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GEORGES SIMARD, PH. D., O.M.I.

# UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA

OTTAWA  
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The Ontario Bilingual School Question attained its full amplitude when the Province of Quebec, faithful to its mission of protecting French-speaking minorities throughout Canada, raised its voice in favour of the persecuted French-speaking inhabitants of Ontario. Our foremost churchmen and statesmen, by their firm and eloquent declarations, have enlightened public opinion, and the despicable Regulation XVII has been branded by all men for whom justice is not a vain word.

We may say without being indiscreet, that l'Association d'Education des Canadiens-Français d'Ontario was not immediately successful in obtaining or rousing this protestation of Right against Might. The Association had to peer into the past, perform, as it were, the work of the historian, in order to establish that, before Confederation and after it, there existed on soil that belongs to the Province of Ontario to-day, schools where French was taught to the knowledge, and with the approval and the aid, of the governing powers. It had to compile texts, become a civilian to prove, since such was the fact, that the French language in the Province of Ontario has, according to the constitution, the same rights as the English language in the schools of the Province of Quebec. This research work and interpretation once terminated, the sturdy heads of the Association considered no duty so sacred as that of disseminating, both by word of mouth and the press, the truth thus acquired.

Thanks to this action, which was necessary, they succeeded in enlightening and arousing the thoughtful and directing elite of the Province of Quebec, and, this element once gained to their cause, all the French-speaking Canadian groups have raised their swords in defence of the bilingual cause. This is a noble movement, which seems to portend victory.

Subsidiary to the general strife, there is another struggle, a less noisome one whose stake is the University of Ottawa. This institution, founded in 1848 by His Lordship Mgr. Joseph-Eugène Guigues, of the Congregation of Mary Immaculate, performed in relative peace its task of education in both English and French, till 1874. At this date, the dualism respecting language, which characterized it, was greatly modified. And although, since 1900, a vigorous effort has restored the primitive twinship, yet Esau and Jacob, two races and two nations, continue to struggle in the womb of the unhappy Rebecca.

Evidently no person expects me to designate in *La Nouvelle-France* and judge those responsible for these changes. It belongs to history to impose the sanctions of justice and truth upon the authors of these modifications. My task, which is a much more modest one, consists in projecting a new light upon the rights of the French language in the University of Ottawa, not particularly, however, because these rights are in any manner obscure or precarious. A first answer was given in a secret memoir written by His Grace Archbishop

Duhamel and addressed to the Congregation of the Propaganda in 1902, and a second one in a pamphlet which appeared in 1910 under the title "The University of Ottawa," to certain writings which very noisily affirmed that the civil and catholic University had been erected in the interests of the English-speaking Catholics of Ontario. These two publications peremptorily demonstrated that the Oblate Fathers and Mgr Duhamel sought university powers, both civil and canonical, for their college, particularly in view of the "French invasion" in the Ottawa valley.

However, despite these irrefutable and unrefuted proofs and of this episcopal declaration, I have always been unable to overcome a slight discontent each time I have bowed to the statue of the first bishop of Ottawa which casts its severe glances upon the passers-by on Sussex street. Why, I have often said to my illustrious brother in religion, have preserved this sphynx-like silence concerning the principal institution you have established in Bytown? Have you not written anything on the subject of your college, and is there not to be found, somewhere at least, a "scrap of paper" which will forever end this controversy by shedding such a clear light on the subject as will silence the most stubborn and cavilling? Now, one day, as I was looking up in our dusty archives, the history of our first efforts in Canada, I discovered by accident certain letters in which were exposed the thoughts of Mgr Guigues upon the nature of the College of Bytown. I immediately thought of making use

of these documents without delay. But, at the moment of my discovery, we were living under the regime of armed peace, and it was probably better not to launch any "bomb" that might revive dormant passions. To-day we hear the roar of cannons in Ontario; there being no longer any reason for me to keep silent, I come forward with my powder-horn to increase the ammunitions necessary for my compatriots upon the battle-line. They have brought forth facts and laws before the tribunal of public opinion in order to maintain their legitimate claims. I offer them, and also to all serious-minded persons, new documents which are absolutely authentic and almost wholly unknown, in order to defend the claims of the French-Canadians to the University of Ottawa. Their cause has obtained precious adhesions, and I expect nothing less than an intelligent and sympathetic support in favour of the institution whose true nature I wish to make known in this new light. For the equitable issue of the debate concerning the University, no less than the quarrel which threatens the existence of the primary schools, is of interest to every one who desires the survival of our race and our culture, of our French blood and our Greco-Latin civilization upon the soil of Ontario.

The existence of the college and the University of Ottawa, may be divided into three very distinct phases: the college, from 1848 to 1866; the civil university, from 1866 to 1889; the catholic university since 1889. A large number of writings, based upon principles

of justice, having already appeared touching upon these three phases, my object cannot be to reveal anything new that is absolutely essential. My only object is to confirm the old thesis by the publication of documents hitherto unknown.

*The College of Bytown, 1848-1866*

A—Mgr. Guigues' idea.

Ottawa College is the first-born work of Mgr. Guigues. His mind was engrossed by this work even before his consecration as bishop, and during his sojourn in the presbytery of St. Columban des Deux-Montagnes made in order to perfect his knowledge of English. We read the following words in a letter written from this parish on the 1st day of June 1848 and addressed to Mgr. Bourget:—

“Father Telmont (1) writes me that it is impossible to rent in Bytown any other than ordinary small schools. A sum of £200 would suffice, thanks to the help of the lumber merchants, to put up a precarious building which would serve as a college somewhat like that of l'Assomption.”

The new titular received the sacred unction on the 30th day of July that year. Two days afterwards, he included the following request in another letter addressed to Mgr. Bourget:—

“I beg of Your Grace to kindly send me the new regulations of the College of l'Assomption... I hope to be able to apply it to Bytown if

God lends us His aid.”

Assuredly, this casting about, away from Kingston where a college had been in existence since 1837, and returning obstinately to l'Assomption to find a model and a programme of studies, does not appear particularly English in character.

In order to understand these apparently premature letters, it is important to note that Mgr. Guigues knew beforehand the field confided to his apostolic care. He had visited it several times as superior of the Oblate Fathers whom the Bishop of Kingston and his coadjutor, their Lordships, Bishops Gaulin and Phelan, had, in 1844, chosen to attend to the spiritual wants of the catholics of Bytown. By resolving certain racial problems, he had learned the complex nature of things and the susceptibilities of the mer of the Ottawa district. If he so early thought of a very difficult undertaking, it was not because he was unaware of the state of his diocese; on the contrary, the insight he possessed of the realities of the situation pressed him not to defer a work which appeared to him as an immediately necessary means of intellectual and moral culture and of national concord. This noble design, *leit-motiv* of the whole episcopal career of Mgr. Guigues, implying in itself the thought which presided at the foundation of the College, must be studied and followed through.

(1) First Oblate parish priest of the whole of Bytown, 1844-1848.

out the correspondence of the bishop. (1)

In the first place, Mgr. Guigues notes that there is not to be found "upon the one or the other shore of the Ottawa any but elementary schools, as also in Bytown". *b* However, "the necessity of receiving an education more proportionate to the needs of the times than that received up to the present day, is felt in Bytown. All the parishes along the Ottawa and in the country feel likewise." *b* Indeed "education is as necessary for the new population as for the old, because *it alone can bring them together through the fulfilment of the same duties, and bind them together by the same interests.*" "Along the St. Lawrence, in Lower Canada, can be seen, rising not far one from another, institutions where an education which satisfies the local needs and the parents'

wishes is being given, while the people who live on the north shore of the Ottawa for a distance of 100 leagues has to do without it. They who live on the south shore of the river are not better off." *d* Of course, there are the colleges in Montreal and Kingston, but the greatness of the distance prevents parents from sending their children there, even if the cost of board were not an insurmountable obstacle." *b* How could new and, generally, poor settlers, desirous however of giving their children a good education, pay board and travelling expenses, if they are obliged to send their children to Montreal or Kingston?" *d* Hence "the foundation of a college for the people who lived on the shores of the Ottawa was an object of prime necessity." *d*

As to the place where the institution is to be established, nothing is more easily determined "Bytown, being in the centre of all the people disseminated on the Ottawa, it should naturally be chosen as the site for an institution of higher education: it is the most important locality on the Ottawa, the most northern town, and it is a centre for people of both Upper and Lower Canada equally." *d*

A college was therefore opened in Bytown on the 27th September, 1848. *a* "The parents have clearly understood (the nature of this foundation), because the number of students from Lower Canada who attend the College is as great as those from Upper Canada. French and English constitute each about half the attendance. Even the clergy and laymen of Lower Can-

(1) Here are Mgr. Guigues' letters, which we shall make use of in the present work.

*a*—Petition of Mgr. Guigues to Lord E'gin in favour of the College of Bytown, Oct. 17th, 1848.

*b*—Letter of Mgr. Guigues to the Gentlemen of the Ordinance concerning a patch of land for the College of Bytown, July 18th, 1848.

*c*—Letter of Mgr. Guigues to the Attorney-General of Lower Canada, Sir Hypolyte Lafontaine, concerning the same College, Feb. 7th, 1849.

*d*—Notes in support of the petition which prayed for help in favour of the College of Bytown.

*e*—Letter of Mgr. Guigues to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, March 27th, 1849.

We shall refer abundantly to these documents in order to speak as little as possible ourselves upon the burning question of the University of Ottawa.



ada have signed a petition to obtain help with the same eagerness as those of Upper Canada." d.

It is easily seen that the intention of Mgr. Guigues is to create in Bytown an institution for the use of the population of both Upper and Lower Canada in the Valley of the Ottawa River, in the place of the colleges in Montreal and Kingston.

From this starting-point to that of bilingualism, essential to the college of Bytown, there is but one step to take which Mgr. Guigues did not leave to the decisions of passion and prejudices. Defining his object, he writes:—

"The necessity of knowing the English and French languages is felt particularly along the shores of the Ottawa. The French language, however, was being sacrificed, since, even in Bytown, there was not one single French school before the founding of the college, and the English language was taught in an imperfect manner."

Thus Mgr. Guigues opens a college so that French may no longer be sacrificed and that English may be better taught. Here is the guarantee in express terms and the assurance in action, of the rights of both the English and French languages in the College of Bytown. But, in order that no one may plead ignorance and any longer discuss a problem that has been solved a hundred times, I add this letter from the bishop to Sir Hypolyte Lafontaine, Attorney-General for Lower Canada, under the government of the Union:—

Dear Sir,

I have just presented to His

Excellence in Council a petition to obtain help for the College of Bytown from each of the two parts of the Province. At first sight, this proposal seems extraordinary, but, after reflexion, it appears less so. Dr. Meilleur, who possesses an exact knowledge of the localities, can, if you judge it expedient, enlighten you on this point more than it is possible to do in a letter. I shall not go further than to simply say, personally and confidentially, that this college was founded rather in the interests of Lower Canada than in those of Upper Canada. French customs and the French language were disappearing entirely from this part of the Province. A college only could stay what in my eyes was a veritable disaster..."

Does not the French language predominate, and have not the French-Canadians an advantage over the other element this time?

Should we add that Mgr. Guigues united to the College a primary school where French was taught to the little French-Canadians?

Is it necessary to say that he battled for the French language? One day, when the Superintendent of Public Instruction, probably by mistake, appointed three English-speaking teachers for the primary schools of the town, which was one-third French-speaking, did he not declare to this prominent official: "that, if matters remained thus, whatever may be his sorrow at having to speak publicly on questions the difficulties and dangers of which he does not overlook, he will not, as a public man and a bishop, be able to keep from pro-

testing?" e

What is still wanting, I ask, to more clearly elucidate the thoughts of the bishop concerning the introduction, the existence and the rights of the French language in the College of Bytown?

Let us add still greater light to the day by piling proofs upon proofs and let us forever put an end to the debate on this point by quoting a very luminous passage from the "Courrier" of Ottawa:—

"The first thought which occupied the mind of this worthy successor of Laval and Plessis, from the moment he set foot in this town, was the creation of an institution where the Catholic youth could receive a liberal and christian education, prepare themselves to fulfil the most honorable positions, and thus assure to the Catholics of Central Canada a legitimate part of influence in the social world.

"Another not less worthy thought and which is intimately connected with this one, also engrossed the attention of the venerable bishop, seeing his diocese occupied by two distinct races whose ideas are widely different, but whose principal interests are identical, he said to himself:—It is of the highest importance to unite these two peoples, who are called upon to inhabit the same soil and to fight for the same interests. There is then nothing more to be desired than to bring about the disappearance of the antipathies and the prejudices that generally exist between different races, and which, for the most part, are due to ignorance of one another. What is to be done

to accomplish this end? *Establish an institution of learning which, offering absolutely the same advantages to these two races, will necessarily attract the children whom Providence calls upon to play in the future the most important parts in the destiny of this part of the country. These young children, living and growing up together, will learn to know and esteem one another and thus, they will, while guarding all that is ennobling in national sentiment, prepare themselves to fight intelligently together the noble battles for religion and country.*" (April 17th, 1861.)

*B—Realization of Mgr. Guigues' Idea.*

Mgr. Guigues and the Oblate Fathers whom, in 1856, he legally instituted perpetual heirs of the College, were sufficiently intelligent to realize their broad conception of an education at the same time classical and local. We shall see this by means of a series of irrefutable witnesses.

The most celebrated witness of the first years of the College, Mgr. Duhamel, thus expressed himself in his famous memorial of 1902:—

"I was one of the first to enter this college as a student. I did not leave it till after my ordination as a priest, on the 19th December 1863. I was permitted to see that Mgr. Guigues' idea never ceased to be the directing thought of the superiors, directors, and professors of the College, during all that time. The priests who had been the longest in the diocese have remarked the same spirit."

Long before this archiepiscopal

testimony, the "Courrier" of Ottawa (April 17th, 1861) giving an account of a visit of its directors to the College, records the same observation.

"We were permitted not long ago to visit this establishment. We hasten to say we were most agreeably surprised at seeing, in a town as new as Ottawa, an educational institution as advanced as this is and offering so many advantages to its pupils. Our admiration, we are told (and it does not surprise us) was shared in by several members of the Parliament of Lower Canada, and generally by all the strangers who have visited this College.

"This is, in fact, an institution of which Ottawa has a right to be proud and to which we are pleased to call the attention of our compatriots of Lower Canada, no other college offering, besides the study of Greek and Latin, mathematics, physics and chemistry, the same advantages for the study of English and French which are taught upon a footing of perfect equality and are, in general, spoken by all the students."

If we consult another monument of the past, the necrology of our religious family, we read this passage from the "excellent religious whose life may be resumed in one idea: education, and in one accomplishment: the University-College of Ottawa", Father Tabaret.

"The mixing of the two languages presents a difficulty; but it is not insurmountable. Otherwise, we would have to say that a man absolutely cannot know more than one language and that modern na-

tions have made a mistake in forming the youthful mind by the study of the dead and living languages. Have not the best writers in each language known several tongues perfectly? And yet, supposing even that something were lost in the perfection of style, would there not be a great compensation in the greater breadth of ideas acquired? Who is it that said that a person lives as many lives as the number of languages he learns? At any rate, in this part of Canada, the necessity of learning two languages cannot be argued out; it is imposed upon us." (1)

Let no one believe in the sterility of this reflection, because the report upon the scholastic year 1865-66, (2) sent to the Mother-House of the Oblates, (while showing us that in the College of Ottawa each class was taught in the two languages, morning and afternoon, English in the morning and French in the afternoon), fully establishes that the Director's ideas were put into practice in the programme of studies.

Besides, this manner of considering the education of the youth of Ottawa and of the surrounding country, was that of this period of which we write. A prospectus of the convent of the Grey Nuns of the Cross, which was published during several months in 1866 in the "Canada" of Ottawa, proves this clearly:—

"Boarding-school of the Grey

(1) Death-notice of R. F. Tabaret, circular, No. 141.

(2) Missions, March, 1868.

Nuns of Ottawa under the patronage of His Lordship Bishop Guigues:

"This establishment, whose existence dates back some twenty years, has as its object one of the most pressing needs of this part of the country. As everybody knows, the City of Ottawa, through its geographical situation, forms the link that unites Upper and Lower Canada. From this fact the necessity arises for all of its inhabitants to have a perfect and equal knowledge of both the French and English languages.

"Nothing has therefore been spared to help French and English young ladies to attain this double aim, and the numerous and honorable testimonials our institution has always received prove that our efforts have not been made in vain. The greatest care is always taken to ensure the perfect pronunciation and the daily practice of both languages. . ."

The University civil charter attests that the same thought reigned at the College in 1866, and that the same energy was put forth for the same cause, since it was granted precisely to sanction the practical teaching of both French and English which the Oblate Fathers were giving to their pupils. (1)

And thus, Mgr. Guigues having seen that his diocese, partly Lower, partly Upper Canadian, where two populations elbowed one another, and where two languages were in

constant use, needed an institution which would weld the two provinces, unite two peoples and make intelligible to each the language of the other, opened a college in Bytown in order to undertake, at this meeting-place of all the divers elements of the Ottawa, the training process out of which would come a much desired uniformity. The wish to help without showing any partiality, and to bring to mutual accord the two races suddenly thrown together, caused him to prepare and maintain a programme of studies where the French and English languages were placed upon an equal footing. The students, Irish as well as French, received their instruction in the two languages, from which we see that the French language was not thrust upon the College of Ottawa, nor did it enter it as an intruder. Let us resolve the question: this thought of the founder of the College who opens up his inmost thoughts to the President of the Executive Council, Sir Hypolite Lafontaine, seems to give to the French language a supremacy which the French-Canadians shall never surrender for a mess of pottage.

Let us therefore bow before Mgr. Joseph Eugène Guigues, one of the principal benefactors of the French-Canadian cause upon the soil of Ontario.

## II

*The Civil University, 1866-1869.*  
*A.—The Meaning of the Civil Charter.*

The second phase in the existence of the College of Ottawa opens up at a turning-point in Canadian history, at the moment when the

(1) The letter written by R. F. Lavoie, O.M.I. R. F. Lavoie obtained the University civil charter, in the name of the College, from the Union Parliament in the summer of 1866.

Union is in its death throes and disappears.

The session of 1866, the last of the policy adopted in 1841, has altogether the appearance of a grave-digger at work. The French-Canadian members, with the exception of the Liberal Democrats, far from grieving over the disappearance of a regime which they have always looked upon as "an infamous trap", turn, happy and confident, to Confederation which they believe will be "a pact of honour". The majority of the English-speaking members, wearied of overlordship and pleased to be associated with equals, impatiently await the inauguration of the new era. There flows over the Chamber, so tumultuous of late, a breath of equity which establishes better order and gives more peace. (2) A number of corporations, therefore, press forward to take advantage of an Assembly so well disposed. Was it not wise, before abandoning the dismantled wreck, to obtain rights and privileges beforehand, in order to render more agreeable and less perilous the voyage upon the yet unexplored and uncertain ocean of Confederation?

The Oblate Fathers, being particularly well placed to know what was being done in Parliament, and encouraged by the success of the Directors of Regiopolis, decided to ask a civil university charter for the College of Ottawa. (2) The

moment was delicate; but, however, it offered exceptional chances of success.

Four institutions of higher education furnished education to the youth of Ontario. They were: Trinity College for the Anglicans; Victoria College for the Methodists; Queen's College for the Presbyterians; and Toronto University for the neutrals. (4)

The English (Catholic) College of Regiopolis forestalling its rival in the Capital, had just solicited a university charter. During the debate upon this measure, the Parliament, always ready with some new argument, invented the not very progressive principle of one university only for each religious belief in each province. It was a dogma too new to be easily refuted, and thus the University of Regiopolis arose and barred the way to the project of the Oblate Fathers.

One favorable alternative only remained: that was to set up the interests of the French-Canadians of Central Canada. This motive, agreeing wonderfully with the ideas of Mgr. Guigues and the requirements of the Ottawa region, the Oblates cleverly applied themselves to make known and appreciated by a Parliament in which members of our race constituted nearly one-half of the Assembly.

Nothing is more easily established than the foregoing assertions.

The best informed person living at the time when this event took place, Mgr. Duhamel, ceaselessly repeats, *Episcopaliter I may say*,

(4) Parliamentary Debates — Legislative Assembly — July 23rd, 1866.

(2) Parliamentary Debates, July 23rd, 1866.

(3) It would be interesting to read the petition presented by the Oblates to Parliament asking for this charter in 1866. Unfortunately it cannot be found.

"that a university charter was asked and granted to the College of Ottawa specially for the advantage of the French population." In support of his testimony, irrefutable under the circumstances, he produces a proof which I consider it my duty to reproduce because it throws such a light upon the thought of the Oblates and upon the nature of the civil University of Ottawa.

He writes in his memorial of 1902: "Here is the document which was submitted to Parliament to obtain the university charter: (1)

"The College (of Ottawa) is situated in the centre of the country formed by the counties of Pontiac, Ottawa, Argen-teuil, Vaudreuil and Two-Moun-tains, in Lower Canada, and Lan-ark, Renfrew, Carleton, Prescott, Russell, Grenville, Stormont, Dun-das, and Glengarry, in Upper Can-ada.

"The population of these coun-ties was, according to the census of 1860, 263,179, of whom 75,272

(1) I hold this document from an- other absolutely certain source. "This docu-ment initialed by myself", writes Solicitor N, "was remitted to me by Rev. Father X himself, when he was Rector of the University of Ottawa. In giving it he certified that the said document was authentic and had been printed, at the date shown upon it, with the object of obtaining the help of the members of the Can-adian Parliament then in session, so that they would vote for the bill in favour of granting a civil charter for the erection of the civil University of Ottawa. Then follow the signature of the solicitor, which I omit — as also the name of the Rector—through delicacy.

were of French origin, the Catholic population of the said district be- ing then 132,391.

"The present population of these counties may be estimated at 355,-791, a 35 per cent. increase. This would give a French population of 101,617, or a Catholic population of 177,727.

"This institution is particularly valuable to this section of the coun-try, particularly to the large French population who, without it, would in a measure be deprived of the advantages of superior educa-tion."—Ottawa, 21st July, 1866.

The above certainly does not lack in clearness, does it? But let us continue examining the arch-ives.

The second document is the ac- count left us by R. F. Lavoie, of the advances he made to the gov-ernment in the name of the Col-lege with the object of obtaining the university charter.

Joseph-Theophile Lavoie enter- ed the Oblate Order in 1860 after having studied Law in Laval Uni- versity, Quebec. After having been sent to Nancy, France, to un- dergo the trials of the novitiate and to study theological sciences, he returned to Canada in 1864, a priest and religious. From that moment he occupied none but posts of the highest confidence, either in teaching in our Colleges of Otta- wa, St. Boniface, Manitoba, or Buf- falo, or in the pastoral ministry as Superior and parish priest of our parishes of St. Mary's, Winnipeg, the Sacred Heart, of Lowell, or Holy Angels, Buffalo. In 1906, the disease that was to lead him to the grave prevented him from termin-

ating a course of lectures on Moral Theology which he was then giving to the ecclesiastical students of the Ottawa Seminary. Upon the orders of his superiors, he withdrew to the Lachine Novitiate, near Montreal; and there, while piously preparing himself for death, he drew up *with the greatest possible care* (1) the memorial of the most glorious event of his career. Here it is as wholly and faithfully transcribed from the original:—

“Here are the circumstances under which the university charter was granted to the College of Ottawa by Upper and Lower Canada.

“It was a matter of vital importance for the College of Ottawa to obtain a university charter before the promulgation of the Act of Confederation. For the French-Canadian vote was certainly in favor of it; at least, we had reason to believe so! At any rate, we hoped to obtain a more favorable vote than when the provinces would be federated since the majority would then have become English-speaking.

“I was prefect of studies at that time, and I was chosen to interview the Catholic members of Parliament, especially the French-Canadians, so as to interest them in our favour, for it was especially upon these last-named that we counted in order to obtain this charter. It must be remarked, in point of fact, that it was not a matter of trying to obtain a *Catholic* university only, since we knew that such a charter had been granted, scarcely

a fortnight before, to Kingston (Regiopolis), and that the government had bound itself to grant only one university to each denomination in each province. But we wanted a university charter for the College of Ottawa to benefit particularly the French-Canadians, then very numerous in the Ottawa region, and of which English-speaking students would profit also.

“It was a matter of obtaining a university charter which would answer to these particular needs, that is, a charter which would allow us to place the English and French languages upon a footing of equality. It was, moreover, a necessity for the diocese, and for the *Capital* of a bilingual country.

“I was delegated to see the members of the Legislative Council and also of the Legislative Assembly. I first saw Mr. Chapais who told me we would not succeed, for Mr. Donnelly had forestalled us and obtained a university charter for Kingston (Regiopolis) in favour of the Catholics, and that it was a rule to grant only one university per province for each religious denomination. I then saw Mr. Hector Langevin who gave me the same answer. Mr. Cartier did the same. They all appeared determined to leave the matter in this state: one university per province for each religious denomination.

“One means alone was left out: that was to place the matter in the hands of the Opposition. Fortunately I knew one senator intimately, Mr. Letellier de Saint-Just. I therefore went and consulted him, and told him of the objection raised by the government.

(1) This is attested by several Oblate Fathers.

"That is all right", said he to me. "I shall take the matter up before the Senate (or Legislative Council), and it will not be my fault if it is rejected." I called his attention to the fact that the measure should first be presented to the House (or Legislative Assembly). He himself went and saw Mr. Aimé Dorion, the leader of the Opposition in the Legislative Assembly, and brought him to me. I told this gentleman, who promised he would help me, what I had just said to Mr. Letellier.

"The bill was discussed and amended in the Legislative Assembly on its first reading; discussed again on the second reading but was not amended, and passed on the third reading without discussion.

"I was present in the Legislative Council when the bill was presented there. It was discussed on its first and second reading without, however, being amended.

"Mr. Letellier de Saint-Just spoke for one hour and a-half. He directed attention, in the first place, to the fact that the Diocese of Ottawa occupied a peculiar situation, formed partly by French-Canadians and partly by Irish people for whom it was necessary to furnish priests. But the population is so mixed, said he, that priests unable to speak the two languages would be incompetent to teach religion in most of the parishes. As a result of this, it was necessary to have an institution capable of preparing priests to speak the two languages. All men belonging to the liberal professions, such as the lawyers, the doctors, etc., are in the same position as the

priests; they must understand the language of their clients and their patients.

"The members of the Council who were opposed to the bill maintained that the matter had been settled by the government and that no more than one university for each religious denomination would be granted for each province. Mr. Letellier replied to this that the principle was well enough as a general one, but that there was no rule without exceptions; that the Capital of a country had a right to a university; that a Capital like Ottawa especially, where French and English were both official languages, should possess an institution in which both might be studied and mastered. It was necessary for the people's representatives, evidently, in order that they might understand one another; it was necessary also for the translators of the laws and other official documents. Now, this necessitated a profound knowledge of the two languages which could not regularly be acquired outside of a university: therefore, the University of Ottawa, where these advantages could be found, was a necessity.

"Who, among us", added he, "that, coming to Ottawa, would not be pleased to see his children study here before him, and witness their success both in English and in French? For my part, I know what it has cost me to learn English, not having had the advantage of learning it practically in college at the same time as my mother-tongue. How many colleges in Canada are there where the two languages are taught practically?"



There is none. (1) It is, however, a necessity for each of us to know the two languages. But, we do not know them at birth; they must be studied, they must be learned, and to learn them they must be taught. Therefore, we must have this University of Ottawa where this double teaching is given."

"Messrs. Dorion and others had spoken in the same strain and given the same reasons in the Legislative Assembly.

"The bill passed the two Chambers without any substantial changes. It was shortly after sanctioned by Queen Victoria's representative. We had thus obtained an institution where French-Canadian and Irish Catholics could be taught each in his own language.

"I certify that the above is true and certain."

(Signed) J. T. Lavoie, O.M.I.

Lachine Lœeks, Feb. 5th, 1907.

A close examination of these two documents will bring out the true sense of the charter of 1866.

In the first place, let us remark that it is not a question of obtaining a Catholic university; an institution of that kind had just been granted to Kingston, and the government, in order not to be troubled in its last moments by school dissensions, sheltered itself behind the expedient that one university only should be granted to each denomination in each province. The Oblate Fathers desired a charter which would allow them to place the English and French languages upon an equal footing. The arguments of Letellier de Saint-Just, their official mouth-piece, rest

upon the fact that the College of Ottawa, situated in a city which is at once the seat of a diocese, the centre of a region, the capital of a country, where live, mixed together, two races having different languages, has as its mission the teaching of the youth called to the sacred, professional, and political functions touching souls, clients, and citizens who have the natural and constitutional right to be freely heard in the French or the English tongue.

This at least is beyond doubt, that, in the intention of the Oblates and in the parliamentary discussion, as Father Lavoie has transmitted them to us, the situation of the French language in the University of Ottawa resembles that assigned to it in Canada by the Constitution of 1867 in federal matters. In other words: *French is altogether at home in the University of Ottawa.*

But there is more than this. For no one will imagine that the Ottawa educationists were particularly preoccupied in guaranteeing, in the future Province of Ontario, the existence of the English language, since it was in nowise endangered or threatened. They have a well determined and wholly different end in view. They want a charter to *benefit particularly* the French-Canadians, for the excellent reason—besides a hundred others—that, on the 26th July or thereabouts, the Government has raised the English-Catholic College of Regiopolis to the rank of a university. (2) They do not fear to

(1) This was spoken in 1866.

(2) The University of Regiopolis was never developed.

declare to our legislators that the College of Ottawa "*is particularly valuable to this section of the country, particularly to the large French population, who, without it, would in a measure be deprived of the advantages of superior education.*" This may be summarized as follows: as a result of the creation of Regiopolis, the English-speaking people of all creeds in Upper Canada enjoy the advantages conferred by an institution which gives university training. The French-Canadians alone are deprived of this and will remain so if parliament does not grant the petition presented by the Directors of the College of Ottawa. Add to this that it is a French-Canadian member of a religious order who seeks this by addressing himself to a parliament almost half of whose members were also French-Canadians.

Under these circumstances of time and persons, after having heard Father Lavoie, and, particularly, after having studied the first of the documents I have quoted, if the members of both the Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council voted in favour of the charter in early August 1866, without any restrictive nor explanatory clauses, we must admit, if we are not to question their intelligence, that they consented to grant it as petitioned for, that is, *particularly in the interests of the French-Canadian population of the Ottawa region.* It therefore remains established that the civil University of Ottawa, as greatly by the will of Parliament as by that of its founders, *belongs more to the French-Canadians than to*

*the English-speaking element. The French language is more at home there than is the English tongue.*

Doubtless, the Oblates, who have a keen sense of the realities of life, desired an institution where French-Canadian and English students would receive instruction each in his own language. However, since 1866 particularly, in the dualist University of Ottawa, the priority of rights and, consequently, the priority in its administration and direction belong to the French-Canadians. It possibly takes a certain amount of courage to say so, but it is the truth. Must we, in order to spare the touchiness of certain persons, and in the presence of the ambitious wishes of the Magyars, always palliate the unquestionable rights of the Hapsburgs?

*B.—Application of the Charter.*

In the month of September of that year (1866), the University took up once more the work of the College. Anyone may read this in the one hundred and third number of the Ottawa "Canada": "The classes at the University of Ottawa (hitherto Ottawa College) will open on September 1st. *The course of studies will be the same as in the past.*"

The Course of Studies underwent no notable change till 1874, at the date of the death of Mgr. Guigues. There was a reason for this.

The difficulties which the bishop had to overcome concerning the appointment of certain exclusively English-speaking teachers are still present to the mind; but what is not so well known, surely, are those he had to surmount in

order to maintain the integrity of the territory placed under his jurisdiction.

Shortly before his death, he begged of Mgr. Taschereau not to acquiesce in the encroachments on his territory made by the Metropolitan of Toronto. The reasons that stirred him are that the division of the Diocese of Ottawa, as planned, would necessarily involve the annexation of the Ontario parishes to the English ecclesiastical province and would cause in this way "*a very great misfortune to the French-Canadian population living upon the right bank of the Ottawa.*" (1)

Now, I ask, if Mgr Guigues had not been disposed to give to the French-Canadian portion of his flock all they had a right to hope, both from the religious and intellectual standpoints, would he have assumed, at the approach of death, the task of protecting it even against colleagues in the episcopate? What would have been the use of raising a wall against anglicization from without if he had been ready to abandon his parishes and his college to that from within? Does not the supreme appeal he makes to the highest ecclesiastical authority in Canada show with what zeal he opposed the invasion? And, does not the fact that those interested waited till 1874 to effectuate the "great disturbance", from which sprang nearly all the troubles of to-day, show with what an iron will he would have fought against any system that tended to destroy the

equilibrium he had established and which had reigned for twenty-six years at the College and the University of Ottawa?

The Oblates, his heirs and confidants knew this better than anybody else. And so, their admiration, their love and their fidelity towards their illustrious brother, kept them from laying low, upon a tomb that was barely closed, the monument erected at the price of so many sorrows, labors, and sacrifices.

The changes wrought in 1874 did not *substantially* alter the fundamental principle of the University. To convince oneself of this it suffices to read the memoir of 1902 and the letter to Father Lavoie from one of his friends.

"In 1874", writes Mgr Duhamel, "during the vacancy of the episcopal see of Ottawa, the Superiors of the Oblates and the Director of the University of Ottawa, with the object of attracting more Irish students, who generally do not like to learn and especially to speak French, in order to facilitate the study of English to the French-Canadians, decided to make English the official language of their institution and to give the classical course in that language, that of Philosophy, Canon Law and Holy Scripture being Latin, while at the same time giving a French course to French-Canadian pupils and to the Irish pupils who would be disposed to take it."

Father Lavoie's friend, going into the details of the new order of things, expresses himself as follows in a letter dated April 12th, 1907:

"I was, in 1874, finishing my

(1) Words of Mgr. Guigues quoted by Mgr. Taschereau in a letter to Mgr. Duhamel.

sixth year of residence as professor in the College of Ottawa (then known as Saint-Joseph's College) when our course of studies was modified. I do not know who had suggested the idea of changing the course to R. F. Tabaret, our Superior. However it happened, he called us together one day and told us of his plan. If I do not mistake, the question was to abandon the use of the two languages (English and French) in the translation of the Latin and Greek authors and to do all the translation into English alone. He asked us to think over the matter and to hold ourselves in readiness to give expression to our views at a meeting soon to be held.

"I wrote a plea upon this occasion in favour of the maintenance of the French language in preference to the English for our classical course, saying that the French population appreciated the advantages of a classical course more than the English did. I remembered well having read and probably also having written in the newspapers, ten years before (1864), that Ottawa and the surrounding region should have been erected into a province called Central Canada — and then the hope was nourished of creating a Catholic and French Province of this Central Canada. After having listened to us, Father Tabaret said: "Well, since there is diversity of opinion, we shall call upon the Provincial to settle the question himself." Reverend Father Antoine came from Montreal, saw each of us personally, and tried to make us understand that our system of teaching was an impossible one. In fact, it was so: we had

few students, 5 or 6 in each class, throughout the classical course. In each class there were English-speaking pupils and more French-speaking ones — but the trouble arose from the English-speaking who did not understand French, and, in the classes taught by the French professor, we obliged them to translate Latin and Greek into French, which they did not understand.

"The new course of studies was adopted — Father Prévost (the Doctor) (1) had thousands of prospectuses printed. Some of the Fathers were sent to the States to recruit students. In this way we succeeded in increasing the number of our students. I have already told you in another letter that after our first reunion in which I had protested against the leaving aside of the French language, Father Tabaret had come to my room with the minute-book of the meetings and, showing me pages written with his own hands, said: "Read that and you will see that I am of your opinion, or that I was. Father Ryan wished to eliminate French from the classical course and I opposed this move for the reasons enumerated in these pages."

It appears, from the analysis of these two documents, that the Oblates sought an issue out of a complicated and painful situation.

It is impossible to hide the fact that the translation of the Latin and Greek classics into French and

(1) Philemon Prévost had practiced medicine before entering the Oblate Order.

English by the students of the same class, implied great inconveniences. Now that the institution had grown and become strong a programme of studies, more in conformity with sound pedagogical methods than that adopted in the first place, had become a necessity. On the one hand the English-speaking students did not like the French language very much; on the other, the more supple and sprightlier French-Canadians offered less resistance to the English tongue which, besides, they found necessary to a certain degree. They who were called upon to resolve the problem, wished to have more students, better finances and peace within the institution. They lacked neither intelligence nor knowledge. Did the fascination which the title of British subject exercises upon certain minds, even of a high order of merit, disposing them to exaggerate the necessity of the knowledge of English, or a little patriotic somnolence, have their part of influence upon the tergiversations of a few Oblate Fathers? Had the arbitrator of the difficulty, a recent arrival in this country, acquired a knowledge of the condition of affairs viewed from the Canadian standpoint? These questions present themselves quite naturally to him who would delve into the causes of what occurred. Be that as it will and, despite the protestations which never ceased, the regulation spoken of by Mgr. Duhamel was adopted and applied.

At the same time that the French language was losing ground, it was asserting itself; for two *obligatory*

courses of French *remained*: one for the French-Canadian students and the other for the English-speaking pupils. And no hostile tendency ever prevailed against this *status*.

Such was the *coup d'état* of 1874: a simple provisory regulation (1), which was imposed, by the complexity alone perhaps, of events, upon the minds of men, and against which the Oblates reacted as soon as their means and a more profound knowledge of the multiple race problems permitted them to do so reasonably.

### III

#### *The Catholic University, 1889.*

The elevation of the College of Ottawa to the dignity of Catholic University crowns the efforts of the French episcopate in the Valley of the Ottawa.

In 1868, the Fathers of the IVth Council of Quebec, taking their stand upon the principle of nationalities, had divided the Canadian Church into three vast provinces: Quebec for the French-Canadians; Toronto for the English-speaking Canadians; St. Boniface for converted Indians. (1) The bishops of the English province immediately asked for that part of the Ottawa Diocese which lies within the limits of the Province of Ontario; but an almost insurmountable obstacle lay in

(1) As we shall see still better later on.

(1) Acadia had its Archbishop since 1852.

the way (2) The French-Canadian population had so prodigiously increased upon the shores of the Ottawa river that it was greater in number, or almost so, than the English-speaking Catholics. The Fathers of the Council therefore decided, in virtue of the principle: Ecclesiastical discipline follows the language and the customs that Mgr. Guigues' diocese should be attached to the Province of Quebec.

The death of the first bishop of Ottawa, which took place six years later, seemed an opportune occasion for a second attempt to seize the coveted vine-yard. Mgr. Taschereau, whose duty as Metropolitan it was to provide for the vacant see, made it known, on the 17th Feb., 1874, to Cardinal Barnabo, then Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, that the division of the Diocese of Ottawa, as proposed by the English-speaking prelates seemed to him inopportune and detrimental to the progress of the Faith. After having recalled the decision of the IVth Council of Quebec and the last prayer of the deceased bishop, he continued in the following terms: "The official statistics show that the French-Canadians are rapidly multiplying in the region of the Ottawa while the English-speaking Catholics are diminishing. We can look forward to the day

(2) I have obtained the history of the Diocese of Ottawa from the most authentic sources: a memoir presented in 1897 by Mgr. Duhamel to Cardinal Ledochowski, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, and a collective letter of the Bishops of the Ecclesiastical Province of Quebec addressed to the Holy Father in 1879.

when nearly all of the Diocese will have become French-Canadian, even that part situated in the Province of Ontario. If then a division should become necessary, the southern no less than the northern Diocese shall probably have to be attributed to the ecclesiastical province of Quebec." (3) Rome left matters as they were and chose a French-Canadian to succeed to Mgr. Guigues.

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(3) I—Ottawa Diocese—

In 1861—  
Total Cath.  
pop. Fr. pop. Eng.-spkg. pop.  
72,355 34,765 37,590

In 1871—  
Total Cath.  
pop. Fr. pop. Eng.-spkg. pop.  
92,547 54,987 37,560

From 1861 et 1871—  
Total Catholic increase . . 20,192  
Fr.-Canadian increase . . 20,222  
Eng.-speaking decrease . . 30

II—Ontario part of Ottawa Diocese.  
In 1861—  
Total Cath.

pop. Fr. pop. Eng.-spkg. pop.  
40,016 15,205 24,811

In 1871—  
Total Cath.  
pop. Fr. pop. Eng.-spkg. pop.  
50,427 26,116 24,311

From 1861 to 1871—  
Total Catholic increase . . 10,411  
Increase of Fr. Catholics. 10,911  
Decrease of Eng. Catholics. 500

III—Quebec part of Ottawa Diocese.  
In 1861—  
Total Cath.

pop. Fr. pop. Eng.-spkg. pop.  
32,339 19,560 12,779

In 1871—  
Total Cath.  
pop. Fr. pop. Eng.-spkg. pop.  
42,120 28,871 13,249

From 1861 to 1871—  
Total Catholics increase . . 9,781  
Increase of Fr. Catholics. . 9,311  
Increase of Eng. Catholics . 470

These figures accompanied Mgr. Taschereau's letter to Cardinal Barnabo.

Archbishop Lynch was not a man to readily relinquish his plans. On the day upon which Mgr. Duhamel was consecrated, he openly declared that he would claim Mgr. Duhamel as his suffragan bishop. Mgr. Duhamel always refused the tempting offers of the Toronto bishops and constantly maintained his stand "because", said he, "the diocese he had inherited from Mgr. Guigues was becoming more and more French-Canadian."

The bishops of the Province of Toronto met in Council in 1875. Naturally they renewed their wish and, this time, they presented it to the Pope in the form of a petition. There is nothing to show, that I know of, that Pius IX took this petition under serious consideration. But the bishops of Quebec, having in 1878 asked the Propaganda to erect the apostolic vicariate of Pontiac, the petition of the Toronto bishops was exhumed to oppose their request. Mgr. Taschereau and his suffragan bishops replied to this in a masterly letter which put an end to the conflict.

"Canada", (1) an Anglo-French country, has Ottawa as its capital. For that reason, this city belongs no more to one Province than to another; it enjoys a kind of moral autonomy which gives it a unique and incommunicable aspect. It is therefore quite natural for it to try to obtain the rank of an ecclesiastical metropolis. Who cannot see what inappreciable fruits the Church would gather if the new archbishop should govern a territory which would include parts of

(1) I limit myself to giving the substance of this letter.

two of the most important Canadian provinces? Acquiring, thanks to a privileged situation, a perfect knowledge of the two groups of Catholics and of the two peoples in Canada, it would be easy for him to correctly answer the complex questions which the federal members of Parliament would surely ask him touching upon religious matters. The salutary influence which the bishops of the so thoroughly Catholic Province of Quebec have always exercised upon the representatives of the King of France and of the British Crown, would be reflected upon his person, would magnify it in prestige and authority in the eyes of a parliament with which he would necessarily have to entertain numerous and varied relations.

Their Lordships in Toronto desire, for the sake of religious and disciplinary uniformity in Ontario, that the northern part of the Ottawa Diocese should fall under their jurisdiction. They forget the fundamental rule that the majority of the IVth Council of Quebec brought forth when the Council was called upon to decide to which ecclesiastical province the Diocese of Mgr. Guigues would belong. Today, as at that time, the French-Canadians are increasing rapidly in the Valley of the Ottawa while the English-speaking Catholics are decreasing year by year. The two parts of the Diocese, by their natural evolution, are getting constantly farther away from Toronto; they gravitate towards Quebec to which, for the good of their peoples, they must remain subject till it pleases the Holy Father to render their union indissoluble by

covering them with the sacred pallium. It would at least be wise not to innovate before the census of 1881 has established the proportionate numbers of each of the nationalities.

Whatever their Lordships of Toronto may say, there is no reason to fear—experience has proved it—that the difference in the relations between Church and State in the civil provinces of Quebec and Ontario may complicate the administration of the Diocese of Ottawa. But it is clear that any division which would place two episcopal sees one opposite the other, would in nowise accommodate the people who inhabit the extremities of the present diocese.”

The result showed what importance Rome attached to this argument. In 1882 it erected the Apostolic Vicariate of Pontiac and decided to organize, at the proper time, the ecclesiastical province of Central Canada. In 1886 Mgr. Duhamel was appointed the first Metropolitan of Ottawa.

The principle of adapting the Catholic discipline to the language and customs of the faithful came out victorious from the conflict. The Church of Ottawa, forever preserved from the English regime of Toronto, would henceforth evolve in freedom in the direction of its nature which was principally French-Canadian.

Now, while Rome was arbitrating this difficulty, Mgr. Duhamel was trying to obtain the canonical recognition of the civil University of Ottawa. We can easily see what he had to ask so as not to deviate

from the thesis so often exposed to the Roman authorities.

The Archbishop of Ottawa “supplicates the Holy See to elevate the College of Ottawa to the rank of a Catholic University *for the ends which its founders had in view when then established it.*” (2)

According to him, “the Ottawa College obtained its university charter from the state, particularly for the advantage of the French Catholic population of Ottawa and the surrounding counties.” Penetrated with this conviction, “the Archbishop of Ottawa never asks anything else than a Catholic university for the use of Catholics, particularly the French-Canadian Catholics of the ecclesiastical province of Ottawa whose territory is much greater in Quebec than in Ontario. He asks the aid of French-Canadian bishops, rather than that of the bishops of Ontario, precisely because the University of Ottawa is to offer advantages particularly to French-Canadian students. The thought of making an English, and especially an Irish university of the College of Ottawa never crossed his mind; he does not even suspect that certain Irishmen will ever manifest such a desire. Between him and Rome, there never was question of an English University. The Archbishop of Ottawa therefore never asked and nobody ever asked for

(2) Unless otherwise indicated, the passages between quotation marks, which follow, are taken from the Memoir of 1902.



an English university. (1)

The Holy See, who had just constituted the ecclesiastical Province of Ottawa in the interest of the French-Canadians, was prepared to understand a language so well adapted to its way of viewing matters. In order to refuse what was asked of it, it would have had to reverse its own judgments. At any rate, if it granted what was

not asked of it, it should have said so. "If the Holy See had wished the University of Ottawa to be English, it would certainly have made it known in some document, since the civil charter had been granted particularly for the French-Canadians." Note that between the time of the creation of the University and the approbation of the constitutions, two long years intervened, during which Mgr. Duhamel writes to Rome: "There is nothing in the statutes, which will shortly be submitted for the approval of the Holy See, which makes the University of Ottawa an English university."

As a matter of fact "there is absolutely no expression in the constitutions or statutes given by the Holy See to the University of Ottawa which could give the idea that His Holiness wished to make of it an English university. It is always called only a Catholic university. It is nowhere said, either in the Brief or in the constitutions, that the language of instruction shall be one rather than the other. The Holy See was pleased to give constitutions suited to the faculties of philosophy, theology and canon law, but it left to the university authorities the regulation of the details of the courses of studies to be followed both in the classical and the commercial courses."

Here then is the truth: His Holiness, Pope Leo XIII, raised Ottawa College to the dignity of a Catholic University; this university was erected for the ecclesiastical province of Ottawa. In granting to the said college canonical recognition, His Holiness did not

(1) Archbishop's Palace,  
Quebec, Feb. 26th, 1861.

"Whereas the College of Ottawa obtained in 1866, from the Parliament of Canada, an act of incorporation by which it was vested with university powers;

"Whereas in 1879, His Grace Mgr. Duhamel, bishop of Ottawa, has received in writing from His Eminence Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, the right for this College to make use of all the civil rights accorded it:

"We, the undersigned archbishops and bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Quebec, recognize, insofar as we are concerned, the said powers and we approve the exercise of them, which cannot in any way interfere with Laval University and from which we expect good results, especially when the Holy See will have permitted the granting of diplomas in theology, canon law, etc., by the said college.

(Signed):

E.-A.,  
Archbishop of Quebec.  
L. R.,  
Bishop of Three Rivers.  
Jean,  
Bishop of St. G. de Rimouski.  
Edouard-Charles,  
Bishop of Montreal.  
Antoine,  
Bishop of Sherbrooke.  
J.-Thomas,  
Bishop of Ottawa.  
L.-Z.,  
Bishop of St. Hyacinthe.  
Dom., Bishop of Chicoutimi.

wish to take away from the French-Canadians their duly acquired rights; it was, therefore, never his intention to erect an English university at Ottawa."

The glorious epithet of Catholic does not alter the original destination of the University of Ottawa; it sanctions it and assures it that stability which the Church communicates to everything it touches and sanctifies.

That which clearly indicates that the Archbishops and Bishops of the French ecclesiastical provinces and of the provinces of Toronto and Kingston did not understand it in any other sense, is their respective attitudes in the matter of the University. The former — with Cardinal Taschereau at their head — attended in great numbers at the inauguration which took place in October 1889. The latter, on the contrary, kept aloof. "Although they were all invited to attend the ceremony, the Archbishops and Bishops of the ecclesiastical provinces of Toronto and Kingston shone by their absence. The brief concerning the canonical erection of the University of Ottawa, informing them that they could affiliate their colleges with it, had been sent them in due time. Many did not even acknowledge receipt of it. The absence of these prelates was greatly remarked. "If this University could have been considered as English, I have met some of these bishops who would have made it their duty to come and say so publicly."

Mgr. Duhamel, on more than one occasion, had to exonerate himself from blame by the French-Canadian Bishops who had support-

ed his efforts to obtain the canonical recognition of the University of Ottawa, for the great tolerance he had exercised in accepting the regulation of 1874. The English-speaking Bishops of Ontario, on their part, did not even judge it opportune to take advantage of the privilege, which had been granted them, of affiliating their colleges with the University, even after the last legal impediments had disappeared, upon the request of the Congregation of the Oblates. "Is it not a very convincing proof", writes Mgr. Duhamel, "that these venerable prelates never understood that the University of Ottawa had been canonically erected for the advantage of the English-speaking population exclusively?" And he adds: "It is not necessary to say that the English-speaking Catholics, in this imitating their bishops, never manifested the exorbitant claims of the twenty-four signatories of the manifesto addressed in 1901 to the Superior General of the Oblates and to the Apostolic Delegate, Mgr. Falconio."

I cannot resist the temptation to give a specimen of the argumentation of the Twenty-Four. To prove "in a conclusive manner" that the University of Ottawa was destined especially to meet the needs of the English-speaking Catholics of Ontario, they quote the following passage from the Apostolic Brief: "It is moreover our will that our venerable brother, the Archbishop of Ottawa and those who will after him occupy the archiepiscopal chair, shall hold the office of Apostolic Chancellor in the same university and that the

Archbishop himself and his successors, and also the other bishops of the provinces of Ottawa and Toronto (and of Kingston) (1) who will affiliate their seminaries and colleges and other similar institutions with the aforesaid university, do watch over the preservation of a correct and sound doctrine in the same."

In the first place, it is striking that not a word of this extract mentions the English Catholics.

But let us proceed. The Archbishop of Ottawa occupies quite an exceptional rank. No less than the Bishops of the provinces of Toronto and Kingston, the Bishops of the province of Ottawa receive the right to affiliate their colleges with the University. Now, the archdiocese and the ecclesiastical province of Ottawa stretch principally into the civil Province of Quebec. We should have to conclude at least that both the French-Canadian and English-speaking Catholics of a considerable part of the Province of Quebec have the same rights as the English-speaking and French-Canadian Catholics of Ontario. But if we reflect attentively upon the difference that the Brief establishes between the Archbishop of Ottawa, Apostolic Chancellor, and the other bishops, simple supervisors of the soundness of the doctrine, we shall easily see the superiority of the titles of the former over those of the latter. Precisely, the University of Ottawa is Ottawa

College, the work of Mgr. Guigues and the Oblates; it is not in any manner a confederation of several institutions of learning, such as the University of Manitoba. It may affiliate colleges with itself, but these do not become, through this affiliation, an essential or integral part of it. Is it possible to conceive of a university receiving its *raison d'être* from its secondary object? or an archbishop asking that his college become a university in favour of two outside ecclesiastical provinces? a Chancellor who would, ex-officio, evince the youth of his diocese in favour of young people whom he is not obliged to instruct? Mgr. Duhamel stripping his own for the benefit of the English-speaking Catholics of the provinces of Toronto and Kingston?

No, no, truth contains no such ridiculous incoherences. The creation of the Catholic University of Ottawa is only the consequence of an irresistible migratory movement. When Providence, which stirs peoples as well as individuals, attracted a French-Canadian colony into the valley of the Ottawa, the Catholic Church in Canada formed only one ecclesiastical province. Its bishops, obliged to embrace in their apostolic zeal every part of the country, obtained more easily those general views of the whole which favoured prophetic visions of the future. They foresaw at once a serious and durable enterprise in the attempt at colonization undertaken by their race on the two banks of the Ottawa, and they did not hesitate to establish a bishop in Central Canada so that the members of the fold who had emigrated should not be with-

(1) The Brief, dated the 15th February, 1889, speaks only of Toronto for the excellent reason that the ecclesiastical province of Kingston did not then exist. It was created in June 1889.

out a shepherd. The flood of immigration constantly increasing, Mgr. Guigues' diocese was peopled especially by French Canadians. However, had it not been for the energetic refusal by the French-Canadian bishops, relying on the principle that "ecclesiastical discipline follows the language and customs of a people", which refusal was given to the ecclesiastical province of Toronto, the southern shore of the Ottawa river would doubtless have become an anglicizing archdiocese, to the great detriment of the Church and the French-Canadians. Rome for whom the truth, as soon as it is known, serves as a guide and a beacon, enlightened upon the state of the diocese of Ottawa, constituted christianity under the care of a guardian in an autonomous province. Three years later, when it decorated the University with the title of Catholic, it was only gloriously crowning the policy pursued by it for half a century. From the Catholic standpoint, more even than from a civil one, the preponderance is given to the French-Canadians. Doubtless, this institution may affiliate English-speaking colleges, or French-Canadian ones, such as the college of Sudbury — from the provinces of Toronto and Kingston; but this is due to the centre from which it radiates and proves nothing else than its breadth of view, the disinterested zeal and the eminent delicacy of the French-Canadian clergy who accommodate themselves to the needs of souls rather than attempt to force these to accommodate themselves to their views.

If the French-Canadian popula-

tion had not manifested this excessive condescension, which is the endemic defect of chivalric races, it would not have suffered so long from the provisory arrangement of 1874. Does this mean that it required a pressure exercised by the French-Canadians to bring the administrators of the University back to a more equitable application of the principle of bilingualism? Not at all. But to break with a custom, to work up-stream, to affront certain noisy tendencies, perhaps a little spurring from the outside was none too much. Of course, the French idea always had its faithful partisans in the college. When Father Martinet, in his visit of 1891, wrote: "We consider it a merit on our part to teach French and English, English and French literature, with equal perfection", we feel that he conforms to an irreducible state of mind, and that he calls to order the protagonists of a narrow and niggardly doctrine. In his mind the system then followed was a *regulation*.

And so the Reverend Fathers Constantineau, Gervais and Antoine of the University, Reverend Father Harnois of the Juniorate and Reverend Father Jodoin, provincial, by their rehabilitation of the French language, yielded to the one desire of bringing to a fallen regulation an amelioration that had become inevitable. (1)

(1) R. F. Constantineau was Rector of the University in 1901. Upon the expiration of his term of office, he became provincial of the Oblates of Texas and Mexico. R. F. Antoine succeeded him in this post. R. F. Gervais, who filled the position of Prefect of Studies, later on became Rector of the University.

Since that date, 1901, the institution founded by Mgr. Guigues, with its two parallel courses in French and English, offers absolutely the same advantages to the two races in the Ottawa region.

I have often been present at solemn receptions of distinguished personages who deigned to visit the University of Ottawa. Under its great dome I have heard the language of France and the idiom of England resound. Naturally, the accents of my own tongue seemed softer because it came from my mother; but I did not feel, neither did others of my race, that the language of my English-speaking coreligionists introduced a discordant note. Why should not these people have the same feelings on the subject of French? In a Catholic University there is room for two races and two languages if the spirit of charity which comes from Christ Jesus unites their intelligence and their hearts.

#### CONCLUSION.

The declamations which, for the last fifteen years, we have heard concerning the University of Ottawa, were necessarily bound to appear false as soon as truth would raise its voice to establish the facts. We cannot, any more in history than in the other sciences, affirm as truth anything simply because we would wish to be in accordance with our views.

What is, is the object of our mind; and, before speaking of the past, it is necessary to know it. Had the authors of those declarations taken it upon themselves to make researches, Mgr. Guigues' views, the documents presented to

Parliament in 1866, the rule which governed the establishment of the ecclesiastical province of Ottawa and served to guide Mgr. Duhamel and the French-Canadian bishops when they asked Rome to elevate the College of the Oblates to the rank of a Catholic University, all these were not so thoroughly hidden under their dusty covers as to put them beyond reach. How could they have maintained that the University of Ottawa was founded for the sole benefit of Ontario, when Mgr. Guigues' letters, when the civil chart, when the Apostolic Brief, give it an immense sphere of influence in the Province of Quebec? Mgr. Guigues writes confidentially to Sir Hippolyte Lafontaine, President of the Council of Ministers: "The College of Ottawa was founded more in the interest of Lower than of Upper Canada"; the Oblates declared to the Parliament in 1866 that "this institution is particularly valuable. . . . to the large French population who, without it, would in a measure be deprived of the advantages of a superior education"; the bishops of Quebec, with the high approbation of Rome, organize an ecclesiastical province in Central Canada with the object of leaving the French-Canadians work out their salvation in accord with the aspirations of their own nationality; Mgr. Duhamel "asks nothing else from Rome than a Catholic University for the advantage of Catholics, particularly for French-Canadian Catholics": who can dare to maintain that the College of Ottawa was invested with university powers, both civil and Catholic, for

the exclusive use of, or principally for, the English Catholics?

In default of true and serious historical documents on the case, the most elementary psychology should have preserved the authors of the manifesto of 1901 from affirming what was improbable. French-Canadian bishops and priests, at enormous sacrifices, establish in a centre that is principally French an institution of superior education: they will aim at favoring the English-speaking youth of the surrounding dioceses and of those the farthest away! Who can believe that? The French race never has known the shame attached to such patriotic aberration.

It does not deserve either to be accused of fanaticism because it desires to safeguard one of its stoutest ramparts.

The particular territory for which the university civil charter was asked, comprises: in Quebec, the counties of Pontiac, Labelle, Wright, Argenteuil, Vaudreuil, Two-Mountains, and in Ontario, the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Carleton, Prescott, Russell, Grenville, Stormont, Dundas, Glengarry and the city of Ottawa. The number of Catholics in these circumscriptions amounts to 278,233 of which 207,991 are French-Canadians, which gives these a majority of 137,749. (1) The Apostolic Brief assigns to the University, as a field of action, the ecclesiastical province of Ottawa. In this place the French-Canadians

are more numerous than their English-speaking coreligionists by 122,757. (2) To this last mentioned territory one might add the adjacent dioceses of French-Canadian aspect, Alexandria and Sault Ste-Marie. The French-Canadians would then be 130,246 more numerous than the English-speaking Catholics. If one will consider, along with the normal territory of the University, the provinces of Toronto and Kingston, he will have 588,910 Catholics, of whom 297,579 are French-Canadians; this is a majority of 6,248 for the latter. Let us leave out of consideration the Catholics of the province of Ottawa who inhabit the Province of Quebec, so as to count only the Catholics of Ontario. There are 202,442 French-Canadian Catholics against 282,555 English-speaking Catholics, what then is the value of the noisy argument in the name of which is claimed, in certain quarters, the full direction of the Church in Ontario? "Ontario is an English-speaking Catholic Province", is repeated ceaselessly. This is no longer true. Ontario is an English-speaking Protestant Province, yes; an English-speaking Catholic Province? Not at all. We must say it and repeat it: Catholic Ontario is Anglo-French. We have therefore two groups between whom the Church is divided in a civil province; both have a pressing need of a university. The French-Canadians must at least have the right to keep the one they have created

(1) In the counties in Ontario, the French-Canadians have a majority of 54,209.

(2) In the Ontario part of the diocese of Ottawa, the French-Canadians have a majority of 43,718.

and maintained for their own particular advantage. Besides, it was mathematically demonstrated in a pamphlet published at the time of the Plenary Council of Quebec, that an English-speaking university ran great risk of being a failure if it were not established in the centre of an English-speaking population: in Toronto, Hamilton, or anywhere else so that it be not in French Ontario or on the boundaries of the Province of Quebec.

It is expedient, some have said, that Ottawa, an important city of Ontario, should possess an English university. How much better it would be to reason like a good Catholic concerning a religious question! For whom does Rome erect universities? Is it, yes or no, for Catholics? Well, the population of the eight wards of Ottawa (1) gives a total of 36,698 Catholics, of whom 22,210 are French-Canadians — a French-Canadian majority of 7,722. Ottawa has, therefore, the university which befits it, a bilingual one. And let everybody know this: no person has ever thought, and no person thinks, of disturbing in the least the courses of studies of the English-speaking students.

It has equally been said that in the capital of an English colony, an English university was necessary. This is a Greek sophism. In the first place, Canada is not an English colony; it is an Anglo-French British colony which introduces many shades of distinc-

tion. And, moreover, if a university is required in the capital, it is doubtless so that the Church may exercise its supernatural influence upon our governing class. Now, what is the Canadian Church? — the two millions of French-Canadians? or the half million of Catholics of every language and tribe? (2)

We look in vain for a reason upon which anyone could catch in order to excuse an attempt that might be made to anglicise the University of Ottawa.

If one may play the part of the prophet, does the future reserve sorrowful disappointments to the French-Canadians? In all times, seers, inspired by their feelings rather than by the truth, have predicted the disappearance of the French language from the soil of Ontario. Our bishops and priests, better informed by their observation of facts, have affirmed the contrary. Who was right? Will not the same causes produce the same effects? The French-Canadians still possess a generous and prolific blood; their language, which has kept them aloof from the deliterious influence of protestantism, has preserved them to the Church and she, to-day as in the past, renders immune from a multitude of corrosives, the nations that impregnate their morals with its divine precepts. Combinations that result from human wisdom may doubtless strangely counteract the forward movement of a people that does not impose itself by its

(1) The other parts of the City of Ottawa are included in the Counties of Carleton and Russell in the census of 1911.

(2) All these figures are taken from the official census of 1911.

numbers; but men have never, except momentarily, dammed the rising current of life that is sure of its destiny and proud of its past. For a people, to wish to live is to endure. Let the French-Canadians of the Ottawa district and of Ontario as a whole, continue to display the efforts required of them in their sad and painful situation, let them group themselves around the University of Ottawa and their schools, like an intrepid army determined to die rather than to depart from duty, and they will preserve the bond of union that exists between them and the great French family in America. Sooner or later, those who govern them will perceive that the most reasonable and beneficent policy is the one that takes into account material facts as they manifest themselves. For them there will be

justice and, with justice, happiness, that is nothing else, for nations as for individuals, than the consciousness of order.

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Note by the translator: — Does it not seem at least extraordinary that a Father Lavoie should interview a Chapais, a Langevin, a Cartier, a Letellier de Saint-Just, a Sir Aimé Dorion, all French-Canadians, to obtain from the Parliament of 1866 a charter for an English university, at a moment when the English-speaking Catholics had just received a university charter for the College of Regiopolis and when the French-Canadian Catholics had no university whatever? Yet this is what certain Irish Catholics of Ontario would have us believe in order to obtain control of the University of Ottawa.





