

M.A

EDUCATION

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THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE
COLLEGES CLASSIQUES IN CANADA PRIOR TO 1800

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THE COLLEGE CLASSIQUE IN CANADA PRIOR TO 1800

THE ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE
COLLEGES CLASSIQUES IN CANADA BEFORE 1800

by

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to survey the history and development of the collèges classiques in Canada up to 1800. I must preface this thesis with a statement concerning its originality. Although several studies have been made on specific topics, such as Amédée Gosselin's "Collège des Jésuites" in his book L'Instruction au Canada Sous le Régime Français; Le Petit Séminaire de Montréal by Olivier Maurault; and the series on the Séminaire de Québec by Honorius Provost which appeared in La Revue de l'Université Laval, to my knowledge there has been no attempt to examine in general the origin and development of the collèges classiques in Canada before 1800.

During the course of my research, I have worked in several archives and libraries, and have benefited from the assistance and advice of their trained personnel. My thanks are due to the staff of Laval University Library for the working facilities which they placed at my disposal. I also used the facilities of the McGill University Library,

the Library of the Province of Quebec, the Archives of the Séminaire St-Sulpice in Montreal, the Library and Archives of the Collège Sainte-Marie in Montreal, and the Archives of the Séminaire de Québec. I would like to express my gratitude for the kindness and assistance of Father Paul Desjardins, S.J., Archivist at the Collège Sainte-Marie and to l'Abbé Honorius Provost, Archivist at the Séminaire de Québec. They left me with pleasant memories of my work in their institutions.

Although I have consulted all these sources, I found that information concerning the Collège de Québec is quite sparse. If any records or annals of this Jesuit institution ever existed, they have been either destroyed or lost. However, I have attempted, to the best of my ability, to compile and evaluate all the information which it was possible to acquire.

It would also seem appropriate at this time to express publicly how much I owe my father, the late John MacDonald Corbett, for his steadfast confidence in my ability and for his unceasing support and encouragement, for which I shall be forever grateful.

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CHAPTER ONE

**THE ORIGIN OF JESUIT EDUCATION
IN EUROPE**

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGIN OF JESUIT EDUCATION IN EUROPE

The collèges classiques have been the most noteworthy of French Canadian educational institutions. Yet there have been very few studies on the history of these schools in Canada in the French language, and none in English. Since there is a lack of such studies, particularly on the early period of the collèges classiques, it was deemed expedient that a survey of the origin and early development of these institutions be undertaken. Moreover, one of the recommendations of the Parent Commission in its Report dated February 4, 1965, suggests that the collèges classiques be incorporated into the public education system of the Province of Quebec.¹ The prospect of the disappearance of these traditional French Canadian institutions provided further impetus to this study.

The parent institution of the collèges classiques in Canada was the Collège de Québec. Since this school

¹Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec (Quebec: Pierre Desmarais, Printer for the Government of the Province of Quebec, 1965), II, p. 369.

was organized and maintained by French Jesuits, they patterned their institution according to the dictates of the Ratio Studiorum and the Jesuit collèges of France. It may be, therefore, thought appropriate to begin this study with a brief survey of the Jesuit system of education:

Dans son ensemble, l'enseignement des Jésuites valait bien celui de l'Université et de Port-Royal, et il n'était pas inférieur aux besoins de l'époque. Sans doute, on y trouverait aujourd'hui des parties faibles, certaines méthodes paraîtraient surannées et les programmes démodés; mais on ne doit pas oublier, non plus, qu'on n'était alors qu'au XVII^e ou au XVIII^e siècle, et que le temps a marché depuis. Il ne nous appartient pas, nous qui avons profité des méthodes et de l'expérience de nos devanciers, de leur jeter la pierre. L'histoire dira peut-être un jour, qu'étant donné l'époque, les besoins et les circonstances, le cours classique, au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècles, valait bien celui que l'on donnait au XIX^e ou au XX^e.²

The Society of Jesus was founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola in 1534 to counteract the Protestant Reformation. To safeguard further penetration by Protestant reformers, the Jesuits undertook the responsibility of educating youths who had completed their primary education.

The first Jesuit college established was at Messina, Sicily in 1548.³ By the time St. Ignatius of

²Amédée Gosselin, L'Instruction au Canada sous le Régime Français (Québec: Laflamme et Proulx, 1911), p. 321.

³Fernand Favre, "La Pédagogie des Jésuites"; Revue de l'Enseignement Secondaire, VII, No. 6 (March 1928), p. 655.

Loyola died in 1556, there were thirteen colleges founded by his Society.⁴ Gradually the number of colleges increased to the point where the need for a uniform system of education became apparent. In the year 1584, Father Claudius Aquaviva, fifth General of the Order, having decided to draft a system of education, called together six schoolmen, one from each of the following countries: Spain, Portugal, France, Austria, Germany and Italy.⁵ It is surmised that these six delegates used not only their experience to devise the Ratio Studiorum but also drew upon their knowledge of the classical system of the University of Paris⁶ and the three sets of educational rules already devised to govern two Jesuit colleges. The first of these sets of regulations was drafted by Father Nadal in 1548 for the college at Messina; the second was an adaptation of his system for the Roman College; and the third was drawn up about 1565 by Father Ledesma when he became prefect of studies at the Roman College.⁷

After almost a year of daily discussions, the six members submitted for criticism and possibly approval a rough

⁴Robert Schwickerath, Jesuit Education and Its History and Principles (St. Louis: B. Herder Co. Ltd., 1904), p. 107.

⁵J. Palméro, Histoire des Institutions et des Doctrines Pédagogiques par les Textes (Paris: Société Universitaire d'Education et de Librairie, 1958), p. 159.

⁶Fernand Favre, Op. cit., pp. 656-657.

⁷Robert Schwickerath, Op. cit.. p. 108.

draft of the Ratio Studiorum, to the General of the Order. The paper contained discussions of the educational value of different subjects and the reasons why certain methods of teaching had been proposed.⁸

In 1591, the first rough draft of the Ratio Studiorum was distributed throughout the various Jesuit houses and colleges of Europe for purposes of experiment.⁹

In 1599, after every effort had been made to fashion as perfect a system as was possible, fifteen years after the inception of the task the final plan was approved and published.¹⁰

The Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum contained a set of disciplinary, pedagogical and spiritual regulations which were to govern the Jesuits and their educational establishments. Once the Ratio Studiorum was promulgated, it was invariably and rigidly obeyed in all their schools.¹¹

The Ratio Studiorum presented a code of rules which was divided into four categories: rules for executives, for professors of theology, for professors of philosophy and for professors of literature. There were also rules for

⁸Ibid., p. 114.

⁹Favre, Op. cit., p. 655.

¹⁰Martin P. Harney, The Jesuits in History; the Society of Jesus through Four Centuries (New York: The America Press, 1949), p.195.

¹¹Gabriel Compayré, Histoire Critique des Doctrines de l'Education en France (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1883), p. 169.

the course of studies. The college course was divided into eight classes, each with its particular objective. There were three grammar classes, Lower Grammar, Middle Grammar and Superior Grammar. The respective objectives of these were, to give a knowledge of the rudiments and elements of the languages; a wider knowledge of grammar with simple reading; and a complete knowledge of the grammar with more advanced reading, and requiring practice in versification. These were followed by Humanities and Rhetoric, which provided advanced readings for fluency and a command of the languages as a preparation for eloquence, with some erudition and preliminary training in rhetorical precepts, and a more complete study of rhetoric with oratorical and poetic composition. These years were in turn followed by three years of philosophy, the first year providing an introduction to philosophy and a course in logic, to which the second year added courses in physics, cosmology and astronomy, and the third gave a final course in philosophy with classes in metaphysics, psychology and ethics.^{12,13}

The first five years of the classical course included

¹²Harney, Op. cit., p. 195.

¹³Schwickerath, Op. cit., p. 131.

such subjects as Latin, Greek, religion and history.¹⁴ Some mathematics and geography were taught at this level, but not much emphasis was given to these subjects in the beginning. However, during the last three years many hours were devoted to the study of mathematics, because it was considered essential for further studies.

Although this plan of studies was rigidly dictated by the Ratio Studiorum, the various colleges throughout Europe were not obliged to follow it slavishly. Adaptations were permitted to suit the local circumstances and the Superiors received instructions to this effect.¹⁵

It should be noted that except for the missionary schools of the New World, the Jesuits gave little consideration to elementary education. The Jesuits in Europe had neither men nor means sufficient for the task, for they were unable even to answer the demands of their own colleges:

A choice had to be made, and they felt that it should be for the secondary and higher education, since by their training they were better fitted for such fields.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 122-124.

¹⁵ Harney, Op. cit., p. 195.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 200.

The Jesuits had made the proper choice. There were already thirteen colleges by the time St. Ignatius died and by 1615 this number had increased to 372. One hundred years later, there were 612 Jesuit institutions, and by the time the Order was suppressed in 1773 there were 621 Jesuit colleges in the world.¹⁷

Both Catholics and Protestants admired and respected the Jesuits because of their educational policy. A Protestant, Andrew Dudith, of Breslau, wrote of the Jesuits:

" I am not surprised if I hear that one goes to the Jesuits. They possess varied learning, teach, preach, write, dispute, instruct youth without taking money, and all this they do with indefatigable zeal; moreover they are distinguished for moral integrity and modest behaviour." ¹⁸

Wilhelm Roding, too, recognized the ability of the Jesuits. In his book, Against the Impious Schools of the Jesuits, he writes:

" Very many who want to be counted as Christians send their children to the schools of the Jesuits. This is a most dangerous thing, as the Jesuits are excellent and

¹⁷ Augustin Sicard, Les Etudes Classiques Avant la Révolution (Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1887), p. 369.

¹⁸ Cited in Schwickerath, Op. cit., p. 147.

subtle philosophers, above everything intent on applying all their learning to the education of youth. They are the finest and most dextrous of teachers and know how to accommodate themselves to the natural gifts of every pupil." 19

Finally, when the Roman Catholic Church suppressed the Jesuits in 1773, two of the most powerful non-Catholic rulers of Europe, Catherine the Great of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia, refused to acknowledge the papal bull. Russia and Prussia, by offering refuge to the Society of Jesus until it was reinstated in 1814, prevented the complete extinction of the Order.

However, upon examining the history of the Ratio Studiorum and the history of education in Europe during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, one finds that the Jesuits were too independent and too isolated. They introduced no major modification or adjustments in their educational system before 1832. They were too attached to their tradition and too engrossed in their own pedagogical system to accept the modern methods and the more recent books of their rivals. There were many misconceptions and exaggerations about their work, and these eventually brought about the suppression of the Society of Jesus by the Catholic Church in 1773. However, yielding to public demand, the Pope reinstated the Order in 1814.

¹⁹ Cited in Schwickerath, Op. cit., p. 147.

When the Jesuits came to Canada, they had not contemplated the organization of a classical college for the education of the French colonists, but because of public pressure they opened a school. At first this institution offered only elementary education, but circumstances gradually impelled them to offer the complete college course with the principles of the Ratio Studiorum as the mainstay of their educational policy.

CHAPTER TWO

THE BEGINNING OF CLASSICAL EDUCATION
IN CANADA

The Récollets were the first Roman Catholic Order of priests to come to New France after the arrival of Champlain at Quebec in 1608. By 1615, at the invitation of Champlain,¹ this Franciscan order had established itself at Notre-Dame des Anges,² about a league and a half from Quebec.

Since the purpose of the Récollets in New France was to convert the Indians, it was felt that a seminary should be established in order to form a native clergy. Therefore, as early as 1618 attempts were made in France to acquire enough money to found such an institution. Finally, in 1620, the first stones were laid as a foundation for the proposed Séminaire St-Charles.³ It appears that the college "faisait partie d'un plan bien arrêté, conçu

¹ Edgar McInnis, Canada, a Political and Social History, (Toronto: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1947), p. 70.

² Today Notre-Dame des Anges is known as Charlesbourg.

³ Egide M. Roy, La Formation du Régime Scolaire Canadien Français (Quebec: Presse de l'Université Laval, 1924), pp. 37-38.

par Champlain et les Récollets."⁴

Champlain also felt that having native students at the seminary would indirectly improve relations between the French and the various Indian tribes. They could also act as hostages to ensure good behaviour on the part of the Indians.

Shortly after the foundation was laid, construction was halted because of lack of money. It had been hoped that once this institution was completed it would board and educate fifty Indians. Therefore, in 1621, one of the Récollets, Father Le Baillif, was given the task of obtaining an audience with King Louis XIII in order to request additional funds to continue the construction of the St-Charles Seminary.⁵ Unfortunately, this request was turned down, and the Seminary was never to be more than a dream in the minds of Champlain and the Récollets.

The Récollets, however, continued to educate the Indians in small numbers, and several of them were sent to France to continue their education. The poverty of the

⁴ Odoric M. Jouvre, Les Franciscains et le Canada, 1615-1629, (Quebec: Couvent des SS. Stigmates, 1915), I,p.131.

⁵ Jean-Baptiste Meilleur, Mémorial de l'Education du Bas Canada (Quebec: Léger Brousseau, 2nd ed., 1876), p. 20.

Récollets and that of the colony as a whole never permitted a large number of Indians to remain under the wing of the Récollets for any prolonged period.⁶

in 1624, the tide of events began to turn: Cardinal Richelieu had been appointed Chief Advisor to Louis XIII while Henri de Lévis became Lieutenant-General of the King in New France, replacing the Duc de Montmorenci.⁷ Both men looked upon the colony as a means of increasing the wealth of France. By that time the Jesuits had already established their reputation in Europe as an aggressive and dynamic society, and Cardinal Richelieu decided to send the Jesuits to the colony to assist the Récollets in their work.

Thus, in 1625, five Jesuits (three priests and two brothers) arrived at Quebec. The Récollets gave them a cordial welcome and invited them to reside at Notre-Dame des Anges.

The goals of the Jesuits were similar to those of the Récollets: Christianization of the savages and establishment of a mission to educate the Indians. They hoped eventually to prepare some of them for the priesthood and

⁶ Roy, Op. cit., p. 38.

⁷ Meilleur, Op. cit., p. 34.

for mission work.

Upon their arrival, the Jesuits built a residence near the property of the Récollets at Notre-Dame des Anges,⁸ and then began the arduous chore of preparation for missionary work by learning the different languages, customs and mores of the Indians.

During this period an important event occurred in France. Thwaites⁹ reports as follows:

Nicholas Rohault, Marquis de Gamache, was a nobleman of Picardy, his eldest son, René Rohault, was born on May 25, 1609, not far from Amiens, in which city he was a pupil at the Jesuit College. René became a novice in that order, March 9, 1626, at Paris...Upon entering the novitiate, René persuaded his father to give the Jesuits a part of his patrimony, for the establishment of a school in connection with their Canadian mission. De Gamache accordingly gave them, for his son, 16,000 écus in gold; and added, as a personal gift from himself, an annuity of 3,000 livres, to be paid as long as he should live."

It is interesting to note that this act of charity took place only eight days before the death of the Marquis, on March 11, 1626.¹⁰ Therefore, the Jesuits received the 3,000 livres annuity only once.

⁸ Ruben Thwaites (ed.), Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents; the Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791 (New York: Pageant Book Company, 1959), VI, p. 326.

⁹ Ibid., p. 327.

¹⁰ Camile de Rochemontieux, Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France au XVIIe Siècle. (Paris: Macon Protat Freres, 1895) I, p. 206.

Although the money required for the construction of an institution in New France was now available, the actual building did not begin immediately. There appear to have been three reasons why the collège was not promptly erected:

In the first place, on July 21, 1629, the Kirk brothers, who were half English and half Huguenot, captured Quebec. Champlain and his associates, as well as the Récollets and the Jesuits, were forced to return to France. For three years the English flag flew over the colony, until Quebec and Acadia were exchanged for the unpaid dowry of the wife of Charles I, Henrietta Maria of France, by the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, on March 29, 1632.

The second reason appears to involve the Jesuit Provincial of France, the Maison des Missions Etrangères, and the executor of Gamache's will. The conflict was centered around the question of whether the building should be simply a mission house or a collège. Finally, in 1635, the term collège was accepted and its purpose, in accordance with the dictates of its founders, was expressed in the following terms: "pour contribuer à la formation religieuse des Canadiens".¹¹ Thus was delineated the fact that the collège was to be founded for the sole purpose of educating

¹¹ See Appendix A, Jérôme Lalemant's letter.

the Indians, since, at the time, the words "Canadien" and "Indien" were used synonymously.

The third reason is given by Ferland. Quebec still occupied its temporary site on the summit of the cliff, with its permanent location still uncertain. Ferland¹² states that Champlain had not completely abandoned the idea of establishing the capital of the colony in the valley along the St. Charles river near Notre-Dame des Anges. However, the location was soon decided upon when the Kirk brothers took Quebec.

In 1632, New France passed again into French hands. Champlain and the settlers were able to return to Quebec. Under the protection of Cardinal Richelieu, the Jesuits were permitted to re-enter Quebec on July 5, 1632. The Récollets, on the other hand, lacking such favoured treatment, were unable to obtain permission to return until 1670.

Immediately upon their arrival, the Jesuits went to their original mission house, which was located at Notre-Dame des Anges. Here they found in ruins the two houses built by their predecessors. These were rebuilt, and for the following few years the establishment was

¹² J. B. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire du Canada, (Montreal: N. S. Hardy, 1892), I, p. 271.

known as the "Maison de la Mission".

The Jesuits had great plans for their residence at Notre-Dame des Anges:

" The residence at Notre-Dame des Anges is supported principally through the liberty of the Marquis de Gamache. This mission has three great plans for the glory of our Lord; the first to erect a college for the education of the children of the families, which are every day becoming more numerous. The second, to rear them in the Christian faith. The third, to give powerful aid to the Mission of our Fathers among the Hurons and other stationary tribes. As to the College, although it is not yet built, we shall begin this year to teach a few children." ¹³

In other words, LeJeune, the first Provincial of the "Mission Canadienne", intended to build a collège for the children of the French, a plan contrary to the will of Gamache.¹⁴ He also intended to begin teaching the French youths almost immediately: that is, in 1635.

In 1636, describing the founding of the collège, Father LeJeune wrote:

" We began last year to teach; Father Lalemant and afterwards Father de Quin instructed our little French boys, and I some little savages. We wonder to see ourselves already surrounded by so many children, in the very beginning of our work." ¹⁵

¹³Cited in Thwaites, Op. cit., VII, p. 265.

¹⁴Appendix A.

¹⁵Thwaites, Op. cit., p. 327.

However, LeJeune implies further that there were more natives than French, because in the "Relation" of the same year, he states the following:¹⁶

" Our great difficulty is to get a building, and to find the means with which to support these children. It is true, we are able to maintain them at Notre-Dame des Anges; but as this place is isolated, so that there are no French children there, we have changed the plan that we formerly had to locate the Seminary there. Experience shows us that it must be established where the bulk of the French population is, to attract the little Savages by the French children. And, since a worthy and virtuous person has commenced by giving something for a Seminary, we are going to give up our attempts to clear some land, and shall make an effort to build at K  bec. I say an effort for it is with incredible expense and labour that we built in these beginnings. What a blessing from God if we can write next year that instruction is being given in New France in three or four languages. I hope, if we succeed in getting a lodging, to see three classes at K  bec - the first, of little French children, of whom there will be perhaps twenty or thirty pupils; the second of Hurons; the third, of Montagn  s."

It appears that there were no longer any French pupils at Notre-Dame des Anges. The Jesuits still had the intention of teaching the French boys. However, they now wished to work, not at Notre-Dame des Anges, but at Notre-Dame de Recouvrance in Quebec. This indicates that the Coll  ge de Qu  bec was actually founded in 1636, if we

¹⁶ Cited in Thwaites, Op. cit., IX, p. 107.

are to believe the following statement of LeJeune, written at the end of his "Relation" dated September 28, 1636:

" In the residence of Notre Dame de Recouvrance at Kébec, Father Jean de Quin and I, we are building here also, for the seminary and the college. As soon as there shall be a place for them, I shall send for some Fathers; meanwhile Father de Quin will teach the French pupils and I, the Savage ones." 17

The organization of a collège for French boys with the funds provided by the Marquis de Gamache raised an important point, since his will did not oblige them to educate the French children, but stipulated that the money was to be used for the Christianizing of the natives.

Father Lalement states in his letter written in 1670 the following:

" Si la fondation s'est faite sous le nom de Collège, ce n'est qu'en référence au titre de fondation, comme il ressort clairement des termes suivants: pour contribuer à la formation religieuse des Canadiens." 18

What made the Jesuits alter the intended use of Gamache's endowment was probably the pressure of the French colonists at Quebec:

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 301.

¹⁸ Appendix A, pp. 128-132.

A number of very respectable persons can assure us that they would never have crossed the Ocean to come to New France if they had not known that there were persons there capable of directing their consciences, of producing their salvation and of instructing their children in virtue, and in the knowledge of letters.¹⁹

In 1627 the Compagnie des Cent Associés was formed. Under the terms of its contract with Cardinal Richelieu, it undertook to send three hundred colonists annually to New France.²⁰ Probably the only way to secure by voluntary means respectable families of settlers, was to assure the prospective colonists that all their spiritual and educational needs would be administered to them by the Jesuits.

At first only classes in Catechism were given, but as time went on, the parents of the French pupils asked that reading, writing and arithmetic be taught. Lalemant, in his letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, the Very Reverend Father Paul Oliva, writes that because of parental pressure, the Jesuits were forced to add academic subjects to the curriculum.²¹

¹⁹ Thwaites, Op. cit., IX, p. 149.

²⁰ Carl Wittke, History of Canada, 5th ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1941), p. 14.

²¹ Appendix A, p. 128.

Rochemontieux states that even with these additions to the program, the parents were not satisfied:

A ces leçons de français, les Pères Jésuites durent ajouter bientôt l'enseignement du latin. Mais les éléments seuls de cette langue n'auraient été d'aucune utilité. Une fois les principes de la langue latine enseignés, il fallut par la force même des choses, aller plus loin et parcourir le cercle complet des études classiques, la grammaire, les humanités et la rhétorique.²²

However, before a course of studies had been developed to that level, the Jesuits had built a residence and a collège in stone.

On March 18, 1637 the Company of One Hundred Associates had given the Jesuits six arpents of land for the construction of the "Jesuit Fathers' House and College".²³ This building was begun in 1637, one year before the founding of Harvard College.²⁴ The edifice was made of wood and was located behind the fort on the present site of the Quebec City Hall.

Three years later, a great disaster, in the form of fire, struck the colony. On June 14, 1640, this "Act

²² Rochemontieux, Op. cit., I, p. 209.

²³ Thwaites, Op. cit., XLVII, p. 259.

²⁴ Francis Parkman, Les Jésuites dans l'Amérique du Nord au XVIIe Siècle, (Paris: Didier & Cie., 1882), p. 119.

of God" destroyed not only the wooden collège building, but also the complete mission of Notre-Dame de Recouvrance and the governor's chapel. The fire also consumed most of the teaching materials.²⁵ This was a great loss, for all materials of learning had to be brought from France and it would take at least a year to replenish the supply.

However, the Jesuits were not discouraged; they continued to teach in the basement of the headquarters of the Compagnie des Cent Associés while they themselves were temporarily housed in one of the governor's residences.²⁶

According to the "Relations", it was not until 1647 that the rebuilding of Notre-Dame de Recouvrance was undertaken. All that winter, volunteers from Quebec went to the nearby woods to cut the timber for the establishment. The actual building was begun towards the end of March. By June 12th, the first stone was laid on the main building of the intended house at Quebec. Finally, in December 1647, the "mission" was occupied.²⁷

²⁵ Ferland, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 299.

²⁶ Rochemontieux, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 157.

²⁷ Thwaites, *Op. cit.*, XXX, pp. 159, 165, 173, 203.

Thus for seven years the education of the youth of the colony was carried on in the basement quarters of the Compagnie des Cent Associés.

Msgr. Saint-Vallier writes of the Jesuit mission of Quebec: "La maison des Jésuites est bien bâtie; leur église est belle". Rochemontieux goes further:²⁸

La maison dont il est question ici, n'est pas ce collège en bois construit par le Père LeJeune où s'abritèrent près du fort Saint-Louis les premiers régents de la Nouvelle France. Incendiée avec l'église au printemps de 1640, cette construction fit place à un établissement plus vaste, approprié tout à la fois à une école et à une résidence.

In 1720, Father Charlevoix writes of the Collège:²⁹

Le collège des Jésuites est un très bel édifice. Il est certain que quand cette ville (de Québec) n'était qu'un amas informe de baraques françaises et de cabanes sauvages, cette maison, la seule avec le fort, qui bâtie de pierres, faisait quelque figure.

We have seen that when the Collège opened its doors the Jesuits offered only the elements of an academic

²⁸ Rochemontieux, Op. cit., I, p. 220.

²⁹ Pierre Georges Roy, Les Petites Choses de Notre Histoire (Lévis: 1928), V, p. 84.

curriculum.³⁰ By 1637 it was related that four languages were spoken within the Collège: Latin, French, Montagnais and Huron. Under the pressure of the settlers, reading and writing were added to the curriculum, and later still other academic subjects, at higher levels. Thus the Jesuits were driven even further away from their primary goal - religious education.³¹ Now, although Rochemontieux stated that Latin was introduced as a subject in 1636, the first time that there is any evidence of such instruction was in 1640, when Marie de l'Incarnation wrote in one of her letters of "ces jeunes enfants qui vont au collège pour apprendre le Latin".³² It is true that LeJeune mentions that Latin was used as a language in 1636, but it was probably used only in learning prayers. It can thus be concluded that by 1640 actual classical learning had been undertaken by the Jesuits at their Collège in Quebec.

Cédant ensuite aux demandes des parents qui nous représentaient qu'il n'y avait aucun collège où leurs enfants puissent recevoir un enseignement, il nous fallut presque imperceptiblement passer aux classes supérieures." ³³

³⁰ Rochemontieux, Op. cit., p. 210.

³¹ Appendix A, pp. 128-132.

³² "Le Père Paul LeJeune, S.J. Missionnaire-Colonisateur"; Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française. (Montréal: Institut d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française) XVII, p. 235.

³³ Appendix A, p. 128.

In 1651 courses in mathematics and grammar were added to the curriculum. At that time the Collège had sixteen French pupils in attendance, with a staff of three: one teacher for mathematics, one for grammar and Latin, and one for the elements of the French language and catechism.³⁴ Father Le Mercier declared, in 1653, that there were only two classical classes - one for grammar and one for mathematics.³⁵

According to many authors on this subject, 1655 was a year of importance in the development and evolution of the Collège de Québec, for the school, for the first time, offered the complete classical program at the secondary level. The Collège had four teachers: one for the elementary section (la petite école), one for grammar, one for the humanities and rhetoric, and one for philosophy. There was no mention of a mathematics teacher. According to Rochemontieux, the professor of philosophy also taught mathematics.³⁶ However, it appears that the teaching of mathematics was abandoned, and only reinstated at the request of Msgr. Laval, probably between 1659 and 1664.³⁷ It is certain, however, that in 1664 Martin Boutet

³⁴Rochemontieux, Op. cit., I, p. 210.

³⁵Ibid. (Cited in).

³⁶Ibid., p. 211.

³⁷Appendix A, pp. 128-132.

de Saint-Martin was professor of mathematics at the Collège de Québec.^{38, 39} By 1664, the Jesuit Collège at Quebec was offering a complete classical course, which was more or less comparable to that of the Jesuit collèges of France.

It should be kept in mind that as soon as the Collège was organized, it was staffed by a combination of young Jesuits newly arrived from France, who spent one or two years at the Collège while adapting themselves to their new environment, and by retiring Jesuits who were no longer capable of undertaking the hectic strain of missionary work in the Canadian wilderness.

In 1658, M. d'Argenson, then Governor of New France, attended a play put on by students at the Collège; the performance was entitled "La réception de Monseigneur le Vicomte d'Argenson à son entrée au Gouvernement de la Nouvelle France."⁴⁰ It was probably

³⁸ J. Edmond Roy, Histoire de la Seigneurie de Lauzon (Lévis: Mercier et Cie., 1897), I, p. 331.

³⁹ Antoine Roy, Les Lettres, les Sciences et les Arts au Canada sous le Régime Français (Paris: Jouvre et Cie., 1930), p. 17.

⁴⁰ Rochemontieux, Op. cit., I, p. 216.

soon after the performance of that play that d'Argenson made the following statement:

Le collège à la vérité n'est pas aussi peuplé que celui de Paris. Aussi, Rome n'était pas aussi grande ni si triomphante sous Romulus que sous Jules César. Mais enfin pour petit qu'il soit, les écoliers ne laissèrent pas de le recevoir en trois langues ce qui lui agréa fort. 41

There arrived in Quebec in 1659 one of the greatest pioneers of the colony - Monseigneur François de Montmorency de Laval. He probably found the Jesuit institution well organized, for in a letter sent to France in 1661, he wrote that the courses offered at the Collège were definite imitations of those taught in Jesuit collèges in France:

" L'éducation et la pension sont sur le même pied qu'en France. On y cultive la musique; elle figure dans toutes les solennités religieuses et profanes. On forme les enfants à la déclamation; on leur fait jouer des pièves; ils donnent en public des séances littéraires." 42

41

Relations des Jésuites: Contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable dans les Missions des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus dans la Nouvelle France, 1656-1672. (Quebec: A Côté et Cie., 1858), III, p. 17.

42 Cited in E. M. Faillon, Histoire de la Colonie Française (Paris: Poulaut-Davyl et Cie., 1866), III, p. 260.

Three years later, in writing to Rome, Msgr. Laval again mentioned the Jesuit Collège:

" A Québec, les Pères Jésuites ont un collège où les classes d'humanités sont florissantes et où les enfants vivent et sont élevés de la même manière qu'en France." 43

CHAPTER THREE

**THE DEVELOPMENT OF CLASSICAL EDUCATION
IN CANADA DURING THE SECOND HALF
OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

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The arrival of Msgr. Laval in 1659 saw the emergence of a new phase in the educational development of the young colony. New France now had a Vicar Apostolic, whose realm of jurisdiction consisted of almost half of North America. Aware of the scarcity of clerics in Canada and the constant, often unsuccessful, struggle to obtain more priests from France, Msgr. Laval was prompted, in 1663, to establish the Séminaire de Québec to train French Canadians for the priesthood.

Since the newly formed Seminary depended upon the Collège de Québec to provide it with candidates for Holy Orders, Msgr. Laval pressed the Jesuits to add mathematics, moral philosophy and scholastic theology to their curriculum.¹ These subjects were included in the course of study by 1665.² At that time, the staff of the Collège

¹ Appendix A, pp. 128-132.

² Amédée Gosselin, *Op. cit.*, p. 253.

de Québec consisted of: one teacher for la petite école, one teacher of grammar, one of rhetoric, one of mathematics and one of philosophy and theology.³

From the beginning, education was free to all students attending the Collège de Québec; to students aspiring towards the priesthood who came from outside the Colony's capital, Laval supplied free room and board.

However, this system was not to prove successful. The Bishop felt that he was losing many candidates because his protégés were constantly in contact with the outside world, which tended to draw them away from a religious vocation. To lessen such worldly influences, Msgr. Laval founded the Petit Séminaire in 1668.

However, the initial impetus to establish a Petit Séminaire did not come from Laval, but from Jean-Baptiste Colbert, First Minister of France, who in 1668 instructed Laval through Jean Talon, Intendant of New France, to

³ Rochemontieux, Op. cit., I, p. 211.

4

establish a Petit Séminaire:

Ce qui donne à cet établissement, fut que M. Talon, Intendant, reccût un ordre de la cour de travailler à françiser les sauvages, et, pour y réussir, proposa à Msgr. de Laval, pr., Evêque de Québec, d'élever des enfants de la nation des hurons, et aux Jésuites des algonquins; et de les mêlés avec d'autres enfants français, l'on retira du collège des Jésuites qui ténoient des pensionnaires tout ceux dont on payoit la pension en tout ou en partie.⁵ L'on fit pour ce sujet accomoder promptement la vieille maison où avoit logé M^{de} Couillard, que l'on avoit acheté d'elle depuis quelques années: il fut composé d'abord de huit françois et de six hurons qui entrèrent le jour de Saint Denis.⁶

The "Petit Séminaire des Missions Etrangères de Québec", as it was then called, because of its affiliation to the "Séminaire des Missions Etrangères de Paris", was opened on October 9, 1668. But because the Petit Séminaire was unable to obtain teachers it served only as

⁴ Due to the dictates of the Council of Trent, there was a significant difference between a public school or collège and a petit séminaire. The latter was designed exclusively to educate youths aspiring to the priesthood whereas a collège was open to all those youths who desired a liberal education.

⁵ In 1651, the Jesuits opened a small boarding house for students at the residence of Notre-Dame de la Recouvrance.

⁶ Honorius Provost, "Au Berceau du Petit Séminaire de Québec"; Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, Vol. LIX, No. 1 (January 1953), pp. 6-7.

a boarding house, its residents following the courses given by the competent Jesuits at the Collège de Québec. Also, Msgr. Laval felt that the young students aspiring towards the priesthood should be set apart from the other pupils of the Collège. Thus, the Petit Séminaire was designed to give the young seminarians a more intensive moral and religious grounding and to ensure their proper supervision.

In 1670, Father Lalemant commented on the approach which Msgr. Laval used in order to ensure the training of French Canadian clerics:

Il se cherchait partout des clercs pour se constituer un clergé et se procurer des curés. Quand il se fût rendu compte que son espoir était vain d'en trouver en France, il jeta les yeux sur ceux de nos élèves, des Français nés au pays, qui venaient d'achever leurs humanités et se préparaient à aborder l'étude de la philosophie. Comme toujours, il ne se trouvait que nous pour l'enseigner. Il nous fallut donc accepter cette charge et, conséquemment y ajouter les mathématiques, la théologie scolastique et la morale. L'évêque insistait avec force pour que nous préparions au plus tôt ces étudiants à devenir prêtres.

Ainsi fut-il fait. Actuellement, cinq ou six d'entre eux ont été promis aux ordres majeures... C'est dans cet espoir et dans cette attente que l'Illustrissime Prélat a établi un séminaire dans l'enceinte même de son palais épiscopal. Douze ou treize candidats au clergé y sont hébergés, qui fréquentent nos classes, en plus de nos autres élèves pensionnaires et externes qui s'appliquent aux mêmes études. 7

However, Father Lalemant seems to have been mistaken about the number of French Canadians that were ordained by 1670. Amédée Gosselin, upon examining the list of ordinations in Quebec, found that only four had received Holy Orders: Germain Morin, Charles-Amador Martin, Pierre de Francheville and Pierre-Paul Gagnon. The other two mentioned were most probably Louis Jolliet, who had abandoned the intention of becoming a priest, and Louis Soumande, who had not yet been ordained. 8

When Msgr. Laval opened the Petit Séminaire in the "Maison Couillard", there were but thirteen pupils,

7
Appendix A, pp. 128-129.

8
Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., p.254.

six Hurons and seven French Canadians.⁹ However, Laval encountered the same difficulties with the Indians as did the Jesuits:

En général les enfants canadiens ont de l'esprit, de la mémoire, de la facilité; ils font des progrès rapides; mais la légèreté de leur caractère, un goût dominant de la liberté et l'inclination héréditaire et naturelle pour les exercices du corps ne leur permettent pas de s'appliquer avec assez de constance et d'assiduité pour devenir savants; contents d'une certaine mesure de connaissance, suffisante il courant de leur emplois, et qui, en effet, s'y trouve communément on ne voit aucun genre de science des gens profonds.¹⁰

In other words, all attempts to franciser the savages were doomed to failure. Laval's experiment seems to bear this out: of the six Hurons who originally attended the Petit Séminaire, only Joseph Dokechiondes remained longer; that is, for five years.¹¹

⁹ Ibid., p. 414.

¹⁰ Abbé de Latour, Mémoire sur la Vie de M. de Laval; Premier Evêque de Québec (Colonge, France: Jean Frédéric Montiens, 1761), p. 101.

¹¹ Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 390.

But Msgr. Laval's Petit Séminaire proved no hindrance to the Collège de Québec. If anything, it added to the number of students already in attendance at the Jesuit school.

In 1676, Father Enjalran in his "Relations" ¹² mentions that there were six teachers at the Collège. One was in charge of two or three classes of grammar, Martin Boutet was teaching mathematics and Gilles Ménard was in charge of the petite école. The other three ¹³ teachers taught the humanities, rhetoric and philosophy. It should be noted that of the six teachers at the Collège only three were Jesuits. Two others were most likely seminarians and the sixth, Martin Boutet, was the first lay teacher.

¹⁴ When Msgr. Saint-Vallier arrived in New France in 1685, he was impressed with the performance of the Collège de Québec. Speaking of the junior seminarians

¹² Thwaites, Op. cit., LX, p. 141.

¹³ Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 255.

¹⁴ Msgr. Saint-Vallier was the successor of Msgr. Laval.

attending the school and the Collège itself, he stated:

Ils font leurs études au collège des R.P.P. Jésuites qui s'appliquent à les instruire avec une bonté particulière, et qui leur enseignent les lettres humaines, et les autres sciences, où ils n'ont pas moins d'aptitude et de facilité que les jeunes gens les mieux conditionnés de notre France.' 15

As time went on, there were fewer Jesuits available for the Collège; yet the growing number of pupils and the expansion of the curriculum compelled the Jesuits to secure more teachers for their institution. Since there were but few Jesuits in New France, the only recourse was to ask the Crown for grants ¹⁶ to attract lay teachers from France. Upon the request of both the Jesuits and the Government of the colony, the King decided in 1687 to contribute annually 400 pounds for an additional ¹⁷ form master.

15

Honorius Provost "Documents pour une Histoire du Séminaire de Québec", suite.. La Revue de l'Université Laval, X, No. 6 (February 1956), p. 575.

¹⁶ In 1665 the Jesuits were receiving £5,000 for use in Canada on a total budget of £54,000. However, it appears that these grants were given for use in the missions. (Emile Salone, La Colonisation de la Nouvelle France (Paris: Librairie Orientale et Américaine, 1905), p. 279).

¹⁷ Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 257.

Because of this assistance, several laymen from France taught at the Collège de Québec between 1678 and 1758. Rochemontieux, who did considerable research on this subject, names them as: Jacques du Péret, Pierre de Mallemain, Urbain de la Tour, François-Xavier de Charlevoix, Ludovic Villette, Claude du Pays, Pierre Loure, Pierre Danielou and Jacques de Syresme. Almost every one of these teachers returned to France after a brief sojourn in ¹⁸ Quebec.

It is impossible to determine with exactitude the number of pupils who had attended the Collège by the close of the seventeenth century. No Jesuit records are available. It is presumed that such records, if any ever existed, were destroyed or simply cast aside by the Jesuits when they were forced to leave their residence after the conquest.

There could not have been many who had attended the Collège by 1666, for the population of Quebec was still very small. There were approximately 350 inhabitants in Quebec in 1635, and by 1666 the population had increased

to only 547.¹⁹ Less than one-twentieth of the population were boys of school age, and not all of these went to the Collège. If we consider that some of the pupils attending the Jesuit institution were from the periphery of Quebec, then we can safely state that, up to 1670, an average of 15 to 20 pupils attended the Collège de Québec annually.

A change in the administration of the colony eventually brought about an increase in population. In 1663, the Crown dissolved the Compagnie des Cent Associés because of its inability to fulfil its contract. The colony then became a province of France, with all the qualities of a border province in France. To make the colony more productive and self-sufficient the French government itself undertook to encourage emigration to New France.

As a consequence, by 1685 the population of Quebec had risen to 1,205²⁰, and by 1706 it had increased to 1,771.²¹

¹⁹
Censuses of Canada, 1665-1871 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1876), IV, pp. 2-4.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

²¹ Ibid., p. 48.

No mention is made of the population of other parishes and towns of New France; for it is felt that during the seventeenth century very few of the students of the Collège came from outside of Quebec. It was only in the 1690's that the first écoles latines²² were established. Thus, few pupils, if any, were ready to pursue their studies in Quebec by 1700.

Nevertheless, the founding of the Petit Séminaire and the increase in population due to the change in the colonial administration brought about an augmentation in the number of pupils attending the Collège. It would be safe to assume that, on the average, the number of students attending the Jesuit institution between 1670 and 1700 would be approximately double the number boarding at the Petit Séminaire.²³

As mentioned previously, the education at the Collège de Québec was given free of charge. The student was financially responsible for his writing material and, if necessary, for his room and board. However, the Jesuits,

²²

see p. 42 of this Chapter.

²³

Appendix E, pp. 147-148

Msgr. Laval and his successors made great efforts to keep costs at a minimum. Text books were made available without cost to students wherever possible, even though such texts had to be brought from Jesuit institutions in France, for there never existed a printing press in New France.²⁴

The Collège de Québec was the only school during the French Régime officially recognized as offering instruction at the secondary level. Nevertheless, there were two attempts to found a collège in Montreal - the first in 1694 and the second in 1727.

Montreal was founded in 1642. It was some fifty years before Msgr. Saint-Vallier asked the Jesuits to establish a petite école in that town. The population of Montreal had become large enough to warrant a school. Its citizens had frequently requested one, for they always hesitated to send their children to Quebec, which involved a long, costly and arduous journey.

24

Rochemontieux, Les Jesuites...au XVIIe Siècle, Op. cit., p. 217.

In response to the constant supplication of Montrealers, Msgr. Saint-Vallier asked the Jesuits to open such a school there. They were willing to do so with the understanding that eventually it would develop into a collège. Thus, the Jesuits in 1692 sent Father Claude Chauchetière to organize a school.²⁵ His petite école was designed to prepare its pupils for the Collège de Québec. This elementary institution taught not only the elements of reading, writing, arithmetic and catechism, but also the rudiments of Latin.

By 1694 the proposed collège at Montreal had not yet been organized. Father Chauchetière was disappointed and wrote two letters to show his displeasure. The first letter was written to his brother, also a Jesuit. Dated August 7, 1694, it outlined the development of the school at Montreal.²⁶ In the course of the letter, he said:

"Mon R. Père,
Mon occupation sera cette année comme
 l'an passé, c'est-à-dire d'estre protorégent
 de Villemarie avec 12 ou 15 écoliers, et

²⁵ Souvenir des Fêtes Jubilaires du Collège Sainte-Marie de Montréal, 1848-1898 (Montreal: Desbarats et Cie., 1898), p. 10.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

j'enseigne les mathématiques à certains jeunes gens officiers dans les troupes... l'ordre de nostre collège est d'entrer à 9h. et la messe se dit à dix; le soir j'entre à 3h et à 4 heures je fais la mathématique jusqu'à cinq... Je ne sçay ce que je deviendray. Comme nostre collège de Villemarie n'est pas fondé on n'est pas d'avis d'y entretenir davantage un régent. Nous enseignons néanmoins et je me prépare à continuer ma mathématique. J'ay deux ou trois de mes disciples sur les vaisseaux et j'en ay un qui est sous-pilotte dans un navire du Roy. Cependant nostre révérent père supérieur me dit de me tenir toujours prêt pour aller aux iroquois si la paix se fait, ou pour aller à la baie d'Hudson...

Adieu mon cher Père et cher frère, je ne cesse de me souvenir de vous à l'autel et ailleurs." 26

The second letter was written on September 20, 1694 to Father Jouhenoau, at Bordeaux, France. This letter, in part, read:

"... Je suis icy comme l'oyseau sur la branche pour prendre mon vol au premier jour. Il s'en est peu fallu que de n'aye esté à la baie d'Hudson, où le dernier ausmonier a esté tué par un malheureux françois emporté de colère. On m'avait aussy destiné à monter a Missilimakinax prendre conduite de la mission des Hurons.

"Enfin je suis demeuré icy où nous avons un espèce de collège qui n'est point fondé, mais je crois que Mm. de Villemaire ne l'auront pas longtemps s'ils ne le fondent à cose que les revenus de nostre mission sont fort petits. J'ay des écoliers qui sont bons cinquiemes, mai j'en ay d'autres qui ont la barbe au menton auxquels j'apprends la marine et les fortifications et autre choses de mathématiques. J'ay an de mes écoliers qui est pilote dans le navire qui va au nord... Nous sommes icy fort mal logés pour les bastiments, mais bien pour la veue, à un arpent de terre hors la ville. Nostre église est éloignée d'un demy arpent de nous. Le jardin est entre deux, et pour y aller il faut être exposé à la pluye au vent, et à la neige, parce que nous n'avons pas de quoy nous bastir. Nous ne demandons à notre révérent père supérieur qu'un petit bastiment de vingt pieds au bout de notre église, mais il n'a pas de quoy nous contenter."²⁷

But the proposed collège at Montreal was not founded; for the Jesuits did not receive the government grants necessary to organize such an institution and they could ill afford the upkeep of anything more than the elementary school already organized. The people of Montreal had therefore to content themselves with an elementary school and send their children to Quebec if they wished them to continue their studies.

27

Ibid., p. 11.

The petite école of the Jesuits at Montreal is
 now recognized as the first école latine of New France.²⁸
Ecoles latines were schools that would teach reading,
 writing, catechism and the rudiments of arithmetic and
 Latin. The teaching of Latin in such schools prepared the
 pupils to pursue their studies at the Collège de Québec.

There were five such schools established during
 the French régime. Some of these écoles latines lasted
 several decades, while others existed only a few years.
 Two of these écoles latines were founded by curés of
 parishes and held classes in their presbyteries. Such
 schools existed as long as their founders remained alive.
 Pointe de Levy was established late in the seventeenth
 century but lasted only a few years. Château Richer had
 the shortest existence of all, being organized in 1702 and
 being closed in 1710. The school at St-Joachim was
 founded through the patronage of the Bishop in 1701, and
 was maintained until the 1750's. The other two écoles
latines were established in Montreal and founded by religious

orders. The first of these was founded by the Jesuits, as mentioned previously, and remained in existence until New France fell to the English. The Sulpicians established the other one in Montreal in the year 1695. This école latine never did close. After the English conquest it gradually reorganized itself and developed into a collège.

During the French régime, the écoles latines played an essential rôle in the colony by providing children with the type of elementary education which was required for entrance to the Collège de Québec.

CHAPTER FOUR

JESUIT EDUCATION IN CANADA
DURING THE FIRST HALF OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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The turn of the century brought no change in the status of the Collège de Québec. On November 5, 1711,¹ Father Joseph Germain wrote of the Collège in his "Relation":

As regards the Quebec College, everything exists or is done there as in our colleges in Europe and perhaps with greater regularity, exactness and fruit than in many of our colleges in France. Classes are taught here in grammar, the humanities, rhetoric, mathematics, philosophy and theology. The pupils, although less numerous than in the large towns of Europe, nevertheless possess well-formed bodies and well-regulated minds; they are very industrious, very docile and capable of making great progress in the study of letters and of virtue. I am not speaking of the young savages...I refer to the French children born in Canada, who speak the same language, who wear the same clothes, and who follow the same studies as those in Paris. I say they are very intelligent, have excellent dispositions and are very capable of succeeding well in everything that we can teach them. ²

¹ Rochemontieux erroneously gives November 4, 1712 as the date of Father Germain's letter.

² Thwaites, Op. cit., LXVI, pp. 209-211.

Father Germain's statement not only lauds the Collège de Québec and its students but also confirms previous statements made by his predecessors, Msgrs. Laval and Saint-Vallier, and various colonial government officials.

Although during the first one-third of the eighteenth century the Collège de Québec had not changed its curriculum and teaching, school attendance had posed a real problem.

A series of unfortunate events at the Séminaire and Petit Séminaire de Québec reduced the enrolment in the latter institution. On November 5, 1701 a fire at the Seminary completely destroyed the residences of the young seminarians, and severely damaged most of the other buildings. Five years later, in 1706, fire again destroyed the partially reconstructed buildings of the Seminary.³ In addition, an epidemic of smallpox swept through the Petit Séminaire in 1700 and again in 1715.⁴

³ Ferland, *Op. cit.*, II, p. 356.

⁴ Provost, La Revue de l'Université Laval, XVII, No. 7, p. 594.

These events greatly affected the attendance at the Collège de Québec, for between 1701 and 1705 the number of pupils attending the Petit Séminaire was reduced from eighty to less than fifty, mainly because both the seminarians and junior seminarians were forced to reside⁵ in the same building.

It is assumed that after the second fire the number of pupils again decreased. Between 1706 and 1722, there was an average of thirty-five young seminarians⁶ registering annually at the institution. In the five years that followed, however, only fifteen new students were enrolled.

It seems reasonable to assume that if an epidemic of smallpox attacked the Petit Séminaire it also spread throughout the city. Consequently the Collège must have seen a decrease in attendance not only because of the lack of junior seminarians but also because the dreaded disease thinned the ranks of those pupils residing in Quebec.

⁵ Amédée Gosselin, *Op. cit.*, p. 416.

⁶ *Ibid.*

As of 1730, the Petit Séminaire again began to increase the number of its pupils, and judging from the annual enrolment during the last twenty years of the French régime, it may be presumed that the average number of pupils in attendance ranged between forty and fifty.⁷ Meanwhile, although the population of Quebec continued to increase, so that by 1739, for Quebec and its surrounding regions it numbered 4,603,⁸ the Collège saw no need for expansion or repair prior to 1735.

In 1720, the Jesuit Charlevoix wrote to the Duchess of Leschguières. In his letter he mentioned the condition of the Collège, which had been built in 1647:

Vous avez sans doute vu, madame, dans quelques relations, que le collège des Jésuites est un très bel édifice. Il est certain que quand cette ville (de Quebec) n'était qu'un amas informe de barraques françaises et de cabanes sauvages, cette maison faisait quelque figure. Les premiers voyageurs, qui jugeaient par comparaison, l'avaient représenté comme un qui selon la

7

Appendix E, p. 148.

8

Censuses of Canada, loc. cit., p. 50.

coutume, les on copiés, ont tenu le même langage. Cependant les cabanes ont disparu et les baraques ont été changées en maisons, la plupart bein bâties, de sorte que le collège dépare aujourd'hui la ville et menace ruine de toutes parts. 9

The Collège had already been rebuilt in 1744 when Charlevoix wrote the following: "on a depuis peu rebâti le collège, et il est maintenant fort beau".¹⁰ It follows then that the Collège was rebuilt some time between 1721 and 1744, but there are no existing documents or letters which would give us the date of its rebuilding. Rochemontieux believes it was reconstructed around 1725:

La population qui n'était en 1721 que 25,000 augmente du double en deux ou trois ans, et, le nombre des élèves augmentant men proportion, l'ancien collège devint insuffisant. 11

However, it would be just as possible to assume that the Collège was rebuilt between 1730 and 1735. It is certain that the Collège de Québec had been rebuilt by

9

Pierre Georges Roy, Op. cit., p. 84.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 85.

¹¹ Rochemontieux, Op. cit., p. 224.

1735, for when the Directors of the Seminary resumed normal operation of the Petit Séminaire, there were no complaints about the state of the Collège, which Father Charlevoix had deplored in 1720. It was during this period that the Petit Séminaire began to reorganize and increase in number.

The appearance of the reconstructed Collège must have been impressive. It was mentioned with respect by ¹² Kalm upon his visit to Quebec in 1749:

It has a much more noble appearance, in regard to its size and architecture, than the palace itself, and would be proper for a palace if it had a more advantageous situation. It is about four times as large as the palace, and is the finest building in Town." ¹²

As we have seen, by 1730 attendance was on the increase. This continual increase in enrolment, the influx of new pupils with the consequent need for more teachers, posed new problems for the institution. It is

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Peter Kalm, Travels to North America (London: T. Lowndes, 1876), II, p.101.

presumed that the teaching staff had been reduced during the early part of the century because of a lack of students. With a new spacious building and the Petit Séminaire in the process of resuming normal operations, the school population increased to the point where there was not even one teacher for each class. In 1733 there were but three professors, all Jesuits, for five classes.¹³

The Jesuits, with the assistance of the Bishop and the civil authorities, tried to remedy the situation. Since no other Jesuits were available, and well-educated men in the colony were few, the required teachers had to come from France.

Apparently the first to take the initiative to secure teachers for the Collège were the Intendant, Hocquart, and Governor Beauharnois. In 1732 these gentlemen wrote to the Crown requesting more teachers:

Trouvez bon, Msgr., que nous vous en représentions encore cette année la nécessité pour l'instruction de la jeunesse du pays.¹⁴

¹³

Antoine Roy, Les Lettres, Les Sciences...p.18.

¹⁴

Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 258.

Having received no answer, they again made representations to the Crown the ensuing year:

Lorsque nous avons demandé, l'année dernière, de procurer un troisième régent au collège de Québec, ça été sur les représentations qui nous en furent faites par les PP. Jésuites qui ont entendu que Sa Majesté en voudrait bien faire la dépense; il nous ont fait de nouvelles représentations à ce sujet.

Des trois régents qui sont au collège il y en a un qui professe alternativement la philosophie et la théologie, en sorte que les jeunes gens, au sortir de leurs humanités, trouvant l'école de théologie ouverte, sont obligés d'attendre pendant deux ans le nouveau cours de philosophie, ce qui les dégoûte à un point qu'ils quittent absolument leurs études, et prennent parti ailleurs.

Les deux régents de basses classes ne peuvent suffire à multiplier les leçons suivant la faiblesse ou la force de leurs écoliers, qui devraient être séparés en trois ou quatre classes, au lieu qu'ils le sont aujourd'hui en deux classes seulement.

Nous nous sommes engagés, Mgr., à vous rendre compte de ces nouvelles représentations, et à vous prier d'obtenir de Sa Majesté le fonds de 400 francs pour l'entretien d'un régent de philosophie, à condition que de leur côté les Jésuites auront un troisième régent de basses classes, qu'ils entretiendront à leurs dépens, ce qu'ils nous ont promis de faire.

Ils méritent, par les soins assidus qu'ils donnent à l'éducation de la jeunesse, que Sa Majesté leur accorde cette grâce... 15

Their request again fell on deaf ears, and the Jesuits had to find teachers at their own expense.¹⁶

It is presumed that seminarians filled many of the teaching posts required by the influx of students; for until 1748 there appears to have been no serious shortage of teachers.

In that year, however, a new shortage developed, and Msgr. de Pontbriand, then Bishop of Quebec, made a successful request to the King for a new teacher:

Le collège ne se soutiendra pas si les Jésuites n'ont toujours qu'un régent de sixième. Cette classe est comme la pépinière des écoles. Nous n'avons personne pour montrer les éléments. On se passera plutôt de la théologie et de la philosophie parce que le séminaire fait déjà des conférences sur les deux sujets. 17

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 258-259.

¹⁶ Rochemontieux, Les Jesuites...au XVIIIe Siècle, I, p. 213.

¹⁷ Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., pp. 259-260.

The "Relations" of 1749 list the teachers and labourers engaged at that time at the Collège de Québec; and the list gives an impressive roster, which denotes the size and scale on which the institution functioned:

I Priests

1. Reverend Father Gabriel Marcol, Rector of the college and Superior-General of the Missions since October 1748 - of the Province of Champagne.
2. Father Claude Joseph Marie Canot, Minister, professor of scholastic theology, Prefect of the sodality of the pupils and confessor in the church - of Lyons.
3. Father Antoine Gourdan - of Lyons.
4. Father Marie Louis Le Franc.
5. Father Michael Gingras, Prefect of the Church, of the schools and of the citizens and higher students' sodalities and confessor in the church - of Aquitaine.
6. Father Nicolas of Gonnor, Procurator and confessor in the church - of Aquitaine.
7. Father Pierre Jean de Bonnecamp, professor of hydrography.
8. Father Siméon Bançais, novice of the first year.

II Professors who were not priests

1. Master J. B. de Neuville.
2. Master René Mace.
3. Pierre Régis Billard (theologian of the first year).

III Lay Brethren

1. Alexander Macquet - tailor
2. Antoine Lourse - sacristan and tailor
3. Charles Boispineau - apothecary
4. Georges Dinet - shoemaker
5. Jacques Ferchand - cook
6. J. B. Delvacy - buyer
7. Nicolas le Clerc - procurator's assistant
8. Pierre le Tellier - teaches reading and writing¹⁸
9. Etienne Marin Racine.

Since Notre-Dame de la Recouvrance was the seat of the Jesuit mission in New France, it is understandable that a large staff was necessary. Nevertheless, the Collège was situated in the same establishment, and it

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Thwaites, Op. cit., LXIX, pp. 75-77.

follows that the Collège enjoyed the service of the non-academic staff of the Jesuit establishment.

It is certain that, for all intents and purposes, the Collège de Québec adopted the same system of education as the Jesuit collèges of France. In this system there were five years for the secondary cycle, that is, from the fifth form to the first form respectively. The first three years of the program were concerned with an intensive study of Latin, French and Greek. Classics were studied in the fourth year and rhetoric in the fifth.

If a pupil desired to pursue his studies further, he could take two years of philosophy,¹⁹ and two more of theology. However, most of the students who attended the Collège did not continue their education further than the secondary level; the few who did generally planned to enter the priesthood.

Father Amédée Gosselin has done considerable research to determine whether the subject matter taught at the Collège de Québec was comparable to that of the Jesuit institutions of France. There are no records, however,

¹⁹ In New France, a condensed two-year course in philosophy was offered, whereas such a course took three years in France.

to indicate exactly what was taught at the Collège. Many writers accepted the statements of the "Relations" and the various dignitaries of New France, that the subject matter taught at the Collège de Québec was comparable to that of the collèges of France.

The Séminaire de Québec was able to preserve its records and library after the English conquest. Many of the texts used at the Collège are conserved in the archives of the Seminary. Gosselin, once archivist at the Seminary, examined the 350 volumes still in existence. He concluded that the subject matter in all respects and the text books in particular were the same as those used in the majority of the Jesuit institutions of France during the same period.²⁰

If his conclusions are valid, then Latin, French and Greek grammar, as well as some mathematics, were taught during the first three years of the secondary cycle. In the fourth year, or second form, the students studied the classics, particularly the works of Cicero, Virgil,

²⁰ Amédée Gosselin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 280-295.

Ovid and Cornelius. In the first form the pupils were taught to become orators; they also did more intensive translation of Latin and Greek verse. They had to compose poetry and recite in Latin, Greek and French. The Arts were not neglected. In 1666, François de Moussard taught²¹ music in the first three years of the secondary level.

There was no geography or history course offered at the Jesuit institution. This led the Intendant, Hocquart, to write in his 1737 mémoire:

La plupart des enfants d'officiers et
des gentils hommes...ignorent les premiers
éléments de la géographie, de l'histoire." 22

Since such subjects were not taught in Europe, the Jesuits probably did not consider them necessary. Nevertheless, it is certain that Hocquart saw the benefit, in Canada, of teaching such subjects as history - to develop pride in their nation - and geography, - to stimulate exploration. The latter subject appears to have been of greater consequence to Hocquart because New France was ~~than~~ in

²¹ Pierre Georges Roy, La Ville de Québec sous le Régime Français (Quebec: King's Printer, 1930), I, p.355.

²² Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 290.

its greatest period of exploration. Geographers and cartographers were vital to the colony for mapping and reporting new discoveries accurately.

One can understand the Jesuit attitude towards history and geography. The Collège de Québec was not intended to conduct experiments in curriculum development; it was a school which followed the models of the Jesuit institutions in France. Geography and history had not then acquired recognition as academic disciplines, the Ratio Studiorum made no mention of them, so that these subjects were, generally speaking, not taught in France during the 18th century. "La géographie et l'histoire n'avaient²³ à peu près aucune place dans l'enseignement."

One may be surprised to know that the French language was used extensively in the Collège de Québec. The Jesuit collèges in Europe, as late as 1650, felt it undignified to teach in the vernacular.

Gosselin, though not speaking for all the students of the Collège, praises the teaching of the French language

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Antoine Roy, Les Lettres, Les Sciences.. p. 18.

in Quebec:

Dès les premiers temps du collège on y apprenait à écrire le français d'une façon satisfaisante. Nous avons vu souvent, très souvent même, des écrits, mémoires, rapports, lettres, etc. dus à la plume d'anciens élèves comme Germain Morin, Louis Jolliet, Charles Amador Martin, P.-P. Gagnon, Louis Soumande, Pierre de Prancheville, etc. etc. et nous avons été étonné d'y trouver, avec une orthographe généralement correcte, une connaissance assez complète des règles de la syntaxe, et parfois une manière de dire qui révèle une culture et une pratique de la langue française plus qu'ordinaires. Beaucoup de ces écrits peuvent supporter la comparaison avec n'importe lequel du même genre, rédigé par d'anciens élèves des collèges de France.²⁴

A final statement follows to buttress our belief that the teaching at the Collège de Québec was similar to that of France. Antoine Roy cites two examples in which pupils began their classical course in Quebec and terminated it in France:

A vrai dire lorsque Joseph-Michel Sarrazin arriva à Paris en 1731, son oncle le Chanoine Hazeur estima utile de lui faire refaire sa philosophie, mais sa formation classique fut jugée

²⁴

Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., pp. 293-294.

suffisante. En 1741, Mme. de Thiersaut rappela en France son fils, Pierre-François, qui était alors élève du Collège de Québec: le jeune Thiersaut obtint sans difficulté le titre de bachelier. Il avait que dix-sept ans.²⁵

About the time that the Petit Séminaire was beginning to revive, there was another attempt in Montreal to enlarge the Jesuit residence and to establish a collège. This time it was the citizens of Montreal who requested grants from the Crown for founding a collège.

There are conflicting views as to the attitude of the Jesuits in this matter. One text suggests that the Jesuits were not prepared and probably not interested in changing the status quo of their residence in Montreal.²⁶ They had enough problems with their mission and were not anxious to start a search for the necessary teachers.

P. G. Roy, however, states that when the citizens of Montreal were presenting their petition to the Governor of the colony, the Jesuits drew up a mémoire

²⁵ Antoine Roy, Op. cit., p. 19.

²⁶ Souvenir des Fêtes Jubilaires du Collège Sainte-Marie, pp. 14-15.

for the Intendant, Dupuy, mentioning the necessity and utility of establishing a secondary school for boys²⁷ in Montreal.

The citizens of Montreal were most anxious to establish a collège in their town, and they probably felt that since the Jesuits already had one such institution in Quebec they were best suited for the task.

On March 9, 1727, the citizens presented a brief²⁸ to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor of New France, and the Jesuits prepared another for M. Dupuy, the Intendant. The Governor then transmitted the brief to the Chief Minister of France, M. de Maurepas. However, M. Dupuy was not interested in founding a collège in Montreal. Aware of the Governor's approbation of the plan, Dupuy wrote to the Chief Minister stating his disapproval of the idea.

M. de Maurepas, won over by the arguments of the Intendant, wrote to the Governor on May 14, 1728, stating

²⁷ Pierre Georges Roy, *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

²⁸ Appendix B, pp. 133-136.

his formal disapproval of the proposed collège in Montreal; he also mentioned that the establishment of such an institution would be onerous for the king at this particular time.²⁹ Four days later, on May 18, in a letter to the Intendant, M. de Maurepas stated:

Le projet concernant l'établissement d'un collège à Montréal m'a été envoyé. Je pense comme vous qu'il a pas nécessité de le faire. D'ailleurs, les conditions ne conviennent point, et il faut pas y penser pour le présent.³⁰

For three years the refusal of the Chief Minister was accepted by the citizens of Montreal. However, in 1731 the subject came up again; and on October 6, 1731 Messrs. Beauharnois and Hocquart wrote to M. de Maurepas:

Les PP. Jésuites doivent vous faire une proposition pour l'emploi des 1,500 liv. restant des 3,000 liv. que vous avez retranchez aux Frères Charons, pour un collège à Montreal, et pour l'augmentation d'un régent à Québec. Nous avons lieu de croire que Mgr. le coadjuteur a dessein de vous proposer d'employer ces 1,500 liv. pour le séminaire de Montréal, à condition

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Pierre Georges Roy, Op. cit., p. 144.

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Rapport des Archives Canadiennes, 1904 (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1905), pp. 99-100.

qu'ils entretiendront deux ecclésiastiques pour l'instruction de la jeunesse. Si vous vous déterminez, Mgr., à destiner cette somme pour un collège, ell conviendrait mieux aux Jésuites qui sont dans l'usage d'élever les jeunes gens. Ces régents sont fort souhaités par tous les pères de familles de Montréal, dont les facultés sont trop modiques pour leur permettre d'envoyer leurs enfants étudier à Québec. 31

Again the Crown refused, and the matter remained buried for 117 years, that is, until 1848, the year in which the Jesuits opened the Collège Sainte-Marie in Montreal.

Thus it was that, during the French régime, Montreal had no collège, and it was only after the English conquest that a secondary school for boys was established there.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE LAST YEARS OF THE COLLEGE DE QUEBEC

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In spite of the problems posed by the Seven Years' War, the Jesuits struggled to keep the Collège open and managed to do so during the first two years of the War, from 1756 to 1758, presumably with a full¹ teaching staff. However, in the fall of 1758, the Rector of the Collège de Québec decided not to reopen the school, because of the lack of pupils, an impending² famine and the inflated state of the colonial economy.

The "Annales" of the Petit Séminaire indicate that the Bishop's boarding house for junior seminarians was forced to close during the academic year 1757-1758.³ Then in the fall of 1758, because of the closing of the Collège, the Petit Séminaire began to teach the few junior seminarians of the first form and those of the philosophy classes. In the fall of 1759, the siege of Quebec forced the Petit Séminaire to hold its classes in Montreal. Again, only the young seminarians in their

¹ Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 260.

² Provost, La Revue de l'Université Laval, XVII,7, p.594

³ Appendix E, p. 148.

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senior grades were permitted to attend.

The capture of Quebec by the English on September 13, 1759, ended French domination in Canada; it also ended the existence of the Jesuit Order as a dominant influence in the colony.

During the siege the Seminary, located along the ramparts of Quebec, had been bombarded so severely that it could no longer be inhabited.⁵ Thus, many of the religieux living in the Seminary were forced to leave the city and find refuge in Montreal.

Like the priests of the Seminary, the Jesuits had to find shelter elsewhere; they moved to their residences, either in Lorette or in Montreal. Most probably it was then that they removed as many of their archives and records as they could carry; the remainder were left under the guardianship of two of their brothers.⁶ Consequently, it seems reasonable to surmise that cumbersome records, annals and textbooks were left behind.

⁴ Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 405.

⁵ Provost, Op. cit., p. 594.

⁶ Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 260.

After the capitulation of Quebec, only two Jesuits were permitted to return to the Collège de Québec, but in June of 1761, General Murray permitted the remaining fathers to re-enter the city. It should be noted, however, that most of the Jesuits had already returned to France.⁷

When the English entered Quebec, they made part of the Jesuit residence and collège into a magazine for provisions:

They (the Jesuits) possess a commodious House, a handsome Chapel, a spacious Garden within the upper town, the House and Chapel suffered a good deal from our artillery, but might easily be repaired; no other place in the town being so proper, it has and still is made use of as a magazine of Provisions.⁸

Undaunted, the Jesuits upon their return in 1761 resumed their task of educating the French Canadian youth:

L'année même du retour des Jésuites à Québec les cours du Collège de Québec se rouvrirent mais avec peu de pensionnaires, faute surtout de professeurs et d'un local suffisant.⁹

Because of the lack of teachers and space, the

⁷ Rochemontieux, Les Jésuites...au XVIIIe Siècle, II, p. 204.

⁸ General James Murray, Report of the State of the Government of Quebec in Canada (Quebec: Dussault and Proulx, 1902), p. 38.

⁹ Rochemontieux, Op. cit., I, pp. 202-203.

Jesuits were not able to offer the complete collège program. They were equipped only to give primary schooling and the first two years of the secondary program. Between 1761 and 1768, Father Glapion, Provincial General of the Mission, to preserve the Collège as a teaching institution, undertook to teach the secondary classes while the Jesuit brothers, Casot and Maquet, taught the elementary ones.¹⁰ Finally, in 1768, the Jesuits were forced to abandon classes for secondary school students:

The college of Quebec was unable to continue the classical course after 1768, on account of the small number of fathers who remained and the notable diminution in number of pupils after the departure of the wealthy families.¹¹ The fathers, however, until 1776 continued to maintain in the college a primary school, where instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic was given to those who chose to attend it. But these classes were compelled to cease when the government appropriated a part of the college for storing archives; later it took, little by little, nearly all the rest of the buildings for use as barracks.¹²

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Although education at the Collège de Québec was offered free of charge, it is reasonable to assume that most of the students came from wealthy families; for children from poorer families, who had reached secondary school age, were generally required to assist their families.

¹² Thwaites, Op. cit., LXXI, p. 394.

When Father Glapion discontinued teaching at the secondary level, his students were simply transferred to the Petit Séminaire de Québec. While formerly it had accepted only those destined for the priesthood, the Petit Séminaire, in 1765, offered courses at the collège level to all youths who wished to attend. It, in fact, replaced the Collège de Québec which had served the French Canadians diligently for nearly thirteen decades.

Although the Jesuits gave up their Collège in 1768, they did not do so without a struggle. On November 12, 1766, Father Glapion wrote to Sir Guy Carleton, the new English Governor, requesting a reinstatement of the Jesuits in Canada, with the restoration of their residence and their collège. Although he failed to achieve his objective, Father Glapion provides an excellent summary of the events which preceded his letter:

Monseigneur, le coeur de Sa Majesté est si bienfaisant et le poids de vos avis est si efficace, que nous espérons avec la plus pleine confiance, que nos très humbles demandes trouveront un heureux accès au pied du thrône, si votre excellence daigne les appuyer.

Les Jésuites ont été fondée au Canada par les bienfaits des rois de France et de plusieurs particuliers. Leur nombre, qui était autrefois de quarante et plus, est réduit aujourd'hui à vingt-un.

L'établissement des Jésuites en Canada avait deux fins principales: 1. l'instruction des sauvages à la connaissance du vray Dieu; a. l'éducation de la jeunesse. Le siège de Québec en 1759 fit fermer le collège, où l'on enseignait l'hydrographie, la théologie, la philosophie et les belles-lettres. On y tenait aussi une école pour apprendre à lire, à écrire, et l'arithmétique. Toutes ces écoles différents ont été purement gratuites.

Mais les Jésuites ont été dans l'impossibilité de tenir un collège depuis 1759 pour deux raisons: la première, c'est qu'ils n'avaient point assez de sujets qui pussent enseigner; la seconde, c'est qu'ils n'avaient point de bâtiments où ils pussent réunir des disciples.

Tous les professeurs repassèrent en France après la capitulation de Montréal. D'ailleurs tous les bâtiements du Collège ont été remplis de vivres et autres munitions de la garnison jusqu'à la fin de juin 1761.

Alors, Son Excellence M. Murray permit aux Jésuites de jouir d'environ un tiers de leur maison, et d'y venir loger après dix-huit mois d'exil. Sur ce tiers, des officiers s'emparèrent de quelques appartments que leurs successeurs occupent encore...

Des vingt-un Jésuites en Canada, cinq sont encore employés à l'instruction des sauvages, mais ce nombre n'est pas suffisant. Trois autres sont si âgés et si infirmes que c'est pour eux un pénible occupation que de vivre. Trois autres desservent des missions françaises. Tous les autres sont chargés de différents emplois auxquels ils peuvent à peine suffire.

Nous supplions très humblement Sa très gracieuse Majesté et la gouvernement britannique d'agréer la continuation de nos services pour l'instruction des sauvages et pour l'éducation de la jeunesse. Mais pour remplir ces deux objets, qu'on juge essentiels au bien-être de la Colonie, nous supplions encore Sa très gracieuse Majesté et le gouvernement britannique: 1. de vouloir bien révoquer et anéantir la deffense qui nous a été faite par écrit par Son Excellence, M. le général Murray, de recevoir des sujets, soit Européens, soit canadiens; 2. de vouloir bien ordonner que tous nos bâtiments soient à notre usage et en notre puissance; 3. de vouloir bien nous adjuger un dédommagement pour le loyer d'un vaste bâtiment que les munitionnaires, les uns après les autres, ont ruiné depuis sept années, et qu'il nous est impossible de réparer, si nous ne sommes aidés. 13

Msgr. Briand¹⁴ feared that the antipathy of the English authorities would stifle Catholicism in Canada;

¹³ Rochemontieux, Loc. cit.

¹⁴ Early in 1760, Msgr. de Pontbriand, Bishop of Quebec, had died; Quebec had been without a bishop until 1765, when the British government consented to the papal consecration of Msgr. Briand.

already the number of French Canadian clergy was steadily declining. He felt that the restoration of the Collège de Québec would permit the Seminary greater space for the education of aspiring priests. It would also mean that the responsibility for maintaining Catholic instruction in Canada would be shared between the Séminaire and the Collège. Therefore, in 1761 he wrote to King George III requesting that the Collège de Québec be re-established:

Depuis la destruction du collège de Québec, où on travaillait à l'éducation de la jeunesse, pour y former des bons et utiles sujets, et qui était, en même temps, la première source du clergé pour le service de l'instruction du peuple. Je supplie Votre Majesté de me permettre de lui représenter de nouveau combien, manquant du secours de ce collège, il m'est difficile de fournir aux nécessités absolues et aux besoins indispensables des habitants... La quatrième partie des paroisses confiée à mes soins demeure sans pasteurs, au grand détriment et au grand mécontentement du peuple, sans que je puisse y pouvoir convenablement, sans le secours du collège tel que nous l'avions ci-devant. Je supplie donc humblement Votre Majesté d'accorder avec bonté le

rétablissement du collège, sous la conduite des personnes du même ordre, en sorte qu'il leur soit permis de recevoir désormais des sujets propres, soit anglais, soit canadiens, soit autre nations... Pour faire à Votre Majesté que cet exposé n'est pas mon sentiment particulier, mais celui de tout le clergé confié à mes soins, tous ceux des environs de cette ville ont signé ici avec moi.¹⁵

No help was forthcoming, however, and by 1776 the Jesuits had to abandon their teaching in Canada. The English had completely taken over the Jesuit buildings in Quebec, except for the chapel and a few rooms which housed the remaining Jesuits. The remaining buildings were converted into barracks, a warehouse, a courtroom, a prison and a depot for archives.¹⁶ With the seizure of the Jesuit residence and Collège, it became impossible to store what was left of the Jesuit library and archives

¹⁵ Provost, Op. cit., pp. 792-793.

¹⁶ Thwaites, Op. cit., LXVII, p. 327.

in the few rooms the Jesuits had at their disposal. Thus, it may be assumed that many of the archives were discarded; of some we know that they were sold at auction:

In 1800, after the death of Père Casot,¹⁷ the last surviving member of the Order of Jesuits in Canada, the British Government seized their property, their library was sold at auction.¹⁸

Nevertheless, one should not censure the English for their behaviour toward the Jesuits. France had suppressed the Society of Jesus in 1762 and had completely confiscated their estates. To climax Jesuit ostracism, Pope Clement XIV had dissolved in 1773 the entire Order.

The Jesuits had rendered invaluable services to the French colony, particularly in the field of education. They alone had offered officially recognized schooling at the secondary level and had been responsible for much of the basic education given to Canada's native priests. In this small colony they had offered a program of studies comparable to that of the Jesuit collèges of France. The

¹⁷ Father Casot had been originally Brother Casot, but was ordained in 1766 by Msgr. Briand in an attempt to perpetuate the Order in Canada.

¹⁸ Jérôme Sasseville and John Gilmary Shea, Notes on the Two Jesuit Manuscripts Belonging to the Estate of the late Hon. John Neilson of Quebec, Canada (New York: by

Collège de Québec had been responsible not only for the education of prospective priests, but also for the education of a French Canadian élite. Such men as Louis Jolliet, Gauthier de Varennes, the Lotbinières, the Répentignys, the Portneufs, and many others who were to render valuable service to the colony, were educated by the Jesuits.

CHAPTER SIX

**THE PETIT SEMINAIRE BECOMES
A COLLEGE**

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Since all relations between France and the colony were severed, French priests could no longer be depended upon to fill vacancies in the Church in Canada. The five priests of the Seminary who remained in Quebec during the siege continued their work afterwards, thankful for not having lost their property and the right to recruit other members from the colony, as had the Jesuits and the Récollets.

Since the Collège de Québec had not the staff required to offer all the courses at the secondary level, the Seminary deemed it necessary to open its doors to all those who wanted to be educated:

Le Séminaire de Québec se détermina à ouvrir des classes, non seulement pour ses propres élèves du Petit Séminaire, mais pareillement pour tous les jeunes canadiens, français ou anglais, qui désireraient faire

des études secondaires, qu'ils se destinassent ou non à l'état ecclésiastique.¹

However, the Petit Séminaire was unable to do this immediately after the conflict, for it had suffered much damage through bombardment.

Many reasons have been given to explain why the English suppressed the Jesuits and Récollets but not the priests of the Seminary. It could not be entirely a Protestant dislike for religious orders, since the women's orders were not suppressed. Nor could it be respect for secular French Canadian priests, such as Joseph-François Hubert, leader of the priests of the Seminary. It has been suggested that the English felt that control of an alien population could be better achieved through the formal leaders of that population, the seigneurs and the clergy. However, the real leaders in the countryside were the captains of militia, so that the new régime bolstered the power of a group amenable to such support, without necessarily achieving the major aim of close control of an alien population. One should also mention, in the case of

¹ Provost, La Revue de l'Université Laval, XVII, No. 7, p. 595.

the Jesuits, a hostility that had grown up, or been fostered, against them as "cunning and scheming Jesuits". Even General Murray in his report gives arguments for keeping the Seminary going:

The Seminary educates the youth, and fits them for Orders; it will be necessary to preserve and encourage this House on that account, and it is to be observed, this was the only Religious House or Order that heretofore did not participate of the French King's Bounty. ²

Finally, on October 7, 1765, the Petit Séminaire opened its doors not only to those aspiring to the priesthood but to anyone who desired an education. The students were but 28 in number: 15 boarders and 13 day students.³ The boarders were those who, as in the days of the French régime, prepared themselves for the priesthood. The Petit Séminaire was now a collège. Its role in education was enlarged; its turn had now come to assume the responsibility of offering the classical course; that is to say, it was a petit séminaire for the boarders and

² General Murray, Op. cit., p. 45.

³ Provost, Op. cit., p. 595.

a collège for the day students.

In Chapter V we mentioned that in 1761 Msgr. Briand had written to the King, but had received no answer. In 1771, he addressed a letter to the representative of the King in Canada, Governor Carleton. On this occasion he used another approach to secure financial assistance for the Seminary. Apparently, having given up hope that the Jesuits would be permitted to remain in Canada permanently, Msgr. Briand attempted to secure the Jesuit estates for the Seminary:

Votre Excellence pourra m'objecter que le Séminaire de Québec est en état de soutenir le Collège, qu'il est bien fondé, qu'il a des rentes considérables. Il est vrai, mon cher Général, que depuis quelques années, les ecclésiastiques du séminaire, à ma prière, et excités même par son excellence M. Murray, votre illustre prédécesseur, ont fait leur possible pour suppléer au Collège (des Jésuites) et qu'ils forment actuellement aux sciences, un certain nombre de jeunes gens, que vous avez encouragés plus d'une fois et dont vos libéralités ont augmenté l'émulation; mais les revenus de cette maison qui ne se montent pas à sept cent Louis, et sur lesquels, suivant leur fondation, il faut prendre la subsistance et l'entretien des sujets que l'on forme à l'état ecclésiastique, ne sont pas, à beaucoup près,

satisfaisants pour fournir aux dépenses d'un collège, d'autant plus que cette maison se trouve encore chargée de nourrir et d'entretenir l'Evêque qui, comme vous le savez, ne possède aucuns revenus. N'eût-il donc pas été naturel d'attribuer, au moins pour la plus grande partie, des biens qui appartenaient au collège tenu par les Pères Jésuites, dès que l'on ne veut plus qu'ils subsistent, au séminaire, maintenant chargé de remplir cette oeuvre.⁴

Msgr. Briand was justified in asking for a share of the Jesuit estates for the Seminary. The Séminaire de Québec had undertaken a responsibility which was far greater than had ever been anticipated by its founder and his successors. Without financial assistance, the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" could not function, for the institution had few resources of its own. However, the Bishop's attempt was unsuccessful. The English continued to wait for the last of the Jesuits to die in order to seize their estates, and the Seminary continued to struggle along without sufficient funds.

A few years later, Quebec once more came under attack, this time from the Americans. Other parts of the

⁴ Honorius Provost, "Le Petit Séminaire de Québec Devenu 'Collège'"; La Revue de l'Université Laval, XVIII, No. 9 (May 1964), p. 793.

Colony had already been attacked; Chambly and St. Jean were in American hands when the Conseil du Séminaire passed the following resolution on November 14, 1775:

Il a été décidé qu'il fallait renvoyer le Petit Séminaire et fermer le Collège, le quatorze novembre, à raison du siège.⁵

It is interesting to note that the above statement refers to the two types of students attending the Seminary, those in the "Petit Séminaire" and those in the "Collège".

General Montgomery and General Arnold planned a pincer-like assault on Quebec on December 3, 1775. Montgomery's flank attack was unsuccessful, but Arnold's troops managed to assault the city directly under the walls of the Seminary. After a five-hour battle, the Americans surrendered; they were taken prisoner and held in the Seminary. The following year, classes again resumed in the Seminary, for the young seminarians and others.

5
Ibid.

In 1787, Lord Jeffrey Amherst made an attempt to obtain the Jesuit estates. The French Canadian citizens of Quebec, fearing that the Collège de Québec would never be revived, sent a petition to Lord Dorchester⁶ on November 19, 1787, requesting that he grant them possession of the institution and permit them to reorganize it at their own expense. It appears that the citizens were quite confident that their request would receive a favorable reply, for they approached the Directors of the Seminary two years later with their plan:

Le 26 octobre 1789, sur la demande faite au Séminaire par plusieurs citoyens de Québec qui désirent prendre possession du collège, de fournir un régent pour quelques classes, qui seroient faites aux Jésuites, il a été conclud qu'on acquiesceroit, à condition qu'ils payeroient tous les frais.⁷

However, the request must have been denied, because nothing more was heard of it.

While the citizens were still in the process of

⁶ Ibid., pp. 795-796.

⁷ Ibid., p. 795.

attempting to secure the Jesuit residence in Quebec, a Royal Commission inquiry was going on under the direction of Chief Justice William Smith. The Commission, which had been formed on May 31, 1787,⁸ submitted its report on November 26, 1789. But even before the report was submitted, the prospect of a recommendation to form a non-sectarian college was arousing much controversy. This prompted Msgr. Hubert to write to the Colonial government on November 19, 1789, concerning the state of the Petit Séminaire de Québec:

Le séminaire de Québec, disait donc l'Evêque, a été fondé et doté par Monsieur François de Laval de Montmorency, premier Evêque du Canada. Il se soutient de ses revenus, dont l'emploi est soumis à l'inspection de l'Evêque, qui chaque année examine les comptes de dépenses et de recettes, ainsi que l'acquit des fondations. Cette maison n'est obligée par ses titres qu'à former de jeunes ecclésiastiques pour le service du Diocèse. Cependant, depuis la conquête de la Province par sa Majesté Britannique, le séminaire s'est chargé volontairement et gratuitement de l'instruction publique...

Lorsqu'il s'est présenté au séminaire de jeunes messieurs anglais, on les a admis comme les canadiens, sans aucune distinction ni prédilection. Seulement,

⁸ Report of a Committee of the Council on the Subject of Promoting "The Means of Education" (Quebec: Samuel Neilson, 1790). Copy found in Archives of Séminaire du Québec (Carton 100A).

on les a exemptés des exercices religieux de la maison, qui ne s'accordaient pas avec les principes de leur créance." 9

It would appear that Msgr. Hubert feared the establishment of a non-sectarian college, for this would bring about the closing of the Collège section of the Seminary. His argument was that there was no need for such a college since the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" was tolerant of all denominations.

A few years later, Msgr. Hubert again felt called upon to justify the existence of the "Petit Séminaire-Collège". In a letter written in 1794 by Father Joseph-Octave Plessis, then Secretary to Msgr. Hubert, and addressed to the Holy See, he declared:

Depuis 1764, y est-il dit, le Séminaire s'est trouvé forcé, par le malheur des temps, d'ajouter à ses autres fonctions celle d'enseigner dans son enceinte les humanités, la rhétorique et la philosophie. Un ou deux membres de la maison sont professeurs des principales classes. Les autres sont régents par de jeunes séminaristes obligés de donner à cette occupation une partie du temps destiné à leurs études ecclésiastiques. Sur ce point de vue, les classes sont à charge au diocèse; mais c'est un mal nécessaire." 10

9 Honorius Provost, Op. cit., p. 795.

10 Ibid., p. 796.

The English attempts to establish a non-sectarian college were unsuccessful, and the status quo of the Seminary did not change. The French Canadian citizens were also unable to change the attitude of the King towards the Jesuit estates; so the Collège de Québec was never revived.

The internal structure of the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" did not alter; nor did its attitude towards accepting external lay students.

We have the testimony of two travellers who mention the Seminary, George Heriot in his Travel Through¹¹
the Canadas, and John Lambert . Lambert describes it thus:

The seminary was originally instituted to bring up students for the priesthood. No funds were allowed for the education of the youth in general, but since the conquest it has admitted scholars without limitation of number... The boys educated there at present are numerous, and chiefly the children of the French inhabitants. Those intended for the Church remain there till their education is completed, or till a parish can be given them." 12

¹¹ John Lambert, Travels Through Canada and the United States (22nd ed., London: C. Cradock and W. Joy, 1813).

¹² Ibid., p. 80.

Up to 1800, the course of studies of the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" followed the traditional Jesuit curriculum. The reason for this was that the majority of teachers at the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" had been educated by the Jesuits, either in Canada or in France. Even Msgr. Briand had been educated in France by the Jesuits. The Ratio Studiorum of the Jesuits thus provided the logical basis for the curriculum of the Bishop's institution after the English conquest.

Many of the students who first entered the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" between 1765 and 1768 had received previous instruction from the Jesuits. When the Jesuits closed their Collège for pupils at the secondary level, most of their students went to the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" to continue their education. No reference can be found concerning problems of former Jesuit pupils in adapting themselves to the Seminary's curriculum, therefore it may be concluded that the "Petit Séminaire-Collège", once established, used a course of studies similar to that given at the Collège de Québec.

By 1790, the lack of teachers at the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" appears to have become acute. Since the Bishop had failed to obtain the Crown's permission to have the necessary replacements come from France, the French Canadian citizens now took it upon themselves to request that permission. The following is an excerpt from their letter:

Nous avons...un besoin urgent de prêtres pour remplir les séminaires et missions de notre Province; des Régents et des Professeurs de cette classe et de toute autre, nous manquent: nos collèges sont désertés; de ce défaut provient l'ignorance, et de là, la dépravation des mœurs. C'est un peuple soumis, un peuple fidèle qui attend de votre Clémence Royale la liberté de tirer de l'Europe des Personnes de cet Etat. 13

However, the petitioners received no answer and the problem remained until the time of the French Revolution, when many of the exiled clergy found their way to Canada. The attitude of the English towards the French Revolution and its victims was such that they were prepared to help

¹³ Adam Shortt and Arthur Doughty (ed.) Documents Concernant l'Histoire Constitutionnelle du Canada, 1759-1791. 2nd edition (Ottawa: C. H. Parmelee, 1911), pp. 749-750.

these victims even though their admission to Canada might run counter to English policy in that country.

It seems that throughout its history the Collège de Québec maintained a high standard of learning; on several occasions graduating students publicly demonstrated their knowledge and competence in various fields:

On Tuesday, the 5th instant, the students in philosophy at the Seminary of Quebec, supported in public theses in the various branches of mathematics... Many important dignitaries of the colony were present, including Lord Dorchester and the Honorable William Smith, Chief Justice. 14

CHAPTER SEVEN

A COLLEGE CLASSIQUE IN MONTREAL

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Before the English conquest there was no organized school of higher learning in Canada other than the Jesuit institution at Quebec, although the citizens of Montreal had made two unsuccessful attempts to have one founded in their city by the Jesuits. During the French period, both the Jesuits and the Sulpicians had offered education at the primary level to prepare pupils for entrance to the Collège de Québec. Notwithstanding, there seems to have been some type of secondary education given in Ville Marie prior to 1759. As early as 1703, the Collège de Quebec had apparently enrolled a few pupils who had already received at least¹ part of their secondary schooling in Montreal. One among them had completed his secondary education and his first year of philosophy. Nothing more is mentioned of the private secondary education given at the Sulpician House in Montreal until 1752, when nine youths of Montreal

¹ Olivier Maurault, "Les Origines de l'Enseignement Secondaire à Montréal", Les Cahiers des Dix, I (1936), p.99.

went to Quebec to complete their classical education. Six years later, three more pupils from Montreal went to the Collège de Québec to continue their secondary² schooling.

In 1765, the region of Montreal consisted of³ forty-six parishes and approximately 40,000 inhabitants; yet Montreal had no collège. To the French Canadians this situation was no longer tolerable: Montreal needed its own collège classique.

Unlike the Jesuits and the Récollets, the Sulpicians severed relations with their Mother House in France and set up a separate corporation. By this act, they prevented⁴ the English from seizing their property. At that time, there were twenty-eight Sulpicians in Canada.⁵ However, like all other religious orders which depended on France to replenish the ranks of their society, they would now be doomed to extinction unless they succeeded in ensuring the continuation of their order through local aspirants.

² Ibid., p. 103.

³ Censuses of Canada, IX, pp. 64-65.

⁴ Olivier Maurault, Le Petit Séminaire de Montréal (Montreal: J. A. Derome Ltée., 1918), p. 12.

⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

Although the Sulpicians had a grand séminaire, they had no recognized secondary school to supply candidates for it. That they had some secondary school is clear from the Very Reverend Father Etienne de Montgolfier's letter of 1773:

De tous temps on a enseigné le Latin dans le séminaire de Montréal; qu'on y fait la seconde et la rhétorique, lorsqu'il s'est trouvé des maîtres et suffisamment de disciples; qu'une très grande partie des prêtres qui sont aujourd'hui dans ce diocèse ont reçu dans cette école les premiers principes de la latinité, que l'on ne recevait pas à la vérité des pensionnaires dans la maison mais que plusieurs jeunes gens y étaient élèves gratuitement et qu'on y admettait toutes sortes d'externes. 6

But obviously this school was neither regular nor official.

The Collège de Montréal had its origins in the small presbytery at Longue-Pointe, approximately five miles east of Montreal. On June 20, 1765, the Reverend Father Jean-Baptiste Curatteau de la Blaiserie, P.S.S.,⁷ was appointed rector of the above parish. Immediately upon

⁶ A. M. Malo, "Contribution de St-Sulpice à Notre Enseignement Secondaire", Revue de l'Enseignement Secondaire, XXI, No. 4 (January 1942), p. 262.

⁷ Annuaire de Villemarie; Origine, Utilité et Propres des Institutions Catholiques de Montréal (Montreal: Hugel-Latour, 1878), p. 215.

his arrival at Longue-Pointe, he set about enlarging the presbytery to accommodate a school. The renovation⁸ was completed in the spring of 1767, and Father Curatteau opened his secondary school. This school was generally referred to by his parishoners as the "Petit Séminaire-Collège".⁹ The Sulpicians, then, were not directly responsible for the founding of the Collège de Montréal, but they profited by its establishment.

Although there has been much controversy over the exact date of the school's opening, 1767 appears to be¹⁰ the most probable date. Jean Dombreval states that it was founded in 1766 and officially opened in the spring of 1767. Whether the school was opened in 1766 or 1767 is not as significant as the fact that this institution was the first of its kind in the region of Montreal to offer, in any official capacity, courses at the secondary level.

Father Curatteau remained at Longue-Pointe for¹¹ eight years and personally supported his institution.

⁸ Meilleur, Mémorial de l'Education du Bas Canada, p.91.

⁹ Annuaire de Villemarie, Op. cit., p. 215.

¹⁰ Jean Dombreval, Archives et Souvenirs (Montreal: 1938), p. 39.

¹¹ Olivier Maurault, Op. cit., p. 16.

During that time, three seminarians from Quebec assisted him with his teaching. They were: Laurent Bertrand, Paul¹² Ambroise Bedard and Jean-Baptiste Content. However, the school was not a complete success because the establishment was small and too far from Montreal for pupils to commute daily.

Thus, early in 1773, the churchwardens of Notre-Dame parish in Montreal asked Father Curatteau whether he would be willing to move his school to Montreal. At first he refused, probably because there was no locale to which he could transfer his "Petit Séminaire-Collège". Later that same year, the Château de Vaudreuil was offered for sale. This prompted the churchwardens of Notre-Dame parish to renew their request, and Father¹³ Curatteau finally agreed.

The churchwardens purchased the Château for \$19,500, but it cost Father Curatteau another \$5,144 to¹⁴ renovate the building and prepare it for its new rôle.

¹² Honorius Provost, "Le Séminaire de Québec et le Séminaire de Montréal", unpublished notes.

¹³ Olivier Maurault, Op. cit., p. 26.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Although it was named Collège St-Raphael in honour
¹⁵
 of the Archangel Raphael, Father Curatteau always
¹⁶
 referred to it as the Collège de Montréal.

The "Petit Séminaire-Collège" at Longue-Pointe
 was closed on October 1, 1773, and the Collège St-Raphael
¹⁷
 was opened on October 23 of the same year. The first
 year, the new Collège appears to have been frequented
 only by day students. The following year, it accepted
 boarders, for Maurault writes that there were "52
¹⁸
 pensionnaires et autant d'externes". Although this
 number may be slightly exaggerated, it still leads us
 to assume that the new Collège was functioning in some
 recognized way.

We hear little of the Collège St-Raphael until
 Christmas Day, 1788, when Father Curatteau tells the
 Bishop of Quebec in a letter that this school could not

¹⁵
 Ibid., p. 28.

¹⁶ Jean Dombreval, Op. cit., p. 41.

¹⁷ Annuaire de Villemarie, Op. cit., p. 215.

¹⁸ Olivier Maurault, Op. cit., p. 28.

have survived without the assistance of the Séminaire de Québec. At that time, the Séminaire de Québec had¹⁹ lent the Collège four teachers, all seminarians.

Then, in 1789, Father Curatteau, founder and first director of the Collège St-Raphael, being sixty years of age and in failing health, resigned his office. The churchwardens of Notre-Dame, who were also the administrators of the Collège, thought this the appropriate time to make a threefold request to the Bishop of Quebec, whose diocese included the region of Montreal: to have Father Charles Chauveaux, a secular priest, replace Father Curatteau; to change the program of studies;²⁰ and to form a separate diocese for the region of Montreal.

The petition of the churchwardens failed altogether: Father Chauveaux did not become director; the proposed changes in the curriculum were not accepted; and no new diocese was created. Concerning the first aspect of the petition, Father Chauveaux rejected the offer and Father Jean-Baptiste Marchand became director instead.

¹⁹ Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Fonds Verreau, Carton 16, No. 10.

²⁰ Appendix C, pp. 137-141.

In a letter to the Bishop, M. J. G. Delisle voiced the churchwardens' protests against the appointment of Father Marchand, and expressed their displeasure that²¹ the proposed curriculum had not been accepted.

As a result of this correspondence, the program of studies was adopted in 1789, and in 1790 it was²² implemented. The Collège incorporated within its curriculum the teaching of English, geography and²³ arithmetic. However, Father Marchand remained director of the Collège St-Raphael until his appointment as rector²⁴ of a parish in Detroit in 1796. The Annuaire de Villemarie states that the churchwardens were right in their prediction that Father Marchand was not suited for the²⁵ position of director of the Collège.

²¹ Appendix D, pp. 142-146.

²² "Une Page de l'Histoire du Collège de Montréal", Bulletin des Recherches Historiques (Quebec), XXIII, p. 211.

²³ Annuaire de Villemarie, Op. cit., p. 238.

²⁴ Olivier Maurault, "Galerie de Portraits des Supérieurs du Collège de Montréal"; Les Cahiers des Dix, XXV (1960), p. 194.

²⁵ Annuaire de Villemarie, Op. cit., p. 214.

In the last chapter we mentioned that the government of Canada established an education commission in 1787. One of its recommendations was the founding of a non-sectarian college. Such a college, which would have been of the utmost value to the province, was seen²⁶ as a device for central control of education. Msgr. Hubert was opposed to this idea, but the Sulpicians saw in the recommendation an opportunity to request the establishment of a "Collège-Université" in Montreal, which would be organized under their auspices. Thus, in the summer of 1790, the Sulpicians wrote to Lord Dorchester:

Les ecclésiastiques désirant seconder les intentions favorable de votre Excellence pour encourager l'éducation, ils ne croient pouvoir mieux répondre à la destination des biens qu'ils possèdent que de fonder un collège dans la ville de Montréal.²⁷

To achieve their goal they asked the Governor for a charter which would give them the right to build

²⁶

Report of a Committee of the Council on the Subject of Promoting 'The Means of Education' (Quebec: Samuel Neilson, 1790).

²⁷ Olivier Maurault, Le Petit Séminaire de Montréal, p.31.

the school. In this letter they also indicated the type of courses that would be offered at the proposed "Collège-Université":

Une charte ou lettres patentes portant permission aux ecclésiastiques du séminaire de Montréal d'acquérir les terrains et emplacements situés en la dite ville de Montréal entre la Place d'Armes, la rue St-Jacques, la rue St-François et la rue Notre-Dame... pour y fonder un collège sous le nom de Collège Dorchester où l'on enseignera à lire et écrire les langues anglaise, française et latine, les Belles-lettres, la Philosophie, les mathématiques, le droit civil, et les autres sciences qui seront jugées nécessaires, sous la direction de l'évêque de Québec ou diocésain, et des Supérieurs et Directeurs du dit Séminaire avec droit d'en choisir et nommer les maîtres et professeurs parmi les sujets de sa majesté Britannique et de faire les règlements nécessaires pour la régie intérieurs du dit Collège; le tout sous l'inspection du gouverneur, lieutenant-gouverneur, ou du juge en chef; avec pouvoir aux marguilliers de l'oeuvre et fabrique de la Paroisse St-Marie (Notre-Dame) en leur assemblée de choisir et nommer quatre administrateurs laïcs pour le temporel du dit collège, avec droit aux dits administrateurs d'accepter et recevoir tous dons ou legs qui seraient faits au dit Collège, pour en disposer au profit du dit Collège selon les intentions des donateurs, avec l'avis de l'évêque de Québec ou diocésain et du Supérieur et Directeurs du Séminaire de Montréal. 28

²⁸Ibid., pp. 31-32.

The Sulpicians mentioned their intention of employing eight teachers - four for French and English, and four for the humanities, rhetoric, philosophy and mathematics.²⁹

Henry Motz, Secretary to Lord Dorchester, replied to the Sulpicians' request in two letters, one dated September 30, 1790 and the other October 6, 1790. In the first one he requested a plan of the site of the proposed "Collège-Université", and a specific outline of its charter. In the second one he requested more information on the building, the pupils, the teachers and the cost of operation.³⁰

The Superior of the Sulpicians, Rev. Father Brassier, complied with the requests and outlined the following charter to Dorchester on October 10, 1790:

1. The Sulpicians would be permitted to open a collège in Montreal; that it would be given the name Collège Clarence. Such a school would teach English, French, Latin, philosophy, mathematics, with specialization

29

Ibid., p. 32.

30

L. P. Audet, Le Système Scolaire de la Province de Québec (2nd ed. Quebec: Les Editions de l'Erable, 1951) II, p. 210.

in navigation, surveying and engineering. Other subjects such as civil law and other sciences may be added as the public needs arise. Such an institution would be under the scrutiny of the Crown.

2. That the Sulpicians be given the authority to buy the land between St-Jacques, St-François, Notre-Dame and Place d'Armes, for the purpose of building the proposed Collège.

3. That this Collège would remain united with the Séminaire de Montréal with the right to choose, appoint, dismiss, or replace regents and teachers, and to make the necessary rules and regulations to ensure the proper functioning of the proposed institution.

4. That the Principal of the proposed establishment be a Sulpician. He would be responsible for the daily expenditures and the receipts and remunerations of students. He would also be responsible to render annually an account of all receipts and expenses before a general assembly of the Directors and lay administrators of the proposed Collège.

5. That the churchwardens of the parish of Notre-Dame would have the right to choose, nominate and replace four lay administrators in case of death or absence of any such member, with the consent of the Superior and Directors of the Séminaire de Montréal.

6. That the students, teachers and servants of the proposed Collège enjoy the same privileges and immunities afforded or which would be afforded to the other colleges in the Province.

7. That, if a university were established, the students of the proposed Collège Clarence would be permitted entry upon the recommendation of the principal of the proposed Collège and credited with the courses taken at the proposed Collège. 31

The fifth point of the Sulpician charter is of particular interest; it indicates that the churchwardens of Notre-Dame Parish and the Sulpicians were at odds. The churchwardens had control of the Collège St-Raphael, and the Sulpicians did not want them to have similar jurisdiction over the proposed Collège Clarence.

The charter was presented to the executive council of the Province and later to the Chairman of the 1787 Commission on Education, William Smith. Smith rejected the entire Sulpician project³² and stated that "the overture (of the proposed Collège Clarence) should be laid at his Majesty's feet for such course as his Royal Grace and Wisdom should approve and command".³³

The Collège Clarence project, then, failed; but

³¹ Ibid., pp. 211-213,

³² Ibid., p. 214.

³³ Olivier Maurault, *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

the Collège St-Raphael continued to function and render service to the youth of Montreal. It is interesting to note that the Collège St-Raphael³⁴ legally had no right to exist. In a letter dated 1806, Herman Witsius Ryland, Secretary to Governor Robert Shore Milnes, declared:

A college was created, at the cost of many thousands of pounds, and as far as my information goes, without any shadow of authority from the Crown. 35

The Collège St-Raphael, however, had been unofficially sanctioned by Governors Haldimand and Borchester, who not only had visited the institution but also had made³⁶ donations to it. The Collège continued to function³⁷ and prosper until it was destroyed by fire in 1803.

It is assumed that when it first opened, the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" at Longue-Pointe only offered

³⁴ Ibid. and see Annuaire de Villemarie, p. 239.

³⁵ Olivier Maurault, Op. cit., p. 35

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Meilleur, Op. cit., p. 91.

the first year of secondary education. However, because of the assistance of the teaching seminarians from Quebec, the number of grades increased. Thus, by 1772, Father Curatteau's collège at Longue-Pointe offered a four-year course, and in 1773, eleven pupils, ready to enter rhetoric, left for the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" at Quebec to pursue their studies.³⁸ Unfortunately, little more is known of the Collège at Longue-Pointe; none of its records appear to have been left by Father Curatteau.

In 1774, a year after the Collège St-Raphael had opened, rhetoric was added to the curriculum, and the pupils no longer had to go to Quebec to complete their secondary education,³⁹ unless they wished to take courses in philosophy.⁴⁰

The Collège St-Raphael had great difficulty in

³⁸ Olivier Maurault, *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ On September 20, 1790, Father Brassier thanked the Bishop of Quebec for having sent to Montreal a professor of philosophy (Lionel Groulx, L'Enseignement Français au Canada (Montreal: Librairie d'Action Canadienne-Française, Ltee., 1931), I, p. 195).

obtaining good teachers during the first decade of its existence, except for the few that came from the Séminaire de Québec. This shortage of teachers prompted the Directors of the Collège to devise a system of class rotation: if the second and fourth forms were taught in any given year, then the third and fifth forms were omitted.⁴¹

Although the Collège St-Raphael was more or less independent of the Séminaire de Québec, the course of studies which it offered was similar to that of the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" at Quebec. This similarity in curriculum may be attributed to the fact that most of the teachers at the Collège St-Raphael had been educated at the Collège de Québec or the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" in Quebec. Another contributing factor was that, since the Collège in Montreal had not originally offered the complete secondary program, the pupils of Montreal had had to go to Quebec to complete their studies.

It is interesting to note that by 1790 the traditional Jesuit curriculum did not meet the demands of the society.

⁴¹ Olivier Maurault, *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

To bring the program up to date, the churchwardens took two steps: they added arithmetic, English and geography, and appended a commerce option and a physics laboratory⁴² by 1800.

⁴²

Groulx, Op. cit., pp. 200-201.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

The Collège de Québec was the only official secondary school in Canada during the French régime. Since distance was a major obstacle, many youths outside the Quebec region could not attend; therefore the institution served mainly the city of Quebec and its surrounding districts.

When the Jesuits began teaching the French youths in 1635, only the rudiments of classical education were given; but by 1644 the Collège de Québec was offering the complete collège course, and it continued to do so until the end of the French régime. After the fall of French Canada, the Jesuits made a vigorous attempt to continue their educational endeavours, but by 1776 the Collège had to close its doors permanently.

An examination of the history of the school reveals that the Jesuits were resolute in maintaining the educational traditions of their Society. The Ratio Studiorum prescribed that each Jesuit should spend a few years teaching in one

of their colleges, usually after the completion of their¹ course in theology. Therefore, although many of the teachers at the Collège de Québec were newly ordained, they had had experience in pedagogy prior to their arrival in New France. Thus, the Collège de Québec was in the hands of experienced teachers, and in addition, these pedagogues, fresh from the collèges in France, brought with them the traditions of the Jesuit institutions in Europe. Consequently, the Collège de Québec was a replica of the Jesuit collèges of France.

Like the Jesuit institutions of Europe, the Collège de Québec offered its services free of charge. However, the school in Québec had developed a unique system of education: there was no class distinction - pupils of different social backgrounds were found in the same class.² But in spite of all this, few attended and even fewer completed the collège course:

La vocation ecclésiastique seule, ou à peu près, pouvait engager les jeunes gens

¹ Faure, Revue de l'Enseignement Secondaire, VII, No. 6, p. 658.

² Rochemontieux, Les Jésuites ... au XVIII^e Siècle, III, p. 369.

à faire un cours complet, et ce fut la, croyons-nous, la règle générale. Les exceptions comprennent les fils de bonne famille que leur position sociale forçait; pour ainsi dire, à prendre une instruction dont les enfants sortis du peuple ne sentaient pas le besoin et dont ils voyaient pas l'utilité. Dans de telles conditions, il n'était guère possible aux maisons d'éducation de fournir un grand nombre de prêtres à la colonie, ou de donner à la société une classe nombreuse d'hommes supérieurs. ³

There have been many attempts to estimate the number of pupils who attended the Collège de Québec; but these attempts are to no avail, since no Jesuit statistics or records are available. L. P. Audet and Amédée Gosselin believed that the number of pupils who attended the Jesuit institution was approximately twice the number registered in the Annales du Petit Séminaire de Québec. The Annales record a total of 862 pupils. Thus, if the assumptions of Gosselin and Audet are correct, about 1,700 pupils attended the Collège de Québec during its existence.^{4,5} On the other hand, Lionel Groulx is convinced that the total number of pupils enrolled at

³ Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 386.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 264-269.

⁵ L. P. Audet, Op. cit., II, p. 46.

the Collège was more nearly four times that registered⁶
in the Annales du Petit Séminaire.

Even if, as the author does, one agreed with Groulx, this would assume that only about 3,400 pupils went through the Collège during the French régime, a woefully small number in proportion to the colony's⁷ population. Yet, as we have seen earlier, demands were made by some portions of the population for more schools, more classes, more teachers and more subjects to be taught, and to some of these the Jesuits seemed to have given way. The reason for such a small attendance may lie primarily in the colonists' general lack of interest in and apathy towards education, by a concern among new arrivals from France for a better life for themselves and their families, which they believed could be secured through trapping, trading and farming - not through education.

⁶
Groulx, Op. cit., pp. 24-25.

⁷ The census of 1754 states that there were 55,000 inhabitants in New France. (Censuses of Canada, IV, p.61).

S'il ne fut pas aussi fréquenté et aussi prospère que d'autres institutions de ce genre en Europe, il faut s'en prendre aux circonstances plutôt qu'à la négligence des colons ou à leur antipathie pour l'instruction. Ce n'est pas dans un pays comme était alors la Nouvelle-France, que l'on pouvait espérer voir l'enseignement secondaire aussi répandu et aussi recherché qu'il était dans l'ancienne France.⁸

Secondly, the low attendance at the Collège may have been due to the lack of opportunity for the colonists to enter the professions. Since all the colonial administrators, civil servants and professionals came from France, there was little incentive for the French Canadian youths who had aptitudes for such careers, although the Jesuit institution could have given the necessary training.

In 1765, because the Jesuits were no longer able to offer the complete collège course, the Petit Séminaire de Québec assumed the responsibility of educating the youth of the colony, and offered the complete collège program; in addition, it continued to serve as a boarding house for aspiring priests. Two years later, the Collège

⁸ Amédée Gosselin, Op. cit., p. 447.

de Montréal had its beginnings, and by 1790 it was offering courses similar to the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" of Quebec. Both the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" of Quebec and the Collège St-Raphael followed, with few variations, the same program as was given at the Collège de Québec.

These institutions, however, did not function without difficulty. After the conquest of New France by the English, all communication between France and Canada was prohibited. This ban created two major problems for the French Canadian educational institutions: no text books could be imported from France and schools could no longer depend on teachers from France to fill their vacancies.

Since there were no printers in Canada during the French régime, all printed material had to come from the mother country. As a rule, the few printers that established themselves in Canada after the English conquest did not print many French texts. Thus, after the book supply of the collèges ran out, pupils and teachers were forced to copy by hand important texts and lectures. Generally, such copies were employed as texts for subsequent

pupils. Many examples of these handwritten "books" can still be found in the archives of the Séminaire de Québec and the Séminaire St-Sulpice in Montreal. Some of these texts are dated as early as 1774 and some as late as 1815.

There have been many criticisms of the collèges classiques, but most of their excoriations have centered around two major points, that the collèges classiques, being religiously oriented, were mainly designed to make priests, and that the curriculum of these institutions did not meet the needs of the majority, thus hindering the progress and evolution of the French Canadian society. These arguments may be accepted in Canada today, because secondary education is commonplace. However, when one refers to the collèges classiques in the period under discussion, such arguments are met with reservations.

The Reformation induced both Catholics and Protestants to develop systems of public education. Since Europe was in its autocratic era, the State was not particularly interested in mass education, because it feared that an educated public would bring about its downfall. In France

as well as in Canada, the Catholic Church undertook the task of instructing youth; hence, it is reasonable to assume that its educational policies would be compatible with its goals.

Since it was the Jesuits who established the only collège classique in New France, it follows that their philosophy of educating aspiring priests and the intellectual élite was maintained. Their school was not designed to educate the majority of the population. However, in that era an education was not necessary to secure one's livelihood, therefore most of the colonists found little need for schooling.

During the French régime and the early part of the English domination of Canada, few positions of importance were open to French Canadians. The farmer remained in the field and the artisan in his workshop, while the educated French Canadian, with his classical background, inevitably entered either the priesthood or professions which were not concerned with economics or politics.

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APPENDICES A TO E

APPENDIX A

A segment of Father Jérôme Lalemant's letter to the General of the Society of Jesus, the Very Reverend Paul Oliva, dated September 14, 1760.

5^o Il arriva cependant que nous fûmes progressivement amenés à nous charger de l'instruction des enfants français, parce qu'il ne se trouvait personne au pays pour y pourvoir, ou personne qui fût en mesure de le faire, pas plus qu'il ne s'en trouvait pour prendre charge des paroisses, dont nous avons assumé l'administration pendant trente ans environ. Ainsi avons-nous d'abord, par nous-mêmes ou par nos domestiques enseigné la lecture et l'écriture. Cédant ensuite aux demandes des parents, qui nous représentaient qu'il n'y avait aucun collège où leurs enfants puissent recevoir un enseignement, il nous fallut presque imperceptiblement passer aux classes supérieures. "A quoi bon ces premier éléments, nous disait-on en effet. Est-ce là tout ce qui s'enseigne dans les collèges." Plus tard, arriva l'Evêque. Il se cherchait partout des clercs pour se constituer un clergé et se procurer des curés. Quand il se fût rendu compte que son espoir était vain d'en trouver en France, il jeta les yeux sur ceux de nos élèves,

des Français nés au pays, qui venaient d'achever leur humanités et se préparaient à aborder l'étude de la philosophie. Comme toujours, il ne se trouvait que nous pour l'enseigner. Il nous fallut donc accepter cette charge et, conséquemment, y ajouter les mathématiques, la théologie scolastique et la morale. L'Evêque insistait avec force pour que nous préparions au plus tôt ces étudiants à devenir prêtres. Ainsi fut-il fait. Actuellement, cinq ou six d'entre eux ont été promus aux ordres majeures. Avec le temps, d'autres leur succéderont. C'est dans cet espoir et dans cette attente que l'Illustrissime Prélat a établi un séminaire dans l'enceinte même de son palais épiscopal. Douze ou treize candidats au clergé y sont hébergés, qui fréquentent nos classes, en plus de nos autres élèves pensionnaires et externes qui s'appliquent aux mêmes études.

Mais à l'avenir, que nous faudra-t-il faire.

Jusqu'à maintenant, quelques vieillards pleins de mérite, qui ne sont plus aptes à travailler à l'extérieur dans les missions lointaines, ont assuré cet enseignement et, avec eux, avant de se rendre dans leur poste de mission, quelques-uns des missionnaires qui nous sont arrivés de

France. Aujourd'hui, ces vieillards, de plus en plus vieillis, ne sont plus capables d'accomplir cette tâche; ils sont épuisés. Par contre, (les Jeunes) qui sont destinés aux missions trouvent pénible d'être occupés ici, passablement longtemps, à des fonctions qu'ils ont déjà remplies, mais qu'ils n'avaient point en vue en quittant la France. Il s'ajoute encore que nous avons présentement cessé de faire venir de tels ouvriers, parce que, d'une part, nous en avons un nombre suffisant pour le moment, et que, d'autre part, les ressources nous manquent pour pourvoir à leur entretien.

Certains prétendants, - des personnes de l'extérieur et même quelques-uns des nôtres, - que nous sommes tenus en justice d'enseigner toutes les matières que j'ai mentionnées plus haut, et qui s'enseignent habituellement dans les grands collèges, par le fait que notre collège est fondé (i.e. Doté d'un revenu à cette fin) et qu'il ne s'en trouve aucun autre auquel puissent s'adresser au moins les candidats au sacerdoce. S'il nous faut ainsi maintenir cet enseignement, je me demande comment nous y prendre. Faut-il faire venir d'Europe des professeurs pour toutes ces matières. Quelles ne seront pas alors les réclamations dans toutes les provinces (de la Compagnie en

France), qui trouvent déjà onéreuse la tâche de nous envoyer des ouvriers pour les missions. Quelles dépenses ne faudrait-il pas encourir, pour venir comme pour retourner. Ces professeurs ne viendront pas ici avec la pensée d'y séjourner longtemps. Et les dangers de la traversée...etc. Faudra-t-il alors, pour assurer cet enseignement, rappeler des ouvriers déjà appliqués aux missions. Quelle tristesse de coeur n'éprouveront-ils pas à s'éloigner de leurs néophytes, et pour l'apostolat, quelle perte!

Quant à nous, à l'encontre de ceux qui croient et qui soutiennent que nous sommes tenus en justice, nous prétendons qu'ils n'en est pas ainsi, mais que, jusqu'à maintenant, nous avons rendu ce service uniquement par un motif de charité, et sous la pression des circonstances. Nous le rendrons encore très volontiers ce service, aussi longtemps que la chose se pourra faire sans que nos missions aient à en souffrir. Nous jugeons, cependant, que, d'après le texte de l'acte de fondation, qui ne mentionne que la seule conversion des indigènes, nous ne sommes pas tenus en justice. Si la fondation s'est faite sous le nom de Collège, ce n'est qu'en référence au titre de fondation, comme il ressort clairement des termes suivants: pour contribuer à la formation religieuse des Canadiens. En basant notre opinion sur ces termes, il nous apparaît que

nous ne sommes obligés à rien autre chose qu'à l'enseignement du catéchisme et de la doctrine chrétienne. Je me rends compte, toutefois, que cette interprétation n'est pas sans présenter quelque difficulté. Il n'est en effet, ni dans l'esprit, ni dans la pratique de la Compagnie de passer des contrats pour les obligations spirituelles, et c'est précisément pourquoi, entre autres raisons, je dis que toute cette affaire nous apparaît comme compliquée et embarrassante.

Qu'il plaise donc à Votre Paternité de décider ce qu'il nous faut faire, de déclarer ce à quoi nous sommes tenus en justice, et de nous dire si l'Illustrissime Evêque et autres (intéressés) désirent autre chose, s'ils songent à d'autres fondations ou s'ils se contenteront que nous leur rendions, par un seul motif de charité, ce qu'il nous sera possible de faire sans nuire à nos missions. Que Votre Paternité veuille bien déclarer, en outre, ce qu'il convient de maintenir par charité; qu'elle nous indique aussi à qui nous adresser pour obtenir des hommes, et à quelles industries recourir si les ressources nous manquent. Actuellement, en effet, le revenu provenant de la fondation est diminué du tiers. - Voilà pour le cinquième point.

(Archives du Collège Sainte-Marie, (826-4)).

APPENDIX B

The petition of the citizens of Montreal
to the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor
of New France, requesting that a collège
be established; dated March 9, 1727.

Mgr., tout ce qu'il y a dans l'étendue du
gouvernement de la ville de Montréal d'officiers de Guerre
et de Justice, de Bourgeois, et d'habitants, touchez très
sensiblement de l'ignorance et de l'oisiveté de leurs
enfants, qui donnent occasion aux désordres qui les font
gémir, ont recours à vous pour vous supplier très humblement
et très instamment de seconder leurs bonnes intentions, en
leur procurant ce qu'il y a de plus capable de maintenir la
jeunesse dans l'ordre et de lui inspirer les sentiments de
soumission nécessaires, pour rendre leurs enfants de bons
serviteurs du Roy, en même temps qu'ils les rendront bons
serviteurs de Dieu.

L'expérience convainc tous les jours que le moyen
le plus efficace pour cela, c'est la fondation d'un collège
où la jeunesse soit élevée depuis la plus tendre enfance
jusqu'à un âge plus mûr, qui les mette en état de prendre la
partie la plus convenable à leurs dispositions naturelles, à
leur condition, et encore plus à leur salut éternel.

Il n'est pas nécessaire, Mgr. de vous exposer plus au long les raisons qui peuvent, et nous osons même dire, qui doivent vous engager à entrer dans nos vues, et à employer tout le poids de votre autorité pour les faire réussir. Vous en savez plus par vous même là dessus que nous en pourrions vous en représenter; et nous recevons tous les jours tant de marques de votre bonté que nous ne pouvons pas douter que vous n'approuviez nos sentiments, et que vous ne soyez très porté à nous satisfaire en ce point.

Nous sommes même très persuadés que vous trouverez bon que nous vous témoignions l'inclination très juste que nous avons de confier l'éducation de nos enfants aux RR.PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus qui ont déjà un petit établissement en cette ville, parce que vous connaissez encore mieux que nous les talents particuliers que Dieu leur a donnés, et qui sont connus partout, et singulièrement en France, ce qui attire dans leurs collèges toutes la jeunesse la plus florissante et la plus distinguée du royaume.

Vous applaudirez donc sans doute à notre dessein, Mgr., et bien loin de nous donner occasion de ralentir notre zèle, nous sommes convaincus que vous l'exciterez encore davantage.

Mais que pouvons-nous faire de nous-même, Mgr., si votre crédit auprès de Sa Majesté ne vient à notre secours. Les fonds que les RR.PP. Jésuites nous demandent pour un établissement si utile nous paraissent à la vérité très modiques. Mais quelque modiques qu'ils soient, vous savez assez combien peu nous sommes en état de la fournir par nous-mêmes. Nous n'ignorons pas, Mgr., les dépenses considérables que Sa Majesté fait pour un pays que ne lui rend presque rien. Mais nous osons dire qu'Elle n'en a guères fait de plus utiles pour l'Etat que celles qu'Elle pourra faire pour l'établissement que nous demandons, comme l'expérience en convainc tous les jours. D'ailleurs il paraît aisé de quoy fonder le collège, sans augmenter les fonds destinés pour le Canada.

Il n'est pas nécessaire, Mgr., de vous en suggérer les moyens. Vos lumières vous en découvrent beaucoup plus que nous ne pourrions vous en exposer. Nous abandonnons donc, Mgr., tous nos intérêts entre vos mains, bien persuadés de la disposition favorable dans laquelle vous êtes à notre égard, et que nous réussirons dans notre entreprise, si vous en voulez bien faire la vôtre.

C'est ce qui nous engagera à redoubler nos
vœux pour votre conservation, et ce qui perpétuera notre
reconnaissance jusque aux générations les plus éloignées.

Pierre Georges Roy, Les Petites Choses de Notre
Histoire, I, pp. 141-144.

APPENDIX C

The petition of the churchwardens of Notre-Dame Parish requesting that Father Charles Chauveaux replace Father Jean-Baptiste Curatteau and, at the same time, asking for a change in the program of studies and the formation of a separate diocese for the region of Montreal; dated 1789.

1. En l'année 1773, les Marguilliers de cette fabrique, dont plusieurs d'entre eux sont maintenant présents, animés d'un motif louable, firent au nom de la ditte fabrique, l'acquisition du Château de Vaudreuil pour en faire un collège destiné pour l'éducation de la jeunesse de cette ville. On ne crut pouvoir mieux faire que d'en remettre le soin à M. Curatteau qui, par le zèle qu'il avait montré en tenant un petit collège à la Longue-Pointe, parut à Juste droit mériter le confiance du public. -

Nous ne saurions avoir trop de reconnaissance pour les services qu'il a bien voulu rendre depuis ce temps, et nous pouvons dire avec vérité qu'il a fait son possible pour se rendre digne de la confiance que le public avait mis en lui et qu'il mérite aujourd'hui nos applaudissements dans la retraite qu'il prémédite; Vous avez pu voir l'avertissement

qu'il a fait insérer dans la Gazette de Montréal du douze de Juin dernier, où il prévient le public, que son âge et ses infirmités l'obligent de se démettre de ce fardeau pénible. - En conséquence, nous proposons que nos Remerciements pour son administration passée, lui soient incessamment présentés.

2. Mr. le Grand Vicaire qui préside aujourd'hui à notre assemblée s'est déjà occupé du soin de procurer au Collège un Nouveau Directeur qui puisse dignement remplacer M. Curatteau, mais ce soin tombe également sur nous, Messieurs, car le Collège appartient à la fabrique, et la fabrique représente tous les individus de cette paroisse: or donc, le but principal de cette convocation est de prendre les mesures les plus convenables pour faire administrer cette maison, sur un plan nouveau, plus étendu et plus libéral.

3. En priant notre dit Sieur Grand Vicaire, Messire Jean Brassier de s'intéresser auprès de Sa Grandeur l'évêque de Québec, à l'égard des différents sujets qui doivent donner l'éducation à nos enfants, et notamment pour principal, la personne de Messire CHARLES CHAUVEAUX prêtre, dont la Science et le détail, nous offrent à la fois un

double et bien précieux avantage, et auquel une somme de ... sera annuellement payée.

4. Que quoique l'ancienne Méthode d'enseigner la Jeunesse de notre ville dans notre Collège ait produit jusqu'à présent d'assez bons effets, elle n'a néanmoins pas entièrement répondu aux vues qu'on doit toujours se proposer dans l'établissement d'un Collège qui appartient au public, lesquelles doivent toujours être plus générales; qu'on s'y est bien à la vérité, efforcé de rendre nos enfants capables d'entrer dans l'Etat Ecclésiastique, mais que ceux qui n'ont pas eu cette Vocation, sont rentrés chez leurs parents, ignorant entièrement tout ce qui est nécessaire pour se soutenir et s'avancer dans le monde; que plusieurs d'entre eux, dédaignant la profession manuelle de leurs pères, ont cru se ravalier en suivant leurs métiers, et étant trop âgés, pour s'assujétir aux devoirs des écoles d'écriture, d'arithmétique et autres branches essentielles pour tout état et particulièrement celui de Citoyen, ils sont devenus des êtres à charge à leur famille, souvent des objets de scandale à la religion et presque toujours des membres inutiles à la patrie. - Que pour prévenir et corriger ce vice dans l'éducation et la rendre plus

générale: Que le dit collège sous l'inspection du Supérieur ou Grand Vicaire de cette ville, conjointement avec les Marguilliers en exercice, sera pourvu, outre les Maîtres du latin, d'un d'écriture, arithmétique, géographie, mathématique et anglais; Et que pour le plus grand bien de notre Religion, pour donner aussi un plus grand encouragement à l'éducation de notre jeunesse et éviter les grandes dépenses que causent aux parents de cette ville pour pensions et entretiens de leurs enfants à Québec, il sera représenté à sa GRANDEUR; que cette province étant trop étendue et trop considérable pour être convenablement gouvernée et visitée par un Seul Evêque, elle soit divisée en deux évêchés, dont le siège de l'une sera à Québec et celui de l'autre en cette ville de Montréal.

Et afin que le but que l'on a eu en faisant l'acquisition du Collège soit pleinement rempli et que cette Maison qui jusqu'à présent a été à charge à la fabrique soit régie, quant au temporel, d'une manière différente qu'elle n'a été jusqu'à présent, et pour que le voeu général de tous les citoyens de cette ville s'accomplisse: Deux des Marguilliers en exercice, conjointement avec le Supérieur ou Grand Vicaire du dit Séminaire de

cette ville, veilleront sur la manière d'enseigner la jeunesse, ainsi que sur la dépense et récolte de la dite Maison, avec le droit surtout à l'égard des derniers objets, de faire tels changements et altération qu'ils jugeront convenables, d'après l'approbation des Marguilliers assemblé quand l'objet excédera la somme de ... Et dans le cas où la dépense annuelle de l'entretien du dit Collège, excédera la recette, il sera pris des fonds de la dite fabrique pour remplir ce Déficit et Messieurs les prêtres du dit Séminaire, seront priés de coopérer à cette Bonne oeuvre, en souscrivant pour une somme de ... par an. - Le bien être de nos enfants et la nécessité où nous nous trouvons actuellement de les envoyer dans des Ecoles étrangères, où nous ignorons les leçons et les exemples qu'on leur donne, sont deux motifs puissants qui doivent nous animer en cette occasion et nous faire adopter incessamment toutes les Mesures qui peuvent faire réussir un si noble projet.

E. Z. Massacotte, "Le Collège de Montréal", Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, XXIII, No. 7 (July 1917), pp. 207-209.

APPENDIX D

Letter sent by the churchwardens of
Notre-Dame Parish to the Bishop of Quebec
to protest the appointment of Father
J.-B. Marchand and to state their
displeasure over the fact that their
proposed curriculum was not accepted; dated
1789.

Monsieur -

Ci joint est une lettre de remerciements de la
part de Messieurs les Marguilliers de notre fabrique, à
Sa Grandeur notre Evêque, avec quelques remarques en
réponse à la lettre obligeante qu'il a daigné leur écrire
et ils vous prient de présenter leurs excuses à
Monseigneur, s'ils n'ont pas pu dans le tems lui adresser
eux-mêmes et signer la lettre dont ils m'avaient chargé
d'écrire en leur nom, le tems étant trop précieux pour
remettre à signer eux-mêmes au dimanche suivant.

En réponse à la vôtre, je vous dirai: Que je
suis flatté en mon particulier que l'évêque ait goûté notre
plan d'éducation et j'entrevois avec plaisir qu'il voudra
bien nous assister dans son établissement, ce qui est d'une
grande conséquence pour notre ville et la province en

général. M. Curatteau a à la vérité fait jusqu'à présent tout ce qu'il a pu pour diriger cette Maison convenablement, mais le but principal n'a pas été entièrement rempli; l'éducation qu'on y a donné jusqu'à présent n'a consisté que d'apprendre du latin et comme vous l'avez pu voir dans le plan proposé, les enfants, ou plutôt des hommes faits, au sortir de là ont été moins avancé qu'ils n'étaient en y entrant, et sont devenus des objets de scandale à la Religion et toujours des êtres inutiles à la patrie.

Je suis fâché que le plan n'ait pas pu être adopté en cette partie dans cette nouvelle année scholastique, je veux dire quant aux Maîtres d'écriture, de français et d'anglais, c'est absolument une année de perdue pour notre jeunesse qui pourtant est bien précieuse si l'on considère l'ignorance générale de nos enfants. M. Curatteau a fait jusqu'à présent du Collège tout ce qu'il a voulu, il n'a jamais daigné rendre aucun compte au public et même à ses Supérieurs ecclésiastiques, et la dépense et recette de la dite Maison, mais il n'a non plus jamais oublié de demander et faire faire à la fabrique des réparations immenses, sans qu'il en soit résulté réellement aucun bien dans l'éducation. Les

enfants mal nourris, ont excité le mecontentement du public, la manière dont il en usait avec les régents, a fait ouvrir les yeux aux pères et mères, et tous ces motifs réunis ont enfin déterminés les Marguilliers, à faire quelques démarches à ce sujet et à proposer une réforme sous le bon plaisir de notre Evêque. J'ai en soin d'entrer dans les Registres le plan proposé, la lettre de Sa Grandeur et Sa réponse qui a été lue en pleine assemblée convoquée à ce sujet, hier dimanche. En rendant toute la justice possible au mérite et aux talents de M. Marchand pour remplacer Monsieur Curatteau, nous ne croyons pourtant pas qu'il ait toutes les qualités requises pour un objet aussi important. Nous respectons le choix de Monseigneur, sans pourtant perdre de vue la personne de M. Chauveaux, que nous désirons toujours être nommé principal et nous regarderons en attendant qu'il vienne remplir cette place lui-même, M. Marchand comme son représentant. Vous dites qu'il est de mon choix; je vous assure que je n'en avais parlé à qui que ce soit. C'est la voix du public qui l'a appelé. J'ai appuyé, comme vous n'en devez pas douter, Sa nomination autant que possible, Sa réputation et les louanges que le Clergé en a toujours fait, et particulièrement M.

Pouget, prêtre, dans les principales Maisons de cette ville, lui ont attiré notre confiance, et j'ai eu ordre expressément de messieurs les Marguilliers et principaux citoyens de cette ville, de le nommer expressément dans les propositions que l'on m'a donné à rédiger.

Nous désirons que les écoliers ne soient pas obligés au sortire de la rhétorique de descendre à Québec pour y étudier la philosophie; à quoi servirait le Collège qui est déjà à charge au public, s'il faut envoyer les jeunes gens ailleurs pour faire leur philosophie et théologie, et il n'y en a pas un seul qui ne coûte à Québec à ses parents cinquante louis par an; de là la rareté de sujets qui ne peuvent réellement se procurer l'éducation à un prix si exorbitant. Il est plus tems que jamais, que l'éducation dans notre province devienne plus conséquente, nous avons affaire à une nation éclairée avec laquelle nous sommes étroitement liés d'intérêts et de commerce, et avec laquelle aussi nous avons des droits incontestables à soutenir, et notre

à conserver précieusement.

E. Z. Massicotte, "Le Collège de Montréal"; Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques, XXIII, No. 7, (July 1917), pp. 210-211.

APPENDIX E

Table of Enrollment at the Petit Séminaire de Québec, from 1668 to 1800. (information taken from Annales du Petit Séminaire de Québec, Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Manuscript No. 5).

Of all the institutions studied in this paper, only the Petit Séminaire de Québec has been fortunate enough to have its records preserved. The following is a list of the number of pupils enrolled at or attending the Petit Séminaire de Québec from 1668-1800. This list has been taken from the sources indicated above. However, it should be noted that between 1668 and 1758 only the new students enrolled each year are listed. Then, between 1765 and 1800, for the most part, only the number of junior seminarians residing at the institution appears; that is, the list rarely indicates with any accuracy the number of demi-pensionnaires or externes. Even the number of full-time boarders is at times impossible to determine, because in some years records are incomplete. Thus, with the information available, it cannot be accurately determined how many pupils attended either the Collège de Québec or the "Petit Séminaire-Collège" at Quebec.

b - Small number implies that only new pupils registered.

Table of Enrollment at the Petit Séminaire
de Québec
1668-1800 incl.

1668 - 13	1712 - 23	1756 - 2
1669 - 7	1713 - 18	1757 - famine, no school
1670 - 6	1714 - 21	1758 - 4
1671 - 5	1715 - 4	1759 - war
1672 - 3	1716 - 9	1760 - "
1673 - 6	1717 - 18	1761 - "
1674 - 6	1718 - 9	1762 - "
1675 - 7	1719 - 4	1763 - "
1676 - 13	1720 - 11	1764 - no school
1677 - 16	1721 - 13	1765 - 28
1678 - 7	1722 - 5	1766 - 40
1679 - 7	1723 - 2	1767 - 70 a
1680 - 5	1724 - 5	1768 - 52
1681 - 13	1725 - 5	1769 - 73
1682 - 8	1726 - 1	1770 - 93
1683 - 11	1727 - 2	1771 - 90 a
1684 - 3	1728 - 4	1772 - 65
1685 - 15	1729 - 7	1773 - 48 a
1686 - 8	1730 - 14	1774 - 34 a
1687 - 6	1732 - 3	1775 - American invasion
1688 - 6	1732 - 3	1776 - 39 a
1689 - 2	1733 - 3	1777 - 89 a
1690 - 2	1734 - 7	1778 - 95
1691 - 11	1735 - 7	1779 - 68 a
1692 - 5	1736 - 6	1780 - 78 a
1693 - 10	1737 - 6	1781 - 100
1694 - 8	1738 - 8	1782 - 53 a
1695 - 16	1739 - 13	1783 - 67
1696 - 13	1740 - 4	1784 - 17 a
1697 - 16	1741 - 3	1785 - 90
1698 - 17	1742 - 14	1786 - 74 a
1699 - 10	1743 - 19	1787 - 108
1700 - 14	1744 - 10	1788 - 69
1701 - 22	1745 - 6	1789 - 89
1702 - 7	1746 - 14	1790 - 111
1703 - 32	1747 - 5	1791 - 55
1704 - 17	1748 - 14	1792 - 71 a
1705 - 4	1749 - 2	1793 - 51 a
1706 - 8	1750 - 24	1794 - 40 a
1707 - 7	1751 - 18	1795 - 20 a
1708 - 7	1752 - 12	1796 - 4 b
1709 - 9	1753 - 23	1797 - 10 b
1710 - 7	1754 - 13	1798 - 8 b
1711 - 13	1755 - 8	1799 - 35 a
		1800 - 61