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**"LET THEM EDUCATE THEMSELVES:"**

**THE REFORM OF SEPARATE SCHOOLS IN OTTAWA, 1882-1912**

**BY**

**Peter Anthony Postrozny  
B.A., Wilfrid Laurier University 1986**

**Thesis  
Submitted to the Department of History  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the Master of Arts degree  
Wilfrid Laurier University  
1990**

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## INTRODUCTION

Lay Catholic involvement in the educational and operational development of Ontario's separate schools is not well understood. Existing studies of separate schools have virtually ignored the reform process which changed the schools from 1882 to 1912. Separate school reform essentially involved increased government scrutiny of all aspects of separate school operation and the insistence on virtual conformity with public school practices and policies. Support for separate school reform by a segment of the lay Catholic population was an important factor in slowly overcoming resistance to educational change on the part of the Church hierarchy. This is not to argue that lay Catholics uniformly supported separate school reform or that lay Catholics opposed Church involvement in school matters. There was a leading group of Catholics in the city of Ottawa who supported the Church in most educational disputes with the government. There existed a diversity of opinion about the schools among lay Catholics. It is argued here that lay Catholic support for educational reform changed the separate schools in Ottawa between 1882 and 1912.

Separate school reforms were most effective when compatible with the educational demands of lay Catholics. Local priorities and local conditions could affect the government's ability to implement educational policy.(1) An examination of the development of Ottawa's separate schools reveals that local concerns - parental demands, economic and financial

circumstances, and cultural considerations - influenced decisions on a variety of school issues. These issues ranged from school construction to textbook and curriculum changes. In fact, as evidenced in Ottawa, the religious nature of the schools and the authority of the Church could not guarantee lay Catholic support for Catholic education if other factors - such as cultural or educational concerns - were not satisfactorily addressed by separate school authorities.

The Roman Catholic Church was instrumental in the pre-Confederation establishment and post-Confederation development of separate schools in Ontario. Yet the contribution of lay Catholics to the evolution of their own schools has been largely overlooked. The group of lay Catholics who most influenced change in the operation of separate schools were inspectors.

School inspectors enforced government policy at the local level. Before 1882, inspections of separate schools were carried out by Protestant officials connected with public school administration. This form of inspection was largely ineffectual. Separate school authorities resented these inspections, and dismissed inspectors' comments as unsupportive of separate schools.(2) A separate school inspectorate, composed of Roman Catholic educators, was established in 1882, inaugurating a period of greater co-operation between separate school officials and government authorities. Roman Catholic inspectors were able

to communicate with the Church hierarchy, trustees, teachers, and parents in a less hostile environment than existed before 1882.

The traditional view of the role of Roman Catholic separate school inspectors is that they failed to enforce government regulations and allowed the Church to run the schools. C. B. Sissons has argued that the decision to appoint Roman Catholics as separate school inspectors was an extension of an "apartheid" policy which physically, administratively, and educationally segregated Roman Catholic children, to their detriment, from their public school counterparts.(3) Sissons claimed that these inspectors became complacent about their "duty" to enforce government regulations. He specifically stated that "in the environment in which they found themselves the inspectors were straying from the narrow path of duty and becoming promoters of a system within a system."(4) As will be demonstrated in this paper, Roman Catholic separate school inspectors successfully worked to bring the schools into closer conformity with the regulations and policies of the central educational authority.

Government policies concerning separate schools changed after the retirement of Egerton Ryerson from the position of Chief Superintendent of Education in 1876.(5) Ryerson was viewed by separate school authorities and supporters as generally hostile to separate school development.(6) He attempted to control or monitor separate schools with inspections conducted by public and high school inspectors. After Ryerson's retirement,

the Liberal government of Oliver Mowat adopted a more pragmatic approach towards separate school administration. The decision to appoint Roman Catholics as separate school inspectors was welcomed by separate school supporters, and actually created the first truly effective means for the government to increase its influence over the schools.

The Liberal government claimed that its policies were much the same as Ryerson's. In a speech defending his government's separate school policies in 1889, Mowat quoted Ryerson as conceding that Roman Catholics should be allowed, however grudgingly, "to educate themselves in their own way":

The Roman Catholics make it part of their religious duty to combine religion with secular education. This cannot be done in the present Common Schools of Upper Canada; and the consequence obviously is that those people must abandon their religious convictions, or have schools of their own, or get no education at all. The first, abandon their convictions, they will not do. The last, leave them uneducated, an intelligent public ought not to admit. So there is nothing for it but to permit, in a kindly and liberal spirit, the only system by which they can be educated agreeably to their own consciences ... The system is manifestly to let them educate themselves in their own way.(7)

Despite Mowat's claim, Liberal policies were different in many important respects from those of Ryerson. The Liberal education ministers who succeeded Ryerson were ultimately more successful in increasing the Education Department's influence over the educational development of separate schools. The government accomplished this primarily through support from lay Catholics

who believed that, by more closely following provincial educational policies and regulations, their schools would improve and produce better educated children. The fight for educational reform in Ottawa was waged largely by lay Catholics, both French and English, who wanted their children to be able to compete with Protestants for "those positions in life..." as one group of lay Catholics put it, "we desire them to attain." (8)

This study focuses on the turbulent development of Ottawa's separate schools for a number of reasons. The most important issues related to separate school development directly or indirectly involved Ottawa's schools. Ottawa's enrollment surpassed Toronto's by 1890 to make it the largest separate school system in the province. (9) Its size and relative wealth in terms of resources for its schools made Ottawa's separate school system important as a leading example to other separate and bilingual school systems.

An examination of an urban school system is particularly appropriate in the case of separate schools. The majority of Catholic children who attended separate schools did so in urban centres, in contrast to the rural experience of the majority of children who attended public schools before 1910. (10) The Catholic population in rural areas was often too sparse and impoverished to support separate schools. Toronto and Ottawa accounted for approximately two thirds of the separate school enrollment in cities in Ontario in 1890, and for one quarter of

the total enrollment in the province.(11) During the late nineteenth century, separate school developments in Toronto and Ottawa were similar. Lay Catholics in both cities demanded more influence over educational matters and complained about excessive clerical interference in school affairs.(12)

Ottawa also had the largest French-language school system in the province.(13) Its dual system of Roman Catholic schools reflected the increasing cultural duality of the province's separate schools. Before the 1890s, the majority of French-language schools, although mostly Roman Catholic in terms of religious instruction and atmosphere, were in fact public schools.(14) By 1910, there was still a large number of French-language public schools, but the vast majority of French-speaking children attended separate schools.(15) French-Canadian children accounted for approximately one third of separate school enrollment.(16) The growth in French-language separate schools around the turn of the century was an important factor in the overall expansion of separate schools.

The importance of Ottawa's schools is reflected in the fact that inspectors focused considerable attention on these institutions. The attention focused on Ottawa resulted in a government investigation into the condition of the schools in 1895.(17) This investigation and its aftermath represented a turning point in the history of separate schools. Although the Commissioners who examined Ottawa's separate schools were

primarily concerned with ascertaining the quality of English instruction in the French schools(18), the investigation symbolized the central educational authority's increasing regulation of the schools. By the mid-1890s, the government demanded that its educational regulations be adhered to by separate school authorities. Inspectors' reports on Ottawa's various schools provide not only a glimpse of the condition of the schools, but more importantly, an indication of the direction of government educational policies and how these policies affected the schools over time.

This study deals with social and ethnic conditions in Ottawa and their impact on the schools.(19) Ottawa's Catholic population was composed of the two ethnic groups which created separate schools in Ontario in the nineteenth century: the French and the Irish. Throughout Ontario, these two groups of Catholics fought continuously over their schools and other common institutions such as the Church.(20) Although conflict between Irish and French Catholics over school issues predated the origin of separate schools, the growth of Ontario's French Catholic population and French-language schools around the turn of the century aggravated ethnic animosities. Ethnicity influenced discussions over school issues such as textbooks, qualifications of teachers, and, most directly, language instruction.

French and Irish Catholics formed a single separate school board of trustees to govern Ottawa's schools. The French were

the majority of the Catholic population, and this placed them in the dominant position as far as the administration of the city's Catholic institutions was concerned.(21) Irish Catholics generally resented French influence. One of the most important separate school developments in Ottawa was the successful campaign of the Irish to establish their own schools within the separate school system. The Irish became more supportive of their schools after 1886 when they were granted greater independence in school matters. Irish and French children were taught separately. Two committees were formed on the separate school board, one English-speaking and the other French-speaking. Until 1903, these committees were responsible for the management of every aspect of their own schools.(22)

The cultural importance of the separate school system to Catholics was a factor in its growth and survival as lay Catholics viewed the school as a vital component in the promotion of their cultural heritage. The Irish and French Catholics of Ottawa were concerned with the educational fitness of their schools, but the schools continued to be very important to the community as institutions of cultural perpetuation. French Catholics, like Irish Catholics, had an articulate leadership to promote their schools. Long before 1912 this group emerged to defend French-language schools. It led the fight to counter the Conservative government's attempts to restrict French instruction in Ontario's schools through Regulation 17 in 1912.(23)



Social and economic factors as well as ethnicity affected separate schools in Ottawa. Although it is difficult to draw a clear connection between the affluence or poverty of a district and separate school activities, the most articulate middle-class trustees and parents represented and lived in Garneau Ward. Garneau encompassed the relatively wealthy Sandy Hills area of Ottawa. The most prominent Irish and French Catholic advocates of reform of the schools represented Garneau Ward as trustees.(24) The importance of education and of educational reform to individual Catholics appears to have been linked to their social status. But ethnic and religious factors make it difficult to assess the extent to which questions of social class determined the process of implementing educational reforms. Out of economic necessity, the children of working-class parents often left elementary school after only a few years in order to work.(25) Higher education and education in general was a much lower priority to this group than to the group from Garneau Ward.

The Roman Catholic Church played an important role in the development of Ontario's separate schools, with each diocese and local parish influential in establishing and maintaining separate schools. Ottawa was the site of the Episcopal See of the Archdiocese of Ottawa. The Diocese of Ottawa, which became an Archdiocese in 1886, was originally part of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec, and it was led by a French-Canadian hierarchy.(26) Even the Catholic Church was not immune from conflict between the French and the Irish as the Church's

Canadian hierarchy argued over the right to administer Ottawa.(27)

Archbishop Joseph-Thomas Duhamel, leader of Ottawa's Catholic community from 1874 to 1909, was a strong defender of French-Canadian culture. He was involved in the promotion of French-language separate schools throughout eastern Ontario.(28) Archbishop Duhamel expected all Catholics, including the Irish, to attend separate schools, but he gradually allowed the Irish greater freedom in school affairs without complaint. He was much more directly involved with the evolution of the French schools. This involvement led to conflict with several French-speaking trustees and parents who resented and rebelled against his interference in school matters. This conflict was evidence of a growing demand by lay Catholics for more control over education and less clerical interference.

This study of separate schools fills a gap in the historical literature. Existing studies of Ontario's separate schools tend to concentrate on legislative and political history, and are not primarily concerned with the educational development of these institutions.(29) The most comprehensive historical work on the subject is a three-volume study by Franklin Walker, including Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada (1955) and Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario (1964).(30) Even Walker, who pays some attention to lay Catholic opinion and activities with regard to the schools, understates the influence

of lay Catholics on the reform of their own schools in the nineteenth century. Existing histories generally explain how separate schools gained public funding before 1867, and argue whether or not these schools warrant further financial and educational concessions in the post-Confederation period.(31) The most perplexing political issues have been public tax support for separate schools and funding for Catholic education beyond the elementary level.(32) Historians have only superficially dealt with the educational development of separate schools.

There are also some local histories of separate schools, including one which deals with the history of the Ottawa separate school board. But these studies - limited in scope - have been published by local school boards and are descriptive accounts, more concerned with important names and dates, rather than analytical histories.(33)

Educational historians have debated the nature, effect and purpose of a system of state education characterized by central government regulation.(34) The uniformity of separate schools in terms of curriculum, textbooks, and operation was a key feature of publicly-funded educational systems. But these historians have paid little attention to separate schools. Bruce Curtis does briefly discuss separate school development as a prominent form of resistance to common school establishment. He points out that Catholics were among those opposed to non-denominational state education.(35) In his examination of the development of

common schools in Canada West (Ontario), Curtis furthermore argues that educational reform was viewed by Ryerson and the governing classes as a mechanism to control social conflict through a systematic process of internalizing principles and values supportive of the existing social order.(36) Yet events in Ottawa more closely support arguments made by R. D. Gidney and D. A. Lawr. Gidney and Lawr argue that local educational interests affected provincial policies and had a direct impact on the success of these policies.(37) The Education Department found that local support in Ottawa for educational change was an important element in the effective implementation of many of its initiatives. The problem with comparing this study to the studies mentioned is that Curtis and Gidney and Lawr limit their examinations of education in Ontario to the period before 1871. They discuss separate schools only briefly if at all.

Other historians argue that the development of bureaucratic structures to control schools, as occurred in the case of separate schools, was a form of social control.(38) This argument has been forwarded, most particularly by Marxist historians and sociologists, in examinations of the development of schools in Britain and North America during the early stages of industrialization.(39) The problem with the use of the social control concept to explain separate school reform is that such an argument emphasizes the views of the elite in society, and does not allow for the possibility that other segments of society generated their own values suited to industrial life, and imposed

their own forms on institutions such as schools.(40)

Educational reforms in both public and separate schools did take place in the context of wider attitudinal changes which involved a general desire for reform. Several historians have identified a change in parental attitudes towards children during the late nineteenth century. Greater concern was focused on children. This change of attitude has been linked to changes in religious and social thought, as well as to economic circumstances.(41)

Still other studies examine separate schools in connection with arguments concerning the cultural persistence of the Irish and the French in certain localities. Separate schools are discussed in these studies, but educational reform is not examined.(42) In connection with the bilingual school issue, conflict between English- and French-speaking Catholics over Ottawa's separate schools has been examined by a number of historians concerned with French-English conflict in Canada. Robert Choquette, Marilyn Barber, Margaret Prang and Franklin Walker have all examined Ottawa's history specifically in relation to the language issue and Regulation 17.(43) Yet these studies of ethnic conflict in Ottawa are not concerned with education. This examination of separate school reform highlights a previously unexamined aspect of Catholic public education in Ontario, and demonstrates that lay Catholics played a crucial role in the formation of separate schools.

Chapter One deals with the general relationship between the Education Department and separate school officials before 1882. This chapter contrasts government policy towards separate schools during the Ryerson era with policy after Ryerson's retirement from the position of Chief Superintendent in 1876. The less antagonistic atmosphere which prevailed between government officials and separate school authorities after 1876 made separate school reform possible.

Chapters Two to Four examine separate school reform from 1882 to 1912 by specifically studying the factors which influenced the evolution of Ottawa's schools. Chapter Two examines the appointment of the first separate school inspector, James F. White, and his initial attempts to reform the separate schools of Ottawa. His efforts in Ottawa illustrate his attempts to reform separate schools throughout Ontario. Chapter Three outlines the conflict generated by reform efforts and the eventual victory of reformers in Ottawa. Chapter Four studies the consolidation of government authority over separate schools which was equated with an improved educational system by lay Catholic reformers.

## References

1. This argument has been made in connection with Ontario's school system by R. D. Gidney and D. A. Lawr, in "Bureaucracy vs. Community? The Origins of Bureaucratic Procedure in the Upper Canadian School System." Journal of Social History. 13, 3(Spring 1980), pp. 438-57; and "Who Ran the Schools? Local Influence on Education Policy in Nineteenth Century Ontario." Ontario History. 72, 3(September 1980), pp. 131-43.
2. For example, see Franklin Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario. vol. 2. (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964), p. 90.
3. C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Education: An Historical Study. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), pp. 62-64.
4. Ibid., p. 64.
5. For a profile of Egerton Ryerson the educator, see J. L. McNeill, "Egerton Ryerson, Founder of Canadian (English-Speaking) Education" Ch. 7 in Robert S. Patterson et al, eds. Profiles of Canadian Educators. (Toronto: D. C. Heath, 1974), pp. 118-140; and for an examination of various motivations and influences behind Ryerson's educational ideas, see Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, eds. Egerton Ryerson and His Times. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978).
6. PAC. "Memo Giving the Origin of Separate Schools in Canada," p. 2 in R. W. Scott Papers, MG 27II, D14, vol. 3, p. 1185.
7. A0. Provincial Politics. Hon. Oliver Mowat, to his Constituents at Embro and Plattsville, December 1889, includes History of the Separate School System in Ontario and Quebec, and a detailed account of amendments to the Act in this province since 1871, January 19, 1890. 1890[25(2)], pp. 4-5.
8. AAO. Irish Catholics to Archbishop Duhamel, November 1, 1880. Papiers Des Commission Des Ecoles Séparees. MG 27/2, 1880.

9.  
In 1888, Toronto had an enrollment of 4,233 compared to 3,813 for Ottawa. In 1889, Toronto's enrollment rose to 4392. Ottawa's enrollment was 4,661 for the year.
10.  
See separate school statistics contained in Annual Reports of Minister of Education, 1876-1912.
11.  
Annual Report of Minister of Education, 1890. Ontario Sessional Papers. vol. 23, no. 4, 1891, pp. 28-31.
12.  
Walker, vol. 2, pp. 30-81.
13.  
F. W. Merchant, Report on the Condition of English-French Schools in the Province of Ontario. (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1912), p. 7.
14.  
Report of the Commission on French Schools, 1889. Ontario Sessional Papers. vol. 22, no. 7, 1890, pp. 56-61.
15.  
Merchant, Report on the Condition of English-French Schools. p. 20.
16.  
Merchant, p. 20; Annual Report of the Minister of Education, 1910. Ontario Sessional Paper. vol. 45, no. 16, 1912, p. xx.
17.  
The Ottawa Separate School Commission was appointed to investigate the schools by G. W. Ross in May 1895. For my initial examination and interpretation of the events and controversy surrounding this commission, see Peter A. Postrozny, "The Ottawa Separate School Commission of 1895: Catalyst for Reform and Controversy," B.A. thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1986.
18.  
Commission statement in Report of the Ottawa Separate School Commission, 1895. Ontario Sessional Papers. vol. 28, no. 1, 1896.
19.  
According to Marvin Lazerson, even Catholic historians in the United States are moving away from studying the views of the Church hierarchy in their examinations of Catholic schools, and are paying more attention to ethnic and social conditions. Marvin Lazerson, "Understanding American Catholic Education



History," History of Education Quarterly. 17, 3(Fall 1977), pp. 297-99. The ethnicity and social structure of a locality had an impact on educational change. For example, Victor L. Shradar has illustrated how ethnicity, religion and social class played a part in determining the acceptance of educational reforms in San Francisco. Victor L. Shradar, "Ethnicity, Religion and Class: Progressive School Reform in San Francisco," History of Education Quarterly. 20, 4(Winter 1980), pp. 385-402.

20.

See Robert Choquette, Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), pp. 9-79.

21.

The Irish complained to Archbishop Lynch about bias against them. Nicholson "Ecclesiastical Metropolitanism and the Evolution of the Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto." Histoire Sociale - Social History, 15, 29(1982), pp. 151-2.

22.

This is discussed in Chapter Two, pp. 76-77.

23.

This policy was introduced by the Ontario Conservative government in a circular of instructions no. 17 in 1912.

24.

For example, in 1895 a French-speaking trustee from Garneau, G. W. Seguin, a financial official with the Ottawa Electric Railway Co. and Head Collector for Ottawa, and many of the ratepayers he represented - French Catholics who obtained their status in society by competing in a predominantly English-speaking world of commerce and government - vocally demanded improvements in the instruction of English in their schools. Other examples include P. M. Cote, a leading civil servant with the Justice Department, and D'Arcy McGee, a prominent lawyer, who both represented Garneau Ward in the 1900s as French- and English-speaking trustee respectively. Cote led the movement to promote French-language schools while McGee led English-speaking trustees in opposition to French influence in English-Language schools.

25.

This was a common problem, and, among other factors, affected attendance at schools. Ian Davey, "The Rhythm of Work and the Rhythm of School," in MacDonald and Chaiton, Egerton Ryerson and His Times, pp. 221-53.

26.

Choquette, Language and Religion. pp. 9-78; Irish Catholics were in a minority position as far as Eastern Ontario and the Canadian Catholic Church was concerned, and this was a

source of conflict. See Choquette, "Linguistic and Ethnic Factors in the French-Irish Catholic Relations in Ontario," CCHA Study Sessions. (1972), pp. 36-37; J.S. Moir, "The Problem of a Double Minority: Some Reflections on the Development of the English-speaking Church in Canada in the Nineteenth Century," Histoire Sociale - Social History. 17, 34(1984), pp. 287-306.

27.

Choquette, Language and Religion. pp. 45-53; D.C. Cartwright, "Ecclesiastical Territorial Organization and Institutional Conflict in Eastern and Northern Ontario, 1840 to 1910." CHA Historical Papers. (1978), pp. 176-99; Raymond Huel, "The Irish-French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees the Struggle for Dominion within the Church." CCHA Study Sessions. (1975), pp. 50-69.

28.

Chad Gaffield, Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario. (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1987), pp. 166-179; Duhamel requested regulations on Separate School Establishment from Inspector White to help him in the conversion process, and also asked whether Separate Schools could buy Public School properties. AAT. White to Duhamel, February 5, 1892, and same to same, February 8, 1892; also same to same, December 3, 1891.

29.

For example, see George M. Weir, The Separate School Question in Canada. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1934), pp. 1-34, 118-173; Franklin Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada: A Study of Documentation Relative to the Origin of Catholic Elementary Schools in the Ontario School System. vol. 1. (Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Ltd., 1955); and Sissons, Church and State, pp. 1-126.

30.

Walker, vol. 1; Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario. vol. 2. (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964); The third volume is entitled, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario: From the Hope Commission to the Promise of Completion, 1945-1985. vol. 3. (Toronto: Catholic Education Foundation of Ontario, 1986).

31.

This is especially true of C. B. Sissons' work. See Sissons, Church and State, pp 1-126. For arguments supportive of the extension of separate school provisions, see Robert T. Dixon, "The Ontario Separate School System and Section 93 of the B.N.A. Act." Ed.D thesis, University of Toronto, 1967, esp. pp 49-62, 235-239; and Walker, vols. 1-3.

32.  
Walker, vol. 2, pp. 322-485.
33.  
Paul-Francois Sylvestre, One Hundred and Thirty Years of Dedication to Excellence, 1856-1986. (Ottawa: Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board, 1986). A more successful example of this type of history has been written by L. J. Flynn. See At School in Kingston, 1850-1973: The Story of Catholic Education in Kingston and District. (Kingston, Ont.: The Frontenac, Lennox and Addington County Roman Catholic Separate School Board, 1973).
34.  
For examinations of the various debates going on within educational history, see Philip Corrigan and Bruce Curtis, "Education, Inspection and State Formation: A Preliminary Statement." CHA Historical Papers. (1985), pp. 156-71; Chad Gaffield, "Back to School; Towards a New Agenda for the History of Education." Acadiensis. 15, 2(Spring, 1986), pp. 169-90; J. Donald Wilson, "Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History," in Carl Berger ed. Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History. (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1987), pp. 222-36; Patrick Harrigan, "A Comparative Perspective on Recent Trends in the History of Education in Canada." History of Education Quarterly. 26, 1(1986), pp. 71-86.
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## CHAPTER ONE

### Separate Schools and Government Policy Before 1882

Before 1876 Egerton Ryerson's generally negative attitude towards separate schools meant that the relationship between separate school authorities and government officials was strained. After Ryerson's departure from the position of Chief Superintendent, the relationship between education officials and separate school authorities was much less antagonistic, and resulted in an improved atmosphere for separate school expansion and reform. The Liberal government, by implementing some changes to separate school legislation and by appointing a Roman Catholic to the position of provincial separate school inspector, established a more co-operative and influential relationship with separate school authorities than existed during Ryerson's tenure.

The legislative and political history of separate schools before Confederation has been studied in depth by various historians.(1) The evolution of separate school inspection and regulation from 1841 to 1882 has received comparatively little attention. It was in the period before 1882 that separate schools developed as publicly-funded institutions. During Ryerson's tenure as Chief Superintendent of Education (1846-1876), separate schools gained independence from local public school authorities, and the central educational authority established the beginnings of a policy of direct supervision of

separate schools. Separate schools were generally inspected by provincial officials after 1863 as opposed to local inspectors as was the case with public schools.(2) Although Ryerson argued that separate schools were subject to the same regulations and policies as public schools, separate schools actually developed with less government supervision and interference than public schools did. The significance of the changes which occurred in separate schools after 1882 is more readily discernible with an understanding of the status of separate schools before 1882.

Throughout his career as Chief Superintendent, Ryerson strongly defended, at least in principle, the government's right to inspect separate schools.(3) Inspections of separate schools were carried out, but for a variety of reasons these inspections were infrequent and were often made on an ad hoc basis. These inspections often resulted in conflict between Protestant inspectors and separate school authorities. The Roman Catholic Church exerted considerable influence on separate school development, and its political weight afforded separate schools some protection against government interference in the internal affairs of the schools. Within certain limits, separate schools evolved with a unique degree of freedom from the dictates of the central educational authority. Ryerson's inability to exert greater influence over separate schools was only partly the result of resistance by separate school authorities. He lacked the resources and manpower to create a provincial school system without permitting local officials to retain a substantial amount

of influence over elementary schools.(4)

Separate schools in Upper Canada (Canada West during the Union government period and then Ontario after 1867) first gained a form of legislative recognition in 1841. The special legal right of Ontario's Roman Catholics to their own schools is a by-product of the Union period, during which Upper and Lower Canada were joined in a legislative union.(5) Specific sections of the Common School Acts of 1841 and 1843 allowed Roman Catholics or Protestants in Upper Canada to establish schools controlled by teachers of their own religious persuasion.(6) Although Ryerson essentially incorporated these separate school provisions into the Common School Act of 1846,(7) he had no part in framing the original pieces of legislation which first established these schools in Ontario.

Ryerson's attitude towards separate schools was influenced by his aversion to their existence and his reluctant realization of the political necessity of granting separate school supporters some educational concessions. Separate schools, as state-supported institutions, would have never been established had it not been for the existence of a Union government. The vast majority of Protestants in Upper Canada did not support the creation of separate schools.(8) Several of the legislative provisions for separate schools in Upper Canada, including the Scott Act of 1863, were passed against the will of the majority of Upper Canadian legislators.(9) But many influential Upper

Canadians - including Sir John A. Macdonald, many Liberal-Conservatives and even Ryerson - were willing to grant the Catholic minority of Upper Canada some educational guarantees in return for French-Canadian support for the Union government.(10)

Schools were an important means for the Roman Catholic Church to inculcate Catholic beliefs and values among its adherents and to protect its people from Protestant proselytism.(11) As state-supported school systems developed in various countries during the nineteenth century, the Church established its own set of parallel schools throughout North America and Europe.(12) The difference between the development of Catholic schools in Ontario and parts of the United States was that the political situation in Canada ensured that separate schools in Canada West were publicly funded.

The growth of the common school system in Canada West was viewed by the Church hierarchy, especially Bishop Comte Armand de Charbonnel of Toronto (1850-1860), as a threat to the Catholic faith. Bishop de Charbonnel viewed these schools as Protestant institutions, not non-denominational schools as was claimed by Ryerson. He felt that Catholic children attending them were subjected to proselytism.(13) Charbonnel's replacement, Bishop John Lynch, claimed in 1860 that Catholic children attending common schools were learning Protestant prayers and beliefs.(14) Among other complaints, Bishop Lynch objected to some of the



contents of common school textbooks.(15) Complaints about the Protestant nature of the common school system and the Church's desire to educate Catholic children in its own way motivated Bishops de Charbonnel and Lynch to obtain favourable legislation for separate school development.

Lay Catholic support for the first separate schools is difficult to gauge. It may well be true, as has been argued by Murray Nicolson in connection with Irish Catholics in Toronto, that separate schools were supported for their religious and cultural characteristics.(16) Evidence in support of such an argument can be found in the few areas where Catholics were populous enough to control the common schools. Some of these institutions were described as Catholic in atmosphere and in character.(17) Curtis outlines one case where the Catholic majority of a common school demanded the use of the catechism during school hours over the objection of the teacher.(18) But the majority of Catholic children in the pre-Confederation period either did not attend school or attended common schools. Separate schools were not financially feasible in many rural parts of the province where Catholics were generally poor and few in number.

There are examples of attempts on the part of Catholics to cooperate with Protestants in the establishment of schools for their community, but such attempts often failed. The creation of separate schools in Ottawa occurred after Catholics and

Protestants were unable to cooperate over joint administration of their common schools. As early as 1845 in Bytown (renamed Ottawa in 1855), Grey Nuns, a female religious community, were operating a school for English- and French-speaking Catholics and Protestants.(19) From 1850 to 1855, as a result of favourable electoral boundaries, the Roman Catholic population in Bytown was able to take political control of the town. A Catholic school with French classes was maintained as part of the town's emerging common school system. After 1855, as changes in electoral boundaries gave Protestants control of the municipal council and the schools, the majority of trustees decided to eliminate French instruction and end the policy of sexual segregation in the Catholic Lower Town school. Both policies offended Catholic school supporters. The Catholic population took advantage of improved separate school provisions in 1855 to establish their own schools in 1856.(20) Chapters Two to Four will deal more extensively with separate school development in Ottawa. Before Confederation, separate school authorities and the hierarchy of the Church worked to improve legislative provisions for the schools, and to limit the influence of Protestant school officials on the operation of separate schools.

Until his retirement in 1876, Ryerson implemented the government's educational policies towards separate schools. In 1852, Ryerson expressed his regret that separate schools were given special recognition in Upper Canada before he assumed control of the educational system, but he would treat these

schools fairly hoping that they would "die out" naturally as non-denominational schools gained greater acceptance in a more religiously tolerant society.(21) The problem, from the perspective of Roman Catholics, was that Ryerson's non-denominational schools were undoubtedly Protestant in the majority of cases.(22)

Questions of social class and state-supported schooling as an agency of perpetuating social stability influenced Ryerson's opinion of separate schools. In response to the possibility that the Union government might consider extending separate school privileges in 1865, he went as far as arguing that separate schooling could lead to violence among the lower classes populated by Roman Catholics:

I think no one will maintain that Separate Schools are expedient for the interests of the State... But the chief injury of such isolation must fall upon the Roman Catholics themselves... they are deprived of all those springs of mental development, activity and energy which arise from competition and emulation with the other youth of the land... Then envy, then hatred of the more successful and prosperous classes... and then among the more daring and least scrupulous portion of such isolated community, the combinations and conspiracies of FENIANISM - the employment of brute force to obtain power and wealth, which can only be legitimately obtained by the exercise of virtue, intelligence, and industry.(23)

In Ryerson's opinion, separate schools were a threat to social stability and his public school system. This attitude made government inspection and regulation of separate schools imperative.

Inspection was the key element in Ryerson's plan to monitor the development of the emerging Common school system. Through a system of inspection the government would ensure that regulations concerning the proper management of the schools, the qualifications required of teachers, and the use of approved textbooks were enforced. Ryerson argued in 1846 that: "There is no class of officers in the whole machinery of elementary instruction on which so much depends for its efficient and successful working, as upon the local Superintendents or Inspectors."(24)

During the 1840s, Ryerson was not overly concerned with separate school inspection as these institutions, relatively small in number, came under the governance of local common school authorities and municipal officials. Separate school supporters repeatedly complained about ill-treatment at the hands of these officials. Catholics argued that they were often refused permission to establish schools. But as early as 1846 Roman Catholic separate school supporters were afforded a measure of protection from the unwanted interference of Protestant officials. In order to avoid religious conflict, the Common School Act of 1846 forbade the official visitors of Common Schools - Ministers, Priests and Justices of the Peace - to examine a separate school without first obtaining the permission of the school's trustees.(25)

Ryerson became more concerned with government supervision of

separate schools by the mid-1850s. Legislation in 1853 and 1855 made separate schools increasingly independent of the influence of common school and municipal authorities in terms of school establishment and management. In 1853, Ryerson attempted to institute a system of inspection for separate schools to ensure that these schools adhered to central policies especially with regard to the collection of accurate attendance figures upon which legislative grants to the schools were based.(26) He informed local superintendents that "Separate Schools are subject to the same Inspections, Visits and Regulations, in regard to Reports, etcetera, as are the Public Common Schools."(27)

Local superintendents of common schools were to inspect separate schools in connection with their responsibility for the disbursement of legislative grants to these institutions in 1853(28), but this arrangement lasted only two years. Separate school authorities quickly complained about the adverse influence of local superintendents on the schools. Ryerson explained to George Brown in 1858 that separate school officials had argued that the apportionment of the grant based on the provision of 1853 was "sometimes partial, and the payment of it often delayed under various pretences."(29) Although Ryerson considered these complaints "frivolous", separate school supporters and a prominent member of the government, Francis Hincks, felt that the Chief Superintendent should handle the distribution of the grant to separate schools directly.(30)

Changes in the system of grant distribution to separate schools and other features of separate school legislation in 1855 were accompanied by a drastic diminution in the authority of common school officials over separate schools. The provisions of the Separate School Act of 1855, known as the Tache Act,(31) arranged to distribute grants as was done in Lower Canada. Semi-annual returns from separate schools were sent directly to the Chief Superintendent so that he could apportion the legislative grant to the schools.(32) Even after 1876, the Education Department still handled grant distributions to separate schools. Grants to public schools were distributed through municipal authorities.(33) There is no reference in the Tache Act to visits or inspections by education officials. Separate schools were granted autonomy, at least technically, from local supervisory authorities. The Tache Act did not even mention that these schools were required to adhere to provincial educational regulations. Ryerson made the government's authority over the schools more explicit in 1863.

R. W. Scott - Catholic legislator, future Liberal Senator during the Laurier administration, and prominent citizen of Ottawa - introduced the Separate School Act of 1863, popularly known as the Scott Act. The Scott Act brought the legal provisions for separate schools "more in harmony" with the law regarding Common schools.(34) The Scott Act stated that the separate school trustees "shall have powers in respect of Separate Schools that the Trustees of Common Schools have and

possess under the provisions of the Act relating to Common Schools."(35)

Ryerson assisted in the drafting of the Scott Act. As separate school trustees were granted more powers in connection with managing their schools, Ryerson made sure that separate schools were clearly subject to government regulation and inspection. The Scott Act gave Ryerson the discretion to direct "from time to time" the inspection of Roman Catholic separate schools "with their Registers." The schools were "subject, also, to such regulations as may be imposed, from time to time, by the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada."(36)

Reflecting the desire of separate school authorities for ultimate control over the educational evolution of their schools, earlier versions of Scott's legislation requested considerable freedom from the dictates of the central educational authority:

In all Roman Catholic Separate Schools, no rules shall be enforced for the government and management of such Schools, and no books shall be introduced or prohibited without the approbation of the Trustees of such Roman Catholic Separate Schools.(37)

Ryerson flatly rejected this provision, referring to it as "Ultramontane." He was satisfied that the Scott Act had, for the first time, brought separate schools "as completely under the control of Public Regulations and Inspection as the Common Schools."(38) Ryerson established the basis for greater government supervision of separate schools in the future.

Despite Ryerson's distaste for separate schools, each enactment of a positive piece of legislation in the pre-Confederation era, especially in 1855 and 1863, resulted in the growth of the schools. The number of schools went from 41 in 1855 to 115 in 1860.(39) By 1865, there were 18,101 students enrolled in 152 separate schools. (40)

Ryerson rarely authorized or ordered inspections of separate schools either because he wanted to avoid conflict with separate school supporters, or because he lacked the manpower to use provincial inspectors to examine the schools. Ryerson first officially used the inspection provision contained in the Scott Act in 1865.(41) This action was one of his responses to a renewed campaign by a group of Catholics for greater legislative concessions for their schools. On February 3, 1865, a group of Kingston Catholics petitioned the government for the establishment of a Catholic normal school (for teacher training) and a Catholic university. The petitioners also demanded additional public aid for higher levels of Catholic education, the appointment of a Catholic Superintendent of Education, and removal of the three mile residence restriction upon separate school supporters imposed by section 19 of the Scott Act. Some of these demands were based upon concessions granted to the Protestant minority of Lower Canada (Quebec) by the Roman Catholic majority.(42)

As he argued in 1865 and thereafter, Ryerson considered the



Scott Act of 1863 to be the final resolution of the separate school problem in Upper Canada and he warned the bishops of Upper Canada that continued agitation for more concessions to separate school supporters to the detriment of public schools would lead to the elimination of separate schools entirely:

I affirm, therefore, that the passage of the Separate School Act of 1863, was an Honourable Compact between all parties concerned for the final settlement of the question and that the renewed agitation of it, in less than two years, is not only a violation of that Compact, but a warning to the people of Upper Canada, that if they are compelled again to legislate on the subject, their peace, and the safety of their institutions will require them to sweep the last vestiges of the Separate School law from the Statute book and place all religious persuasions in the same relation of equality to their schools...(43)

Not only did Ryerson believe that the separate school question was settled in 1863, but he also began earnestly using every means available to him to argue that separate schools were unnecessary.

It was in this volatile atmosphere that Ryerson ordered George Paxton Young, Provincial Inspector of Grammar Schools, to inspect the province's separate schools. This onetime investigation marks the beginning of government attempts to use provincial inspectors, as opposed to County superintendents or inspectors, to examine separate schools. The only notable result of Young's inspection in 1865 was a dispute with Kingston's separate school board.(44)

The Kingston dispute demonstrates the suspicion with which some separate school officials viewed common school authorities. In Kingston, as in other centres with larger separate school systems such as Ottawa, the separate school board appointed its own Roman Catholic superintendent to supervise its schools. These officials had no real authority as far as central education officials were concerned. Bishop E. J. Horan informed the teachers of the schools that the Roman Catholic superintendent would be the only one allowed to "exact the production of the School Registers." (45) Late in 1865, Young informed Ryerson that he was refused access to the register of the Christian Brothers' school in Kingston. This was an isolated incident, as Young had been received with "utmost courtesy" everywhere else, but Ryerson wrote to the Kingston separate school board reminding the trustees of the government's right to inspect the school. (46)

Bishop Horan settled the issue by explaining that his instructions were not intended to interfere with the Chief Superintendent's right to appoint an individual to inspect the school. (47) He did intend to exclude the local superintendent from examining the school's register: "this person [the Roman Catholic superintendent] was the only one to have a right to exact the production of the School Registers. In speaking thus I had in mind the local superintendent and never intended to deny the rights which the Chief Superintendent...has to appoint a person to inspect the Registers." (48) Ryerson adamantly defended the government's right to inspect separate schools. Separate

school and Church officials were equally adamant in their attempts to minimize the influence of Protestant school officials.

Officially, only Ryerson could authorize local common school superintendents to inspect separate schools. In practice, these officials examined separate schools if they wanted to or were allowed to by Roman Catholic authorities. In 1867, one superintendent made a specific report on the condition of the separate school in his area. A. Dingwall Fordyce's reference to his inspections as "semi-official" indicates the ambiguous authority of common school officials where separate schools were concerned:

Without any regular appointment, I have semi-officially, as Superintendent, visited the Roman Catholic Separate School, which I think has been in a better state than any previous year since it was established...Prizes were given this season, a novel feature, I believe, in the school.(49)

Fordyce's comments betray a certain unfamiliarity with the practices of the school. This type of inspection was unlikely to have a significant impact upon separate schools.

Separate school inspection increased in the 1870s. This increased supervision took place at the same time as the professionalization of the position of inspector. Before the 1870s, local superintendents, appointed by local authorities, required few qualifications for the position and were often

clergymen or prominent citizens of the community. Local superintendents were not even required to have teaching experience. Regulations formulated in 1870-1 required County inspectors, no longer called local superintendents, to have a first class, A grade teaching certificate or a first class university degree.(50) The professionalization of inspection accompanied vigorous attempts on the part of inspectors to ensure that their schools complied with departmental regulations and directives. Ryerson and his officials made some attempt to enforce more strictly upon separate schools the regulations of the Education Department during this period.

Ryerson generally used high school inspectors to examine separate schools. These officials were employed directly by the provincial government and their presence in the schools was less intolerable to Roman Catholic officials than inspection by public school inspectors. C. B. Sissons has argued that Ryerson used provincial inspectors to examine separate schools because he wanted to establish a direct link with the schools in order to make them dependent on the state.(51) This may be true, but separate school inspection was a secondary task for high school inspectors and their visits had little impact on the schools. Their brief assessments of separate schools were often critical and descriptive but offered few solutions or suggestions for improvement.

In 1874, the three high school inspectors inspected many

separate schools, along with several public schools, and they found "both well-equipped and ill-equipped, both well-taught and ill-taught schools." (52) They concluded that separate schools were generally inferior to public schools in terms of facilities, but that separate school boards were beginning to work hard to make sure their schools were more efficient. (53) The high school inspectors recognized the importance of inspecting separate schools to ensure that government regulations were adhered to, but separate school inspection by these officials was necessarily infrequent and often resulted in bitterness on the part of Roman Catholic officials.

More frequent and indiscriminate separate school inspection by Protestant officials angered Roman Catholics. The inspection of Toronto's separate schools by the public school inspector in 1871 angered Archbishop Lynch of Toronto. In a letter dated December 1, 1871, Lynch informed the Chief Superintendent that the separate schools of Toronto would refuse such inspections:

To our great amazement, we find that our Separate Schools are visited by the Inspectors of the Common Schools. We take this occasion to protest against this intrusion, as it is contrary to the spirit of the law establishing Separate Schools. And we will be obliged to give notice to the Trustees not to receive those Visits; not that we are afraid of them but we do not want their interference. (54)

Significantly, Archbishop Lynch interpreted separate school legislation, at least in "spirit," as protecting these schools from interference from the central educational authority.

In his reply to Lynch, Ryerson informed the Archbishop that he had the authority to inspect separate schools, although he had not authorized public or high school inspectors to visit the province's separate schools in 1871.(55) Separate schools would lose their legislative grant if they refused government inspection.(56) As a concession to the Roman Catholic Church, he assured Lynch that inspectors were instructed to examine "secular" teaching only and that separate school boards could appoint their own local superintendents.(57) Ryerson maintained that as long as separate schools received "public revenues" the government must have the right of inspection.(58) Ryerson continued to argue that government inspection of separate school registers for accurate reporting of attendance was necessary in order to avoid fraudulent claims for funds from the legislative grant.(59) Lynch later campaigned to replace Ryerson with a government minister as a result of his anger with the policies of the Chief Superintendent.(60)

On the whole, Church officials did not regard government inspectors as impartial or fair in their criticisms of separate schools. In 1876, Bishop Walsh of London wrote to Christopher Fraser, the Liberal government's Public Works Minister and Roman Catholic representative in the provincial cabinet, to advise a change in the attitudes of government inspectors:

The government would do well to instruct the Inspectors to visit our Schools in a fair and impartial spirit. In the past some of these gentlemen seemed to think that the only object of their inspection of Separate

Schools was to find fault with, to ridicule and decry them. It is manifest that an inspection carried out in this spirit could not be of the slightest possible utility, but on the contrary would mislead the government and inflict grievous injustice upon our separate schools.(61)

Public or high school inspectors appear to have been unsupportive or ambivalent about the existence of separate schools. Even when they did investigate these schools, it was a secondary task for them.

After Ryerson's retirement in 1876, the Liberal government's Education Department adopted a more conciliatory stance towards the demands of separate school supporters and Church officials. Like Ryerson, Mowat stressed that separate schools were subject to government inspection and public school regulations.(62) The Liberal government's pragmatic approach to the schools actually increased the influence of its educational policies on the schools.

Richard Harcourt, the third Liberal education Minister from 1899 to 1905, characterized the Liberal policy as one of "sympathetic encouragement" and "non-interference:"

The Mowat-Fraser (+) policy, continued by their successors, was one of non-interference, in the absence of well-founded complaints, as well as positive sympathetic encouragement towards your school boards in all their efforts to bring their

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(+) Christopher Fraser, Mowat's long-time Minister of Public Works, was designated as the Roman Catholic representative in the Ontario cabinet after R. W. Scott defected to Federal politics.

work fully up to the standard of Public  
school work.(63)

As further explained by Harcourt, the government pursued a conciliatory policy towards the educational needs of Roman Catholics and regarded "always the spirit of the law and regulations rather than the mere dry letter."(64) Harcourt's statements are questionable, but the antagonism which characterized the Ryerson era certainly dissipated after 1876. Yet increasingly in the 1890s, the government attempted to enforce its policies despite opposition from the Church and segments of the laity. In the face of political agitation against its separate school policies, the Liberal government became reluctant to improve separate school legislation after 1886. As part of their plan to make all schools more "efficient," education officials became more strident about enforcing central educational regulations on separate schools.

The first Liberal education minister was probably the most sympathetic to the problems of separate schools. Nowat replaced Ryerson, an appointed official, with Adam Crooks, an elected member of the government who previously held the offices of Attorney-General and Provincial Treasurer. He was also a former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Toronto. Crooks, appointed in February 1876, earnestly attempted to correct some of the most perplexing financial and administrative problems which hampered the schools. He argued that the existence of separate schools demonstrated the province's tolerance or belief in "liberty of



conscience" for the views of minorities:

we possess in the Statutes and Regulations a well defined for recognizing in our schools the great principles of our Common Christianity while at the same time, the fullest liberty of conscience is preserved to everyone, and as an illustration the existence of our Separate Schools may be taken as a testimony of this liberty of consciences.(65)

Crooks believed, much like Ryerson, that it was in the public interest to teach the children of all religious persuasions together. He also defended continued government support for separate schools and the principle of separate schooling for both Protestants and Roman Catholics, with the latter "class" largely establishing such institutions.(66)

Immediately in 1876, the new Education Minister took an interest in separate school affairs. Concerned that separate schools adhere to governmental regulations, he issued new instructions for the inspection of these schools.(67) Basically, Crooks reaffirmed and extended the system established by Ryerson. High school inspectors were regularly to examine separate schools in areas which had high schools, generally in cities and in towns, while county inspectors were to examine schools in rural sections where high schools did not exist.(68) These inspectors were to report on the number of teachers and their qualifications, the mode of teaching, the number of pupils, the general management of the schools, the condition and accommodation of the school buildings, as well as the accuracy of attendance registers.(69) But as Crooks pointed out in a

memorandum, the Education Department's use of public school inspectors to examine separate schools in no way implied that the Public school boards employing these officials had some authority over the separate schools in their jurisdictions:

the Public School Board of a City has no jurisdiction over the Roman Catholic Separate School Trustees. They are each independent Corporations, with their own respective functions and jurisdiction ... While the Public School Inspector appointed by the Public School Board of a City...is subject to its control, he may nevertheless be directed by the Education Department, in the exercise of its statutory authority, to inspect Roman Catholic Separate Schools, and his Report being for the information of the Department, is not in any sense within the control of the Public Board.(70)

Separate school supporters were still dissatisfied with inspection by Protestant officials, and the Education Department found that the existing system of inspection was ineffective. Crooks would abandon the system of separate school inspection established in 1876 in favour of appointing a qualified Roman Catholic to inspect separate schools in 1882.

Crooks's interest in separate schools was not limited to inspection. He and his officials also endeavoured to improve various aspects of separate school provisions as part of Crooks's concerted effort to consolidate educational legislation and to increase the efficiency of the province's schools.(71) Some of the changes in separate school provisions are briefly discussed here because they had an important impact, especially in terms of making the collection of funds for separate school support less

complicated and more effective.

In 1877, the Education Minister clarified assessment procedures for both public and separate schools by ordering assessors to indicate on the assessment rolls whether particular taxpayers were Roman Catholics or Protestants, and supporters of either separate or public schools. Municipal Councils were bound, as of 1877, to use their personnel and facilities to assess and collect all school rates for both public and separate schools.(72) Two years later, the Education Minister further simplified the procedures for assessing separate school supporters by authorizing an assessor "to accept the knowledge of a person being a Roman Catholic as prima facie evidence of his being a Separate School supporter."(73) Crooks's separate school assessment measures were intended to remedy what he believed were serious financial difficulties impairing the development of separate schools. In 1879, he explained that the changes to separate school assessment procedures were undertaken "to enable these schools to carry on their operation in a similar manner to the improved conditions of our Public Schools," and so that no individual could escape paying taxes in support of the education.(74)

The Education Department implemented several other provisions to improve the "efficiency" of separate schools. Measures implemented in 1879 included granting separate school trustees the authorization to borrow funds on the security of

school premises or rates and to collect the rates charged against the unoccupied land of non-resident separate school supporters.(75) In terms of educational improvements, the Education Minister decided to extend the privilege of establishing Model Schools - Crooks reinvigorated the system of County Model Schools for the training of individuals for Third Class teaching certificates in 1877 - to separate school boards for the preliminary training of their teachers.(76)

In defense of his separate school policies, Crooks argued that his "endeavour will be to assist their [Separate School Trustees] efforts in discharging their part in the work of elementary education."(77) During the 1886 election campaign, G. W. Ross, Education Minister from 1883 to 1899, used an argument similar to Crooks' to defend the government's educational policies: "it is clearly my duty to promote the efficiency of the Separate Schools as much as it is to aid the Public and High schools."(78)

As separate schools entered the 1880s, legislative changes to alleviate some of their financial difficulties and a positive political atmosphere were conducive to the growth of Catholic education in Ontario. The new system of inspection established in 1882 greatly assisted in the process of slowly moving separate schools into closer conformity with central educational policies and regulations.

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## CHAPTER TWO

### Inspector J. F. White and His Plans for Separate School Reform, 1882-1890

James F. White, the first provincial separate school inspector, had very definite views concerning conditions in the schools and the best means to improve them. His inspections mark the beginning of a major, long-term effort to reform separate schools by bringing them into closer conformity with provincial educational regulations and with standards supposedly maintained in the province's public schools. White's initial reports to the Minister of Education and his inspection reports on individual schools provide the first comprehensive view of Ontario's separate schools. By examining the effect of White's inspections on Ottawa's schools, it is possible to see the limitations of the authority of the separate school inspector in determining separate school development. It is evident from events in Ottawa that local acceptance of the inspector's recommendations, as well as local conditions, played an important part in limiting the effectiveness of separate school reform during the 1880s.

Events in Ottawa in 1886 surrounding the formation of two separate committees, one English-speaking and the other French-speaking, to manage the city's emerging system of French- and English-language separate schools reflected the conflict between French and Irish Catholics over common institutions.

Irish Catholics campaigned for more exclusive control of schools and classes attended by their children. After 1886, Irish Catholic ratepayers became generally more supportive and enthusiastic about their separate schools once they were granted greater independence from French Catholic influence in educational matters.

J. F. White was considered the senior or chief separate school inspector. In 1902 he was appointed principal of the Ottawa Normal School, a teacher-training college.(1) This appointment was appropriate considering his long-time involvement in attempts to improve the training of separate school teachers. White was a Roman Catholic who received his elementary education, bolstered by private tutoring, in a Catholic school. In the 1860s, he attended the Toronto Normal School where he was awarded the Dufferin Gold Medal in recognition of his exemplary performance. He gained practical teaching experience in separate schools in Brockville and Lindsay.(2)

White, as one of the few separate school teachers with normal school training in the late 1860s, was a product of the provincial educational system. He sincerely believed that the policies and practices recommended by the Education Department were the best means for improving the educational fitness of separate schools. Throughout his career, White expressed the belief that the opinions of the clergy of Ontario were supreme only in moral or religious matters as far as separate schools

were concerned.(3) White's definition of the moral authority of the clergy, like that of many other lay Catholics, was narrower than the definition applied by the clergy themselves. Although Church authorities generally respected White, his advocacy of separate school reform, often associated with the secularization of the schools by the clergy, brought him into conflict with various bishops on different occasions.

White was not alone among Roman Catholics in his advocacy of separate school reform. Some Roman Catholic leaders and educators agitated for changes in the schools long before White's appointment as inspector in 1882. As a separate school teacher, White was prominent among those Catholics promoting school reform in the 1870s. Many Roman Catholics were dissatisfied with the condition and status of their schools. Roman Catholic parents, like their Protestant counterparts, were beginning to view education as an important vehicle for the social advancement of their children. Even the Canadian Freeman, an Irish Catholic newspaper, issued editorials on the inferiority of separate schools in comparison to public schools, and on the need for school reform.(4) In 1878 lay Catholics organized a separate school teachers' convention with the object of formulating policies designed to improve the status of the province's separate schools. White and Cornelius Donovan, the first separate school inspectors, organized and participated in the proceedings.(5)

Many of the ideas put forward at this Convention in 1878 represented reform sentiment of which Inspector White would become the most prominent spokesman after 1882. One paper read at the Convention by Thomas O'Hagan, a lay Catholic teacher and future journalist, entitled "The Wants of the Separate Schools," outlined the type of school reforms - which essentially involved bringing separate schools into closer conformity with provincial educational regulations and standards - that would be advocated by White in his future position as inspector. The Globe summarized the points contained in O'Hagan's paper:

The first want was a want of cordial sympathy and support on the part of Catholics themselves. Another was the want of properly qualified teachers; want of sufficient salaries, and consequently want of proper interest in their work; want of grading, the proper classification of pupils; the lack of regular quarterly examinations as required by law; the want of regular attendance and the want of uniform textbooks; and finally, the want of Separate Model Schools.(6)

White's initial reports echo many of the sentiments expressed in O'Hagan's paper.

The decision to appoint a separate school inspector was undertaken for a variety of reasons, including a desire to improve the schools. In 1886 G. W. Ross stated that high school inspectors were too busy with their other duties to inspect the schools properly.(7) More importantly, he argued that separate school teachers would receive instructions from those who sympathized with their system of education "more readily than

from those who were educated in a different way."(8) Adam Crooks never explained his reasons for choosing White. In 1895, an Education Department official explained that there were a number of candidates for the position, but Crooks chose White because he was technically qualified. The official added that White's performance as inspector had been very satisfactory to the Education Department over the years.(9)

The government consulted the bishops of Ontario as to the choice of separate school inspectors. The Minister of Education chose his candidate from a number of individuals nominated by the bishops.(10) The Education Department was not entirely satisfied with the selection of Cornelius Donovan, appointed separate school inspector in 1884, but he was the only qualified Roman Catholic teacher available at the time who was acceptable to the Church, "...so that the Department was shut up to the choice from such men as were otherwise known to be efficient teachers."(11) But as happened in 1895, the government refused to appoint the clergy's preferred choice for the position of inspector if he was not qualified, instead selecting an individual nominated by the bishops who had the proper qualifications.(12) To qualify for the position of inspector, an individual had to hold a first class teaching certificate or a university degree with first class honours.(13)

Separate school inspectors were provincial officials with duties and powers equivalent to high school inspectors.(14)



Experience in high schools was considered by the Education Department to be an asset for separate school inspectors because many of the schools contained classes equivalent to the junior forms of high school.(15) In 1882 and 1883, White inspected all the separate schools in Ontario. After Donovan's appointment in 1884 and until 1900 when a third separate school inspectorate was established, the province was divided into eastern and western divisions for the purpose of inspection. The two separate school inspectors alternated approximately every three years between these two divisions. The eastern division encompassed all the schools, including those in Ottawa, east of Toronto. The western division included Toronto's separate schools - initially part of the eastern division in 1884 and 1885 - and the Roman Catholic schools of southern Ontario.(16)

During his career as an inspector, White would be most concerned with improving training for separate school teachers, improving the calibre of textbooks used in the schools, and having separate school authorities adhere to the policies of the Education Department on all school matters. An examination of some of the issues raised in White's initial reports indicates the reasoning behind the separate school reform efforts of the 1890s and 1900s.

White's comments, criticisms and recommendations concerning separate schools were very similar to those made by county school inspectors about public schools. Many of the problems facing

separate schools were also being experienced by public schools.(17) Yet many of the difficulties encountered by separate schools were the result of certain characteristics unique to these schools. In his first reports to the Minister of Education in 1882 and 1883, White provided an overview of the separate school system as it existed in the early 1880s. He outlined the various problems facing the schools: financial difficulties, disinterest on the part of Catholic parents, inadequate school accommodations, a wide variety of textbooks ranging in quality from good to bad, irregular attendance on the part of pupils, and inadequate instruction on the part of teachers in all school subjects.(18) White linked many of the schools' instructional deficiencies to the lack of adequately trained teachers.(19)

White also outlined his proposals for the reform of the schools in these reports, and was openly critical of the educational effectiveness of the schools.(20) There were differences between separate schools and public schools in terms of the enforcement or even the applicability of educational regulations. On the important issue of textbooks, White found that educational regulations allowed separate schools, in reality, to use any set of textbooks in the schools authorized by a board of trustees while public schools were restricted to using only authorized textbooks:

In the matter of textbooks for Separate Schools a change is urgently needed. Public schools are strictly prohibited from using any but books duly authorized while in Separate Schools there is, in reality, no limitation, but they have whatever

books they may choose, for the Education Department has authorized, for their use any series presented for this purpose by a Separate School Corporation. Instead of a just use, there has been an abuse of this privilege. The result is that we have too great a variety of books on nearly every subject... Not all these are good; many are inferior for the purposes secured by a properly arranged text-book.(21)

White's concern about the quality of the textbooks used in the schools was linked to the inspector's appraisal of the low level of skill among separate school teachers: "Uniformity of the Text Books is of prime importance in the endeavour to make the schools more efficient...as many of the teachers are unskilled, much depends upon the nature of the text books." (22) White provided a number of important justifications for his advocacy of uniform textbooks, ranging from educational concerns to the financial concerns of local school supporters. According to White, many parents complained about the cost of buying too many different sets of books.(23)

White argued that the great variety of textbooks found in the schools worked against the proper grading of the schools and made it difficult to judge the progress of different classes. A system of uniform examinations based on a uniform set of textbooks was impossible to implement.(24) He derisively argued that the "plan now frequently adopted of drafting into a room the exact number of pupils needed to fill the empty benches, without any test of their fitness for the class, certainly commends itself for its simplicity, though utterly destructive of the best

results."(25)

Many of White's comments betray a deep concern about the teaching methods employed in the schools: "In many cases teaching has not advanced beyond the dull routine of study and recitation, of telling children to learn instead of teaching them."(26) White concluded in his report to the Minister of Education in 1883 that trained teachers were "the great need of the hour,"(27) and he would work towards ensuring that separate school teachers, most specifically those teachers in religious orders and those teachers in French schools, receive state-supervised training. He would also campaign for state certification of all separate school teachers. Until 1907, teachers from religious orders or communities were exempted from the necessity of obtaining a teaching certificate.(28)

White discovered that the Liberal government's separate school regulations were often ignored. This ignorance of existing regulations was largely the result of confusion among separate school teachers and trustees over which public school regulations applied to them. Separate school authorities were provided with a pamphlet briefly outlining separate school regulations. On all matters not covered by separate school law, they were to refer to applicable public school regulations. White suggested the publication of a special manual to end the confusion.(29)

The Inspector not only argued that the schools should adhere to government regulations, but he also argued that government

should oversee such matters as the construction of new school buildings(30). In short, White argued that separate school officials should acquiesce to the authority of provincial education authorities in all school matters in order to improve the schools.

Among other areas of concern explored by the inspector, White dealt with the the financial difficulties faced by separate schools. In the late 1870s, the Liberal government did ease some of the financial and organizational problems faced by the schools, and the financial disparity between the two public educational systems was not as great as it would be in the early twentieth century. A comparison of the costs per pupil of public and separate schools as compiled by White showed that substantially smaller amounts, especially in the cities, were spent on separate schools.(31) One of the reasons separate school supporters were able to maintain their schools at lower costs was through the employment of teachers from religious orders, in most cases, at far smaller salaries than those granted to lay teachers.(32) As an indication of White's pragmatic approach to the schools, the Inspector recommended that where a separate school was struggling from year to year to survive in a small school district, the Catholic institution unite with the public school in the area.(33)

The initial impact of White's inspections of separate schools can best be evaluated through an examination of the

effect that the inspections had on the schools in Ottawa. There White was confronted with many of the difficulties encountered by separate schools throughout the province, as well as the special problems associated with French-language schools. Even before White's arrival in Ottawa, the separate school supporters attempted to expand and reform their schools. Several disputes in Ottawa which occurred in 1880 reveal the educational priorities of lay Catholics, most specifically leading members of the Catholic community, and how their priorities could conflict with those of other groups of Catholics and even the hierarchy of the Church.

Archbishop Duhamel became alarmed in 1880 at the number of Irish Catholics sending their children to public schools in the city. In fact, there were a number of Irish and French Catholics financially supporting the public school system.(34) Many prominent Irish Catholics in Ottawa sent their children to a public model school, headed by a Catholic teacher, and, for higher levels of education, to the local collegiate institute.(35) These Catholics wanted their children to attend the best school available in the city, in their opinion the model school and not a separate school. As one Irish Catholic explained to the Archbishop, the Irish were not sending their children to ordinary public schools, but rather to a school superior to both public and separate schools.(36)

Archbishop Duhamel issued a pastoral letter which demanded

that Catholics in Ottawa withdraw from the public school system.(37) He was not alone among Catholic bishops in Ontario in making such demands or threatening to withhold the sacraments from Catholics who did not comply. English-speaking clerics made similar demands in the nineteenth century.(38) What was interesting in this case was the reaction of the Irish Catholics involved. In a group letter to Archbishop Duhamel, the spokesmen for the group explained that the model school and the Collegiate Institution provided a "better, cheaper, and more expeditious education, than they can obtain at any of the Catholic Schools of the City, and this too without any danger to their faith."(39) The Irish pointed out that in other centres where no Catholic College or Brothers' schools existed, Archbishop Duhamel allowed attendance at public schools. They argued that from their own experience separate schools were inferior to public institutions, and that they wanted their children to be better educated to obtain the "positions in life" that "we desire and hope them to attain."(40) Their complaints about the separate schools echoed the criticisms of teaching in these institutions put forward by Inspector White in 1882:

...as we all know with regret, some of us indeed having had the very sad experience of the fact, that as regards the qualifications of the Teachers, and the system of teaching, the time required to obtain an education, and the expense of obtaining it, our institutions are infinitely inferior, we have no alternative but to use the others, or let our children grow up imperfectly educated, and unfit for those positions in life which - even at the risk of being deemed to be "too aspiring" by your Lordship - we desire and hope them to obtain.(41)

Many of these Irish Catholics did become separate school supporters. In fact, two future trustees, Edward T. Smith and J. R. Esmonde, were among the group.(42) By 1886, Smith, a civil servant, and Esmonde, a prominent merchant, were members of the Ottawa separate school board of trustees.(43) Smith in particular would be a leading force in the creation of English-speaking schools independent of the French schools. One prominent Irishman, W. H. Waller, a former mayor of Ottawa who held office in 1877 and a former separate school trustee, was defiant in the face of the Archbishop's demand that he support the schools.(44) In a letter from "devoted clergy," Waller was accused of being influenced "by pride, Protestantism or Freemasonry."(sic.)(45) Waller viewed his actions as a duty he owed society as well as his children. He informed Archbishop Duhamel that his children would attend the model school until the separate school became more "efficient."(46)

One of the strongest arguments made by the Irish in 1880 against Ottawa's separate schools was that the school management committee of the Ottawa separate school board had reported staffing and accomodation shortages. The committee found that more Christian Brothers were needed to staff the schools properly, and that not all the Catholic children in Ottawa could be accommodated in existing facilities. The Irish asked the Archbishop, to no avail, to lift the prohibition against Catholics attending the model school until the separate school board implemented some planned changes.(47)



Separate school authorities in Ottawa were planning to expand and improve their schools in 1880, but a dispute between the French and Irish arose over finances. Although there were religious reasons for the Church's desire to see all Catholics support separate schools, there were also some financial considerations for maximizing the number of ratepayers, and this may have been one of the reasons Duhamel demanded that all Catholics support the schools. At the time of this dispute, Rev. M. J. Whelan, pastor of St. Patrick's Parish, accused O. Rocque, the French-speaking chairman of the board, of inaccurately stating the financial standing of the schools. While English-speaking trustees and Whelan claimed the issue was merely financial, in that the English classes were not receiving their fair share of funding, Rocque argued that the dispute was a "national" one.(48) Rocque suggested that the only way to have peace between the Irish and the French was for each section to have its own schools:

...if we are to maintain the principle of separate schools, we must extend it to nationalities as well as Religion. We will have harmony when we will have schools for French pupils independent of English schools.(49)

An agreement signed in 1886 pacified Ottawa's Catholic community by establishing two sets of separate schools based on language.

When White first inspected Ottawa in the fall of 1882, he found an ethnically "mixed" school system in which most schools had both English and French classes. Certain schools were

described strictly as French-language or English-language schools. The schools were also segregated by sex, into girls' and boys' schools. From White's initial reports, it is evident that the schools were organized around the city's wards and Churches. These "parish" or "ward" schools taught children up to form three. Children desirous of higher levels of education went to two "central" schools, and then to "high schools." These high schools actually taught the senior form of elementary schools and the junior form of public high schools. This system of organization resembled the central school system employed by public school authorities in many cities in the province.(50)

The teaching staff of the schools consisted of members of religious communities and lay teachers. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the feminization of teaching that was taking place in public schools occurred in separate schools as well.(51) In separate schools, the teaching staff was increasingly made up of female religious teachers. One major difference between separate and public schools was the fact that the girls' schools staffed by female religious teachers had administrators, principals or directors, who were female rather than male.(52) Separate schools with lay teaching staffs were organized in the same way as public schools, with females teaching the youngest pupils and males teaching in senior classes and serving in administrative capacities.(53)

The Grey Nuns, established in Ottawa since 1845, taught at

the girls' high school and at most of the other girls' schools. White was especially complimentary about the work of the Grey Nuns. From the beginning, he appears to have been impressed with the work of these teachers. In his report to the minister of education in 1882, White commented that "Among the religious orders especially there are many ladies whose finished education, zeal, and devotedness render them truly excellent teachers."(54)

The other religious order in Ottawa, the Christian Brothers, taught at several boys' schools and at the boys' high school. The Christian Brothers arrived from Canada East to teach in Canada West in 1864.(55) Although the religious order did establish an English-speaking house in Toronto, the Christian Brothers who taught in Ottawa, even those who taught in the English-language schools until 1891, came from Quebec.(56) In 1882, although White found that many of the Christian Brothers were doing "really able teaching,"(57) the Inspector did criticize the instruction given in English subjects at the Christian Brothers' High School.(58) White would become increasingly critical of the teaching practices of the Christian Brothers in Ottawa, and this resulted in a serious controversy.

In 1882 a number of lay teachers could be found in both the English and French classes, but their numbers would greatly diminish in the years up to 1895.(59) Financial and religious considerations made teachers from religious orders more desirable. The number of Christian Brothers would see the

greatest increase. The lay teachers in the English schools were well-qualified in terms of provincial qualifications. Of great concern to White, the French-speaking lay teachers had largely received their qualifications in Quebec or simply had no qualifications at all.(60)

White was among several inspectors in contact with the French schools who became concerned about their condition. One of White's first comments to the Minister of Education in 1882 was about the French schools and the inadequate attention paid by these schools to English subjects:

...in Essex, and in the counties adjacent to the Ottawa, French is the language of the people and of the schools. Though the attention paid to their own tongue is highly praiseworthy, and progress made therein very fair, it is much to be regretted that English, the great language of the county, is so frequently neglected. In some of the places in Eastern Ontario, it is quite unknown to teachers or pupils. This necessitates the carrying on in French of the examination of the classes, and of the whole work of inspection.(61)

White moderately criticized the English work conducted at Ottawa's boys' high school in 1882: "The study of the English subjects - Reading, Grammar, Literature - does not appear to have received that careful attention which their importance demand."(62) This critical comment on the English instruction given by French-speaking teachers in Ottawa was relatively mild compared to the harsh comments of future years.

White was concerned about the number of lay teachers in

Ottawa and throughout eastern Ontario with Quebec certificates as their only teaching qualification. Amendments to school regulations in Ontario in 1879 made valid only those certificates obtained in Quebec before Confederation. These amendments did not apply to members of religious orders or communities like the Grey Nuns and Christian Brothers who were teaching in Ontario with qualifications from Quebec before 1867. All these teachers were still said to be qualified. Lay teachers had to be individually qualified in Quebec before 1867 to be qualified in Ontario.(63) Of the thirty-four separate school lay teachers with Quebec certificates in Ontario in 1882, several of them in Ottawa, the inspector stated that few received their certificates before 1877.(64) White explained that the standards necessary to receive Quebec certificates were very low. Attendance at a training school or the passing of a professional examination was not necessary in Quebec. He concluded, "Thus it results that most of these teachers have no system of teaching except that which each one evolves for himself."(65)

White found considerable evidence in Ottawa to back up his views. According to White, one school in Ottawa, referred to as the "Flats" school in 1882, represented the worst type of separate school in existence. Located in the working-class area of the Chaudiere Flats, this French-language separate school was staffed by two lay teachers with teaching qualifications from Quebec.(66) Instruction in all subjects, in both English and French, was deemed to range from bad to very bad. The school,

attended by the poorest children of the Catholic community, was described by the inspector as messy:

The rooms were not clean nor were the pupils very neat. It is very desirable that better order be maintained. The answering was far from satisfactory: in not a single subject did the pupils do well. This lamentable state of affairs is to be traced mainly to two causes - irregularity of attendance and poor systems of teaching.(67)

Ill-trained teachers were only one of this school's problems. According to White, irregular attendance, and more specifically indifference on the part of parents towards the attendance of their children at school, was one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of all schools.(68)

There were other schools in Ottawa in a similar condition. Conditions at two, and the resultant activities of the inspector, illustrate the limits of his authority and his ability to influence or quickly change the schools. The schools in question were called Madame Diou's school and "Holy Family" school. Established in 1885 by the Ottawa board in an attempt to accommodate a growing school population, Madame Diou's school had 61 pupils taught in the basement of the teacher's home.(69) The central educational system was established to eliminate this type of school, which was more likely to have existed in the first half of the nineteenth century. Madame Diou, assisted by her daughter, had no training or certificate, although White did state that she was an "earnest teacher."(70) His comment on this school was simply that "not very high work is attempted nor very

much done."(71) White was surprisingly muted in his criticisms of the school though he was definitely disturbed by its existence.

This school was closed by the Ottawa board one year later, not as the result of any order from White or concerns by local trustees and ratepayers, but because of Madame Diou's ill health.(72) After its closure, White recommended that a "well-equipped Kindergarten would suit the purpose [of education] much better than another establishment of this kind."(73) The establishment of schools like Madame Diou's would not be attempted in the future in Ottawa. By the late 1880s and 1890s, White would not be as tolerant of the existence of this type of school.

White's criticisms of "Holy Family" French-language boys' school located in Victoria Ward initiated a local dispute. White claimed in 1885 that the teachers, L. Z. Charbonneau and Emma Carriere, were not teaching English very well or even using their textbooks properly. Most of the criticisms were aimed at Carriere, a female teacher with a Quebec certificate and little experience or training, who taught the youngest pupils. White actually conceded that there was some improvement in Charbonneau's classes from previous years.(74) Apparently, some of the trustees on the separate school board were concerned about the condition of the school and they demanded the dismissal of Charbonneau.

There is no evidence that White actually demanded the

dismissal of Charbonneau. Certainly some members of the board believed him to be an inadequate teacher, but the French-speaking representative for Victoria Ward, N. A. Laure, defended Charbonneau.(75) He stated that the French-speaking clergy and ratepayers of St. Jean Baptiste Parish, as well as the local French-speaking inspector for Ottawa's schools, thought him to be a good teacher:"Charbonneau qui enseigne ici depuis deux ans, a fidelement et exactement rempli ses devoirs d'uns institutuer et a donnee pleine et entriere satisfaction aux contribuables du Quarties, et tous les paroissiens un general...(sic).(76) Clearly, the inspector's comments inspired both opposition and support at the local level.

French-Irish conflict did influence this dispute as the senior class under Charbonneau did have some Irish Catholic students. These students probably attended this school because they lived nearby, and the nearest English class was located far from their homes. White recommended that these students attend an English class in another school.(77) In fact, as part of his genuine concern that English-speaking pupils learn English correctly, White generally encouraged a separation of the French and Irish into separate classes for reasons of educational efficiency.(78) This policy seemed to please Irish Catholics who wanted their own schools totally independent of the French.

The teaching conditions in Ottawa inspired White to improve the formal training given to separate school teachers, and in



particular, French-speaking teachers. He was involved in an unsuccessful attempt to establish a bilingual model school in Ottawa in 1886.(79) Ottawa's separate school trustees rejected the plan, deciding that the financial commitment on the part of the board would be too great.(80)

White took some concrete steps to ensure that Ottawa's French-speaking teachers obtained a minimum standard of qualification in Ontario. Initially, White conceded that it may have been impractical for the Minister of Education not to recognize Quebec certificates for the sake of French-language schools.(81) The failure to obtain Ontario certificates was not entirely the fault of these teachers as there were no examinations for French teachers in Ottawa or Carleton County.(82) Before White's inspection of the schools no official had demanded that these teachers get Ontario teaching certificates. White privately recommended to G. W. Ross, who accepted the Inspector's advice, that the teachers of Ottawa without Ontario teaching certificates be required to pass the bilingual examination given in the Counties of Prescott and Russell. After they received temporary district teaching certificates, White intended to have these teachers attend the bilingual model school when it was established.(83)

Indicative of the problems inherent in attempts to improve the training of French teachers was the teaching career of Emma Carriere. Despite White's criticism of Carriere, she continued

to teach in Ottawa's schools throughout the 1880s. Carriere held a Quebec certificate and obtained a district certificate. She did not pursue further training in a model school as was intended by White - such an institution was not established until 1890 - and she allowed her temporary qualifications to lapse without renewal. She had no certificate in 1888.(84) Local authorities had their own priorities and problems, and the inspector's recommendations and criticisms, though not necessarily unheeded, did not always have the desired effect on the schools' operation.

White's criticisms and a growing concern in Ontario about English instruction in French-language schools appear to have heightened awareness on the part of trustees, teachers and parents as to the need to strengthen their schools in this regard. By the late 1880s, all of the schools in Ottawa had acquired special English-speaking teachers to bolster instruction in English subjects, and the separate school inspector for eastern Ontario from 1887 to 1890, Cornelius Donovan, was optimistic about the progress being made in the schools.(85)

One result of White's inspection of Ottawa's schools was the demise of the local inspection system established by the trustees. By 1886 White's authority over the local English-speaking inspector, a well-qualified teacher from St. Patrick's English boy's school, and the French-speaking inspector, a Roman Catholic priest, was well established.(86) Although from time to time certain teachers were given

responsibilities with regard to examining the operation of a number of schools, the board appears to have ended the practice of appointing local inspectors in the late 1880s.

White did have some impact upon the organization and classification of the schools. Although they were far from perfect in this regard, the girls' schools under the supervision of the Grey Nuns were organized along the lines thought desirable by education officials. As evidenced by the complaints White directed at the Christian Brothers' school in the 1890s, the Inspector had less success with the boys' schools.

There were instances when White's recommendations matched the desires of the local ratepayers, and were implemented as a result. He suggested the creation of fourth forms in many of the "Parish" schools so that the standard of the high schools could be raised by making them concerned exclusively with high school work.(87) The development of fourth forms in the ward schools generally occurred, but it appears that local support for the measure was responsible for this change. Many parents in Ottawa wanted their children to obtain as much of their education as could be gained in their neighbourhood schools. Parents petitioned the board for the expansion of the grades available at their area schools so that the movement of their children to larger schools to attend fourth form classes would be unnecessary.(88)

There was one issue involving Ottawa's schools in which

White made no comment and had no involvement. This issue was the resolution of the conflict between Irish and French Catholics over their schools through a change in the board's administrative structure. The final issue which led to the separation of French and English classes into different schools was an argument over the construction of a French-language school in the Chaudiere area and a decision by the board to raise the separate school taxation rate higher than that charged public school supporters.(89) Although J. R. Esmonde, a prominent English-speaking trustee, supported the decision to construct the new school, Irish Catholic leaders and ratepayers generally appear to have resented an increase in their taxes to fund the construction of a French-language school. The ratepayers were quite vocal about withdrawing their support from the separate schools if their concerns were not met:

We the undersigned ratepayers and supporters of the Roman Catholic Schools of this city do hereby protest against the imposition of a rate of 6 mills on the dollar for support of said schools, being fifty per cent more than the rate imposed for the support of the Public Schools of this city. And we hereby protest against the proposed expenditure of a large sum of money in the erection of a school which will in a great degree serve Rochesterville more than this city... although reluctant to withdraw from the support of the R. C. Schools of this city we shall if this excessive rate ... be enforced...(90)

The difficulty was resolved when the trustees negotiated an agreement which called for the board to resolve into two committees, one English-speaking and the other French-speaking. Each language committee would essentially maintain, manage and

finance its own set of schools. Over the years, provincial officials would comment on the administrative situation in Ottawa, but they would not interfere. The separation agreement went into effect January 1, 1887.(91)

Some important developments took place as a result of this agreement. The leaders of the Irish Catholic community and even Irish Catholic ratepayers became generally more enthusiastic and supportive of separate school education in Ottawa. In 1887, the English-speaking trustees set out to build three new schools.(92) In the end, the Irish were even willing to pay a higher taxation rate in support of these schools.(93) One by-product of the plan to construct these institutions was legislation allowing separate school boards to issue debentures to finance school construction.(94) In 1887, under existing separate school legislation, it was unclear whether a separate school board could legally raise funds in this manner.(95) Raising funds through the issuance of debentures would be important to the expansion of the separate school system in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The most significant result of the separation agreement was that Irish Catholic support for, and even attendance at, the separate schools increased as they gained control of their own schools.(96)

The agreement brought peace to the fractious separate school board. The political situation in Ontario during the late 1880s also seemed to unite Catholics. In the provincial elections of

1886, 1890 and 1894, the Conservative party campaigned against the influence of Catholic bishops in educational matters, and against the existence of French-language schools with limited instruction in English. It does appear that Catholic support for the Liberals in Ottawa, in opposition to the Conservative campaign against separate and French-language schools, helped to elect a Liberal candidate in 1886, 1890 and two in 1894. Before 1886 an Irish Catholic Conservative had held the constituency.(97)

There is one striking example of the effect that the political situation had in quieting some disputes among Catholics over separate schools. In 1890, Napoleon Roulx, a French-speaking ratepayer described as being of limited means yet respectable character, believed that the Ottawa separate school board's practice of charging a monthly fee to attend the schools was illegal because this fee was not applied to the purchase of stationery and other necessities as required by law. Many separate school boards, including Ottawa, charged an extra monthly fee in support of the schools. According to the law, these fees were supposed to be specifically applied to the purchase of supplies though this was not done in Ottawa. Roulx, a Liberal, almost went to court to settle the issue. Instead he was dissuaded from this action on the grounds that it would hurt the Mowat Government in the upcoming election of 1890 and "have an effect for evil against Catholics in the province."(98)

The school separation agreement almost eliminated disputes between the French and the Irish trustees. Disputes increasingly centred around lay Catholic concern about influencing their schools' development in the face of the Church's priorities for the schools. The Church's influence over the teachers from religious orders was also an important issue to lay Catholics. As an example, in 1889 the French-speaking Committee in Ottawa attempted to negotiate an agreement with the Grey Nuns which would have been financially advantageous to the French section of schools.(99) Archbishop Duhamel disagreed with the plan, and the chairman of the French section, Achille Frechette, a translator in the House of Commons, openly questioned his right to interfere in school matters.(100) This type of dispute would recur repeatedly in the 1890s.

In educational matters, separate school inspector Cornelius Donovan was optimistic about the general improvement of the schools. He felt especially confident that English instruction in the majority of French schools was progressing satisfactorily as it was being taught to all of the French-Canadian pupils, admittedly with varying degrees of success.(101) When White returned to Ottawa in 1891, he felt that many of the schools, English and French, had not progressed far enough.

Efforts during the 1880s to improve English teaching in French-language schools were limited in their effectiveness. English remained the weaker subject for the majority of the

French-speaking teachers. White claimed that proper English instruction in the French schools, particularly in the boys' schools, was inadequate.(102) White's initially moderate approach to the schools, probably dictated by practical considerations and the belief that his suggestions would be accepted and eventually implemented by separate school authorities, had mixed results. After 1890, White would become much more forceful about ensuring that educational policies were enforced in the schools.



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4.  
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25. Ibid.

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27. Ibid.
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32. Ibid. p. 136.
33. Ibid. p. 131.
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37. AA0. Irish Catholics to Duhamel, November 1, 1880.
38. For example, ADH. Bishop Dowling, "Regulations read at Brantford," Regulation 7, October 12, 1890, p.2; A0. Bishop Walsh's Pastoral letter, pp. 17-23.
39. AA0. Irish Catholics to Duhamel, November 1, 1880.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.

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43. Ottawa City Directory, 1889-90.
44. AAO. W.H. Waller to Duhamel, November 10, 1880. Waller was also the Registrar of Carleton County.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid.
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56. AAO. E.T. Smith to Duhamel, June 12, 1891.
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58. AO. RG 2, F-3-F, vol. 3, Ottawa, Boys' High School, October 17, 20, 1882.
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November 3, 1885.
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Ibid.
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May 14, 1886.
73.  
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74.  
A0. RG 2, F-3-F, vol. 5. Ottawa, "Holy Family" School,  
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75.  
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76.  
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78.  
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79.  
Ottawa Citizen. March 31, 1886.
80.  
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81.  
A0. RG 2, P-2, box 79, White to Marling, September 24,  
1889.
82.  
Ibid.
83.  
Ibid; White issued temporary certificates to two Ottawa  
teachers in 1885, White to G.W. Ross, March 23, 1885.

84. Donovan found she had no certificate, A0. RG 2, F-3-F, Vol. 10, Ottawa, "Holy Family" School, January 25, 1889. This fact caused quite a debate among school officials, who questioned why White granted her a temporary certificate in the first place; A0. RG 2, P-2, box 79, Superintendent of French Schools to Marling, May 30, 1888, Donovan to Marling, April 28, 1888, May 5, 1888; Donovan to Secretary of Ottawa separate school board, April 28, 1888.
85. A0. RG 2, F-3-F, vol. 10, Ottawa, various reports on French-language Schools, November 21-29, 1889.
86. Local Inspectors in Ottawa appear to disappear some time in the late 1880's, no such officials existed by 1892.
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95. AAO. Finlay to Duhamel, February 14, 1887.
96. Ottawa surpassed Toronto as the largest Separate School system as a result the increased attendance, see Statistical Appendix, p. 181; AO. C.J. Foy Papers, MU1062, file 19, "The Ottawa School Question," (Ottawa: 1914), p. 17.
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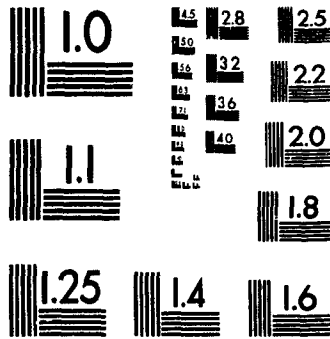
## CHAPTER THREE

### Conflict Over Separate School Reform and Authority, 1891-1895

J. F. White criticized the quality of English-language instruction in Ottawa's French-language schools in 1892, initiating a dispute which lasted three years and ended with a public inquiry into the condition of these separate schools. This dispute has been examined as part of the history of French-English conflict in Ontario,(1) but the controversy was largely a struggle over educational reform and authority. The volatile ethnic composition of Ottawa turned a dispute that stemmed from resistance by the Christian Brothers to the educational authority of provincial officials and lay Catholic school trustees into a French-English conflict.

The changes that White demanded in school organization, teaching practices, and textbooks were largely unheeded by the Christian Brothers in Ottawa. The Grey Nuns and lay Catholic teachers in Ottawa generally complied with White's demands. As a result of their general compliance, these teachers were assessed as better instructors by White and local school officials. The Christian Brothers who taught in Ottawa, the majority from Quebec, believed that the Church was the proper authority in educational matters; they were supported in this belief by Archbishop Duhamel. Provincial and local school officials

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STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a  
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No 2)

exerted their authority over separate schools, causing a conflict as the Christian Brothers resisted policies designed to reduce their ability to determine their own educational policies.

Separate school reform, the slow process of moving separate schools into closer conformity with public school regulations and practices, did involve the greater use of secularized textbooks in the schools. Restrictions were placed on the ability of separate school teachers to vary from provincial guidelines on various educational matters. Reform did at least imply or was equated to a reduction of clerical influence in the educational aspects of separate schooling, and an increase in the influence of the central educational authority. Church authorities viewed such developments as a danger to the "Catholicity" of the schools. As evidenced in disputes between lay Catholics and clerical authority in Ottawa and Toronto during the closing decades of the nineteenth century(2), lay Catholics increasingly promoted their own interests in education even when this resulted in conflict with the Church. The dispute in Ottawa demonstrates that separate school officials, teachers and clergy were finding it difficult to ignore or openly defy the central educational authority in school matters, especially when this authority was supported by a vocal segment of separate school supporters.

Events in Ottawa reveal the changes taking place in separate schools at the end of the nineteenth century. Government officials were becoming more assertive in their attempts to

reform the schools. Before the 1890s the Education Department had affirmed the decisions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy on various educational matters with limited interference. Education officials began challenging the clergy's decisions on issues such as proper textbooks for schools and the selection of qualified individuals for the position of separate school inspector. Gradually the central educational authority increased its influence over the schools.

The political atmosphere and its effect upon the educational policy of the period magnified the dispute over the condition of Ottawa's French-language schools.(3) The Manitoba schools controversy - which began in 1890 when the provincial government eliminated public tax support for the French-language Roman Catholic schools - heightened French Canadian sensitivity to their educational rights outside Quebec, and English-Canadian anxiety about the growth of French-language schools.(4) In 1890 the Education Department of Ontario instituted various measures to improve the teaching of English in the province's French-language institutions.(5) The government's demands for improvements in French schools may have partially motivated White's efforts in Ottawa.

The fact that many French-language public schools were being re-organized as separate institutions in the early 1890s may also have contributed to White's concern with Ottawa's schools.(6) The commissioners sent to investigate French-language schools in

eastern Ontario in 1893 (four years after the first investigation in 1889) reported that 27 of the 56 public schools examined in 1889 had become separate schools.(7) The Commissioners explained that "One probable reason for these numerous changes was the uneasiness excited among the French people by the agitation over their schools four years ago, and the fear lest their privileges might be interfered with."(8) Significantly, White argued that this conversion of public schools to separate schools was not part of an attempt to avoid the impact of provincial regulations: the same regulations and policies were enforced in both types of schools.(9) White's advocacy of certain reforms in both the English- and the French-language separate schools of Ottawa was consistent with the policy changes he promoted as early as 1882.(10) His interest in reforming French-language schools dated back to the early 1880s.(11) He had become more forceful in pressing for changes in the schools by 1892.

White returned to inspect the schools of eastern Ontario in 1891. Based on his inspections of Ottawa's schools(12), he wrote special reports on both the French and the English schools of the city in January 1892.(13) Although the English trustees later acknowledged that they received a report from White, the contents of the report on the English schools were never made public.(14) The political controversy surrounding French-language schools ensured that the Toronto Mail, a Conservative newspaper famous for its "No Popery" and anti-French editorial position(15), and the public focused on White's negative comments on the French

schools run by the Christian Brothers.

Although the Inspector's special report on the French-language schools dealt with various aspects of the schools' condition and operation beyond instructional issues, White was most concerned about the effectiveness of existing teaching practices and the quality of textbooks.(16) He reported that the teaching methods of the Christian Brothers resulted in inadequate instruction in a number of subjects including French and English.(17) The inspector found that Ottawa's schools, particularly those in which the Brothers were teachers and managers, were not conducted in accordance with provincial policies and recommended practices.(18) According to White, the Christian Brothers delayed instruction in various subjects - French writing, English grammar, and arithmetic - which resulted in the pupils being inadequately taught.(19)

White's criticisms were actually directed at the board of trustees for failing to ensure that the Christian Brothers complied with provincial educational policies. With regard to English instruction, the Ottawa separate school board failed to follow the recommended practice of appointing a qualified English instructor to all schools with predominantly French-speaking teachers.(20) Two of the Christian Brothers' French-language boys' schools, La Salle and St. Jean Baptiste, were without special English teachers. There was a special English instructor at Brebeuf school, a Brothers' institution, and at all the

French-language girls' schools run by the Grey Nuns. The Inspector recommended that the board have the Brothers appoint special English teachers for the two schools without such instructors.(21) White also reminded the board that, according to the regulations of the Education Department, "English is to be taught in every class and to all pupils in the class."(22)

To improve the schools, Inspector White made recommendations in keeping with public school pedagogical practice, especially with respect to "uniformity" of studies.(23) Inspector White pointed out that no attempt had been made to co-ordinate the course work completed by the same grade in the different boys' and girls' classes. He advised the board to implement a "uniform limit table" to correct the problem. The Inspector argued that uniform examinations for the same grade were necessary for "[t]hese would test the progress of the several classes and should be made the basis of promotion in part."(24) These recommendations indicate the educational nature of White's concern for the schools.

Frequent changes in teaching personnel were cited as a possible reason behind the students' failure to learn their subjects.(25) Religious orders were notorious for frequently moving their teachers from school to school, but a high turnover was a prevalent problem among separate and public schools.(26)

White's report severely criticized the textbooks used in the French-language schools.(27) His criticisms and recommendations

concerning textbooks were part of his general campaign to improve the textbooks used in separate schools. In White's opinion, too many books of inferior quality were being used in the Ottawa school system. Parents were asked to spend too much money on different books and a teacher's reliance on too many books did not "encourage good teaching." (28) White found the English reader, the De La Salle series, used by the Brothers to be particularly inadequate and demanded that it be replaced or he would publicly report against its use in the schools. (29)

At the time of his criticisms of the textbooks used in Ottawa's schools, White had been advocating changes to the books used in English- as well as the French-language separate schools. In late 1891 and early 1892, White unsuccessfully attempted to change the new Sadlier-Dominion reader to be used in separate schools throughout the province. He wrote Archbishops Duhamel and Walsh of Toronto about possible improvements to this set of readers. (30) White failed to convince either Walsh or Duhamel of the need to change or dramatically improve the readers. (31)

In a letter to Archbishop Duhamel dated February 7, 1892, James A. Sadlier, a Catholic book publisher in Toronto, gives some indication of the influence of the bishops in connection with the educational concerns of separate schools, and that changing separate school practices was not an easy task for separate school inspectors. The opinions of inspectors were not always readily accepted. White met Archbishop Walsh in 1892 to



discuss possible revisions to the Sadlier reader, but Walsh refused to make any major changes to the book. Archbishop Walsh reportedly told White that the "Catholic schools must have Catholic books." In commenting on the meeting, Sadlier stated that "others know more about the Catholicity and practical working of the Separate Schools than he [White] does, he came to the meeting with flaunting colours, but he left with them drooping." (32) The Sadlier Dominion Reader was authorized by the Education Department for separate schools, but this reader was the choice of ecclesiastical authority and was not viewed as the ideal choice by the central educational authority. The bishops eventually agreed to have J. A. McCabe, a lay Catholic who was Principal of the Ottawa Normal School, revise the Dominion reader in 1895. (33) A new reader was released in 1899. (34) The process of changing the textbooks was slow and difficult, continuing into the 1900s.

To Archbishops Walsh and Duhamel, some of White's textbook recommendations amounted to a reduction in the Catholic character of the books. (35) White did find that religious texts were too difficult to use as books for teaching reading. In Ottawa, White complained about the use of religious books for instruction in reading:

Such books as "Devoir du Chretien," "Cours d'Histoire" and "Les Manuscripts," though thoroughly Catholic in tone and of use in their place, are not suitable books ... to teach reading. (36)

The attitude of ecclesiastical authority towards the textbook issue remained firm.(37)

White was not the only government official concerned about Ottawa's textbooks and the books found in French schools. G. W. Ross, the Education Minister, secretly visited Archbishop Duhamel in 1893 in a largely unsuccessful attempt to resolve the problems related to textbooks.(38) Local and provincial investigations into the textbook situation in Ottawa found that many of the books used by the Christian Brothers were defective, and their books cost more than those used in Ottawa's public schools.(39) Ross explained to Archbishop Duhamel that he merely wanted to improve the "efficiency" of the schools through the use of provincially approved textbooks, not interfere with the schools' administration: "in dealing with the French Schools in any respect my sole object was to promote their efficiency and not to interfere needlessly with their administration."(40) Evidently, the Education Minister could not convince the Archbishop to persuade the Christian Brothers to change their books.

White's special report of 1892 initiated a controversy in Ottawa as the result of local publicity of the inspector's findings.(41) Some influential lay Catholics were dissatisfied with the condition of the Christian Brothers' schools and the reluctance of the religious order to adhere to the authority of lay Catholic school trustees. The Christian Brothers ran their schools as they saw fit. In a letter to Archbishop Duhamel in

1892, Rev. M. J. Whelan succinctly outlined the crux of the difficulty between the Christian Brothers and the school trustees which pertains equally to both French- and English-speaking members of the board.(42) Whelan explained that the trustees were powerless with religious teachers whose superiors were very slow in reacting to the demands of the Government and the board.(43) The trustees would dismiss incompetent lay teachers immediately, but they could not do the same with the Christian Brothers. This was the dilemma faced by English and French trustees.(44)

By the mid-1890s, the obstinance of the Christian Brothers became increasingly intolerable to certain Irish and French lay Catholic leaders despite the fact that clerical authority, as represented in Ottawa by Archbishop Duhamel, fully supported the religious order. White's special report on the French-language schools provided J. A. Frigon - a French-speaking trustee, secretary of the French committee, and assistant translator for the House of Commons(45) - with an opportunity to express publicly his dissatisfaction with the teaching methods of the Christian Brothers and his frustration over the inability of the French Committee to control the schools managed by this particular teaching order. The story of White's critical report first appeared in the Toronto Mail on January 30, 1892. The French-language school report contained seventeen points of criticism but Frigon, his fellow trustees and the press focused on the issue of the Christian Brothers' ability to teach English.(46)

The Toronto Mail's assessment of White's report indicates that the newspaper's concern for conditions in one particular French-language school was motivated by anti-French sentiment and class bias:

His [White's] report of all four schools in which the Christian Brothers are the teachers is that they are lamentably deficient, and incapable even as teachers in French. It is quite beyond the most of them to impart any instruction worth speaking of in French, and in the one school already mentioned [St. Jean Baptiste - referred to as the "Chaudiere"] the teachers are quite as blissfully ignorant of English as are their pupils that swarm from the crowded streets of the Chaudiere flats around the lumber mills.(47)

The Toronto Mail erroneously reported that the French-speaking trustees were prepared to ask the Superior of the Christian Brothers to replace Ottawa's teachers.(48)

Ironically, White undermined his own criticisms of the Christian Brothers in order to neutralize the controversy sparked by the Toronto Mail's inflammatory article of January 30.(49) White wrote apologetic letters to Archbishop Duhamel and the Christian Brothers. He informed Archbishop Duhamel that these special reports were "comments in the nature of a private communication."(50) White wrote a letter to the Toronto Mail which made many of the French-speaking trustees skeptical about the accuracy of his original report.(51) In his letter to the editor of the Mail, White pointed out that English was taught in all the Christian Brothers' schools, and he merely suggested that special English teachers be appointed to the two schools without

such teachers. White wrote that the Brothers were "zealous, faithful teachers, whose influence in the schools has been productive of great good."(52)

Despite White's defense of the Brothers and the verbal assaults of several trustees, Frigon held to his belief that drastic changes in the schools were necessary. He expressed his support for White's recommendations because they coincided with his own beliefs about the Brothers:

I know of one school where English is not taught, and I think there are two or three...I believe that the report of the inspector is correct, and that the matter should be at once attended to. The teachers are also too frequently changed. The Superior of the Brothers, for instance, is changed very often, although he may have an engagement with the board for a year. This is done to suit the Christian Brothers. Some changes are also necessary in the textbooks, to which the inspector's report refers. In my opinion the report of Mr. White is a wise one, and to carry it out will be in the interests of education.(53)

Frigon's comments indicate that he was dissatisfied with the condition of the schools, and frustrated with the Christian Brothers' refusal to respond to the authority of lay Catholic school officials.

Other prominent separate school trustees viewed White's report differently. Their views indicate that the authority of the separate school inspector to deal with all educational matters was not necessarily understood or respected at the local level. Trustee Beroard proclaimed "I know that English is taught in all the schools."(54) Beroard believed that White was

prejudiced against French-Canadians.(55) On the issue of textbooks, Napoleon Champagne argued that "It is none of his business to meddle with that...If the French people of Ottawa wish to spend their own money to buy the Christian Brothers' text-books for their children it is none of Mr. White's business."(56) Frigon was chastised by the French Committee and the Church for his stand. He would not return as a separate school trustee in 1893.(57) Local and ecclesiastical resistance, and skepticism about the accuracy of White's statements, made reform a lengthy, controversial process.

The French-language schools of Ottawa were not alone in their difficulties with the Christian Brothers. The Christian Brothers' relationship with the English-speaking trustees was very troubled from the early 1890s onward, but the Irish were discreet about this situation. As Reverend Whelan informed Archbishop Duhamel in 1892, the problems of the English schools were not discussed at the board level because to mention them there would create a "scandal".(58) Like their French-speaking counterparts, the English-speaking trustees could not readily replace inadequate teachers and had difficulty obtaining staff from the Christian Brothers.(59)

The high expectations of Irish Catholics in the late 1880s for educational achievement in the future seemed to be thwarted by the Christian Brothers. Until 1892, the Brothers in the English schools in Ottawa were from Quebec. Brother Flamien, the

Provincial of the Order in Quebec, actually suggested in 1891 that the English trustees hire lay teachers to fill their needs until more Christian Brothers completed "certain subjects now in training," presumably English.(60) E. T. Smith, Chairman of the English Committee, wrote to Archbishop Duhamel to explain that the English Committee had contracted a huge debt in building several schools in the late 1880s to be a "credit to Ottawa," and that they did not want to pay higher salaries for lay teachers. According to Smith, the trustees simply wanted the Christian Brothers to increase the efficiency of schools like St. Bridget's.(61) Evidently White's negative reports on English-language schools St. Bridget's, St. Patrick's, and the Catholic Lyceum influenced the debate among Irish trustees about the competence of the Christian Brothers.(62)

Even the decision of 1891, endorsed by both the Christian Brothers and Archbishop Duhamel, to supply more teachers for the English-language schools from the English-speaking, Ontario section of the Christian Brothers in Toronto failed to satisfy the English-speaking trustees. The Christian Brothers' previous commitment to supply English teachers for areas like Toronto appears to have created a shortage of fluent English-speaking Brothers for Ottawa. As early as November 1892, Whelan wrote Duhamel to suggest that the Christian Brothers were still having difficulty providing teachers for the schools and merely wanted an excuse to leave the city altogether.(63)

The disputes with the Christian Brothers were not directly related to the local conflict between the French and the Irish, but there were other issues which aggravated the existing animosity between the two groups. Before 1893 a number of French-speaking children had attended English schools.(64) White advised the English Committee to refuse to teach French children in their schools.(65) This recommendation was accepted by the Irish. It might be assumed that a government official would encourage the attendance of French-speaking children at English-language schools as a way of assimilating the French into English society.(66) White argued that the efficiency of the English schools was adversely affected by the presence of the French children. The children's imperfect English was a "drag upon the school" and interfered "with the grading of the classes and retards their progress."(67) The Inspector's method of improving the English of French-speaking children was to isolate them in their own schools, and then improve the effectiveness of the English instruction in those schools.

French Catholics did not generally agree with the limits placed on their educational rights by White's recommendation. The local desire of French-speaking Catholics to have their choice of schools eventually undermined a policy of strict segregation. The French-speaking trustees eventually, in 1906, were able to declare that any child could attend either a French or an English school.(68)



In conjunction with the inspector's efforts to reform Ottawa's schools, there was a local campaign for school reform. Flavien Moffett - a French Catholic who was news editor of Le Temps, a Liberal, French-language newspaper - ran for the position of French-speaking trustee in Ottawa Ward from 1893 to 1895 on a platform of school reform (uniform textbooks) and the secret ballot for school elections. Moffett's criticisms of the Christian Brothers resembled those made by White. He stated that the teaching of the Grey Nuns in Ottawa was better than that of the Brothers, the Christian Brothers were charging too much for textbooks, and they were not adequately teaching French or English in their schools.(69) Indeed, Moffett and Le Temps were later accused by Le Canada - a Conservative, French-language newspaper - of having excessive confidence in the government and its representative: Inspector White.(70)

Denounced from the pulpit by Archbishop Duhamel in 1893, Moffett lost his bid for election by a narrow 46 vote margin.(71) Considering the opposition of the Church and its supposed influence on the populace, Moffett's close election results in 1893 and his successful election to the position of trustee in 1894 and 1895 demonstrate that he and his advocated reforms had considerable support among French Catholics. The opposition of the Church to his candidacy could not prevent his election.

A strong element in the controversy in Ottawa was a conflict between some lay Catholics and ecclesiastical authority. During

the early 1890s demands among segments of Ottawa's Catholic population for the secret ballot in school elections reflected this conflict. It was felt by Protestants and by some lay Catholics that the open voting system employed in separate school elections gave the Church authoritarian control over separate school boards because individuals voting against the wishes of the clergy could easily be identified and censured.

French Catholics were not the only group requesting the secret ballot in separate school elections. Irish Catholics in Toronto vocally campaigned for the secret ballot in the 1880s.(72) Prominent Irish Catholics in Ottawa, lead by R. W. Scott, lobbied the Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1894 in support of the secret ballot.(73) Despite the passage of the Comnee Ballot Bill in 1894, the measure designed to settle the ballot issue by offering separate school voters the choice of using the secret ballot in their elections or continuing to vote openly, the Ottawa separate school board still issued a petition in 1895 requesting support for mandatory use of the secret ballot in separate school elections. Government resistance and the Ottawa school controversy appear to have buried this petition and ended Ottawa's overt agitation for the secret ballot.(74)

While internal conflicts divided the Catholic community in Ottawa, Inspector White issued a second special report on the schools of the French section and a report on the textbooks used in Ottawa's schools in 1894. White threatened to hold back the

board's legislative grant until his textbook recommendations were put into effect.(75) Withholding the legislative grant from a school board was the most coercive measure an inspector could use to enforce educational regulations.(76)

White accused the Brothers and the Ottawa separate school board of ignoring his earlier recommendations. He did concede that some attempt was being made in all the schools to teach English, but while he felt the girls' divisions were progressing very satisfactorily, the boys' classes had only made slow progress.(77) White made it quite clear that it was the board's duty to enforce provincial educational regulations, and that the Christian Brothers had no right to decide on their own educational policies independent of provincial authority. White informed the board that the "programme of studies authorized for Separate Schools is the one that should be followed by all teachers under the control of the board. No teacher or body of teachers is authorized to frame the course to be followed by pupils under their management unless it agrees substantially with that mentioned above."(78)

White publicized his criticisms of the textbooks used in Ottawa and it became public knowledge that he threatened to withhold the legislative grant on this issue in March 1895.(79) The French Committee discussed the textbook issue in conjunction with a decision to renew the Brothers' contract for another year. Moffett was against rehiring the Brothers. G. W. Seguin, Chairman

of the French Committee, wanted to resolve the textbook issue before rehiring the Brothers, but the Christian Brothers agreed only that the issue could be examined. Although sharp divisions among French-speaking trustees developed over the decision to rehire of the Christian Brothers, the French trustees, except Moffett and Seguin, decided to recommend to the rest of the board that the Christian Brothers' contract be renewed for another year.(80)

G. W. Seguin and Flavien Moffett were the leading French-speaking trustees advocating the implementation of White's recommendations. The motives behind the actions of these two individuals are an important consideration. Moffett expressed the view that the French must know English in order to survive in an English-speaking province,(81) but he also appears to have been frustrated with the Christian Brothers' resistance to his demands for changes in the schools. The Brothers' refusal to accept Seguin's suggestions for satisfying the provincial inspector was a factor in his eventual opposition to the Christian Brothers.

Seguin, a financial official with the Ottawa Electric Railway Company and the future head tax collector for the City of Ottawa,(82) may have been concerned with English instruction at Garneau School - the school in his district and staffed by the Brothers - because of the importance of learning English to his constituents. He represented St. George's Ward which encompassed

the affluent Sandy Hills area. The French and English of Ottawa who were professionals or were employed by the government lived in this area.(83) A good knowledge of English was important to the French Catholics of St. George's Ward who competed with English-speaking individuals for their positions in society. Whatever their main motivation, Moffett and Seguin were not afraid to challenge ecclesiastical authority, the Christian Brothers or their fellow trustees in order to implement the changes that they believed were necessary for the schools.

The actions of these trustees and Ottawa's separate school supporters resulted in the creation of the Ottawa Separate School Commission. Originally, at a meeting of the French Committee held on April 10, 1895, Seguin put forward a motion requesting that the government investigate an accusation that White gave the Christian Brothers a different set of reports than those given to the board.(84) The accusation against White was made at a public meeting held at La Salle School in early April by Brother Flamien.(85) White later denied Brother Flamien's charge and told the Board that they should demand evidence from his accuser.(86) No evidence of deceit on the part of White was ever forwarded by Brother Flamien, who later declined to repeat his accusation against the Inspector to the Ottawa Separate School Commission.(87) The lack of evidence against White meant that the commissioners found Brother Flamien's charges to be unfounded.(88)

A group of ratepayers demanded a more comprehensive investigation to settle the controversy. On April 23, G. W. Seguin submitted a motion to the Ottawa separate school board requesting a government investigation with the broader purpose of examining the condition of the schools as well as the charges against White:

That in view of recent developments and the desirability of having the conditions of our own schools established the Board do petition the Minister of Education to examine and report upon the actual conditions of the schools, and also to enquire into the charges made that Inspector White has made one set of reports to the board and another contradictory set of reports to the teachers.(89)

In response to the board's request, George W. Ross appointed a commission of three individuals to investigate the conditions of the schools, both English and French, and to enquire into the charges made by Brother Flamien against Inspector White.(90) The important tasks to be performed by the Commissioners - William Scott, Vice-Principal of the Toronto Normal School; Reverend J. T. Foley, a Catholic priest and certified teacher; and D. Chenay, Principal of the French-English Model School for the County of Prescott(91) - were to include examinations of the methods of teaching used in the schools, the instruction given to pupils in the course of study as was prescribed by the Education Department, the textbooks used in the schools and "the extent to which the English Language is taught in the schools where the French Language prevails."(92) The Commissioners were directed to enquire into all matters referred to in the official statements

of Inspector White.(93)

The Ottawa separate school board, in calling for the Commission, had clearly taken an action opposed by Archbishop Duhamel. Archbishop Duhamel and the Christian Brothers initially refused to cooperate with the Commission. This decision was almost as damaging to separate schools as the overall negative findings of the Commissioners. The opposition of Archbishop Duhamel to the Commission forced Foley and Chenay, the only French-speaking member of the Commission, to resign shortly after the original Commissioners assembled in Ottawa on June 4.(94) Duhamel refused to give Foley permission to act as a Commissioner, stating: "How can I countenance an attack against our Brothers?"(95) Informing Ross of his resignation on June 5, J. T. Foley expressed surprise at the "extraordinary view" of Archbishop Duhamel that the appointment of the commission represented an "attack" on the Christian Brothers.(96) Foley added: "I need hardly add that I had no reason to suppose that his Grace would put such a constriction on the actions of the Education Department."(97)

The resignation of Chenay after seeing Duhamel's response to Foley affected the commission in two important ways. The commission could not examine the children's proficiency in the French language as was originally intended by the Minister of Education, and the French-language textbook issue could not be as thoroughly examined as was previously planned. Scott, chairman

of the commission, requested that the Education Minister appoint another French-speaking individual to the commission. George Ross, however, instructed the commissioners to examine the children in English only. He indicated that he would consider the examination of the pupils in French, but that such a "Commission would then necessarily be composed of men more familiar with the French language than the present Commissioners."(98) The Commissioners did employ a gentleman named Fleury to translate the examination papers of the French pupils.(99) In the area of textbooks, its final report did not mention any specific book - only the costs of the texts and a statement on the need for uniform textbooks in all classes.(100)

From June 13 to June 16, William Scott and two newly-appointed commissioners, J. J. Tilley (Inspector of Model Schools) and Dr. Edward Ryan (a lay Catholic teacher from Kingston), were refused access to the Christian Brothers' schools. Scott reported the refusal to Ross and indicated that tremendous pressure from Catholic and political quarters was being applied to the Archbishop and the Christian Brothers in an endeavour to get them to cooperate with the Commission. Scott managed to suppress the news of the obstruction of the Brothers to the work of the Commission. Scott's daily telegrams to Ross are quite illuminating as to his opinion of the reason Archbishop Duhamel and the Christian Brothers refused to cooperate with the Commission:

Dr. Ryan, I know, has been moving heaven and



earth to have influence brought to bear on the Brothers so they may recede from their absurd position ... The root of the trouble is that they are ruled from Quebec. Their head, Brother Flamien, resides in Montreal. The Archbishop has Quebec ideas.(101)

Scott's comment that the Archbishop had "Quebec ideas" suggests that the Commissioner believed that Archbishop Duhamel opposed the investigation because it interfered with clerical authority in the schools; in Quebec, the state deferred to the Church the authority and the responsibility for educating the Catholic populace. Although the Brothers and Archbishop Duhamel relented after only a few days and the investigation progressed smoothly afterward, the release of the Commissioners' report on August 17, outlining the Brothers' initial refusal to cooperate, caused an outcry against the widely-perceived arrogance of the religious order.(102)

The results of the commissioners' examinations fully confirmed the complaints registered earlier by Inspector White and validated his criticisms. Overall, the commission's report strongly criticized the Brothers while generally praising the work of the Sisters and the lay teachers of Ottawa. The Commissioners concluded that "as regards the purpose of Education and the means of securing it, the Brothers are not familiar with the modern methods of teaching."(103) The Brothers' English schools also received severe criticism as the children attending the advanced classes at the Catholic Lyceum scored an average of three and a half percent in the examination on the subjects of

Algebra and Geometry.(104) The commissioners' assessment of the Brothers as teachers, whether English-speaking or French-speaking, was decidedly negative.(105)

The commissioners took a very different view of the Sisters' work. In comparison to the boys' work, the girls' answers were carefully arranged and neatly written and demonstrated that "a successful effort had been made to lead the pupils to think."(106) The commissioners' assessment of the Grey Nuns' teaching style provides insight into the qualities the Education Department sought from the province's teachers:

The teaching of the Sisters showed good general scholarship. From the way in which they taught their lessons they evidently understood that education is training and can be secured only by the self-exertion of the pupils.(107)

The commissioners did investigate White's official statements. They recommended that the board immediately follow White's advice on several points: they called upon the Brothers to establish a uniform course of study with uniform examinations for the same grades in their various schools.(108) In contrast to the Brothers, the the Grey Nuns were commended for coordinating their efforts, and the fact that the corresponding girls' classes at the different schools were all completing the same work.(109) The Commissioners informed the board that their textbooks were not uniform and, therefore, the trustees were in violation of Section 32, Article 7 of the Separate School Act with respect to textbooks. The Commissioners recommended that the schools be brought under Section 210 of the Public School Act, which stated

that no one professionally connected with a school, including teachers and trustees, should sell textbooks.(110) This recommendation was aimed directly at the Christian Brothers for they wrote their own books and sold them directly to the children in their classes.(111)

The public officially received the findings of the report through the newspapers. The editors of Ottawa's English newspapers, the Free Press, the Citizen and the Evening Journal, supported the changes advocated by the Commissioners and the Provincial Inspector. The Evening Journal's reaction was typical:

It is three and a half years since Inspector White made the indictment which at last results in the report of the Commission. In January, 1892, Mr. White drew up a special report on the French section of the Ottawa Separate Schools in which he criticized severely some of the methods and books in use. Since that time, the Separate School Board has always been more or less disturbed about the shortcomings. Some of the members intelligently and resolutely fought for improvements and at last a government commission of inquiry was required. The time was long, in view of...the defects in the schools, but the way is effectively paved for a betterment...(112)

Opinion of the Commission's findings among French-language newspapers, reflecting French Catholic opinion in general, was mixed. Le Canada denounced the inquiry as a farce due to the commissioners' limited knowledge of French. The newspaper argued that the English-speaking commissioners were unable to judge properly the standing of the French Canadian children.(113) The Evening Journal responded to such arguments by stating that the

Commissioners based their assessment on more than just the actual teaching, and that there were problems in the English schools of the Brothers as well as the French. If the commissioners were prejudiced against the French, the newspaper asked, then why did they not condemn the girls' French Schools:

Does Le Canada think that the Commission was prejudiced against the French boys and French male teachers and not against French girls and French Female teachers?(114)

The French Catholics of Ottawa did not all share Le Canada's editorial position. Moffett's newspaper, Le Temps, vehemently argued that the Brothers were adversely effecting the education of the Catholic children of the city.(115)

The commission's findings affected the schools. The English committee asked for and promptly received the resignations of the Brothers from all their English schools.(116) But the board as a whole, and the French committee in particular, did not act quickly to implement the recommendations of the commission. Despite the possibility that the Education Department might withhold the legislative grant from the schools, the majority of the French Committee of the Ottawa separate school board were not prepared to support drastic action against the Christian Brothers. Instead, they decided to silence the government's criticisms by requesting that the Christian Brothers comply with the regulations of the Department of Education and certain recommendations of the commission.(117)

Brother Flamien was asked to sign an agreement requiring the

Christian Brothers to employ three English-speaking teachers in the French schools to improve English instruction, and to replace the De La Salle readers with the Sadlier textbook approved by the Education Department. This agreement did not mention the use of uniform exams or the implementation of other recommendations made by the commissioners. The French-speaking trustees made the re-opening of the schools in September contingent upon securing acceptance of this agreement. All members of the French Committee, except Flavien Moffett, agreed to this compromise proposal, but Brother Flamien refused the demands of the Committee.(118)

The unified support of the French trustees for some change in the operation of the schools in order to conform with provincial regulations disappeared when faced with the Brothers' refusal to cooperate. Seguin and Moffett demanded that the Brothers be dismissed. Trustees Lavoie and Boileau strongly supported the Brothers. The other trustees, while not wanting to dismiss the teaching order, wanted the Brothers to comply with provincial regulations.(119) The French Committee finally agreed that if the Brothers did not comply with the committee's demands by Christmas, their contract would not be renewed in the following year. Seguin and Moffett were the only ones to vote against this proposal.(120)

The Brothers would have stayed in Ottawa had Seguin not initiated actions in his own school ward of St. George's which

compelled them to withdraw from all the schools. When Garneau School opened in September 1895, Seguin had succeeded in removing the Brothers from the school and in replacing them with Grey Nuns.(121) Seguin's actions were supported by a petition from ratepayers circulated in his ward on August 23.(122) The final humiliation of being ejected from Garneau School was the last straw for the Christian Brothers and they announced their withdrawal from all of Ottawa's schools effective October 1st.(123)

With the Brothers gone, the French committee took steps to conform to the recommendations of the commission. They immediately attempted to ensure that the textbooks of their schools were uniform, and they passed the following resolution:

...this Board is desirous of conforming with the Separate school law, which prescribes uniformity of text books in the urban schools, ...resolves to adopt in all the schools under its control the same series of textbooks, the same selected by the directors of the girls' and boys' classes, subject to the sanction of the French Committee.(124)

The French committee appealed to the Education Department for assistance in finding new instructors for their schools. G. W. Ross promptly dispatched Inspector White to help re-organize the French schools.(125) He found twenty certified lay teachers, including four qualified to teach English, to staff the schools and a superintendent to oversee and improve the boys' French-language schools.(126)

There were French Catholics, especially Archbishop Duhamel, who wanted the immediate return of the Christian Brothers to Ottawa. The Education Department was determined that the Christian Brothers could not return unless they complied with provincial educational regulations. In response to a letter from Flavien Moffett in 1897 protesting the possible return of the Christian Brothers to Ottawa, G. W. Ross wrote:

I desire to say that any agreement made by the Separate School Board inconsistent with the School Act and Regulations cannot be recognized by the Education Department. If the Christian Brothers resume charge of Separate Schools at Ottawa, they must comply with the regulations, as to the text books to be used, the courses of study and all the other matters required by the School Law in the administration of Separate Schools. I have no authority to recommend the payment of the School Grant to a school not conducted according to the School Act and Regulations.(127)

As will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, the Christian Brothers were again teaching in Ottawa in 1902.(128)

Events following the release of the report of the Ottawa Separate School Commission of 1895 led to some dramatic changes in the schools: the acceptance of many reforms suggested by White; the departure of the Christian Brothers from Ottawa and most other centres in Ontario; and the establishment, in Ottawa, of the province's first and only separate model school for the training of bilingual instructors in 1896.(129) The departure of the Brothers and the resultant demise of many of the schools' higher classes brought an end - except in the case of

French-speaking male students - to Archbishop Duhamel's prohibition against allowing Catholic students to write high school entrance examinations.(130) Irish Catholics, who wanted a Catholic high school in Ottawa from the late 1880s and had settled for the Catholic Lyceum, welcomed the opportunity to attend the city's public high schools without invoking the Archbishop's displeasure.

The school controversy divided French Catholics. The French Committee was very concerned about the effect of the Commission's report upon the continued tax support of the ratepayers. In its financial report for 1895, the French committee asked school supporters to pay their taxes faithfully and make monthly contributions to the schools, while the committee pledged to "observer la plus stricte économie."(131) But support for the schools did not appreciably diminish after the release of the Commission's report. The departure of the Christian Brothers appeared to solve the schools' major problems. In the end, those trustees and parents supportive of White's changes and increased lay influence over the management of the schools were, in many ways, victorious.

It is questionable whether the French section really got better teachers or a strengthened educational system after 1895. French-speaking trustees became more active in attempting to find ways to improve their schools and to promote French-language instruction, but the problem of finding good bilingual teachers



in a province with very few educational resources directed towards bilingual training only became more acute in the 1900s.

Ottawa's schools were strengthened in the opinion of the officials of the Education Department because the French and the English Committees would comply, at least to a greater degree, with the recommendations and regulations of provincial authorities. Separate school supporters like White believed that adherence to provincial regulations would strengthen the separate school system.

The Christian Brothers, in both their French and English schools in Ottawa, failed to comply with provincial regulations. This point is crucial to an understanding of the criticisms directed at the Christian Brothers. The Grey Nuns generally complied with provincial regulations much more readily than the Christian Brothers. For example, the Grey Nuns followed provincial guidelines on how to teach English to French pupils while many of the Christian Brothers did not.(132) Even when the standards of the Grey Nuns' French schools were judged not to be that high, White and the Commissioners clearly implied that the schools would improve as result of the teachers' adherence to provincial regulations. Quite simply, in the view of provincial officials, the Grey Nuns were good teachers because they generally adhered to provincial educational policies. The Christian Brothers of Ottawa were not good instructors as a result of their refusal to comply readily with regulations

designed by the central authorities to improve the schools.

The Commissioners and especially Inspector White were not inherently against the Christian Brothers. White praised the educational work of individual Christian Brothers, and the lists of authorized textbooks for French-language separate schools developed by the Education Department in the 1890s contained books published by this religious order.(133) Although education officials may not have been entirely sympathetic with the problems associated with bilingual instruction, language was not the central issue of this dispute. The question of authority was the basis of the conflict. The Christian Brothers, as teachers, were severely criticized for refusing to adhere to the demands of the Education Department and lay Catholic authorities.

In very concrete terms, the Education Department, supported by influential elements of lay Catholic opinion, established its ultimate authority to determine the educational development of separate schools. Yet this authority was not always exercised. It was lay Catholic concern for the certification of teachers from religious orders and court action in 1904 which ultimately extended provincial educational jurisdiction into this controversial area.

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Anti-Catholic thought was the product of indigenous issues and imported influences [J. R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada." CHR. 46, 4(December 1985), pp. 475-476] and intensified conflict over educational issues. Anti-Catholicism was a factor in provincial politics in the 1890s. [For an examination of this, see James T. Watt, "Anti-Catholicism in Ontario politics: The Role of the Protestant Protective Association in the 1894 Election." Ontario History. 57, 2(June 1967), pp. 57-67] The assault on French-language and separate schools made Catholics, particularly the clergy, sensitive to internal criticism of the schools. Walker, vol. 2, pp. 113-99.

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AAO. G. W. Ross to Duhamel, October 11, 1893; Ross had earlier sent Duhamel a list of authorized Bilingual Readers, Ross to Duhamel, December 7, 1889; Even publishers attempted to get Duhamel's approval of their books, The Copp, Clark & Co. to Duhamel, April 2, 1892.

39.

AAO. Confidential Memorandum, Re: Textbooks in French Schools. N.D. The costs for the books were Boys' \$8.95 (25 books), Girls' \$11.75 (24 books) and Public \$5.20.

40.

AAO. Ross to Duhamel, October 11, 1893.

41.

Toronto Mail. January 30, 1892.

42.

AAO. Whelan to Duhamel, November 29, 1892.

43.

Ibid.

44.

Ibid.

45.

Ottawa City Directory, 1889-90.

46.

Toronto Mail. January 30, 1892.

47.

Ibid.

48.

Ibid.

49.

AAO. White to Duhamel, January 30, 1892.

50.

Ibid.

51.

Toronto Mail. February 5, 1892.

52. Ibid.
53. Ibid., February 6, 1892.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.; Frigon wrote to Archbishop Duhamel to request a meeting to deal with White's report but to no avail, AAO. Frigon to Duhamel, February 12, 1892.
58. AAO. Whelan to Duhamel, November 29, 1892.
59. Ibid.
60. AAO. E. T. Smith to Assistant Director of the Brothers, Ottawa, June 12, 1891.
61. Ibid., Through correspondence and meetings, it was decided to supply the schools with Brothers from Toronto. AAO. Brother Tobias Smith, June 13, 1891; Duhamel to Smith, June 20, 1891.
62. AAO. RG 2, F-3-F, vol. 18, Ottawa, St. Briget's School, December 4-5, 1893; St. Patrick's School, 1894; Catholic Lyceum, 1894.
63. AAO. Whelan to Duhamel, November 25, 1892; Duhamel to Whelan, November 27, 1892.
64. AAO. White to Charles Beroard, Chairman of the French Committee, August 28, 1893.
65. Ibid.

66. This would have been conducive to "voluntary assimilation," a concept applied to the attitudes of educators like Ryerson towards the French in Ontario. After 1876, Education officials attempted to be more persuasive in integrating the French, see Gaffield, Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict. pp. 20-29.
67. AAO. White to Beroard, August 28, 1893.
68. Ottawa Citizen. November 15, 1906.
69. Le Canada. August 31, 1893 cited in Choquette, Language and Religion. p. 60.
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75. Report of the Ottawa Separate School Commission, 1895. Ontario Sessional Papers. vol. 28, no. 1, 1896, p. 13.
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95. Ibid. Duhamel to Foley, June 4, 1895.
96. Ibid. Foley to Ross, June 5, 1895.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid. W. Scott to Ross, June 12, 1895.
99. Ibid. Scott to Ross, July 8, 1895.
100. Ottawa Commission, 1895. p. 35.
101. AO. RG 2, vol. 3, box 79, Scott to Ross, June 13, 1895.
102. Walker, vol. 2, pp. 197-198.
103. Ottawa Commission, 1895. pp. 32-33.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid. p.35.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. AAO. Confidential Memorandum, Re: Textbooks in French Schools. N.D.

112. Ottawa Evening Journal. August 21, 1895.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid. August 20, 1895.
115. Ottawa Free Press. August 23, 1895.
116. Ibid. August 1, 14, 1895.
117. Ibid. August 22, 1895.
118. Ottawa Evening Journal, August 23, 1895.
119. Ottawa Free Press. August 22, 1895.
120. Ibid. August 29, 1895.
121. Ottawa Evening Journal. September 3, 1895.
122. Ibid.
123. Ottawa Free Press, September 17, 1895.
124. Ibid. October 6, 1895.
125. Ibid. September 21, 1895.
126. Ibid. September 30, 1895.
127. AO. RG 2, P-2, box 79, code I, Ross to Moffett, June 3, 1897.
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129.

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W. Prendergast, "Ottawa Schools," Report on the Eastern Division to the Minister of Education. Ontario Sessional Papers, vol. 30, no. 1, 1897-8, p. 112.

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AAO. Rapport Pour L'Annee 1895 Ecoles Separees D'Ottawa, Section Francais, December 31, 1895.

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J.F. White to G.W. Seguin, Chairman, French committee, Ottawa separate school board, 27 July 1894. Copy in Ottawa Commission, 1895, p. 10.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Separate School Reform Into The Twentieth Century, 1896-1912

Separate schools became increasingly integrated, both administratively and educationally, into the provincial educational structure. The success of government officials in ensuring that separate schools complied more fully with provincial regulations signified the diminishing independence of separate school authorities. The findings of the Ottawa Separate School Commission demonstrated to separate school supporters and to the public in general that teachers who did not adhere to provincial regulations were unsuccessful in the classroom. Lay Catholic educationalists were generally convinced of the need to improve their schools.

Reform efforts were concentrated on improving the qualifications of separate school teachers and the quality of certain separate school textbooks. A particularly controversial aspect of reform was the attempt to certify teachers from religious orders. A far less controversial and less public campaign for textbook reform continued into the 1900s.

Closer adherence to provincial regulations by separate schools and the greater influence of government policies in determining their development did not increase the educational scope or financial stability of the schools. Liberal and

Conservative governments limited the authority of separate school officials to establish higher levels of education, effectively restricting separate schools to fifth form work or work completed in the first two grades of high school.(1) In relative terms, the financial situation of separate schools worsened as attendance increased. Changes in the basis for distributing grants to all schools adversely affected separate schools. As taxation from corporations became an increasingly important factor in the financial support of public schools, separate schools received very little funding from this source. Still, most of the educational changes to affect the schools were generally viewed by lay Catholics as positive developments. Only government restriction of French-language instruction in the province in 1912 was strongly protested by French-speaking school supporters.

The Education Department greatly increased its ability to monitor separate school development through a larger inspection staff. By 1912 four inspectors examined French-language separate schools and four inspected English-language separate schools.(2) As part of the administrative integration of separate schools into the management system for public schools, a Chief Inspector was appointed in 1909 to oversee public and separate school inspectors. (3)

The inspection and enforcement of regulations upon French-language schools, increasingly established as separate schools, presented special challenges to the Education Department

in the 1900s. The Liberal government decided to establish a system of inspection solely for French-language schools. A system of independent inspection by sympathetic officials had succeeded with separate schools in increasing adherence to provincial regulations and in improving the educational standing of the schools. In 1900 as in 1882, the Liberals sought to resolve problems inherent in the inspection of schools of a minority group by establishing a system acceptable to the constituents involved. The inspection of bilingual schools by French-speaking inspectors began in 1900 but was not, in the opinion of many government officials and influential English-speaking citizens, successful in improving the schools.

Telephouse Rouchon was appointed in 1900 as Bilingual Inspector for both separate and public French-language schools.(4) From that time onwards the French-language and English-language separate schools of Ottawa and the province had their own provincial inspectors.

The Education Department chose Rouchon to inspect bilingual schools because of his experience with them - he was an assistant principal at Plantagenet Bilingual Model School in the 1890s - and because influential Roman Catholics like Archbishop Duhamel supported his candidacy.(5) Archbishop Duhamel helped guarantee that Rouchon alone would inspect French-language separate schools. Rouchon and Michael O'Brien, a separate school inspector appointed in 1900, were originally supposed to inspect

these schools jointly. O'Brien and Archbishop Duhamel objected to joint inspection. O'Brien wrote Duhamel to inform the Archbishop that the government had decided that only Rouchon would inspect the French schools in deference to Duhamel's wishes. According to O'Brien, the government was quite willing to administer the schools in a manner acceptable to the Archbishop. This arrangement also suited O'Brien as well as French-speaking school supporters.(6)

Rouchon re-organized the French section's schools in Ottawa in an attempt to improve their "efficiency,"(7) but his work and the condition of the French-language schools were constantly criticized. O'Brien reported to the Ottawa separate school board in 1906 that the "schools for the French-speaking children are not in my judgement administered according to any laws or regulations in Force in this Province and therefore have no legal status."(8) Such comments on the French schools, and directly or indirectly upon Rouchon's competence, were not uncommon.

The English-speaking Bishop of Alexandria,(9) Alexander MacDonnell, complained to the Minister of Education about the "inferior" inspection of the French schools in his area and that the result was "inferior" schools.(10) He felt that French-language schools did not employ qualified teachers:

English ratepayers ... must employ legally qualified teachers to whom they must pay handsome salaries, and teach the subjects prescribed by the Department ... their French Neighbours may establish schools for themselves and employ inefficient teachers without legal qualifications



... at a nominal salary...(11)

Bishop MacDonnell felt that an English inspector would be best for bilingual schools. He believed that an English official would ensure that qualified teachers were employed, provincial regulations were obeyed, and the proper course of study would be adhered to. Bishop MacDonnell clearly wanted the "anglicization" of the French schools in his diocese, and implied that Rouchon failed to enforce educational regulations.(12)

From his reports, it is evident that Inspector Rouchon was quite sympathetic toward the schools. He was frank about schools in which English was not well taught, but he was pragmatic in his approach to them. It was difficult to find trained teachers in Ontario where advanced levels of bilingual education were almost non-existent. Teachers continued to come from Quebec or from the ranks of former students of the French-language schools of Ontario.(13)

Although the problems of frequent teacher turnover and low levels of qualifications were universal, French-language schools had a particularly difficult time hiring teachers with a minimum of qualifications necessary to teach in the schools. This was understandable considering the difficulties involved in establishing permanent, bilingual teacher-training facilities.(14) From the late 1890s, English-speaking inspectors reported shortages of qualified French-speaking teachers, but optimistically predicted that the situation was improving

rapidly. William Prendergast, a separate school inspector appointed in 1896, reported in 1897 that:

The supply of qualified teachers suitable for these schools has always been less than the demand but there is an improvement in this respect each half year. Only 6 temporary certificates were granted this half year as compared with 17 for the last half of 1896, and I think I may safely say there will be no further need for 'permits' in these counties, I hope that in a very short time it will also be possible to secure qualified teachers for all the French Schools in other parts of the Province.(15)

Despite Prendergast's optimism, after 1900 the need to maintain an adequate supply of "qualified" or well-trained teachers for French-language schools continued to be a problem.

In order to maintain bilingual schools, Rouchon found it necessary to be lenient in the enforcement of provincial regulations. Problems related to teaching affected all separate schools during the first decades of the twentieth century. It was often easier for the school trustees to build new schools than to deal with the problem of hiring and retaining competent teachers. That this situation applied to both French and English separate schools is evidenced by the comments of Inspector Michael O'Brien in 1905:

The Trustees of the Ottawa Separate Schools have been generous in providing good buildings with ample accommodations...in the matter of teachers' salaries too they are more generous than the average... Yet in the selection of teachers during the past 3 or 4 years the Board has been, to put it mildly, unfortunate, and seems to be getting more unfortunate from year to year.(16)

Attempts by Ottawa's French Committee to deal with the shortage of bilingual teachers led to the court decision, discussed below, that teachers from religious orders had to receive their teaching qualifications from the Ontario government. From 1896 to 1902 the Grey Nuns, both English- and French-speaking, formed the core of Ottawa's Catholic teaching staff. Religious teachers, it was often argued, could provide a good Catholic education at a lower cost to ratepayers.(17) The difficulty of finding suitable bilingual teachers and the legitimate desire on the part of many - especially Archbishop Duhamel - for the Christian Brothers to return to Ottawa, prompted the French committee to rehire some Brothers for Brebeuf school in 1902. In light of the previous controversies involving the religious order, it is significant to note that the Christian Brothers sent very experienced teachers to the school with the three Brothers each having between 10 to 15 years of teaching behind them.(18)

Telephonse Rouchon attempted to dispell any misgivings of government officials and the Catholic community about the Brothers' return to the city. He stated that the teachers at Brebeuf school complied with provincial regulations and adhered to educational authority:

The three Brothers teaching in that school are men of experience, knowledge and skill. The assistance of the pupils is very regular which is a credit to the Brothers. The programme for conducting and organizing the school, is legally, faithfully and efficiently applied. Pupils are interested in their work and the school as a

whole is nicely progressing.(19)

The inspector's references to the Brothers' "experience, knowledge, and skill" and the fact that the school's programme was "legally, faithfully and efficiently applied" were clearly intended to persuade doubters that the Brothers adhered to government and local authority. By 1904 the Brothers were teaching at Brebeuf, St. Jean Baptiste and Guigues schools.(20)

The French trustees offered a ten-year contract to the Christian Brothers in 1904. This contract represented an innovative way to deal with several major problems facing French Catholic educators. The agreement called for the construction of a new boys' school in Ottawa ward and an attached residence for the teachers.(21) Although the provision of a teachers' residence and the length of the contract violated provincial regulations,(22) the agreement was designed to eliminate a high level of teacher turnover and to guarantee a supply of instructors for the schools. This contract did represent a way for the French-speaking trustees to resolve the problem of locating and retaining French teachers.

One separate school trustee claimed that under this contract the Christian Brothers would not be able to ignore the wishes of the trustees and defy government regulations as they had in the past.(23) The agreement with the Christian Brothers stated that the teachers must use Ontario textbooks in their classes.(24) Terrence Maquire, a controversial English-speaking trustee, made

it clear that the agreement guaranteed the supremacy of the authority of the trustees over the Brothers:

...the agreement gives us power to dismiss any or all at the end of each year. We will not be saddled with any incompetent teachers. All must show themselves competent and prepared to use the regulation text books before they will be engaged.(25)

Educational policy and regulations contributed to the demise of this contract.(26) Legal action initiated by a lay Catholic teacher in Ottawa nullified it. The repercussions of the Court's declaration that such a contract was illegal will be examined later in connection with the certification issue.

The attempts made by separate school inspectors to train and certify separate school teachers from religious orders illustrates the complexity and political difficulties involved in the process of changing long-standing practices in the separate school system. Problems concerning the training of teachers for French-language schools complicated the issue of government instruction of separate school teachers because many of the province's French-language instructors were lay Catholics or members of Catholic religious communities.

The Liberal government's increasing sensitivity to criticism of its separate school and French-language school policies, especially after George W. Ross became Premier of Ontario in 1899, hindered attempts to improve teacher education for members of religious orders. The Education Department preferred the

status quo in separate school administration rather than innovative and politically risky schemes for teacher improvement.(27) Lay Catholics were generally supportive of certification of their teachers in the general belief that it would produce better instructors and put religious teachers on an equal footing with lay teachers.

The Ottawa separate school board participated in a unique teacher-training experiment from 1896 to 1900. In 1896 the first and only separate model school, a government-assisted teacher-training centre for Catholic teachers, was established in Ottawa.(28) Initially the government established the model school, which was to operate under the supervision of the Ottawa Normal School, as a bilingual institution for the training of French-speaking individuals for third class teaching certificates. The model school course was located at De La Salle separate school and taught by Grey Nuns. One year later the school was given the added responsibility of training teachers specifically for separate school service.(29)

The experiment failed. The model school had trouble attracting French-speaking candidates who could complete the requirements for graduation. Students who failed their examinations were nevertheless granted temporary certificates. White suggested that the model school become independent of the Ottawa Normal school and that members of the Grey Nuns be examined for third-class teaching certificates. In fact, some

Grey Nuns actually received third class teaching certificates in 1899 and 1900.(30) The Ottawa bilingual board of examiners considered closing the De La Salle Model School and establishing the bilingual model school in connection with the Youville Institute run by the Grey Nuns in Ottawa. As early as the 1880s, the Youville Institute offered courses in higher learning for both English- and French-speaking girls.(31)

The whole scheme to overhaul the training system for bilingual and separate school teachers floundered as the government became concerned about the political ramifications of some of the proposals.(32) They objected to White's suggestion that the Grey Nuns be examined for teaching certificates.(33) In 1900 the Education Department established a bilingual teacher-training program in conjunction with the Ottawa Normal School while it put a halt to the certification of Grey Nuns. The Education Department abandoned this plan when faced with local objections to the proposed model school's close association with the normal school. Local authorities also protested the government's related proposal to reduce the program at the Plantagenet Bilingual School to the non-professional courses of the teaching program.(34)

The examination of Grey Nuns for third class teaching certificates was abandoned and the De La Salle school closed in 1900.(35) Although the exact reasons for the government's reluctance to use the Youville Institute for a bilingual program

and its objection to the certification of Grey Nuns is not known, the Education Department may have felt uncomfortable about sanctioning the use of a Roman Catholic institution for the training of French-speaking teachers for both public and separate schools. The certification of Grey Nuns may well have stirred a political debate which the Education Department wished to avoid. These early efforts failed to improve the supply or training of bilingual instructors, but the efforts demonstrate that attempts were being made to improve the quality of bilingual teaching.

White and the other separate school inspectors tried to revive the idea of certifying teachers from religious orders in 1901, but this time it was the Church and not the government that objected to the idea.(36) The Catholic hierarchy of Ontario rejected White's plan which called for government to supervise the training of these teachers, with a school or at least a section of an existing normal school to be set aside for their exclusive use.(37) Apparently, some religious orders were concerned about being trained at facilities attended by lay people.

Despite the bishops' rejection of the proposal, at least one high ranking church official believed that the church would eventually have to accept the certification of religious teachers because lay Catholics supported it. Archbishop Denis O'Connor of Toronto believed that the Catholic laity was generally supportive of certification of all separate school teachers.



O'Connor anticipated that certification might be inevitable and that Catholics were largely behind efforts to bring this about: "we foresee that ultimately, perhaps before long, legal qualifications will be required of all Separate School teachers...Catholics more than others are urging this."(38) O'Connor thought that Catholics were demanding certification for members of religious orders in order to discourage these teachers from accepting positions in the province. With fewer teachers from religious orders, the children of lay Catholics could more readily obtain teaching jobs in the schools.(39) The reasons for lay Catholic support for certification varied, but the bishops were well aware of the fact that the laity generally opposed their own reluctance to accept certification.

Lay Catholic educational and occupational demands were important factors behind the campaign to have the qualifications of religious teachers equal those required of lay teachers. Previous historical studies have mentioned that J. David Gratton launched the injunction against the Ottawa separate school board's contract with the Christian Brothers in 1904. This injunction led ultimately to the legal decision that the Christian Brothers, and any other members of religious orders, were not qualified to teach in Ontario unless they were certified by the government. Gratton's personal experience with the schools has been overlooked in other examinations of the certification issue. Identified by both Robert Choquette and Franklin Walker as a lay Catholic teacher from Ottawa,(40) J. D.

Gratton taught in the French-speaking boys' school of Duhamel from 1901 to 1904, and was president of L'Association des Instituteurs des Ecoles Bilingues de L'est Ontario in 1904.(41) These facts have an important bearing on the famous legal case of Grattan v. Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Trustees.

Gratton lost his job at Duhamel school when the board replaced this school and its lay teaching staff with a new facility and a staff of Christian Brothers. Gratton had fourteen years of teaching experience. Although Gratton held only a district teaching certificate, Inspector Rouchon's comments on his teaching abilities were generally positive.(42) Evidently, Gratton was a respected bilingual teacher.

Part of this dispute over the Brothers was complicated by the French - English conflict of the period. Many English trustees opposed the hiring move and the expenditure of funds from English-speaking ratepayers on a residence for Christian Brothers. But Gratton, a bilingual teacher, can not be accused of opposing bilingual education in general. He represented lay Catholic teachers, and there is some indication that he went to court in his capacity within the Bilingual Teachers' Association of Eastern Ontario.(43) After the decision to replace lay teachers with Christian Brothers became known, the Ottawa Citizen ran a story indicating that Catholic lay teachers felt they were being driven out of the profession.(44) Yet French-speaking board members and Terrence Maguire, an English-speaking trustee,

defended their decision to hire more Brothers as a cost saving measure. The trustees refuted the claims of people like Gratton that the Christian Brothers were not qualified to teach in the schools.(45)

On July 11, 1904 Judge Hugh MacMahon ruled that the Ottawa separate school board be perpetually restrained from entering into a contract with the Christian Brothers because the latter were deemed to be unqualified teachers.(46) This ruling not only threatened separate schools with the loss of their teachers from religious orders, it also challenged a longstanding policy of the government. The Education Department allowed these teachers, qualified in Quebec, to teach in Ontario without certificates. For this reason the government decided not to prevent the Christian Brothers from teaching in the province, and funded an appeal of the MacMahon decision. As explained by a government official from the attorney general's office, this government policy towards Roman Catholic religious teachers originated with Egerton Ryerson and was followed by his successors:

...the Education Department since Confederation, under Ryerson, the Hon. Mr. Crooks and his successors, held that teachers belonging to Religious Orders, who were qualified to teach in the Province of Quebec, were qualified, under the B.N.A. Act, to teach in Ontario.(47)

Section 36 of the Separate School Act current in 1904 stated in part: "...the persons qualified by law as teachers, either in the Province of Ontario, or, at the time of the passing of the

British North America Act, 1867, in the Province of Quebec, shall be considered qualified teachers for the purpose of this Act."(48)

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upheld the MacMahon decision in 1906, declaring that members of religious orders were not automatically qualified to teach in Ontario unless they were individually qualified before Confederation.(49) Teachers from religious orders had to be certified by the Ontario government in the same manner as lay teachers. In 1907 the Ontario Assembly passed "An Act respecting the Qualifications of Certain Teachers" which outlined the requirements to be satisfied before persons belonging to religious communities could be deemed qualified to teach in Ontario.(50)

Although some French Catholics viewed the Gratton court case as an assault on both the Christian Brothers and French-language schools, lay Catholics were generally satisfied with the ultimate outcome of the case. When the bishops of Ontario, especially Archbishop Duhamel, temporarily refused to accept the government's provisions for the certification of the teachers, lay Catholics did not necessarily support their stand. In a strongly worded letter to Premier J. P. Whitney, J. F. White, then principal of the Ottawa Normal School, angrily wrote: "... in such questions as the qualifications of teachers, the Bishops of the province can lay claim to express opinion for no one but themselves, since this is not a question of faith or of

morals."(51) White was probably correct in his assessment of the bishops' position.

Other problems experienced by Ottawa's French-language schools illustrate how economic, ethnic and social conditions affected schooling despite attempts by government officials to improve the schools and increase attendance. The separate and public school systems of Ottawa experienced a temporary decline in overall enrollment and attendance around the turn of the century as employment prospects improved. In 1900 the separate school inspector commented on the attendance problem in his report on St Jean Baptiste school: "some effort should be made to have the children begin school life earlier than they now do, especially as many of them are now withdrawn at a comparatively early age."(52) The inspector went on to remark that the average age in the lowest form was 8 or 9 and that the children of St Jean Baptiste school might start work at the age of 13, meaning that the formal education of these children would be limited.(53)

The attendance pattern of this school suggests that French Catholics of different social backgrounds had different economic priorities which affected the school attendance of their children. This particular school was located south of the Chaudiere Mills and was often referred to as the notorious Chaudiere school. The attendance patterns of this school were consistent with the socio-economic circumstances of its pupils. These children belonged to the families of labourers dependent

upon the lumber mills for employment. When employment prospects improved, as they did around the turn of the century, these children were more likely to abandon school for work than the children of families with a greater degree of economic security.(54) Although attendance patterns were more erratic at St. Jean Baptiste than at other schools, the general trend in the city was toward starting school later and leaving earlier.(55)

After experiencing a slower growth of their schools in the first few years of the century, the French schools experienced tremendous increases in enrollment. These increases affected the educational operation of the schools. In 1905 Rouchon reported that children were promoted to higher grades at Duhamel school to provide space for others. Rouchon wrote that: "work in primary classes [at Duhamel school] was done in a way to prepare room for the new pupils who are expected to come in great numbers next spring."(56) From 1904 to 1907 the French in Ottawa embarked on a school building program because it was necessary to expand the capacity of the schools.

Growth in enrollment and demands, often made by inspectors, for new facilities and the latest equipment came at a time when financial uncertainty was increasing. The structure of Ottawa's financial support and many of its problems in this regard were indicative of problems faced by separate schools in general during this period. Separate schools were generally disadvantaged in the area of funding when compared to public

schools.(57) The Catholic population was generally poorer than the Protestant population.(58) In turn, French Catholics were generally poorer than their Irish co-religionists. In Ottawa, the French-language separate schools received more funding from taxation than the English-language separate schools, but the French generated less funding on a per capita basis.(59) A comparative examination of the sources of funding for Ottawa's public and separate schools in 1907 shows the growing disparity between the financial situation of the two school systems:

Taxation and Assessment Comparison for Ottawa's Schools, 1907(60)

	School Population	Tax Rate and Total Assessment	Assessed Value of Schools
Separate	6,013	8.5mills-\$9,828,030	\$232,450
Public	5,416	6mills -\$31,490,120	\$421,700

Despite the fact that Ottawa's separate schools had a higher enrollment and a larger ratepayer base, they received far less funding from taxation than the public schools did. They had more schools but the assessed value of their properties was far lower. Ottawa's Catholics were taxed at a higher rate but could not generate the same amount of funding. Although Catholics were generally poorer, the greatest factor in the funding disparity was the fact that public schools received almost all taxation generated from corporations and utilities.(61)

After 1901 separate schools were also faced with further losses of revenue as the formula for the distribution of the legislative grant was altered.(62) The government began basing the provincial grant allocated to schools on the amount previously spent by school trustees on teachers' salaries and the upgrading of buildings. This system penalized poorer schools which generally expended fewer funds. The Ottawa separate school board, as the school system with the largest attendance and enrollment, had received a larger grant, based on average attendance, than the city's public schools. From 1902 to 1906, its share generally declined while the Public school board's share dramatically increased:

Provincial Grants for Ottawa Schools, 1900-1906(63)

Year	Separate			Public		
	Grant	Enrol.	Per Student	Grant	Enrol.	Per Student
1900	5,065	5,562	.91	4,285	5,506	.76
1902	3,936	6,091	.65	4,255	5,013	.85
1904	3,975	5,856	.68	5,646	5,177	1.09
1906	4,120	6,791	.61	7,106	5,559	1.28

Despite its financial difficulties, the Ottawa separate school board, most particularly the French trustees, endeavoured to improve their schools. It attempted to raise large amounts of



money to finance the construction and renovation of its schools:

Total Revenues Received for Ottawa Schools, 1902-1906(64)

Year	Separate		Public	
	Funds	Enrol.	Funds	Enrol.
1902	59,326	6091	129,948	5013
1904	99,559	5856	132,548	5177
1906	190,904	6791	195,969	5559

Revenues for Ottawa's separate schools almost equalled the amount collected by the public school system in 1906:

Sources of Revenues For Ottawa Schools, 1906(65)

	Grant	Rate	Other	Total Revenue
Separate	4,120	60,000	126,784	190,904
Public	7,106	168,658	20,205	195,969

The separate school board of Ottawa relied heavily on debt, as did many separate school boards in Ontario, to raise large sums of money for building projects. In 1906 most of Ottawa's revenues were acquired through the issuance of a controversial \$105,000 debenture, discussed in greater detail below.(66)

In general, all separate school officials, regardless of their ethnic affiliation, encountered problems as enrollments and related costs increased. The pressure to meet government standards required additional expenditures.(67) Various pressures - financial restraints and demands, social conditions, economic circumstances, and ethnic tensions - affected separate schooling. In the early 1900s, due to continual increases in attendance and the need to finance improvements, French trustees in Ottawa, supported by some Irish Catholics, campaigned for the amalgamation of the financial resources and management of their schools.(68)

The two language committees of the Ottawa separate school board were essentially eliminated in 1903. The board's various committees - building, school management, finance, by-laws - continued to have equal ethnic representation with each group making recommendations about its own set of schools. But afterwards French trustees voted with English trustees on issues related solely to English schools and vice versa.(69) Ironically, the campaign of the French Catholics and their Irish Catholic allies for an administrative amalgamation of the board's operations accorded more with the government's policy of allowing the creation of only one separate school board within a school district, than with the desire of the English-speaking minority to have two sets of schools for Ottawa's two Catholic communities.(70)

Previous studies have examined the conflict among Ottawa's separate school supporters to explore the nature of French-English conflict. Choquette has pointed out that the arguments between the French and the Irish over the separate schools in Ottawa were paralleled by conflicts between the two ethnic groups over control of other major Catholic institutions in the city including the university and the church.(71) This study specifically examines the arguments over the schools and their effect on these institutions.

Certain elements of this ethnic dispute highlight the cultural and even economic importance of the schools to the Catholic community. Some vocal and nationalistic elements of the Irish Catholic community argued that the French were interfering with the management of their schools and that the taxes and fees of Irish Catholic ratepayers were being used to promote French-language schools.(72) It was also claimed that the Irish were not receiving their fair share of patronage from school contracts, and were being ignored for positions of employment by the board.(73) In the separate school elections of 1906 and 1907, the school dispute led the French majority to elect more French-speaking trustees to the board so that their representatives outnumbered the English-speaking members.(74)

Indicative of issues at the heart of the ethnic conflict was a major proposal put forward in 1906 to expend a large sum on the construction and repair of schools. This proposal was the final

phase of efforts between 1904 and 1906 to improve the schools physically. The proposed contract with the Christian Brothers in 1904, which included the construction of a new school, marked only the beginning of a process of school expansion. In 1906 the board proposed to spend \$105,000, raised through the issuance of a debenture, to fund building projects. The Irish bitterly complained as most of the money was to be spent on French schools. The costs of construction and repair of three French schools amounted to \$61,000, while \$29,500 was to be spent on English schools and \$14,400 to acquire furniture and for "other purposes." (75) Some Irish Catholics, including the provincial inspector, also complained that some of the funds for English schools were allocated to the wrong institution. (76) The Irish claimed that funds for work to be completed at St. Agatha's school were unnecessary, and implied that the French trustees were repaying Terrence Maguire, the school's trustee, for his support of the French expansion program and amalgamation of the board. (77)

Some of the specific complaints of the Irish illuminate the importance of the schools to the Catholic community for reasons other than educational. Trustee D'Arcy McGee, a prominent lawyer and a nephew of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, argued that French contractors and workers were hired to work on English schools. (78) McGee provided evidence that even when the bids of French contractors were higher than other bids, the French still received the contracts. According to McGee, the French trustees

rushed the board into appointing a French-speaking individual named Charlebois to the position of mechanical superintendent. Under the administration of Charlebois, it was claimed, the "'No English' rule" applied to hiring workers to complete work on the schools.(79) He claimed the Irish were entitled to a share of the patronage from the board, if not to half of it.(80) At the turn of the century, as the general economic position of the French remained static while the positions of other groups in Ottawa were improving,(81) the French used their position within the separate school system to benefit their community through patronage and the aggrandizement of their schools.

Maguire's motives in this dispute are of interest here. Although another English-speaking trustee, Thomas McGrail who represented Wellington Ward in 1906, often voted with Maguire and the French trustees, Maguire's actions received the most criticism.(82) In 1903 as chairman of the board, Maguire helped eliminate the virtually autonomous language committees over the objections of the majority of English-speaking trustees. Many prominent Irish leaders in Ottawa blamed him for surrendering the financial and the operational independence of the English-speaking section of schools.(83) Maguire often voted with the French in opposition to the majority of the other English-speaking trustees, and in turn, the French trustees voted in support of many of his proposals.(84) For example the French trustees supported Maguire's request for funds for St. Agatha while the majority of English trustees did not.

Maguire was publicly called a "traitor" by some Irish school supporters.(85) He argued that the administrative amalgamation of the schools improved their financial position.(86) It certainly benefitted the schools of his constituency. Maguire's actions did not make sense in ethnic terms, but examined in political terms, his tactics are more readily explainable. Maguire, a lumberman, represented the working-class ward of Dalhousie, and his schools were attended by the poorest Irish Catholics in the city. He had been a city alderman in 1890 and was a recognized organizer of the workingman's vote for the Liberal party. He probably received his appointment as a Deputy Collector for Inland Revenue as a reward for his political work for the Liberal party. Maguire used the support of the French trustees to channel more funds into the schools of his constituents.(87)

The school disputes in Ottawa were temporarily resolved when the Privy Council's decision of November 2, 1906 affirmed that teachers from religious orders were not automatically qualified to teach in Ontario.(88) The Privy Council's decision threatened both the English and the French schools with the loss of the majority of their teachers, for all members of religious orders were affected by the ruling. Following this decision, the

board's ethnic divisions receded in the face of the possible difficulties created by the decision. All reference to ethnicity was eliminated from the board's by-laws so that committees that were once composed of half-English and half-French members were now composed only of a certain number of "trustees." (89) Most observers agreed that this action accorded with the policies of the provincial government and that the school board would operate as others did in Ontario's major cities. The Ottawa Citizen observed:

It is expected, in view of the recent turn of events touching the privy council's judgement in the Christian Brothers' case, that the board's action ... will be the first step in a unity of system for the Roman Catholic population, including all races, which is likely to extend to higher education in all branches, commercial and otherwise; and that the new order of things instead of weakening the English schools will strengthen them. The action taken is entirely in accord with the spirit of the separate school act in Ontario, in which it was never intended that various sets of schools should exist, nationally speaking. In future, when a French boy wants to go to an English school (as he may by law) he will apply to the new management committee, not as in the past to an all English section. (90)

The French did not fear the elimination of the board's ethnic distinctions nor did they want to prevent French-speaking children from attending the English schools. It was the Irish who feared French influence and domination. In order to appease them, the French in 1906 proposed equal ethnic representation on the board. (91) This proposal essentially gave the English and the French considerable freedom to manage certain aspects of their own schools. P. M. Cote, French-speaking chairman of the Ottawa

board and a civil servant with the Justice Department, suggested the plan in a letter to J. F. White. White was asked by the Minister of Education to mediate the school dispute. Cote's reference to the various groups involved in the proposal indicates the influence of cultural groups upon the schools: this agreement was "to be ratified and sanctioned by the presidents of all Catholic fraternal, benevolent and national societies in Ottawa, and remitted into the custody of the ecclesiastical authorities..."(92) The acceptance of this agreement in December 1906, and the resolution of the problem of equal representation on the board in 1907, ended another period of ethnic unrest in Ottawa until the battle over Regulation 17 once again severely divided the Catholic community.

Ottawa's separate school officials were prominently and actively involved in efforts to improve the financial and educational standards of their schools. In response to their financial difficulties, the trustees lobbied the provincial government for a number of changes in funding policies. In 1906 P. M. Cote asked the government to establish commercial courses in Ottawa.(93) This request represented an attempt to give French-speaking Catholics more practical forms of education. As a result of their difficulty in finding trained, bilingual teachers for their schools, French-speaking school leaders in Ottawa proposed that the government establish a provincial training facility for bilingual instructors in the city.(94) Earlier, in the fall of 1905, the Ottawa board had opened its own



training school.(95) Although French-language instruction complicated school policy, the government found that separate school authorities increasingly conformed to public school practices.

The majority of the bishops in Ontario were far less opposed to changing certain separate school policies by 1908 than they had been in the past. Certification of teachers from religious orders had become a reality. A debate over the Catholic reader used in separate schools is another example of the greater acceptance of change among the clergy. C. H. Gauthier, Archbishop of Kingston in 1908 and who replaced Duhamel as the Archbishop of Ottawa in 1910, acknowledged the faults of the existing Catholic reader. He admitted to Archbishop McEvay of Toronto that separate school teachers thought that the public school reader was superior from a "literary point of view." He suggested that the bishops consider using the public school reader in the schools.(96) Although the official policy of the bishops continued to be "Catholic books for Catholic schools,"(97) the bishops of Ontario decided in 1909 to use the public school reader at least until a new Catholic reader could be introduced into the schools. The old Catholic reader was retained for supplementary use.(98) Separate school authorities found it difficult to match public school readers in terms of quality at an economical price.(99)

Circumstances had certainly changed from the 1880s, when

White found the Church opposed to using readers other than Catholic readers in the schools. In fact, in 1909 Inspector O'Brien could openly criticize the religious nature of the school readers without being severely criticized by the clergy. O'Brien informed both Archbishop McEvay of Toronto (1908-1911) and John Seath, Superintendent of Education (1906-1919), that "making religious teaching a marked feature of ... [separate school readers] was subversive of their real purpose." (100) Like other educationalists, O'Brien argued that expressions of patriotism in readers was acceptable and even desirable, (101) but that the presentation of religious dogma was inappropriate for reading lessons. The process of bringing separate schools into closer conformity with public school regulations, policies and standards had been, in several fundamental ways, substantially completed.

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14. John Stewart Hardy, "Training Third Class Teachers: A Study of the Ontario Model School System, 1877-1907." (Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1981), pp. 143-154; Teacher transiency was common in Public Schools as well, Stamp, The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976. Ontario Historical Studies Series, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1982), pp. 14-15.
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17. AA0. Smith to Assistant Director of Brothers, June 12, 1891.
18. A0. RG 2, F-3-F, vol. 35, Ottawa, Brebeuf School, November 12-13, 1902.
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22. A0. Copy of MacMahon's decision, July 11, 1904, in Ibid.
23. Ottawa Citizen. June 4, 1904.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. A0. Copy of MacMahon's decision, July 11, 1904, in memo for Premier, Whitney Papers, MU3115, vol. 1, September 1, 1904.
27. Hardy, pp. 152, 329.
28. Separate school boards were given the authority to establish model schools in 1879, the county model schools system having been reconstituted by Adam Crooks in 1877.
29. Hardy, pp. 137-41, 149-53.
30. Ibid; AAO. O'Brien to Duhamel, July 21, 1901.
31. A0. RG 2, F-3-F, vol. 5, Ottawa, Girls' High School, June 20, 26, 1885.
32. Hardy, p. 329.
33. Ibid. pp. 137-41, 149-53.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid. pp. 150-3.
36. AAO. O'Brien to Duhamel, August 6, 1901.
37. Ibid.

38.  
AAO. O'Connor to Duhamel, July 27, 1901.
39.  
Ibid.
40.  
Robert Choquette, Language and Religion: A History of English-French Conflict in Ontario. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), p. 66; Franklin Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario. vol. 2. (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1964), pp. 201-2.
41.  
AAO. Congres Pedagogique, 17-19 February 1904. J. David Gratton participated, as a teacher from Duhamel School, and as President L'Association, des Institutions des Ecoles Bilingues De L'est Ontario.
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44.  
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52.  
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53.  
Ibid.

54.  
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55.  
This is evident from an examination of R.C.S.S Inspector Reports, and Statistics for attendance of Ottawa's Schools in the Reports of the Education Minister.

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57.  
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60.  
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62.  
Roman Catholic Commissioners, History of Separate Schools and Minority Report. pp. 104-108.

63.  
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64.  
Compiled from Reports of Minister of Education. Appendix A, Tables A-G, 1902, 1904, 1906.
65.  
Compiled from Reports of Minister of Education. Appendix A, Tables A-G, 1906.
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## CONCLUSION

From 1882 to 1912 separate schools in Ontario changed. The schools were influenced by reforms demanded by government and, more significantly, by lay Catholics. These institutions moved into closer conformity with public school regulations and standards. Separate school supporters and Catholic educators played a pivotal role in gaining acceptance of government educational policies from reluctant separate school authorities and the Roman Catholic Church.

Before 1882 separate schools were allowed considerable freedom from the dictates of the central educational authority. Egerton Ryerson, when not in conflict with separate school authorities over school issues, generally preferred to ignore the schools and their development. The education ministers who succeeded Ryerson were usually more successful in imposing public school policies upon separate schools. The schools retained unique community-based and religious characteristics, but separate school authorities were no longer allowed as much independence in determining educational and operational policies.

In 1882 separate schools operated independently of the central educational authority in several key areas. Although separate school textbooks were technically authorized by the central educational authority, in reality the Education Department accepted any set of textbooks used in separate schools

and authorized by the bishops of Ontario.(1) Teachers from religious orders were considered qualified by the Education Department without provincial training or examination. These concessions to separate schools reflected the influence of the Church in provincial affairs.

The Education Department ultimately superseded the authority of the clergy in educational matters. By 1912 all separate school teachers had to be qualified by the Education Department to teach in Ontario. Ontario's bishops still made decisions with regard to the appropriate reader to be used in the schools, but they found it difficult to justify acceptance of a new Catholic reader unless this book was of comparable quality and price to the public school reader.(2) In fact, in 1909, the bishops authorized the use of the public school reader in the schools until a suitable Catholic reader could be found to replace it.(3)

Before 1882 the government was unable to establish an effective means for monitoring the schools. The Education Department then increased its influence over separate schools by establishing a system of inspection agreeable to separate school authorities. Separate school inspectors, Roman Catholic educators like J. F. White, proved to be quite aggressive about changing separate school practices. C. B. Sissons incorrectly assessed the effectiveness of separate school inspectors in ensuring that these schools adhered to provincial regulations and authority.(4) These officials were a far greater threat to the authority of the

Church in educational matters than the Protestant inspectors who preceded them.

Separate school reform - equated with bringing these schools into closer conformity with provincial educational policies regarding qualifications of teachers, uniformity of textbooks, course of study, grading, organization, and school environment - had fundamentally affected the schools. Central inspection was a routine aspect of separate school operation by 1912. Every element of the school was subject to examination and comment by the inspector. Slowly, separate school policy changed, but not without opposition from the Church and some segments of the lay Catholic population. The inspectors' endeavours often engendered support at the local level, which eventually overcame resistance and ensured the success of educational reform.

Inspection affected the schools in various ways which received little public attention.(5) Increasingly, between 1882 and 1912, separate schools were scrutinized to a far greater degree by government officials than at any time in the past. Central supervision resulted in a more rigid and inflexible system of education for children, school officials and parents.

Still, the government's efforts were not completely successful. For example, lay Catholic support for resistance against the government's school policies was strongest when cultural aspects of the schools were threatened, as was the case in government attempts to eliminate French-language instruction

from the province's schools.

The most influential separate school inspector was the first, James F. White. He outlined what he perceived to be the existing conditions and deficiencies of the schools as well as a program for separate school reform. He was involved in various attempts to improve separate school textbooks, the qualifications of Catholic teachers, and the quality of English-language instruction in French-language schools. The opposition encountered by White to many of his proposals from the clergy, local school officials and ratepayers, indicates the complexity of implementing separate school reform. Actual school operation was at least partially influenced by the priorities of local school supporters and officials. The controversy in Ottawa over the Christian Brothers reflects attempts by provincial officials and some lay Catholic leaders to control separate school operation with limited Church determination of policy. The longevity of the Christian Brothers' stay in Ottawa despite their refusal to implement the recommendations forwarded by White, demonstrates the extent to which the Church and local conditions could limit the central authority's ability to implement educational policy.

Conflict between local school officials, the Church, and the Education Department was a symptom of the changes which were taking place within separate schools. During the 1880s and 1890s, at a time when the clergy was sensitive to anti-separate

school political agitation, the Church's authority in separate school matters was being challenged both externally by the Education Department and internally by lay Catholics. After 1896 separate school growth and reform took place in a less politically volatile environment than had been the case during the 1880s and early 1890s. The pace of change in separate schools quickened as the Church became less strident in its opposition to reform, and lay Catholic educators and school supporters made it clear they favoured many of the proposed changes.

The cultural duality of Ottawa's separate school system affords an opportunity to examine the special problems faced by bilingual separate schools. Divisions between Irish and French Catholics had always affected separate school development in areas like Ottawa where both English- and French-language schools co-existed. This conflict only increased when the French-speaking population of Ontario failed to assimilate into the larger English-speaking society and the number of French-language separate schools continued to grow.

Both the Irish and the French leadership of Ottawa viewed their schools as leading examples for the province's separate and French-language schools, respectively. The French Catholics of Ottawa, who as a group were politically influential in the city, were particularly confident about their educational rights. The French-speaking trustees and parents of Ottawa became famous for leading the Franco-Ontarian resistance to Regulation 17.



It has been argued here that local conditions had a definite impact on separate school education and the effectiveness of the policies of the central educational authority. The educational difficulties of the French Catholic community of Ottawa were only one example of how a variety of adverse conditions could affect the schools, and thwart the educational objectives of the local elite. As the events surrounding the Ottawa Separate School Commission of 1895 attest, leading elements of the French Catholic community were not complacent about their schools. French-speaking lay people actually undertook initiatives to improve their schools. In 1906 Archbishop Duhamel and the French-speaking trustees of Ottawa requested that the government establish a bilingual teacher-training facility in Ottawa. The French-speaking trustees opened a special school for bilingual teachers on their own initiative.(6) Despite efforts to improve the educational fitness of the schools, F. W. Merchant reported in 1912 that the majority of schools in Ottawa were not educationally efficient.(7)

A number of factors retarded the progress of French-language schools. Bilingual teacher training was limited. Most French-speaking children were unable to take advantage of higher levels of education in Ontario.(8) The schools suffered from both a high level of teacher turnover and a low level of experience among teachers.(9) These factors adversely affected bilingual schools.

The educational aspirations and objectives of Irish and French Catholic leaders in Ottawa were similar, as reform sentiment existed among an important segment of lay Catholic educators and school supporters. This support was very important to the eventual success of changes in separate school practices and to the expansion of the authority of central education officials. Lay Catholics had their own educational priorities based on their cultural and social background. While the Church was deeply concerned about the religious integrity of the schools, and inspectors attempted to improve their educational efficiency, separate school trustees and supporters were often more concerned with providing the best education available within the limited financial means of the Catholic community.

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Just before Ryerson retired in 1876, the Public Council of Instruction did pass a resolution with regard to separate school textbooks in 1875. The Council declared that while it would not interfere with the religious nature of the books, it was responsible for the "historical veracity of the books, and for their consistency with civil duty..." Archbishop Lynch was a member of the Council. Resolution of the Council of Public Instruction. Re: Text Books to be used in R. C. S. S., May 19, 1875. in A Brief History of Public and High School Textbooks Authorized for the Province of Ontario, 1846-1889. Ontario Sessional Papers. vol. 23. no. 40, 1890, pp. 23-4. Original, A0. RG 2, E-1, Box 2, Folder 1.

2.

AAT. McEvay Papers, ME AE01.80, Gauthier to McEvay, January 28, 1908; ME AE01.89, H. L. Thompson, President, Copp, Clark & Co. Ltd. to McEvay, May 6, 1909.

3.

AAO, Minutes of Bishop's Meeting, January 13, 1909.

4.

C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education: An Historical Study. (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959), pp. 59-65. Sissons implies that mental illness may have led to the decision to appoint a Roman Catholic as separate school inspector.

5.

Inspectors were involved in all aspects of school operation. For example, White was actively involved in the proposal to establish St. John's Industrial School in Toronto in the 1890s. A0. RG 2, P-2, Box 79, Report on St. John's R. C. School, (First Draft), October 18, 1895. Also see A0, RG 2, F-3-F, vol. 54, Ottawa, Duhamel School, February 18-20, 1907; Guigues School, January 30, 31 February 1, 5, 1907; Rideau School, March 14, 1907.

6.

Ottawa Citizen. December 5, 1906; AAO. P. M. Cote to Education Department, November 6, 1906.

7.

F. W. Merchant, Report on the Condition of English-French Schools in the Province of Ontario. (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1912), p. 69.

8. Ibid., pp. 48, 79-80.

9. Ibid., pp. 15-19, 79-80.

## STATISTICAL APPENDIX

### 1. Ottawa Separate School Teachers, 1888-1895

Year	Teachers	Male	Female	Schools	Average Male Salary	Average Female Salary
1888	68	30	38	15	260	200
1889	79	32	47	15	286	162
1890	79	32	47	17	350	166
1891	92	37	55	22	355	160
1892	92	38	54	22	355	160
1893	91	38	53	22	355	158
1894	91	38	53	20	356	161
1895	128	50	78	20	424	196

Source: Reports of Minister of Education, 1888-1895. (Separate school statistics for 1888-91 are located in Appendix A, Table F. With the Report for 1892, these statistics are found in Tables F and G. Public school statistics are found in Appendix A, Tables A-E.)

### 2. Population and Assessment of Ottawa Wards, 1876

Ward	Population	Assessment	Voters
Victoria	2513	1,681,750	553
Wellington	6847	5,101,145	1668
St. George	4443	2,350,950	973
By	4995	1,540,550	1197
Ottawa	<u>6414</u>	<u>1,101,145</u>	<u>1190</u>
Total	25214	11,713,470	5581

Ward	% of Population	Assessment per capita	% of Voters
Victoria	9.97	669.22	22.0
Wellington	27.15	745.02	24.4
St. George	17.62	529.14	21.9
By	19.81	308.42	24.0
Ottawa	25.44	171.68	18.6

Source: Ottawa City Directory. (Ottawa: A. S. Woodburn, 1876), p. 6, A0. B-70, series 4, reel 1, micro.

Note: According to the Census of 1871, the total population of Ottawa Ward was 5738. 5027 were Roman Catholic. According to the City Directory, Ottawa Ward had 25.44% of the population and yet only 9.4% of Assessment with regard to property value.

3. Roman Catholic Population of Ottawa, by Census District, 1871-1911

Year	Population	Roman Catholic Population	French Population	% Fr. pop. to R.C. pop.	Non-Fr. R.C. pop.
1871	21545	12735	7214	56.6	5521
1881	27412	15901	9384	59.0	6517
1891	37264	21189	12790	60.4	8399
1901	57640	30525	19027	62.3	11498
1911	73193	36698	22210	60.5	14488

Source: Census of Canada. Population by Census District. 1871, 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911.

4. Population of Ottawa by Wards, 1881, 1911

1881 Ward	Population	Roman Catholic	French	Non-French
Wellington	8388	2330	464	1866
Victoria	2966	1696	1174	522
St. George	4527	1935	748	1187
By	4959	3996	2611	1385
Ottawa	<u>6572</u>	<u>5944</u>	<u>4387</u>	<u>1557</u>
Total	27412	15901	9384	6517

1911 Ward	Population	Roman Catholic	French	Non-French
By	7632	6121	4952	1169
Capital	5778	766	215	551
Central	10343	2607	786	1821
Dalhousie	12647	6393	3488	2905
Ottawa	10087	9067	7924	1143
St. George	10581	6229	3114	3115
Victoria	3145	1518	911	607
Wellington	<u>12980</u>	<u>3997</u>	<u>740</u>	<u>3257</u>
Total	73193	36698	22210*	14568

\* error - 22130 actual figure.

Source: Census of Canada. Population by Census District, 1881, 1911.

5. Comparison of Ottawa Separate Schools with Toronto

Year	No. Schools		Grants		Enrollment	
	Ottawa	Toronto	Ottawa	Toronto	Ottawa	Toronto
1886	13	13	2131.00	2140.00	3701	3792
1888	15	13	2383.00	2380.00	3813	4233
1890	17	13	2546.50	2356.00	4955	4410
1892	22	16	2807.00	2290.00	4980	4463
1894	20	17	2929.50	2555.50	5287	4765
1896	20	20	3565.00	2626.00	5319	4748
1898	20	21	4127.00	2874.00	5645	4919
1900	23	22	5065.00	3056.00	5562	5133

Source: Reports of Minister of Education. Appendix A, Table F, 1886, 1888, 1890. Appendix A, Table F and G, 1892, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1900.

6. Comparison of Ottawa Separate and Public Schools, Grants and Enrollments. 1900, 1902, 1904, 1906.

Year	Enrollment		Grants	
	Separate	Public	Separate	Public
1900	5562	5506	5065.00	4207.00
1902	6091	5013	3936.00	4255.35
1904	5856	5177	3975.00	5646.45
1906	6791	5559	4120.00	7106.20

Source: Reports of Minister of Education. Appendix A, Tables A-G, 1900, 1902, 1904, 1906.

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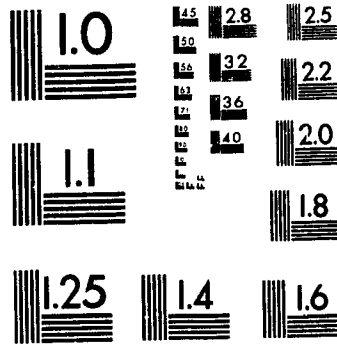
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