters, I received twenty-three pages of insults and insinuations (innuendoes) about the supporters of our cause. I have replied to this by sending the Minister of Public Education the canons (promulgations) of the Council of Baltimore which were sanctioned by the Holy See and further reinforced by the struggle in the same cause and eventual triumph of the Irish episcopate in 1832. In addition, I have authorized a petition to the government to be signed in all our missions on the ninth of May, requesting a complete system of administration to be established for the Catholic Separate Schools, protection for our children in the public schools, and a share in the public funds available for education proportionate to the size of our Catholic population.

APPENDIX 3

ABSTRACT OF

A Study of the Ryerson-Charbonnel Controversy and Its Background

The separate school system in Ontario has been the subject of controversy since its earliest days. One of the first controversies concerned the question of a change of attitude of Roman Catholics regarding separate schools. Egerton Ryerson, the Superintendent of Education, maintained that Bishop Charbonnel, unlike his predecessors, was advocating the creation of a separate school system and as a result disturbing the peace in the province. The Roman Catholics argued that the Bishop's predecessors had also desired such a system and would have followed a similar course of action.

This thesis is a study of this controversy and its background. A review of the literature dealing with this controversy provides the arguments which have traditionally been presented by both parties. A study of the historical background presents not only the educational, but also the religious development, since these played an important role in the development of the controversy. This study also includes an analysis of the Education Acts passed prior to Confederation. In addition, the controversy between

Egerton Ryerson and Bishop Charbonnel is presented as it took place in the 1850's.

The events studied indicated that there was a change in policy but that Egerton Ryerson's opinion on this issue was not totally correct. The problem proves to be very complex and the evidence indicates that both parties had some justification for their positions.