The political significance of the Roman Catholic and Anglican bishops from the Conquest through the American Revolution (1759-93) in the writing of Canadian history.

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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ, MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE
THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND ANGLICAN BISHOPS
FROM THE CONQUEST THROUGH THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1759–1793) IN
THE WRITING OF CANADIAN HISTORY

by

AGNES GERTHULD HOY

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ABSTRACT

THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF
THE ROMAN CATHOLIC AND ANGLICAN BISHOPS
PRES. THE CONQUEST THROUGH THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1759-1763) IN
THE WRITING OF CANADIAN HISTORY

by

AGNES G. GRODZINSKY

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze how subsequent historians have viewed the role of the Roman Catholic and Anglican episcopates during two political crises in Canadian history: the Conquest and the American Revolution. Thus, the paper contains both a historical and a historiographical dimension. The purely historical side of the question involves delineating the major issues in Church-State relations during these two periods by means of interpreting contemporary and secondary ecclesiastical sources, in order to determine how these issues were related to the larger political context of the Conquest and the American Revolution. For the investigation proceeds on the assumption that Canadian historical writing has been oriented far more toward political than ecclesiastical issues. Thus, in order to evaluate the political significance of the Churches in Canadian historiography, it is first necessary to place the ecclesiastical issues in their larger historical context. An examination of the issues of Church and State in the eighteenth century clearly reveals the politi-
cal importance which contemporaries attached to these ecclesiastical questions. This being the case, the historiographical chapters have examined how a selected group of Canadian historians writing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have interpreted these same ecclesiastical issues.

The historiographical writings of six major Canadian historians constitute the historiographical aspect of the paper. Since the author believes that a better understanding of Canada's past will result from reading our history as it has been interpreted by both French-speaking and English-speaking Canadians, the present study has chosen three historians each from the two traditions in Canadian historiographical writing. François-Xavier Gariépy (1880-1936), Abbé Lionel Groulx (1879-1967) and Michel Brunet (1917- ) have been selected as representatives of three generations of French-Canadian writers, while William Kingston (1918-1996), Arthur Liver (1933- ) and Donald S. Creighton (1902- ) form the English-Canadian group.

The Introduction outlines some of the preliminary difficulties encountered in attempting such a study in Canadian historiography focused around ecclesiastical issues, and includes a note on the major sources used in the thesis. In the light of the eighteenth century interpretation of the Church-State relationship, Chapters II and III analyse the paradoxical ecclesiastical developments in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches in the post-Conquest period. Political expediency is advanced as the only feasible explanation for Britain
permitting the Catholic Church at Quebec such tolerance while sacrificing its own national Church in the colonies. In view of the different perspectives from which English and French Canadians view the Conquest, chapter VI examines how the two groups of historians have interpreted the political importance of the Church after the Conquest, since no historian could really ignore this issue entirely. Chapter VII explains how the American Revolution elicited similar responses from the leaders of both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches since both institutions counselled loyalty to the British authorities as a duty sanctioned by religion. Chapter VIII takes a historicographical approach to the impact of the Revolution upon Canada in order to examine what significance the same group of historians attributed to the Churches. In this latter case, however, few Canadian historians have recognized the political role of either Church. Chapter VII briefly summarizing the entire thesis suggests reasons why Canada's major French and English-speaking historians have had different perceptions of the two historical watersheds in question, and concludes with some suggestions for further research.
TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER AND MY FATHER
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am very grateful to the many kind people who have assisted and encouraged me during the progress of this thesis. First, I would like to express my thanks to my family and friends for much support and understanding. I would like to extend my thanks to the staff of the Library at the University of Windsor for their services, and especially to Dr. Vincent Selkirk, Mrs. Margaret Jeans and Miss Berta Stewart of the Interlibrary Loan Office. A special note of thanks goes to a conscientious waitress, Miss Jane, who has devoted many hours toward completing the task.

I am much indebted to my thesis committee: to Father Joseph D. Sullivan of the Department of Religious Studies for his interest in my progress and for his agreement to serve on the examining board and to Brother Bonaventure Minor and Dr. Ian Pemberton of the History Department who kindly consented to act as co-directors in the supervision of my work. It was Brother Bonaventure who introduced me to the study of historiography through a graduate course and who has taught me the value of historical study in the context of its long-term significance. I am very grateful to him for giving so generously of his time, his direction and his insight. I wish to thank Dr. Pemberton as well for the first sustained my interest in the history of French Canada during my undergraduate days.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a two-fold study in Canadian history. It proposes first to examine the political relationship which emerged between Church and State during two periods of political crisis - the Conquest and the American Revolution. In the light of this Church-State question, it then attempts to analyse the context in which a representative group of Canadian historians have interpreted the political role of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches during these two periods.

With respect to the Church-State issue, our investigation has been focused around the Roman Catholic and Anglican episcopates, as the title of the thesis suggests, for three significant reasons. First, the office of the episcopate provides the fundamental basis of ecclesiastical organization in both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, thus providing an underlying basis for a comparative approach. Secondly, as the representative leaders of these two religious institutions, the bishops served as the official spokesmen for their respective Churches through their negotiations with the civil authorities. Thirdly, since Roman Catholicism had been the national religion of New France and Anglicanism had claimed the official status of an established church after the Conquest, it is upon
these two more prominent ecclesiastical organizations that our inquiry on Church-State relations in this early period of Canadian history must centre. The delimitations of the study from 1759 to 1793 have been selected not only because they represent the period from the Conquest to the aftermath of the American Revolution but also for their significance in Canadian ecclesiastical history. 1759 marked the beginning of apprehension regarding the future of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada as a result of the Conquest, 1793 marked the establishment of an Anglican episcopate in Quebec, a watershed in Canadian ecclesiastical history which in fact had been a consequence of the American Revolution.

The decision to analyse the religious issues around political crises was one determined principally by the source material itself. By inquiring to what extent historians have dealt with the Churches in Canadian history, one concludes that historical interest in the Church has been measured by the way in which religious matters have impinged upon political issues in Canadian historical development. That discovery leads to the central issue of the paper, which is the historiographical aspect. Very early in the historical investigation the present writer became aware of the almost paradoxical nature of the anticipated research undertaken. The fact is that studies in Canadian historiography have testified repeatedly to the "indifference" with which Canadian historians have dealt with religious questions.1 The criticism which specialists in Church

history have levelled against the interpretive historian emphasizes the fact that the latter's understanding of Canadian historical development would be enriched by taking into account the ecclesiastical dimension of Canada's past.²

Attempts have been made to explain why most Canadian historians have remained relatively indifferent toward religious matters. The major reason cited, and the one with which this paper fully agrees, is the argument that Canadian historians, in the past at least, have been far more pre-occupied with the political side of history.³ It has been suggested that Canadian historians may have avoided ecclesiastical issues so as not to "reopen old sectarian quarrels", since admittedly religion has been the subject of bitter political controversy on many occasions in the past.⁴ However, the bitterness of the past need not deter Canadian historians in the present from re-examining those ecclesiastical issues over which Canadians may have been in disagreement. The present generation of historians has had the advantage of the ecumenical movement in the Christian Church which has opened up a dialogue among the various branches of


the Christian community. This ecumenical spirit has enabled Canadian historians in the present to re-interpret ecclesiastical issues in the light of what the denominations may have had in common. For example, this broader perspective is evident in the approach pursued in the recent three volume co-operative work, *A History of the Christian Church in Canada* (1966-1972), edited by J. W. Grant.\(^5\) Whereas historical writing on the ecclesiastical institutions in the past tended to be almost exclusively denominational in approach, the contemporary historian can no longer ignore the genuine common heritage of Christian denominations. Restrictions in the scope of this paper have necessarily confined the discussion to two churches only - the Roman Catholic and the Anglican. It is the present writer's intention that the chapters dealing with the historical background will in fact reveal that these two institutions have had much in common. Despite the fact that historically the two ecclesiastical organizations acted quite independently of one another, and in fact rivalled one another for political recognition, it is the contention of this paper that a closer analysis of the Church-State relationship at the Conquest and the American Revolution reveals that certain parallels did exist between the two churches and the civil authorities. Although subsequent Canadian historians may have been less sensitive to the political importance of ecclesiastical issues, it is the intention of these historical

chapters to re-emphasize how serious Church-State matters appeared to contemporaries in the eighteenth century.

Thus, the Church-State relationship at the Conquest and the American Revolution furnishes the political issue around which the historiographical aspect of the thesis has been based. The intention of the historiographical chapters is to analyse how the political, religious, social and personal circumstances within a historian's own milieu may have influenced the approach which he has taken on these religious questions. Since every generation re-writes history in terms of what its contemporary society discerns as historically significant, it is necessary to investigate what circumstances or conditions at one time may have been more conducive to historical interest in ecclesiastical issues than in another period in Canadian history.

Clearly both the Conquest and the American Revolution have been significant political watersheds in terms of Canadian history. The fact that English and French-Canadian historians have perceived these same two issues from somewhat different perspectives is another question which the paper will explore. Therefore, in selecting these two historical watersheds as the basis of discussion for the ecclesiastical issue, the thesis will evaluate the significance of these two events because Canadian historians have treated the ecclesiastical issues within the context of the broader political issues.

There has been a second assumption underlying the methodology of this paper. The present writer believes that although English and French-speaking Canadians have pursued
historical study from rather different perspectives, a better understanding of Canada's past will be achieved by attempting to understand the essence of both historical traditions. In spite of the language difference which no doubt poses an obstacle for many students of Canadian history, the understanding gained by attempting to read Canadian history as it has been interpreted by both French and English-speaking Canadians certainly has been worth the effort. Thus, the historiographical aspect of the paper has delved into some of the basic questions of Canadian identity in its quest to understand the context in which subsequent generations of Canadian historians have dealt with these basic ecclesiastical questions.

Before commencing our inquiry into the historical situation of the Churches, a further observation ought to be made at this point regarding the historians themselves. The fact that most French-Canadians are Roman Catholics would perhaps imply that for this reason they have had a greater interest in the ecclesiastical history of their own Church. That in itself is not the principal explanation for the French-Canadian historian having had a significantly greater interest in the Roman Catholic Church in its historical context. Since the Conquest of Quebec the Roman Catholic Church has symbolized French-Canadian survival. It is this special relationship be-

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between the French Canadian and his Church which has inclined these historians to view the related ecclesiastical matters more seriously than do their English-Canadian counterparts. English-Canadian historians on the other hand belong to a variety of religious traditions and no single church in English-speaking Canada ever exerted an influence quite comparable to that of the Roman Catholic Church in French-Canadian society. This is an important distinction to keep in mind from the viewpoint of Canadian historical writing on the Church.

The author has selected three French-speaking and three English-speaking historians who seemed to express the major trends in Canadian historiography. The active historical writings of these six men extend from the mid-nineteenth century to the present, and form the primary sources for the historiographical aspect of the paper. The spokesmen for three generations of French-Canadian historians are as follows: François-Xavier Gameau (1809-1866) whose Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours (1845-1848) represents the spirit of the struggle for survival in the nineteenth century, but whose portrayal of the Church has been frowned upon by his ecclesiastical critics for what he failed to say; Abbé Lionel Groulx (1878-1967) whose writing in the inter-war period especially his Lendemain de concrète (1920), Vers l'émancipation (1921), and Notre Maître, le Passé (1924 and 1944) re-echo his predecessor's spirit of the French-Canadian struggle, but in a more ecclesiastically oriented tone so characteristic of his generation; and a pres-
ent-day writer, Michel Brunet (1917— ) whose major work Les Canadiens après la Conquête (1969) has dealt with the religious issues quite thoroughly although his focus is genuinely more politically oriented than the historical generation which preceded him.

The English-Canadian historians with whom this study deals are: William Kingsford (1819-1898) whose ten-volume History of Canada (1887-1898) best represents the imperial interpretation of Canadian history in the late nineteenth century, but is less concerned with ecclesiastical issues; Arthur R.N. Lover (1889— ) whose principal works Colony to Nation (1946) and Canadians in the Making (1958) characterize the theme of Canada's advancing autonomy from Britain and whose author has been outstanding among his English-speaking colleagues for his sensitive approach toward ecclesiastical issues; and, finally; Donald G. Creighton (1902— ) whose works The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850 (1937), Dominion of the North (1944) and The Story of Canada (1959) have been regarded as classics in Canadian historiography although the author's interest has been decidedly political rather than religious.

The contention of this paper is that our interpretive historians have dealt with ecclesiastical issues in Canadian history somewhat inadequately. Hence it is to the specialists in Church history, to monographs of the period and to collections of ecclesiastical documents that the writer must turn in order to evaluate the role of the Church in Canadian history. It
is worth noting that the denominational approaches pursued by historians of both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches have been re-inforced for the most part by the language barrier. Most of the sources dealing with the early period of the Roman Catholic Church have been written in French, while those on the Anglican Church have been exclusively in the English language. This observation re-emphasized the contention that few Canadian historians have been willing to pursue topics in Canadian ecclesiastical history which must surmount both the denominational and language barriers. The most important sources for the Roman Catholic aspect of the paper have been:

Mémoires, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec (1888) by Mgr. Henri Tétu and l’Abbé C.-C. Gagnon; "Inventaire de la Correspondance de Mgr. Jean-Olivier Briand, Evêque de Québec, 1741 à 1794", Rapport de l’Archiviste de la Province de Québec (1929-1930) by Ivanhoë Caron; Les Evêques de Québec (1889) by Mgr. Henri Tétu; L’Église du Québec après la Conquête 2 tomes (1916-1917) by Abbé Auguste Gosselin; L’Église Canadienne sous le Régime Militaire, 1759-1764 2 tomes (1956) by Marcel Trudel; Québec et l’Église aux États-Unis sous Mgr. Briand et Mgr. Plessis (1945) by Laval Laurent; "L’Épiscopat Québécois et la Couronne britannique" (1967) by Séraphin Karion; "The Legal Status of the Bishop of Quebec", by Hugh J. Somers; "Relations Between Church and State in Canada Since the Cession of 1763" by James F. Kenney and "Bishop Briand and the American Revolution" by Samuel K. Wilson, the last three of which were published in
the Catholic Historical Review (1933). On the Anglican Church the most useful reference sources were: "Church and State Papers for the Years 1759 to 1786: being a compendium of Documents Relating to the Establishment of Certain Churches in the Province of Quebec", Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec (1948-1949) by Canon A.R. Kelley; "The Proposal in the Pre-Revolutionary Decades for the Establishment of Anglican Bishops in the Colonies" (1963) by Jack H. Sosin; The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis (1936) by John W. Lydekker; Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities and Politics, 1690-1775 (1962) by Carl Bridenbaugh; and several studies by Judith Fingard, "the Establishment of the First English Colonial Bishopric" (1967-1968), "Charles Inglis and his 'Primitive Bishopric' in Nova Scotia" (1968) and The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816 (1972); and by Thomas R. Millman, Jacob Mountain; First Lord Bishop of Quebec: A Study in Church and State, 1793-1825 (1947). In addition to these denominational studies, two works by John S. McInnes, Church and State in Canada, 1627-1867 (1967) and The Church in the British Era (1972) provided valuable insight into the relationship of the Churches to the political situation. The Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791 (1918-1919), edited by A. Shortt and A.G. Doughty, furnished the framework for the constitutional aspect of Church-State relations for this period in Canadian history.

The chapter divisions represent the major ecclesiastical issues followed by a discussion of the historiographical inter-
interpretation of that issue. Chapter II outlines the eighteenth century understanding of Church-State relations and the implications for the Roman Catholic Church which occurred after the British Conquest of Canada. Chapter III analyses the paradoxical ecclesiastical situation in that the demands of the political situation which arose between the Conquest and the American Revolution resulted in the strengthening of the Roman Catholic Church while the needs of the Church of England had to be sacrificed despite its legal claim for state recognition. Chapter IV is intended as a historiographical reflection on the question of the Church at the Conquest. It also provides a background analysis of the six historians in the context of their times in an attempt to explain how each man's personal situation may help to account for his interpretation of the Church at the Conquest. Chapter V deals with the strong parallel which is discernible between the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches during the American Revolution, in that the leaders in both Churches played similar political roles by counselling loyalty to the British cause. Chapter VI is a historiographical reflection on the significance of the American Revolution to Canada and on the extent to which Canadian historians have recognized the important political roles which both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches played in the course of that political struggle. Chapter VII presents a general summary of the findings of this thesis and contains suggestions for additional research in this field.
CHAPTER XI

THE CHURCH AT THE CONQUEST
(1759-1766)

The purpose of this initial historical chapter is to explain how the British Conquest of Canada affected the existing ecclesiastical institutions. Although the Roman Catholic Church has been considered as the institution least affected by the Conquest, nevertheless the consequence of the political crisis carried with it certain profound repercussions in the spiritual realm. Two outstanding ecclesiastical difficulties emerged from the preceding political upheaval. The first involved the constitutional adjustment necessitated by the sudden alteration in the existing Church-State relationship. The second issue, which hinges on the first, was the question of finding an episcopal replacement.

The implications of the Church-State conflict became apparent almost immediately following the British Conquest of New France. The most pervasive religious matter involving the Church in Canada was the extremely uncertain future of Roman Catholicism. In the mid-eighteenth century, both France and Britain accepted the prevailing arrangement of the close alliance of Church and State, a theory strengthened by the Protestant Reformation. However, these two powers themselves had been divided on opposing principles. The underlying explanation
of this Church-State relationship was the assumption that political and religious loyalties were somehow inseparable. Thus, to find themselves in the possession of an English Protestant monarch, placed the Roman Catholic population of Quebec in the position of a suddenly divided allegiance, a predicament heretofore unknown in the experience of the French-speaking colony.

The second more immediate dilemma facing the Church in 1760, though one not directly resulting from the Conquest, was the actual lack of a bishop in Quebec. The episcopal vacancy had occurred with the untimely death of Konseigneur Fontbriand, just before the final capitulation of New France. In an officially Protestant state, the gradual extinction of the Roman Catholic Church appeared to be the more feasible alternative to any expectation that an episcopal replacement would be allowed to perpetuate Roman Catholicism. However, once that permission for a bishop had been granted, this unusual concession precipitated a further controversial issue, with long-term implications for the Church in Quebec. Essentially, the British had decided to retain a Roman Catholic Bishop in the position of liaison and leadership in the colony, though the same government refused to recognize him legally. Such a precarious position therefore depended entirely on the generosity and goodwill of successive governors. As mutually antagonistic as this arrangement may appear, nevertheless, a benevolent spirit of co-operation emerged between Church and State in reconciling the faith-

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ful to the new regime. The cultural adjustments of the French Catholic community to an English Protestant government at the Conquest, outlined here as two ecclesiastical issues, constitute some of the basic controversies in Canadian historiography. This paper addresses itself to these historiographical questions in a subsequent chapter.

I

The constitutional provisions for the Church which emerged with the transfer of Canada from French to British rule reveal the extreme importance which contemporaries attached to the problem of religious organization. So crucial was this question, that it has been argued that "the success or failure of British policy in Canada depended on the treatment of the Roman Catholic religion." What should be recognized at the same time is not the genuine religiosity of the eighteenth century diplomats with regard to an ecclesiastical settlement, so much as their political astuteness. Without denying the religious faith of this age, evidence judiciously suggests that the constitutional re-adjustments concerning religious issues were designed in view of their political expediency throughout


this period. In order to appreciate fully the religious situation at the Conquest, an understanding of the eighteenth century Church-State relationship is essential.

Both the French and British monarchies subscribed to the principle of a State Church as the essentially right arrangement in Church-State relations. Although toleration had been extended to religious minorities, that is to Protestants in France and to Roman Catholics in Britain, both governments suspected those who did not profess the religion of the State as potentially dangerous to the realm. While the concept of the separation of Church and State was quite unknown to this age, it has been maintained that state support of the Church was an arrangement determined less by religious conviction than by political convenience. The political-ecclesiastical situation in Canada after the Conquest, therefore, must be interpreted in the context of this contemporary eighteenth century idea of Church-State relations.

The British Conquest of Canada threatened to shatter completely the monopolistic privileged status which the Roman Catholic Church had enjoyed under French auspices. This incidence of the Conquest by a Protestant power is highly significant since the Roman Catholic Church henceforth identified itself

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more intimately with the French-Canadian nationality. This whole identity question is one subject which will be enlarged upon in our historiographical discussion.

To illustrate further the consequence of the religious and political identity which characterized this period, the Acadian expulsion of 1755 may be cited, since the case served to formulate the attitudes of representatives of Church and State toward one another at the Conquest of Quebec. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the Acadians had been granted the "free exercise of their religion...as far as the laws of Great Britain do allow." The problem of a divided loyalty had arisen in the Acadian case, as Quebec missionaries to the region were suspected continuously of political intrigue on the part of France and of breaching their oaths of loyalty to the British Crown. This political disloyalty eventually resulted in the deportation of the Acadians.

With respect to the Acadian tragedy, Monseigneur Pontbriand (1708-1760), the Bishop of Quebec, issued a mandement warning the Canadians of the odious fate which awaited them should these "enemies of the Eucharist" be victorious in Quebec. It is interesting to observe how the Bishop envisaged the impending political invasion so explicitly in religious terms. In his view at least, the future of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec stood little chance of surviving the assault of the British

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6 Moff, Church and State in Canada, p. 24.
7 Ibid., p. 24.
as he explained:

... ce qui vient de se passer dans l'Acadie rendrait suspectes toutes ces promesses, et vous auriez bientôt la douleur de voir s'introduire dans ce diocèse, dont la Foi a toujours été si pure, les erreurs détestables de Luther et de Calvin.

This heretical portrayal of the British Conquest is one view which has been accepted by certain French-Canadian historians. In its own day, the Acadian precedent prepared the way for the British Conquest, in that it elicited an extremely cautious policy on the part of Church and State officials alike toward one another.

With the Conquest of Quebec, three historic documents outlined the progression in British attitudes toward Roman Catholicism in Canada: the Capitulation of Quebec (1759), the Capitulation of Montreal (1760) and the Treaty of Paris (1783). Subsequent government instructions further clarified the constitutional position of the Church. Had the official government policy been followed and the intended restrictions been imposed, these guidelines would have curtailed the functioning of the Roman Catholic episcopacy and no less imperilled the very existence of the Church. However, between the British Conquest and the American Revolution, the practical challenge of the Roman Catholic presence necessitated that successive

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governors overlook the official government policy to such a degree as to re-assure the Bishop of his former prominent position and to actualize this relative "freedom of religion for the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec.

In Canadian historiography, the colourful drama of two valiant heroes fallen in battle on the Plains of Abraham has shrouded the siege of Quebec with a finality which it did not actually possess. Though it signified the beginning of the end for France in America, Quebec's destiny had not been decided ultimately by 1759. Professor Noir maintains that the mere British occupation of Quebec as yet required "no policy decision regarding the status of the Roman Catholic Church."[10]

On 13 September 1759, when M. de Ramsay, the French commanding officer surrendered the colony to Charles Saunders and George Townsend, the British commanders, the former requested certain safeguards for the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion and particularly that the Bishop of Quebec be allowed to continue to exercise his episcopal authority.

The British response read:

The free exercise of the Roman religion is granted, likewise safeguards to all religious persons, as well as to the Bishop, who shall be at liberty to come and exercise, freely and with decency, the functions of his office, whenever he shall think proper until the possession of Canada shall have

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10 Noir, Church and State in Canada, p. 72.
been decided between their Britannic and most Christian Kajesties. 11

To accuse de Ramsay of "looking to the maintenance of the Church of Rome as the State Church of Canada," 12 seems to exaggerate the foresight of the French lieutenant at this point. Similarly, to infer from the British reply that "nothing appears in the way of continuance of Roman Catholicism as a State Church in the Province, but only toleration and protection", 13 seems to suggest prematurely that the British actually had a definitive policy on the question of religion in Quebec by 1759. Moir's remarks that the French demands and the British concessions were essentially the same, more accurately observe that on religious matters at least, the terms of the Capitulation of Quebec were inconclusive. 14 Although physically the Church had suffered ruinous disaster from the British bombardment of Quebec, constitutionally, the Capitulation of 1759 had not altered the status of the Roman Catholic Church substantially, nor had it particularly affected the spiritual administration

11 Article VI, Articles of the Capitulation, Quebec, 1759 Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791 I, edited by A. Shortt and A.G. Doughty (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1918) pp. 5-6.


13 Ibid.

14 Moir, Church and State in Canada, p. 72

of the diocese of Quebec.

From Charlesbourg and later from Montreal, where the bishop had retired before the siege of Quebec, Pontbriand continued to exercise "les fonctions de son État", which involved the spiritual direction of the population. His memory of Acadia recalled the precarious position of the Church in enemy hands. He therefore counselled a cautious policy of submission to authority, in the hope that the British would exercise toleration. In anticipation of the forthcoming British victory, Bishop Pontbriand wrote to Jean-Clivier Briand in February 1760 advising his Vicar General in Quebec that:

Vous ne sauriez trop engager messieurs les curés à user de toute la prudence possible. Nous ne devons point nous mêler de tout ce qui regarde le temporel. Le spirituel doit seul nous occuper, et alors, je suis persuadé que M. Murray sera content.

In 1760 the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec really had little alternative but to comply with the conquerors; however, the advisability of such a policy has since been subject to considerable scrutiny in recent French-Canadian historiography. This is one of the questions which will be considered further in our historiographical discussion on the Church at the Conquest. Under the circumstances in which the Church found itself in

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16 Ibid., p. 68.
17 Ibid., pp. 66-71.
18 "Sr. Henri Tétu, Les Prêtres de Québec (Quebec, Édifice-S. Hardy, 1889) p. 254."
1760, any resistance might even have endangered its already tenuous position. Only the arrival of French troops could have offered the colony a genuine alternative. When the awaited force reached Quebec, it was British. Montreal surrendered without further resistance on 3 September 1760; 19 and New France fell under British control.

The more decisive nature of the Capitulation of Montreal and the definite change of allegiance, predicted only the previous year at Quebec, required a more elaborate treatment of the religious question by this date. 20 While the disruption of empire had witnessed the departure of those officials attached to the French government, the majority of the clergy remained behind in Quebec, faithful to their ministry, despite the uncertainties imposed by the Conquest. At this critical moment in the history of Quebec the Church had lost its essential leader upon the death of Bishop Pontbriand on 8 June 1760. 21 This tragic loss further deprived the sole surviving institution of the French regime of any united direction at a time when such leadership was needed most. 22 Thus the profoundly altered circumstances which had intervened since the Capitulation of Quebec,


20. Noirot, Church and State in Canada, p. 73.


had suddenly rendered the episcopal question itself of greater importance at the Capitulation of Montreal.

At the surrender of Montreal to General Amherst, the Marquis de Vaudreuil sought favourable treatment for the Church, as had been done at Quebec. The "free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion" was granted once again. However, any decision regarding the tithes and the continuation of the male religious orders, the Jesuits, Recollets and Sulpicians was "refused till the King's pleasure be known." On the episcopal question the suggestion that the French King might "continue to name the Bishop of the colony...in case of death," was refused outright. In view of the close relationship of Church and State in the eighteenth century, the episcopal arrangement requested by Vaudreuil had been interpreted as a politically motivated attempt to retain a French foothold in Quebec, in the guise of continuing ecclesiastical influence. This possibility of French influence in Quebec was only one suspicion bounding the British in their awkward task of reconciling the recently-conquered Roman Catholic populace to their probable eventual fate in a Protestant empire, but in 1760, the episcopal question was left unresolved.


24 Ibid., p. 32.

25 Ibid., p. 31.

The military governor of Quebec, General Murray, advised the home authorities of the importance and the possible utility of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. His report observed that:

the Canadians are very ignorant and extremely tenacious of their Religion, nothing can contribute so much to make them staunch subjects of his Majesty as the new Government giving them every reason to imagine no alternative is to be attempted in that point. 27

Murray's early perception of this ecclesiastical potentiality emphasized the absolute necessity of developing a cordial Church-State relationship between the bishop of Quebec and the governor of the colony.

The report contained an additional proposal to "Canadianize" the Roman Catholic Church by encouraging natives in the colony to enter the clerical profession. Such a policy was designed to eliminate the continuing importation of French clergy, upon whom the Canadian Church had formerly relied. From the British point of view, the plan seemed advantageous in that it would curtail alien ecclesiastical influences. Practically, however, the recent loss of the Roman Catholic bishop had precluded further ordinations in the colony. 28 It is significant to note that by 1762 Governor Murray had acknowledged the possible political importance of restoring the Roman


28 Ibid.
Catholic episcopate of Quebec.

Ironically, however, the same report also contained a peculiar suggestion for "bringing about a Reformation" of the Canadians by urging French Protestants to settle in Quebec. Seemingly, a lesser degree of suspicion was entertained toward these French nationals as fellow Protestants, which only serves to emphasize the natural Protestant sympathies of the future British governor. While Murray's recommendations advised a moderate approach on the question of religion, the official government policy still awaited definition in the peace treaty by which France ceded Canada to the British.

The Treaty of Paris of 10 February, 1763, granted the Canadians "liberty of the Catholic religion" but only "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit." Technically, at least in view of the existing British anti-Catholic penal code, the concession on religion was a contradiction in terms. In the broader context of this peace treaty, an extended discussion of the religious question could scarcely have been expected.

29 Ibid., p. 72.

30 Murray had estimated that the number of French Protestants in the colony was considerable, which resulted in the appointment of three French-speaking clergymen: H. De Kemptolin for Quebec, X. Veysiere, a convert from Catholicism for Trois Rivieres and X. Delisle for Montreal. This policy failed to convert the Canadians since the church services were held irregularly and were attended only sparsely by either French or English-speaking inhabitants. Furthermore the English-speaking population had been annoyed by these clergymen who were unable to minister the Protestant services in the English language. H.C. Stewart, The Church of England in Canada, 1769-1773: From the Conquest to the Establishment of the See of Quebec (Montreal, John Lovell and Son, 1893) pp. 24-31.

While the Canadians might have anticipated a liberal interpretation of the "free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion", the second clause, "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit", practically nullified the original concession. Professor Noir has observed that the religious terms of the Treaty actually committed the conquerors to nothing. It has also been suggested that the ambiguity of the Treaty was deliberate because the British Government intended to reconsider the question of religion for Quebec more carefully.

Several months later, the Earl of Egremont, the Secretary of State for the American colonies explicitly revealed the British attitude toward Roman Catholicism in the colony. Egremont wrote to James Murray advising him of his appointment as Governor of Quebec, and cautioned the new governor to beware of any attempt on the part of the Canadians "to keep up their connection with France, and by means of the Priests... to recover the Country." He therefore advised Murray to "watch the Priests very narrowly" should they attempt to meddle in "any civil matters". The Secretary of State continued to explain that according to the interpretation of the terms of the Treaty, "the Laws of Great Britain...prohibit absolutely

32 Noir, Church and State in Canada, p. 77.
33 James Kenney, "Relations Between Church and State in Canada Since the Cession of 1763" Catholic Historical Review 19 (1933) p. 445.
34 Egremont to Governor Murray, 13 August 1763. Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada I, pp. 163-169.
35 Ibid.
all Popish Hierarchy...and can admit only of a Toleration of
the Exercise of that [Roman Catholic] Religion.\(^{36}\)

What should be observed here is the fact that as the
British hold on Quebec had been strengthened progressively
since 1759, a correspondingly more restrictive policy for the
administration of the Roman Catholic Church had developed, at
least on official levels. The Capitulation of Quebec actually
permitted the bishop to continue "les fonctions de son État,"
but by 1763 Roman Catholicism had been relegated to the status
of mere toleration, while a "prohibition against Popish Hierarchy"
presumably had precluded any possibility of obtaining an episco-
pal replacement for the Canadian Church. The instructions to
Murray which followed his initial appointment reiterated these
British proscriptions against Roman Catholicism and first out-
lined the official policy of promoting Anglicanism instead.

Murray's orders "not to admit of any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction
of the Sea of Rome, or any other foreign Ecclesiastical Juris-
diction whatsoever in the Province,"\(^{37}\) gravely disappointed
those Canadians who had hoped that Murray could secure a bishop
for their Church. Equally threatening to the future of the
Church of Rome was the expected competition at the announcement
that

the Church of England may be established both in
Principles and Practice, and that the said Inhabit-

\(^{36}\)Ibid.

\(^{37}\)Instructions to Governor Murray, 7 December, 1763,
Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada I,
p. 191.
itants may by Degrees be induced to embrace the Protestant Religion, and their Children be brought up in the Principles of it. 38

Although Anglicanism was being promoted from some genuine desire to enlighten the Roman Catholic population and to dissuade them from the errors of their faith, it is undeniable that this British policy was less evangelical in inspiration than it was politically motivated. Since the avowed intention of the government was to create a British colony in Quebec, Imperial authorities believed that the assimilation of the population could be accomplished subtly by the gradual Protestantization of the new subjects. 39. The religious difference of the Canadians posed an apparent security problem for the British since the government feared that France might employ the Roman Catholic connection somehow to attempt a recovery of its former colony, Quebec. In addition to the traditional French enemy across the channel, Britain also suspected Rome of possible interference in the governing of its newly-acquired Roman Catholic colony. 40 No less than a complete transformation in the Church-State relationship was required of the former French colony following the Conquest. The Church of England was to replace the Church of Rome as the official Church in Canada, to correspond with Britain's constitutional arrangements. It is clear

38 Ibid.
40 Kenney, "Relations Between Church and State in Canada," pp. 446-447.
that Britain's restrictive policy against Roman Catholicism in the colony was politically designed and necessitated by the government's political apprehensions of that Church.\footnote{Ibid.} Paradoxically however, the politically motivated reformation of the Canadians failed to come about, and principally for political reasons. Governor Murray recognized that the predominance of Roman Catholicism in the colony in fact rendered that Church an essential asset in the governing of the colony. Thus although the official ecclesiastical policy predicted a grim future for the continuation of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, the political necessity of replacing the bishop served the Canadian Church well since it resulted in the modification of Britain's original restrictions.

II

In view of the uncertain constitutional position of the Roman Catholic Church, this next section focuses more specifically on the complex political process undertaken by Church and State officials to negotiate an acceptable solution of the episcopal dilemma. In the event of the loss of a bishop, the provisional governing of the diocese fell to the episcopal chapter of Quebec, at least in principle.\footnote{Abbé Auguste Gosselin, L'Église du Canada après la Conquête I (Québec, Imprimerie Leflame, 1917) p. 1.} Previous to his
death, Bishop Pontbriand had instructed the chapter simply to renew the nominations of those vicars already functioning in the three ecclesiastical districts: Jean-Claude Briand for the region of Quebec occupied by the British, Joseph-François Perrault for Trois Rivières and Étienne Montgolfier for Montreal. They would continue to administer the diocese while the country awaited a new bishop. Subsequent studies have debated whether Briand had been designated as a kind of premier grand vicaire or as Vicaire Capitulaire of the colony. Marcel Trudel has denied Briand's predominance over the diocese, emphasizing instead how the fractionalization of ecclesiastical authority consequently allowed the subjugation of the Church by military authorities.

Episcopal vacancies had occurred prior to 1760, owing to various administrative problems in the past. With the subsequent transfer of Canada to British sovereignty, however, the question of the episcopal replacement had ceased to be

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43 Trudel, L'Eglise canadienne sous le Régime Militaire I, pp. 85-86, and more specifically on the diocesan chapter, II, pp. 4-6. These three divisions also corresponded to the military governments eventually established by Murray at Quebec, Burton at Trois Rivières and Gage at Montreal.

44 Gosselin, L'Eglise du Canada après la Conquête I, pp. 7-8.


46 Trudel, L'Eglise Canadienne sous le Régime Militaire. I, p. 245.
merely an ecclesiastical concern, and had become instead a political controversy. Under French rule, the Bishops of Quebec had been nominated by the king and simply confirmed by virtue of a Concordat. The Capitulation of 1760 had forewarned that the Protestant Head of State had refused to allow the continued involvement of both the French monarch and the Holy See since the laws of Great Britain would not tolerate such an ecclesiastical arrangement. In conformity with British sovereignty, it was the Church of England rather than the Church of Rome, therefore, which had the stronger legal case for receiving a bishop. However, political circumstances at Quebec served to reinforce the need for a Roman Catholic Bishop instead, and the Anglican Church attained episcopal status in Canada only after the American Revolution.

From the ecclesiastical point of view, the re-appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop was a matter of sheer survival for the Church. Suddenly deprived by conquest of ecclesiastical recruits from France, the colony rapidly experienced a desperate decline in clergy through death and emigration. The Concordat of Bologna, which had been established between the French monarchy and the Papacy in 1516 subsequently included the colony of Quebec as well. Abbé Ivanhoë Carron, "La Nomination des Évêques catholiques de Québec sous le Régime anglais," Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada 26ième série (mai 1932) p. 1.

Between 1759 and 1764 the already short supply of priests had diminished from 196 to 135; of these 22 had returned to France and 39 had died. Trudel, L'Église canadienne sous le Régime Militaire I, p. 103 and his "Inventaire de l'Église canadienne à la Fin de 1764," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française 9 (1955) pp. 319, 329.
Church in Quebec appeared doomed to a gradual extinction if denied the means necessary to continue ordination. The Canadian clergy had rejected Murray's suggestion that candidates from the Quebec Seminary be sent to Europe for ordination, as had been the practice of the Church of England in the Anglo-American colonies. Although a bishop at Quebec would facilitate the desired "Canadianization" of the clergy, a policy which the British favoured as a security measure, Murray instead preferred that the Canadians not have a bishop to consolidate the Church. He intended to maintain the ecclesiastical leadership of the colony divided among the three vicars general, thus weakening the corporate administration of the Church.

Still, the interdependence of Church and State was the presiding political philosophy of the age; and even before the peace settlement had been finalized mutual necessity had drawn the military government toward co-operating with the Roman Catholic Church. The ecclesiastical leaders had concluded that both throne and altar might be served well by yielding obedience to the newly established civil authority. Although historians of the period frequently single out Briand's memorandum for a Te Deum to be offered for the coronation and marriage of George III as a testimony of his fidelity to


50 J. Burt, The Old Province of Quebec I, p. 84.

51 Mandement pour faire chanter un Te Deum en action de grâce au mariage du Roi George III (Quebec, 14 février, 1762) Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec II, ed. Tétu, pp. 161-162.
the British regime, they frequently overlooked the fact that his colleagues, Montcalmier in Montreal, 52 and Perreault in Trois-Rivières, 53 made similar appeals in their "visites. This common appeal by all three vicars general simply indicates how submission to the conquerors was accepted generally as the official attitude of the Church. Still, of the three ecclesiastical leaders, it has been conceded that Briand had been the most willing to co-operate with the new regime. The cordial relationship which developed between the military governor and the vicar general of Quebec ultimately helped convince Murray that Briand was the only suitable candidate for the episcopal position. 54

In order to appreciate Briand's subsequent relationship to the civil authorities during his episcopate, it is important to recognize how he himself explain his attachment to the monarchy. His political behavior had been based on his appeal to the scripture of St. Paul. Following the

52 Manœuvres pour faire chanter un Te Deum dans toutes les paroisses du Gouvernement de Montréal à l'occasion du couronnement et du mariage de sa Majesté le Roi George III (Montréal, 1 février, 1762) Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de l'Ambeec II, ed. Tétu, pp. 150-160.

53 Ibid. Manœuvres pour faire chanter un Te Deum dans toutes les paroisses et missions du gouvernement des Trois-Rivières, à l'occasion du couronnement et du mariage de sa majesté le Roi George III (Trois-Rivières, 3 février, 1762).

Faris Peace Treaty of 1763, the Vicar General of Quebec issued a mandement in which he instructed the Canadians of their obligation to yield obedience to the new legitimate sovereign as: "un devoir que la foi vous prescrit." As much as the theological argument justified Briand's support for the established authority, the pragmatic element contained in the closing lines should not be overlooked. For not only were the Canadians bound in faith to obey the new government, but the vicar general reminded them as well that: "Leur bonheur, leur tranquillité, l'exercice de leur religion et leur salut en dépendent." Thus Briand was prepared to submit obediently to the duly constituted authority by promoting loyalty to the British sovereign as under the old regime he had done for the French. He anticipated however, that his co-operation with the civil authorities would benefit the Church with an eventual episcopal appointment.

From Quebec the episcopal question was shifted to London. Immediately following the peace settlement, Abbé Joseph-Marie Lacome, the Canadian-born dean of the Quebec diocesan chapter who had served as the colony's representative in France since 1750, arrived in London to negotiate with the British


56: Ibid.

57: Neatby, "Jean-Olivier Briand," p. 14 and by the same author Quebec, the Revolutionary Age, 1760-1791 The Canadian Centenary Series (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1966) p. 27.
Government on ecclesiastical issues. He sought a clarification of the freedom allowed to the Roman Catholic Church in the conquered colony and more specifically, a regulation on the episcopal vacancy. The eventual concession of a titular bishop in Quebec owed much to the persistence and skillful negotiating of Lacome. 58

In regard to the episcopal question, Lord Shelburne of the Board of Trade had announced in the spring of 1763 that "England could not accord a bishop." 59 Dean Lacome, however, refused to accept this negative response as the government's final offer. Instead, he prepared to convince the British of the possible advantage which the State would derive from an episcopal appointment in Quebec. In his memoir to Lord Shelburne, Lacome magnified the security threat of sending Canadian candidates to Europe for ordination as a possible danger to British interests. By confining ordination to the colony itself, that is by maintaining the Bishop of Quebec, Lacome advised the government that such a plan would preserve the Canadian Church from alien ecclesiastical interference. 60

Under the circumstances, the actual means of securing a bishop were limited, since Royal Supremacy precluded the King of Eng-

58 Trudel, L'Église canadienne sous le Régime Militaire I, pp. 253-254.

59 Ibid., p. 253.

land from naming a Roman Catholic Bishop, political expediency ruled out the King of France, and interdiction against the Holy See excluded papal jurisdiction from the British realm, leaving election by the Quebec chapter as the most feasible alternative.

In conjunction with the negotiations being carried out by Lacome in London, the Quebec diocesan chapter had addressed a petition to the King requesting a bishop whose function would be purely ecclesiastical. In addition to the ecclesiastical necessity, however, the chapter also insisted that such a generous concession for the Church would assure the King of Canadian subjects who were "sincèrement attachés aux intérêts de la nation britannique." 61 As Canadian pressures for a bishop mounted, Lacome planned to take full advantage of the opportunity, by seeking full episcopal status for Quebec. Normally the Church granted an apostolic vicar to territories which were ineligible for titular episcopal status. 62 Lacome believed that the titular bishop owing to his greater independence of Rome than the apostolic vicar might appear to the Government as the lesser evil. His mission succeeded sufficiently in convincing

61 Adresse à son excellente majesté le roi par le chapitre de Québec (Québec, 13 septembre 1763) Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Évêques de Québec II, ed. Tétu, p. 175.

62 The diocese of Quebec had enjoyed titular episcopal status since 1674 under Bishop Laval, although he previously served the Church from 1659 as apostolic vicar, Trudel, L'Eglise canadienne sous le Régime Militaire I, pp. 64-66 and Abbé Hermann Plante, L'Eglise Catholique au Canada (1604-1866) (Trois-Rivières, Québec, Editions du Bien Public, 1970) pp. 49, 59.
the British authorities to tolerate a bishop elected by the Quebec diocesan chapter. This solution seemed to be the most agreeable to all concerned, but more importantly, it was the least offensive politically.63

In view of the imminent difficulties enveloping the episcopal replacement, the chapter convened at Quebec on 15 September 1763 to proceed with the election of a bishop. They assumed that if Lacorne had been unable to procure the titular status from Rome that at least an apostolic vicar would be permitted. Although this practice had never been exercised before by the Quebec chapter, the case in point seemed to warrant the procedure. With the Conquest of Canada by a Protestant sovereign, the Concordat between the King of France and the Papacy, formerly binding on the Quebec episcopate, could no longer take effect in the British colony. Consequently, the chapter contested that the ancient right of election of the bishop thus returned to the clergy.64

With the decision on the status of Roman Catholicism still pending in England, the chapter secretly and unanimously elected Étienne Montgolfier, the superior of the Sulpicians who was preparing already to depart for Europe on business for his order. A more natural selection might have been Jean-Olivier Briand, the president of the chapter, grand vicar of Quebec and

63 Trudel, L'Édit de canadienne sous le Régime Militaire I, pp. 239, 270.
64 Gosselin, L'Édit du Canada après la Conquête I, pp. 79-80.
far more experienced in the spiritual administration of the
diocese, since he had served as secretary to Bishop Fontbriand
for almost twenty years. The fact is that Briand did not
want the episcopal position and repeatedly refused the nomina-
tion. Financially, too, the Montreal Seminary, which Mont-
golfier headed and which was a large landholder, could sustain
a bishop more easily than could the Quebec chapter which had
been left impoverished by the loss of French revenue. At
the moment then, the election of Montgolfier seemed an excellent
selection for the Quebec episcopate.

British approval and the papal bulls of election still
had to be secured, and obstacles awaited Montgolfier both in
London and in Rome. The serious oversight of the chapter in
neglecting to inform Governor Murray of the election cost Mont-
golfier the political backing which this unusual ecclesiastical
procedure called for. Murray mistrusted Montgolfier and had
written to Lord Selborne warning that:

the Vicar General of Montreal, Monsieur Montgolfier
is leaving for England. It is very probable that he
aspires to the title... If a priest so proud and dom-
ingering, and well known in France, is placed at the
head of this church, he could later cause much offense
if he finds a favourable opportunity.

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65 Tétu, "Le Chapitre de la Cathédrale de Québec et ses
Délégués en France," Bulletin des Recherches Historiques 15
(décembre 1909) p. 356.

66 Heatby, "Servitude de l'Église Catholique: A Reconsider-
ation," p. 11.


68 Murray to Selborne (September 14, 1763) cited by Tétu,
Translated by the author.
In preference, Murray recommended Briand, whom he recognized as "the most honest man in the province... and the one most deserving of royal favour." 69 Although government authorities had indicated previously that they would "close their eyes" to the episcopal procedure undertaken by the Quebec chapter, 70 any final decision concerning the ecclesiastical administration of the colony necessarily involved the prior consultation of the recently appointed Governor Murray. His unfavourable report on Montgolfier, however unsubstantiated, was sufficient to prevent the bishop-elect from taking office, since the Government was unwilling to impose on the governor a bishop to whom he personally objected. 71

The ecclesiastical authorities in Rome raised yet a further complication barring the consecration of Montgolfier by nullifying his election by the chapter. Cardinal Castelli of the Sacred Propagation declared that when Canada passed from French to British sovereignty, the right of election of a bishop reverted not to the Quebec Chapter but back to the Holy See, that the prerogative assumed by the chapter had been a dangerous usurpation of papal authority. 72 Although the Church in Rome had opposed the principle of Montgolfier's election, it had resolved instead to accept him as the nominee for epis-

69 Ibid. Translated by the author.
70 Gosselin, L'Église du Canada après la Conquête I, pp. 95-96.
71 Trudel, "Le Destin de l'Église sous le Régime Militaire," p. 36.
72 Ibid., p. 100.
tolic vicar which the papacy viewed as the best solution for Quebec's episcopal vacancy. However, having been rejected by Murray, Montgolfier decided to withdraw his nomination altogether and to return to Canada.\textsuperscript{73}

In his letter of resignation to the Quebec chapter, Montgolfier recommended Jean-Olivier Briand as the candidate most likely to succeed to the episcopate since he enjoyed the advantage of government favour.\textsuperscript{74} On 11 September, 1763, the Quebec chapter assembled and unanimously named Governor Murray's candidate, Briand, as bishop-elect, in the expectation that he would satisfy the Government in London. In the event that the authorities in Rome again rejected the chapter's election of a bishop, the Church in Quebec was prepared to accept Briand as an apostolic vicar.\textsuperscript{75} Convinced that his acceptance as bishop required only the formal assent of the necessary authorities, Briand departed for London in the fall of 1764 thinking that: "je suis bien recommandé par notre gouverneur et j'espère ne trouver aucune difficulté à la Cour de Londres."\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{73} Trudel, \textit{L'Église canadienne sous le Régime Militaire} I, p. 308.

\textsuperscript{74} Resignation of Montgolfier to members of the Chapter (9 September 1764) cited in Gosselin, \textit{L'Église du Canada aures la Conquête} I, pp. 113-114.

\textsuperscript{75} Trudel, \textit{L'Église canadienne sous le Régime Militaire} I, pp. 324-326.

However, he endured almost two years of further delay before returning as Bishop of Quebec. Political instability in Britain had altered government attitudes toward Canadian ecclesiastical affairs so that by 1765 conditions seemed even less conducive to an episcopal appointment than they had been when Dean Lacorne originally approached the government on the subject. Even the endorsement supposedly guaranteed by Murray was insufficient to ensure Briand's acceptance. Murray's prestige and influence had declined in London as a result of the strident accusations brought against him by the merchants of Quebec. Furthermore since consolidating Roman Catholicism was distasteful to the governor, Murray had also recommended to the government that an ex-Jesuit, Père Boubaud with plans for the eventual Protestantization of Canada would be assured of his support.

In addition to these obstacles, an Irish revolt, quite unrelated to the Canadian situation, had been blamed on the priests, thus further aligning Parliamentary opinion against Roman Catholicism generally. In reference to the recent troubles in Ireland, Murray's secretary, Cramahé, informed him that: "the question of a Quebec Bishopric which might have succeeded a year ago has now fallen through."

77 Trudel, L'Église canadienne sous la Régime Militaire I, pp. 329-329.
78 Burt, The Old Province of Quebec, p. 87.
79 Ibid.
Increasing antagonism descended on the cause of the Canadian episcopate from the Anglican Bishops who opposed the concession of a Roman Catholic Bishop for Quebec when Parliament so long had refused to allow a similar privilege to the Church of England in the Anglo-American Colonies. 31 This situation facing the colonial Church of England was a complex political question which warrants explanation in the next chapter. The Archbishop of Canterbury protested the activities of Briand in London as "a great scandal for the Protestant religion" and worse still, "a danger to the State." 32 Thus governmental procrastination on the ecclesiastical situation in Quebec was inevitable in the midst of such political unrest in Britain itself.

When the obstruction to the episcopal question seemed at its height, a parliamentary committee issued a report which allowed Briand some hope of succeeding. The report exempted Canada from Britain's religious proscriptions by a declaration that:

Roman Catholics residing in countries ceded to His Majesty in America, by the Definitive Treaty of Paris, are not subject, in those Colonies, to the incapacities, disabilities, and penalties, to which Roman Catholics in this Kingdom are subject by the Laws. 33


32 Gosselin, L'Evêche du Canada après la Conquête I, p. 126. Translated by the author.

Still, reluctance to make any official commitment to Briand and governmental indecision persisted through the summer of 1765 with a change of ministries. Having considered the possible political convenience of having an episcopate, Murray became engaged in promoting the appointment of Briand. His reason was that a Roman Catholic 'Bishop', carefully regulated by the government, seemed far less dangerous to the State than the possibility of French ecclesiastics being smuggled into the colony, if the Canadian Church were denied permission to have a bishop. Hence the ecclesiastical situation in the colony had been analyzed almost exclusively from within the context of its possible political significance.

As such, as Parliament desired harmonious Church-State relations in Quebec, the controversy involved in defying the Act of Supremacy openly was scarcely conducive to harmonious political relations at home. Cognizant of the confusion in London regarding Canadian ecclesiastical affairs, Briand's associates with parliamentary connections advised him that as a matter of justice surely the government would allow the Canadians a priest with the powers of ordination. Therefore they recommended that he should get himself consecrated in France discreetly but immediately, and the British would "close their eyes" to his departure.

34 Trudel, "Le Destin de l'Eglise sous le Règne Militaire", p. 36.
35 Swift, The Old Province of Quebec I, p. 32.
ture and nothing further would be mentioned. 37

Having received at least the tacit approval of London, episcopal consecration still depended on obtaining the official Bulls from Rome. Unfortunately, the two representatives of the Quebec Chapter were working at cross-purposes. From Paris the Abbé de l'Isle-Dieu, the chaplain general for Quebec, 38 persisted in urging the papacy to appoint an apostolic vicar on the assumption that the British Government was inflexible on this episcopal issue. Dean Lacome in London more accurately assessed the British design for a Canadianized Church under government control which would be somehow independent of any connection with Rome or France. His communications with papal authorities convinced Rome that the extraordinary circumstances involved required papal concession in granting Quebec the titular status. Rome acceded and issued the necessary Bulls of election on 21 January, 1766 confirming Jean-Clovis Briand, as the seventh Bishop of Quebec. 39 With the sufficient authorization of London and Rome behind him, a virtual "diplomatic miracle," 40 Briand proceeded to France where he was consecrated privately at Suresnes near Paris on 16 March, 1766. 41

37 Gosselin, L'Église du Canada après la Conquête I, p. 139.
38 Caron, "La Nomination des Evêques de Québec sous le Régime anglais," p. 2.
39 Ibid., pp. 4-5.
On his return to London, the British accepted the fait accompli of Briand's elevation to the episcopate satisfied that they no longer had to contend with this controversial issue. Although formally called the "Superintendent of the Romish Church" because the British restrictions against papal jurisdiction technically prohibited the countenance of a Roman Catholic Bishop, Briand otherwise returned to Quebec with full episcopal authority. He lacked only the official recognition of the State.

The arrival of the Bishop was celebrated in Quebec as a great victory for the Roman Catholic Church following an uncertain six-year interregnum. For the persistence of the episcopate was regarded as a reinforcement for French-Canadian national survival. Whether the concession of the Bishop has been viewed subsequently as a generous act, as a "dramatic and convincing proof of the conciliatory intentions of the British Government," or as a political plot directed purely toward fundamental British interests, both interpretations at least recognize that this policy aimed at ensuring the cooperation of the Church with the civil authorities. The Roman Catholic episcopate had been restored in Quebec essentially for

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93 Thomas Chapais, Cours d'Histoire du Canada I (Québec, J.P. Garneau, 1919) p. 53.
94 Coupland, The Quebec Act, p. 54.
95 Brunet, Les Canadiens après la Conquête, p. 120.
its possible political role in aiding the British Government.

Although the consecration of Bishop Briand in 1766 had been a definite advance toward resolving the ecclesiastical uncertainties which had overshadowed the colony since the Conquest, the future for the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec was not yet secure. Under a Government officially committed to Anglicanization, the contradictory policy of tacitly approving the reinstatement of a Roman Catholic bishop could only solicit serious repercussions in the empire at a time when both political and religious antagonism happened to be running rather high. It is important to recognize how the settlement of the long-outstanding episcopal vacancy in Quebec proved to be a serious challenge to Britain's ecclesiastical policy in its older colonies to the south. While generally ignored by historians of either church, there was nevertheless an interesting connection between the Roman Catholic episcopal dilemma in Quebec and the question of the Church of England obtaining bishops in the Anglo-American colonies, a subject which will be examined in the subsequent discussion.

The mere superimposition of the British Crown had proven incapable of transforming the former French Roman Catholic colony into the desired English Protestant entity. Amid charges that the episcopal appointment at Quebec aimed at perpetuating Roman Catholicism it must be admitted that British authorities in fact had acknowledged that the extermination of the Canadian Church was not only improbable, it was perhaps
even politically undesirable. The French-speaking population of Quebec had been grateful for the British toleration of their religion and for allowing the consecration of Briand, but the extremely secretive non-committal nature of the episcopal appointment actually had resolved little regarding the legal position of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. However, the political circumstances which arose during the period from the appointment of Bishop Briand in 1766 through the American Revolution proved critical in the development of Britain's ecclesiastical policy in Canada for both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches. The paradoxical nature of this policy forms the principal question of the next chapter.

96 Coupland, The Quebec Act, pp. 70-71.
CHAPTER III

THE POST-CONQUEST INTERRELATION BETWEEN CHURCHES
THE PROPOSED ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
1766 - 1774

This chapter outlines the paradox in Church-State relations which developed in Quebec during the post-Conquest period prior to the passage of the Quebec Act of 1774. The official ecclesiastical policy for the colony recommended the progressive Protestantization of the population. In Britain, officials in Church and State alike anticipated that eventually an Anglican bishop would be appointed to supersede the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec. Herein lies the paradox. For despite any official commitment toward the Anglicanization of the colony, political necessities forced imperial authorities to relax their restrictive policy against the Roman Catholic Church instead. On the eve of the American Revolution the National Church of England had not yet received its due recognition in Quebec while the Church of Rome had been permitted a fairly generous toleration certainly in comparison with the treatment of Catholics in Britain. Ironically too, political opposition had denied the Anglicans a bishop in the older colonies, while in Quebec a Roman Catholic bishop and a coadjutor bishop had been conceded. A comparison of the paradoxical episcopal status accorded the two churches in their North American
setting prior to the American Revolution helps illustrate the political value which the Imperial Government attributed to the respective ecclesiastical organizations during the eighteenth century.

In reference to Jean-Olivier Briand's title as the "Superintendent of the Roman Church", the Canadian church historian, A.H. Walsh has noted that governmental reluctance to recognize the newly consecrated Roman Catholic prelate resulted from the British preference to reserve "the title of Bishop for an Anglican incumbent at Quebec." His observation that the colony awaited a bishop of the established Church of England raises an interesting question regarding Britain's ecclesiastical policy and one which ought to be pursued. For at the very moment that the Roman Catholic Bishop had been approved for Quebec, albeit unofficially, the Church of England had been engaged in a similar struggle for episcopal recognition in Britain's older North American colonies. From any legalistic point of view the case for the Anglican Bishop was the stronger of the two, since technically the Church of England was the Church of State in Britain. Few historians of either the Roman Catholic Church or the Church of England have been interested sufficiently in examining the full political implications of these contemporaneous ecclesiastical developments within the then undivided transatlantic British Empire. It is the intention here

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to examine the important parallel which in fact existed
between the two episcopal struggles and to determine how
political circumstances sanctioned the countenance of a Roman
Catholic bishop while dismissing the case of the Anglican bishop
in British North America. The investigation proceeds first to
the question of the Church of England in the colonies, then to the
Roman Catholic Church in Quebec and finally to the debate on the
Quebec Act which preceded the American Revolution.

The question of the Anglican episcopate ought to be
considered not only for the parallel struggle which the Church
of England encountered in promoting a colonial bishop, but even
more importantly for the direct bearing this question has had
on subsequent Canadian historical development. The failure
to resolve the issue of an Anglican bishop in the Anglo-American
colonies resulted in the question later being transferred
to Canada at the break-up of the British Empire in 1776. Britain's
experience of the American Revolution culminated in a re-evaluation of
its politico-ecclesiastical policy regarding the colonial bishop in
the remaining British colonies. While the significance of associating
loyalty with the Church of England had been exaggerated
by contemporaries, the close identity of this Church with Britain's
imperial destiny had been strengthened by this political crisis.
For this reason, the Anglican Church has had a definite political
importance for Canadian history.

It has been acknowledged that the importance of religion has been underrated in North American historical investigation generally.\(^2\) However, an understanding of Britain's imperial policy during the eighteenth century is enhanced significantly by some appreciation of the ecclesiastical issues which were never entirely divorced from politics.\(^3\)

The foundation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) in 1701 forms the essential starting point for the study of the Church of England in the colonies. The aims of this Anglican organization closely paralleled those of the Roman Catholic Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. In view of the Roman Catholic - Anglican comparison, it is of particular interest to note that the founder of the S.P.G., Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray had been attracted by the Roman Catholic organization and had intended to establish an Anglican equivalent.

The Roman Catholic agency however, constituted more than a purely ecclesiastical model since Bray discerned in the Congregatio a powerful political instrument for Catholic colonial powers and contended that the S.P.G. similarly could serve the English Church and State.\(^4\) The S.P.G. had acknowledged too the apparent


temporal and ecclesiastical advantages which the Roman Catholic colonial powers had derived from the existence of bishops in their colonies. Both the French at Quebec, and the Spanish and the Portuguese in the Indies, for example, had erected colonial sees to accompany their Roman Catholic settlements. Accordingly, Bray resolved that the Church of England ought to follow suit.

The Bishops of London exercised diocesan jurisdiction over the Anglican Church in the Anglo-American colonies. Although commissaries had been appointed on behalf of the distant See of London, the inadequacy of episcopal supervision arising from the lack of resident bishops, seriously handicapped the advancement of the Church of England in the colonies. Under such an arrangement with ordination possible only in the mother country, the Anglican Church in the colonies suffered from a perpetual clerical insufficiency while Protestant dissenters flourished around it. Thus the Society for the Propagation of


the Gospel in Foreign Parts had been instituted as a supportive missionary agency to compensate the colonial church in its destitute condition. The purpose of the Society as outlined in its founding charter was to supply the colonies with "orthodox clergy" who would convert the Indians to the Church of England as well as instruct the English colonists in the "Principles of true Religion." 9

From the outset, the S.P.G. also linked itself to the episcopal cause. By soliciting the assistance of the Archbishop of Canterbury as its president, the Society expected to secure the essential episcopal sanction for its missionary enterprise. In addition, his support had been enlisted in the expectation that he would ensure government co-operation. An officially sponsored church agency had been anticipated by the founder of the S.P.G., for according to the current interpretation of the interdependence of Church and State, this instrument of the Church would serve the State as well. Therefore, it was believed he could count on the secular authorities for assistance. 10

The Anglican struggle to secure a bishop in the Anglo-American colonies paralleled the Roman Catholic necessity for finding an episcopal replacement at Quebec, since by their comparable ecclesiastical structures both colonial churches

10 Chattingius, Bishops and Societies, pp. 7-14.
required bishops for ordination. The danger, expense and inconvenience of overseas ordination could be alleviated by the establishment in the one case and by the restoration in the other of colonial episcopates. However, it should be recalled that the Roman Catholic contention for a bishop at Quebec, so cleverly argued by Dean Lacombe, had been compounded by the possible underlying danger to British security if French ecclesiastical contact had been allowed to continue. Conversely, the absence of any comparable national hazard served almost as a detriment to the episcopal cause of the Church of England. Its direct dependence on the State actually hampered any independent colonial initiative. The fact that S.P.G. missionaries required the prior approval of the Church in Britain to assure clerical orthodoxy even fostered a positive national reinforcement between the colonial church and the mother country. By comparison with the Roman Catholic situation in Quebec, the Church of England in the Anglo-American colonies presented no such fundamental challenge to British security. Moreover, episcopacy was withheld for a further reason owing to the possible political complication of aggravating the more numerous dissenting Protestants who consistently resisted the establishment of Anglican bishops as a menace to their civic and religious liberty.\footnote{For a thorough discussion of this question see, Eridenbaugh, 'Mitre and Sceptre.'}

Despite a half century of petitions from colonial clergy and English bishops alike, the government remained unresponsive.
to the pleadings for an American bishop. The question was postponed until political conditions might address themselves more favourably to the issue. The conclusion of the Seven Years’ War in 1763 seemed to offer the opportunity to re-open the episcopal question. Since politically the Peace of Paris had inaugurated an era of imperial reorganization, the Church of England aspired to a corresponding ecclesiastical consolidation. In reference to the British acquisition of Canada, the Bishop of London argued that the "enlarged extent of the American possessions accentuates this need" for bishops in the colonies.\(^{12}\) The Paris Peace Treaty has been recognized as a politically decisive measure for North America. Its ecclesiastical repercussions for both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches in the colonies unfortunately have escaped the notice and perhaps the interest of historians. In view of the peace settlement, both churches, though independently of one another, attempted to consolidate their respective positions by launching campaigns for colonial episcopates. Both cases had important political overtones.

It must be concluded that political expediency was the essential determinant in the two episcopal questions, since on


purely ecclesiastical grounds, British approval of a Roman Catholic bishop in 1766 and the denial of an Anglican one in the colonies otherwise seems incomprehensible. Recalling the traditional Parliamentary aversion to Popish intrigue, rendered even more forbidding by its antagonistic French association, British hesitation to legislate on the matter of the awaiting Catholic bishop elect from Quebec had been understandable. However, the British Parliament had been equally reluctant to promote the Anglican episcopal cause in its North American colonies.

As the National Church in Britain, the Church of England possessed certain political advantages. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Secker, held a position on the Board of Trade and Plantations which presumably offered him an excellent opportunity to influence governmental decisions regarding the colonies. He was enthusiastically committed to the cause of establishing a Bishop in the colonies. Secker anticipated that the confirmation of the French defeat in America seemed the appropriate moment for the Church of England to promote the idea of colonial episcopacy. The Church viewed the subsequent imperial re-organization as the best opportunity to recommend that Church and State should be strengthened in America. In a letter to Samuel Johnson, one of the Anglican clergy in New England, the Archbishop communicated his intention thus:

14Bridenbaugh, Nitze and Scentré, p. 178.

Probably our ministry will be concerting schemes this summer against the next session of Parliament, for the settlement of his Majesty's American dominions; and then we must try our utmost for bishops.\[16\]

This policy of instituting episcopacy in America has been entitled "ecclesiastical imperialism."\[17\] For despite the Anglican clergy's repeated contention that the Church desired "only spiritual and not political bishops,"\[18\] the question of colonial episcopacy continuously remained under suspicion. The whole argument contained a basic inconsistency, owing to the fundamental connection between Anglicanism and the State. In addition to strengthening the ministerial position of the colonial church, the clergy also emphasized the non-ecclesiastical function of an Anglican episcopate in order to convince the Home Government of its possible political advantage. Ignoring the neglected cause, Charles Inglis cautioned the S.P.G. that:

I pray God the Government may not have Cause to repent, when it is too late, their omission of what would be a great means of securing the Affections and Dependence of the Colonies, and firmly uniting them to the Mother Country. Even good Policy dictates this Measure, were the Interest of Religion and our Church left out of the question.\[19\]


It was precisely this fear of its political connection that had roused the Dissenters against the Church of England. 20 Charles Inglis communicated his observations of the Dissenters' grievances to the S.P.C. authorities thus:

"I can assure you they have no Objection to Bishops here, provided they are not oblig'ed to support them, and that Bishops are not vested with the same Civil Powers as in England. On a false Supposition that both these would take place, all their Objections are founded. But when informed that Provision has already been made for the support of one or more Bishops here, and that they are only to exercise that Authority which is purely Episcopal, without any Connection as in England with the State, they are so far from raising Objections, that they judge it highly reasonable, expedient, and necessary that we should have Bishops to perfect our Discipline and Form of Government. 21"

By the 1760's however, idealistic appeals for colonial episcopacy on purely ecclesiastical grounds were lost in the midst of an increasingly tense political situation. Moreover, the Church of England by the very nature of its acknowledged partnership with the State could scarcely claim political independence. Dissenters were convinced that a colonial episcopal plot was being formulated as a preliminary stage toward a dreaded escalating imperial control. 22 It is interesting to observe how the

20 Young, "Dr. Charles Inglis in New York," p. 92.
21 Charles Inglis to the S.P.C. (1 May, 1766), quoted by Iydelcker, The Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, p. 57.
22 Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, p. 207.
political connotations contained in the proposal to establish Anglican bishops stirred up dissenters on both sides of the Atlantic, while at this point the proponents of "ecclesiastical imperialism" had failed to convince the secular authorities that a bishop might offer any appreciable political advantage to the empire.

Instead, the Anglican episcopal deliberations were compelled to endure the same Parliamentary procrastination which Quebec's Roman Catholic Bishop had encountered. Ironically, the Roman Catholic Church had been able to resolve the dilemma of its Bishop for Quebec by a clever subterfuge. However, since episcopal consecration in the Church of England required direct Parliamentary assent, the issue of the Protestant episcopate was circumscribed even more seriously by political circumstances. Whereas at Quebec, political convenience actually favoured the appointment of a Catholic Bishop, the growing unrest in the Anglo-American colonies militated increasingly against the Anglican case. Despite the avowed support by certain members of Parliament for an Anglican Bishop overseas, caution necessarily overruled any ecclesiastical sympathies. In view of the political situation, Archbishop Secker expressed his doubts that the government would "dare to meddle with what will certainly raise opposition."

The Anglican episcopal cause suffered a further setback.

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as ecclesiastical issues became entangled with political antagonism in the degenerating imperial-colonial relationship.

The identity of the Church of England with British interests challenged the Anglican clergy not only to defend unpopular imperial policies, but also to counsel against colonial resistance to the same. Rebutting the British Government for its persistent neglect of the Church, Thomas Bradbury Chandler, one of the S.P.C.G. missionaries in New Jersey warned that:

> If ye Interest of the Church of England in America had been made a National Concern from the Beginning, by this Time a general Submission in ye Colonies to ye Mother Country in every Thing not sinful, might have been expected.

Similarly on the other side of the Atlantic, Richard Terrick, the Bishop of London reminded the Board of Trade that during the present civil agitation in America, the Anglican clergy had remained "the firmest Friends to His Majesty's Government." In 1766 however, imperial officials remained unconvinced of any political desirability of Anglican episcopacy in the colonies, and thus the question remained unresolved. As colonial agitation toward the mother country mounted in the struggle for civic and religious freedom, the prospect of sending an Anglican bishop to America had become the subject of a political controversy.

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An additional political concession within the imperial framework which further polarized the Anglican episcopal question was the arrival in Quebec of Jean-Olivier Briand as Roman Catholic Bishop in 1766. While the impact on the Anglican episcopacy of this Roman Catholic ecclesiastical development has failed to capture the attention of historians of either church, its political repercussions did not go unnoticed by contemporaries. Juxtaposing the two episcopal questions thus served the present study by reiterating the peculiarity of this imperial ecclesiastical policy.

The preceding historical survey of the struggle of the Church of England to secure a colonial bishop emphasized the political disadvantage which the Church endured through its attachment to the State. Colonial reaction to episcopacy unfortunately coincided with unpopular ill-timed imperial legislation, discouraging earlier Anglican expectations that political consolidation would facilitate its own ecclesiastical establishment.

In the light of the resistance which consistently impeded the settlement of its bishops in the Anglo-American colonies, it was suggested at the time that perhaps Quebec might offer the Church of England an alternate location to establish an episcopate. In 1766 Archbishop Secker outlined that possibility as follows:

It is very probable that a Bishop or Bishops, would have been quietly received in America before the Stamp Act was passed here; but it is certain that
we could get no permission here to send one.

The King [George the Third] hath expressed himself repeatedly in favour of the scheme; and hath promised, that, if objections are imagined to lie against other places, a Protestant Bishop should be sent to Quebec, where there is a Popish one, and where there are few dissenters to take offence. 29

Although Seeker regarded the establishment of an Anglican episcopate at Quebec principally as a means of ameliorating the ecclesiastical deficiency of the Church in America, the proposal for an Anglican Bishop in the French-speaking colony was advanced at a later date as an instrument for Protestantizing and assimilating the Roman Catholic population. However, this question will be re-examined in another context.

Since the Church of England had been unsuccessful in obtaining episcopal recognition in the colonies, it is not surprising that the supposedly privileged Church in the British Empire should question the seemingly unorthodox re-establishment of a Roman Catholic Bishop at Quebec. Convinced that this unusual ecclesiastical policy possibly served as a precedent in Imperial generosity, Charles Inglis wrote:

This I hope is a prelude to the like Indulgence to the best friends that England has in America - the Members of the Church of England. Surely it would sound very strange, and the politics must be preposterous, that denied them an Indulgence which is granted to... Papists, when equally necessary, and as earnestly desired; yet no way more injurious to other Denominations. 30

29 C.F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., p. 748.

30 Letter from Charles Inglis (10 July, 1766) quoted in Young, "Dr. Charles Inglis in New York," p. 92.
His reference to politics, however, was the key to understanding the foregoing episcopal settlement. For although an Anglican bishop for America had been a reasonable ecclesiastical request, the privilege had been denied principally for political reasons.

With the rising possibility of political insurrection in America, an Anglican episcopate had become too dangerous an imposition on the restive colonial population. In terms of British security, the uppermost determinant of imperial policy, a bishop for the Church of England was judged as politically inexpedient. The difficulty of securing an Anglican bishop persisted up to the American Revolution and subsequently became an increasingly politicized debate. For the time being however, imperial authorities conveniently postponed any further consideration of the episcopal controversy until it was too late and the issue was resolved only after the revolutionary crisis in the "second British Empire." This question will be taken up in a subsequent chapter.

II

Since our principal interest is Canadian, the focus returns again to the valley of the St. Lawrence. The political adversity which the Anglican Church had encountered in the Anglo-American colonies sharply contrasts with another set of political circumstances at Quebec which actually compelled the re-estab-
lishment of the Roman Catholic Bishop in 1766. Within a
decade of the Paris Peace Treaty, the political situation in
North America had altered dramatically. These conditions
proved favourable for the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec.
With an apprehended crisis in the Anglo-American colonies,
the Imperial Government acknowledged that maintaining Quebec
required a more formalized settlement of its constitutional
difficulties. The Quebec Act of 1774 had been enacted in view
of resolving some of these uncertainties which had remained un-
resolved since the Conquest. Under these unsettled political
circumstances, the Roman Catholic Church ultimately received
a more generous treatment than otherwise might have been ex-
pected had the question of imperial security seemed less
crucial. 31

However, as of 1766, the point at which our discussion
of the Roman Catholic Church at Quebec resumes, the practice
of Roman Catholicism was merely tolerated according to the laws
of Great Britain. Even the possession of a bishop offered the
Church no legal right of existence since Bishop Briand held
his post only "at the pleasure of the government." 32 Governor
Murray had been prepared to allow the French-Canadian population
certain privileges which technically were denied to Roman Cath-
olics at home. 33 The same conciliatory Church-State relationship

32. Olive Voisine, André Bédard, and Jean Laplante, Histoire
de l’Église catholique au Québec, 1602-1971 (Montréal, Pies, 1971)
p. 23.
33. Murray’s request of the Board of Trade (October 29, 1764)
cited by Hilda Neatby, The Quebec Act: Protest and Policy. Cana-
dian Historical Controversies. (Scarborough, Ont., Prentice-Hall
of Canada Ltd., 1972) p. 15.
inaugurated by Murray was continued by his successor, Guy Carleton, who fully intended to utilize the newly appointed Roman Catholic Bishop to further British interests in Canada. 34

Under an officially Protestant Government, Bishop Briand realized that the mere survival of the Church depended on yielding obedience to the legitimate authorities, however alien and heretic the conqueror was. 35 Although under French rule in the eighteenth century, the State had tended to dominate the Church, at no other time in its history had the political demands on the Quebec episcopate been as stringent as that challenge which the British Conquest provided the Head of the Church. Thus the first Roman Catholic Bishop of the British regime found himself in "a position of complete responsibility and no power," at least none other than "moral power" for enforcing his authority. 36 In recognition of his direction of the Church through this critical period in its history, his biographer has distinguished Bishop Briand as "the second founder of the Church in Canada." 37

The political significance which this age attached to the Canadian episcopate will be clarified by reference first to the question of a coadjutor bishop and secondly to the debate on Church-State relations during the period preceding the

34 Koi, Church and State in Canada, p. 81.
35 Meatty, "Jean-Olivier Briand," p. 3.
36 Ibid., pp. 6, 16.
37 Tatu, Les Evêques de Québec, p. 276.
American Revolution. The delicate question of appointing a coadjutor, that is, an assistant to the presiding bishop who was designated to succeed him, serves as an indication of the dangerously circumscribed condition of the Church in Quebec. Having once endured the reluctance of the British authorities in his own struggle for the episcopate, J.-C. Briand communicated to the Holy See the desirability of procuring a coadjutor as a means of eliminating the inconvenience of consecration in Europe with every successive episcopal vacancy. 30 Accordingly, following his own consecration, the Bishop of Quebec sought and received permission to choose himself a coadjutor cum future successione. 30 Not only would a coadjutor provide a double assurance for the survival of the Church, but once granted, it also meant that the Church would never again need to battle on two fronts in Rome and in London to ensure the episcopal continuity in Canada. 40

Briand, however, incurred the governor’s displeasure by consulting independently with the clergy of Quebec prior to approaching Carleton on the question of choosing a coadjutor. This instance merely serves to indicate how closely the Govern-


39 Cardinal Castelli à Gr. J.-C. Briand (Roma, 6 avril 1766), cited by Caron, "Inventaire de la Correspondence de l'Gr. Jean-Olivier Briand," p. 64.

ment expected to supervise the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church. British suspicions of alien infiltration through this essentially French-connected institution had by no means dissipated. Thus the subordinate position of the Church to the State was re-emphasized by the Bishop's failure to consult the government first. Ultimately, Carleton selected a compromise candidate. The British design for a "Canadianized" Church was made obvious in the choice of the Canadian-born, M. Louis-Phillipe Mariaucar Desglis, in preference to any Frenchman. Desglis was in fact "un des plus vieux prêtres du diocèse...ne se distinguait pas par des talents brillants;" moreover, he was perhaps not the candidate whom Briand would have selected. Despite his weaknesses, Briand conceded that Desglis was "un excellent prêtre, très dévoué à son ministère." The Bishop was prepared to accept the personal selection of the governor—because what interested him more than exercising his own choice, was the principle of assuring the episcopal continuity in Quebec.

Some degree of compromise was admissible in this delicate situation, but Briand refused to abide by Carleton's demand that

41Zurt, The Old Province of Quebec I, p. 141.
42Caron, "La Nomination des Evêques de Québec," p. 7.
43Ibid. Desglis was born in Quebec in 1710 which made him sixty-two years old when he was consecrated Coadjutor Bishop in 1772. Tetu, Les Evêques de Québec, p. 357.
45Caron, "La Nomination des Evêques de Québec," p. 7.
46Ibid., p. 8.
the consecration of Desglois take place without papal approval. Although legally, "foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction" was unrecognized under British rule, and communications with the Holy See had been prohibited, at least in principle; nevertheless, the Bishop insisted upon consulting with some higher ecclesiastical authority. To avoid aggravating suspicion in Rome and in London, Briand chose an indirect route via Paris, by appealing to Dean Lacorne, who previously had secured him the nitre, to negotiate with papal authorities on the question of the coadjutor. Rome permitted the Canadian Church the necessary dispensation for one Bishop to consecrate another. Thus having secured both the consent of the governor and the papal Bull of election, Briand consecrated Desglois as Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec on 12 July 1772.

The Home Government later questioned the colonial governor's sanction of this irregular ecclesiastical procedure.

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47 For the ecclesiastical negotiations see Caron, "Inventaire de la correspondance de l'gr. Jean-Claude Briand," p. 95.
48 Surt, The Old Province of Quebec I, p. 159.
49 Mandement à l'occasion de l'élection d'un coadjuteur, Mendements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec II, ed. Tétu, p. 241. Tétu has noted that although this Mandement was neither signed nor dated, it was in Briand's handwriting, probably written about 1771.
50 Mandement de l'gr. L'Evêque de Québec au sujet de la proclamation publique qu'il fit de l'gr. de Doryles son Coadjuteur le jour de sa consécration, Mendements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec II, ed. Tétu, pp. 252-256.
51 Caron, "La nomination des Evêques de Québec," p. 8
The British officials in Quebec defended their latest indulgence toward Roman Catholicism on two important bases. It was a further opportunity for attaining a "Canadianised Church", but more importantly the Lieutenant-Governor of the colony re-emphasized the security motive underlying this policy decision by insisting that:

the allowance of a coadjutor will prevent the Bishop's being obliged to cross the seas for consecration and holding personal communication with those, who may not possess the most friendly disposition for the British interests. 52

The elevation of the first Canadian-born candidate to the Quebec episcopate was a milestone for the Roman Catholic Church in the colony, although it is ironic that the distinction had been achieved as an immediate by-product of British political empediency. More importantly perhaps for its long-term implications, the consecration of Desglic was significant because it symbolized a genuine advance toward strengthening the sole surviving French-Canadian institution. While Britain's official ecclesiastical policy recommended the conversion of the population of Quebec to Protestantism, by 1772 the Roman Catholic Church had consolidated its position instead.

III

Having acknowledged the failure of the 1763 Proclamation to transform Quebec into an English and Protestant colony, in-

52 Granaté to Dartmouth (22 June 1773) "Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada I, p. 434."
perial authorities consulted Governor Carleton in their de-
liberations for a constitution which would be more appropriate
for the predominantly French Roman Catholic population. Britain's
policy decision necessarily rested on securing the loyalty of
the Canadians, since the prospect of rebellion in the older
colonies posed a serious threat to imperial security in North
America. 52

Although history has been partial to Carleton's bene-
volence toward French Canada, his recommendations for the
lenient treatment of the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec, were
not entirely acceptable in eighteenth century political cir-
cles which were only gradually adapting the idea of religious
toleration. Francis Jaseros, the Huguenot Attorney-General of
Quebec who served the colony from 1766 to 1769, had proposed an
alternative ecclesiastical programme for the colony which
completely rejected Carleton's conciliatory approach toward
the Roman Catholic Church. 54 Since Carleton's recommendations'
ultimately predominated, subsequent historians too frequently
have ignored those of Francis Jaseros which more accurately
reflected the prevailing contemporary anti-Catholic sentiments.
Jaseros's suggestions for the Protestantization of the Canadians
were in fact consistent with the British Government's official

52 Coupland, The Quebec Act, pp. 116-117.

54. Stewart Wallace, ed., The Jaseros Letters, 1766-
1769, University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics
ecclesiastical policy for Quebec. Although his tenure in Québec had been brief, Kaseres remained an outspoken public mentor on Canadian affairs and was consulted by the House of Commons during its debate on the Quebec Act, as was Carleton. An examination of Kaseres's writings, and particularly those on episcopacy is worthwhile, because his views help to re-emphasize the importance which contemporaries attached to ecclesiastical issues during these crucial and decisive years in Canadian history.

Despite his French-speaking heritage, Kaseres was no asset to the British government of Québec, since his Huguenot descent severely prejudiced him against the French-Canadian population as Roman Catholics. Even prior to his arrival in the colony, Kaseres was convinced that the laws of Great Britain offered no possible basis for Roman Catholic toleration. He intended to curtail the ecclesiastical power being exercised by the Bishop of Québec because he was convinced that Roman Catholic episcopal authority was "illegal and void" under British jurisdiction. He made no attempt to conceal his assimilationist ambitions. In reference to the government's

55 Cartwright, Quebec, The Revolutionary Era, 1760-1791, pp. 107-124, 137.
57 Ibid., p. 9.
failure to introduce the Protestant religion, Maseres argued that, "we have done the reverse of what we should have done with respect to the Canadians." He denounced the appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop since he accurately perceived that the Quebec-episcopate had been a powerful instrument for consolidating the Catholic Church in the colony. Furthermore he recognized that the persistence of a Roman Catholic bishop had prevented those who "would chuse to turn protestant from daring to do so." Thus for the obvious impediment to the proposed ecclesiastical conversion of the colony, he judged the concession of a bishop as "an imprudent measure...tending to perpetuate the Popish religion."  

It is essential to recall how the eighteenth century interpreted the close identity of political and religious loyalties in order to appreciate Maseres's point of view. His genuine objections to the perpetuation of Roman Catholicism were essentially political. He regarded Catholicism as a "dangerous and treacherous religion," because in his view, it was the obstacle which had prevented the assimilation of the population of Quebec. He was convinced therefore, that the opposing faiths of conqueror and conquered rendered the two groups politically irreconcilable. Maseres charged that the difficulties encountered

60 Ibid., p. 53.
by the British Government in the colony had resulted from
the continuation of Roman Catholicism which had,

a natural tendency to keep up a perpetual disaffec-
tion to our government. "It is difficult to be well-
affected to a set of governors whom they look upon
as enemies of God, deserving of, and destined to
eternal damnation."62

The substance of Laseres's criticism against the Roman
Catholic episcopacy further accentuates the near impossibility
of contemporaries actually conceding the separation of Church
and State. Accustomed to an Erastian conception of Church-State
relations in Britain, he was incapable of appreciating any other
form of ecclesiastical arrangements in Canada. Committed that
the British Parliament was planning to devise a more comprehensive
set of regulations for the government of Quebec, Laseres pre-
pared a series of recommendations on the ecclesiastical situ-
ation in the colony, with the intention of influencing the forth-
coming debate on the Quebec Act.63

His proposals regarding the episcopate of Quebec are
of particular interest to us here, owing to their political
implications for both the Roman Catholic Church and the Church
of England. Laseres was alarmed by the possible political links
of the Roman Catholic Bishop with foreign jurisdictions in Rome
and in France, and therefore recommended that these ecclesiasti-
cal connections should be eliminated altogether. Moreover he

"Francis Laseres to Foxhall Walter (17 July, 1947)

suggested that at the death or preferably the resignation of Jean-Olivier Briel, "no new Roman Catholic bishop shall be appointed," but instead a Protestant bishop should replace him. 64 It was Lasares's further contention that the establishment of a Protestant episcopate would serve the empire doubly. Since the Church of England had been unable to secure a bishop in North America, a Protestant bishop at Quebec would prove sufficiently convenient for Anglicans in the colonies, and more tolerable to apprehensive dissenters, being a safe distance away. Of course Lasares was more concerned with the political than the ecclesiastical benefits to be derived from the appointment of a bishop of the Church of England for Quebec. He viewed the proposed episcopate as a viable means of promoting the gradual Protestantization of Quebec. 65

Lasares was certain that Britain's misguided ecclesiastical policy for Quebec might be amended yet, without persecuting the Roman Catholic population, but by encouraging their gradual conversion to the Protestant religion, as had been the avowed intention of the imperial government originally. 66 Although

64 Francis Lasares, A Draught of an Act of Parliament for tolerating the Roman Catholic religion in the Province of Quebec and for encouraging and introducing the Protestant religion in the said Province, and for vesting lands belonging to certain religious houses in the said Province in the Crown of this Kingdom, for the support of the civil government of the said Province and for other purposes (London, 1772) p. 35.

65 Ibid., pp. 29-42.

Massey's proposed ecclesiastical reformation of the colony underestimated the strength of the Roman Catholic faith in Quebec, and equally, the authority of its bishop in enforcing ecclesiastical discipline, his ideas otherwise accurately represented the politico-ecclesiastical views of his day. 67

While the dilemma of the Canadian ecclesiastical situation had been recognized ostensibly since 1760, Parliamentary apprehensions of the domestic political reactions necessarily rendered discussion of the controversial religious issue a highly secretive matter. Although privately the British Government had acknowledged Briand as Bishop of Quebec three years previously, the still tenuous nature of his episcopate was suggested again in 1769 by the secret report of the Board of Trade and Plantation which detailed its intention to clarify and regulate the legal status of the Canadian Bishop. In accordance with the toleration of the Church of Rome conceded by the Treaty of Paris, the freedom of religion required at least that "a proper person be licenced...to Superintend the affairs of the Roman Church," but whose "powers should be so limited and circumscribed" so as not to "violate...His Majesty's Supremacy." 68


The many government studies being prepared in anticipation of the Quebec Act underline the importance of religion to any subsequent constitutional settlement for the colony. With respect to the Roman Catholic Bishop, it was the government's official intention that his activities should be supervised intently by colonial officials. There was an additional suggestion that financial compensation should be offered to the Bishop of Quebec "to make up to him for the loss of his authority." Clearly the government preferred an Fratricanian design for the Canadian Church. Such an arrangement would provide the British authorities with the additional control they intended to exercise over the Church in the colony. Contemporary suspicions of perpetuating this dangerous French-Roman Catholic institution which had enganged the debate on Church-State relations since the Conquest, echoed throughout the deliberations on the Quebec Act. Subsequently, that same theme of assimilation by religious means has permeated much of Canadian historical writing on this question.

That these intended restrictions on the Church were never imposed owed much to the influence which Guy Carleton exerted on the government in London where he remained from 1770 to 1776 negotiating for the Quebec Act. As governor of Quebec, responsible for its military defense, Carleton fully realized that the challenge to imperial security of a possible revolt

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in the Atlantic Colonies demanded an immediate conciliation of French-Canadian grievances to ensure their loyalty to Britain. Unlike Acadians who opted for assimilation to English Quebec to the British Crown, Carleton proposed a rather unorthodox alternative of preserving the French Catholic presence in North America as a means of keeping the colony British. Thus having acknowledged the likelihood of the colony remaining "Canadian to the end of time," the governor's bid for the political allegiance of Quebec aimed at consolidating its leaders, the seigneurs and the clergy. Since their possible alignment with France posed a security threat to the British at Quebec, this influential elite had to be persuaded to remain loyal to the British.

Although technically the laws of Great Britain merely tolerated the Roman Catholic religion at Quebec, in the imminent crisis in Imperial relations, British authorities were prepared to endorse whatever ecclesiastical measures its Canadian representatives felt were necessary to retain the loyalty of the colony. With regard to the religious policy which Carleton recommended for Quebec, it has been suggested that Bishop Briand's influence on the governor, while undocumented, may have been sig-

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71 Peter X. Bonardelli, "Carleton's Policy towards the French Canadians according to His Letters," Culture 17 (September 1956) pp. 262-266.
nificant, since the two corresponded frequently during the years 1770 to 1774. While Carleton consulted closely with Briand, it would have been imprudent for the governor to quote the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec in his negotiations with the Protestant Government committed to restricting Briand's exercise of episcopal authority.  

During the House of Commons deliberations on the Quebec Bill the unorthodox question whether "the bill aimed at establishing the Roman Catholic religion while tolerating the Protestant religion" dominated the discussion on the religious issue throughout. It was pointed out repeatedly how impolitic it was to establish a religion in Quebec other than the established religion of England, "if your object is to make this an English colony." Moreover, it was contended that the security risk involved in perpetuating the religion of France in the colony would, "instead of making it a secure possession of this country, will cause it to remain for ever a dangerous one." Francis Maserees further testified against the necessity


74 John Dunlop, 26 May, 1774 Debates of the House of Commons in the Year 1774, quoted by Cavendish, p. 18.

75 Serjeant Glynp, 10 June, 1774 Debates of the House of Commons in the Year 1774, quoted by Cavendish, p. 259.
of allowing a Roman Catholic bishop in Quebec, contending that had a Protestant clergy been encouraged to replace the priests instead, many would have been converted to the Protestant religion. 76 In addition, the validity of maintaining a Roman Catholic bishop at all to ensure the "free exercise of religion" in Quebec was raised in view of the fact that the Act of Supremacy expressly forbade any such exercise of "authority derived from the See of Rome." 77

Amid charges of popery the Bill was hurried through Parliament nevertheless. On the religious question the Quebec Act legalized the existing practice of collecting tithes and reaffirmed by Parliamentary sanction, the religious toleration granted by the Treaty of Paris. 78 No Roman Catholic of Quebec would be obliged to subscribe to the Elizabethan Oath of Supremacy formerly required for holding office. A modified oath of allegiance to the King, inoffensive to the Roman Catholic faith was substituted instead by the Quebec Act, half a century before similar concessions were permitted by Catholic emancipation in Britain. 79

As Carleton had intended, the Quebec Act pleased the

76Francis X. Keyes, 2 June, 1774 Debates of the House of Commons in the Year 1774, quoted by Cavendish, pp. 157-158.

77Thomas Townshend, 26 May, 1774 Debates of the House of Commons in the Year 1774, quoted by Cavendish, pp. 6, 12.

78Burt, The Old Province of Quebec I, p. 171.

79The Quebec Act, 1774 Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada I, p. 572.
Bishop of Quebec and Briand expressed his satisfaction in a letter to a bishop in France this way:

La religion y est parfaitement libre; je y exerce mon ministère sans contrainte, le souverain m'aime et m'estime, les Anglais m'annoncent. J'ai rejeté un serment que l'on avait proposé et le parlement de la Grande-Bretagne l'a changé et établi tel que tout catholique peut le prendre; dans le bill qui autorise la religion, on a pourtant mis le mot de suprématie, mais nous ne jurons pas par le bill. J'en ai parlé à Son Excellence, notre souverain, qui m'a répondu: "Qu'avez-vous à faire au bill? Le roi n'aura point de pouvoir, et il consent bien et il n'interdit même que le pape soit votre supérieur dans la foi, mais le bill n'aurait pas passé sans ce mot. On n'a point dessein de réfer votre religion et notre Roi ne s'est jamais pas autant que fait celui de France; on ne demande pas, comme vous le voyez par le serment, que vous reconnaissiez cette suprématie. Il est légitime de dire, et croyez que vous voulez."nnBriand had submitted the oath to the Roman Provinces for approval, and subsequently received the assurance from Cardinal Castelli that the oath required of Catholics was consistent with the discipline of the Orthodox Church.nnThe Quebec Act itself contained nothing relating specifically to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec despite Parliament's expressed intentions to regulate the office of the

80Mgr. J.-C. Briand (Québec, 10 mars 1775) cited by Caron, "Inventaire de la Correspondance de Mgr. Jean-Claude Briand," p. 103. Caron has noted that the letter contained no address, but was written either to the Papal Nuncio in Paris or to one of the French Bishops.nn81Mgr. J.-C. Briand au Cardinal Castelli, à Rome (Québec, 6 novembre 1774), cited by Caron, "Inventaire de la Correspondance de Mgr. Jean-Claude Briand," p. 102.nn82Cardinal Joseph-Marie Castelli à J.-C. Briand (Rome, 15 mars 1775), cited by Caron, "Inventaire de la Correspondance de Mgr. Jean-Claude Briand," p. 110.
Carleton had requested that he should be allowed to exercise his own discretion regarding the ecclesiastical affairs of the colony, particularly with respect to the bishop.

However, the Government's silence on the Canadian episcopate in 1774 was scarcely a license for Bishop Briand to exercise unlimited power. The Government Instructions later issued to Carleton left no doubt that the official British commitment toward imposing a rigid state control on the Church in Quebec, had remained unaltered since the Conquest. Its original policy to establish the Protestant Church of England, while merely tolerating the Church of Rome was still in evidence. The Bishop was forbidden to correspond with "any foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction," and his authority was to be restricted to such sacramental functions "as are essential and indispensably necessary to the free exercise of the Roman Religion." 83

It was fortunate for the Church that Carleton intended to ignore the Government's official policy and to permit the Bishop of Quebec considerable liberty. The governor made no attempt to interdict Briand's correspondence, although he had the legal authority to do so. 85 The coming of the American

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84 Instructions to Governor Carleton, 1775, Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, pp. 683-686.

Revolution further prevented the implementation of a more severe ecclesiastical policy. Carleton's benevolence toward the Church aimed at securing its support in the forthcoming British struggle with the American colonies. Since the American Revolution has had such a decisive impact on Canadian ecclesiastical history, that subject will be pursued in a separate chapter.

Thus despite the official British commitment to promoting the Church of England in the colony, as well as the recommendations to establish a Protestant episcopate in Quebec, the Roman Catholic Church actually remained entrenched as the predominant religion of Quebec almost as solidly in 1774 as it had been during the French regime when it had been the officially established Church. Political circumstance overwhelmingly favoured the continuation of the Roman Catholic episcopate as well. The establishment of the Anglican episcopate in Canada, as had been its fate in the American colonies, was to be postponed until after the American Revolution. Once again it was sacrificed to political expediency. Considering the pro-Protestant sympathies in British political circles, it seems almost paradoxical that the Roman Catholic Church had been permitted such toleration by the conquerors.

While the Quebec Act might be upheld as a kind of confirmation of the existence of the Church in its struggle for survival since the Conquest, the pragmatic political challenge which inspired this liberal policy reversal ought to be recog-
nized. The mere continuation of the Roman Catholic Church had been jeopardized originally by the death of the Bishop of Quebec. That loss had been compounded by the threat of Protestantization with the British Conquest of 1760. However, on the eve of a second political crisis, the preservation and countenance of the Roman Catholic Church became necessary, as political circumstances by 1774 had placed the Church in an advantageous position in relation to Imperial strategy. Thus although British authorities originally feared the potential leadership of the Bishop in the French-Canadian community, they later acknowledged his political importance for its possible benefit to the empire. Since imperial authorities intended to use the Quebec episcopate for its political potentiality, this ambition called for a reversal in the British policy toward the Church. Therefore the policy of repression had to be replaced by one of conciliation. Still, a significant divergence remained between the official ecclesiastical policy imposed on Quebec, and that enacted by the British governors on the spot whose immediate concern for colonial security, emphasized the necessity of a close Church-State co-operation.

The following chapter intends to examine how subsequent Canadian historians have interpreted the question of the Church at the Conquest. The issue whether the British regime had been generous or repressive toward the Roman Catholic Church, a controversy since the Conquest, has remained a controversy in Canadian historical writing. Historians have passed varying
judgments on the wisdom and necessity of collaboration between the Church and the British as well. However, the paramount question of French-Canadian cultural preservation, a struggle intricately linked up with the survival of the Roman Catholic Church has received particular emphasis by both French-speaking and English-speaking Canadian historians. Since the Catholic Church actually remained the sole surviving French institution after the Conquest, it became the cultural preserve of the conquered people; thus Canadian historians generally have attributed French-Canadian survival to the Church in varying degrees. The major difference in interpretation between French and English-Canadian historians has been one of emphasis. The degree to which either group of historians has examined the political significance of the Church of England in Canada prior to the American Revolution has been extremely negligible. The subsequent chapter addresses itself to the political significance of the Church at the Conquest as interpreted by Canada's major historians.
CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH AT THE CONQUEST - INTERPRETATIONS

The intention of this chapter is to analyse the treatment of the Church at the Conquest by major Canadian historians. To answer this question, however, it is essential to extend the focus to include several other important factors. First, some detail of the historian's own social milieu has been included in order to explain the particular emphasis in the historical writing of a given period. Secondly, the fact of the Conquest itself must be considered. Since this historical event has been crucial to French Canada's view of itself, it has obviously been of greater interest to its historians than to those of English Canada. It is therefore essential to clarify the historian's attitude to the Conquest itself because this process provides the context in which he will examine or disregard the political significance of the Church at the Conquest. The third factor is the diminishing political significance of the Church of England in Canadian historical writing. For despite the powerful assimilationist threat which "Anglicanization" seemed to pose in the eighteenth century, its political significance for Canadian historians writing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has vanished almost entirely. Since history is partial to success, and it was the Roman Catholic episcopate far more than the Anglican which assumed the greater
political importance after the Conquest, Canadian historians, to the extent that they have examined the religious question at all, have concentrated their attention on the former and have ignored the latter. Having established these preliminaries, the discussion will proceed to analyse first the French-Canadian and then the English-Canadian historical writing on the question of the Church at the Conquest.

I

Significant historical writing in Canada began in the 1840's when François-Xavier Garneau (1809-1866) in an attempt to counter Lord Durham's insult that the French Canadians were a people without a culture or a history responded with his *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours.*

This single work has been crucial to French-Canadian historiography because it set the tone — "the struggle for survival" which has remained a dominant theme in the historical writing.

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1Garneau's history has been through eight editions; the first covered the period to 1792 in three volumes between 1845 and 1848; a second edition in 1852 contained additions and carried the history to 1840; the third and final edition by the author himself was a modified version in response to ecclesiastical critics, (1859) A fourth edition issued in 1882 by Garneau's son Alfred, contained revisions suggested in the author's note. A grandson, Hector, published a fifth edition in 1920, considered to be the "most complete version". Significantly, it contained reference sources on the church which were not included in the original *Histoire*. During the 1930's sixth and seventh editions were added and an eighth between 1944 and 1946. Noted in a footnote by James S. Fritchard, "Some Aspects of the Thought of F.X. Garneau", *Canadian Historical Review* 51 (1970), p. 276.
of French Canada.  

It is fortunate for our purposes that the question of religion in Garneau's work, because of its supposedly controversial nature, and its anti-clerical tendency, has attracted the attention of his critics. This feature furnishes evidence that religious orthodoxy traditionally has been a highly scrutinized issue in French-Canadian historiography. In an attempt to analyze Garneau's thinking, it must be recalled that he took up the challenge to write history at a moment when the future of the French-Canadian nationality seemed threatened by the assimilationist intentions of the 1841 Act of Union of the Canadas. Garneau himself was thoroughly familiar with the troubled contemporary political scene since he was employed as a translator for the parliamentary assembly. Therefore, his preoccupation with the political questions of his own day no doubt influenced his recounting of a patriotic history which emphasized political and military struggles more than religious questions. A self-educated historian, Garneau attributed the origins of New France almost exclusively to the genius of the French race, while neglecting any ecclesiastical impulse which might equally have been responsible for the colony's foundation.

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Such detachment with respect to religion provoked an immediate outcry in ultramontane circles. It should be noted here that the charges of "anti-clericalism", "liberalism", and of possible Voltairean tendencies, actually applied only to the first volume of his work on the French regime. Among his challenges to the Church, he attacked Bishop Laval for his exercise of autocratic power and Cardinal Richelieu's exclusion of the Huguenots from New France as an ill-advised policy. Essentially, Garneau concluded that the colony remained weak "because the interests of the Church too often took precedence over those of the state." His interpretations, or perhaps his misinterpretations of the French regime, may be explained in part by the fact that during the writing of this initial volume, the sources available to the author were limited. Garneau eventually rectified the problem in later volumes with the assistance of Dr. O'Callaghan, one of the 1837 patriots, who had become State Archivist in Albany, New York. O'Callaghan aided Garneau in securing copies of the official documents on the French Regime in Canada from the archives in Paris.


7 Lanctot, *Garneau*, p. 53.
The historian's resources were enriched further when Bishop Signay of Quebec opened the episcopal archives to him.

Through his continuing research, Carneau attempted to revise his earlier views.

There was, however, an additional influence which was responsible for the modification of the *Histoire du Canada*. Just as Carneau's mildly secular views have been attributed to the wider current of liberalism sweeping the western world in the 1830's, French Canada at the same time also experienced the conservative counterrevolutionary reaction which was gaining ascendency within the Catholic Church in Europe. Of the two movements, the conservative ideology prevailed in French Canada under the direction of a church which became increasingly ultramontane in its outlook. Having repudiated the patriots for participating in the 1837-38 Rebellions against authority, the Church was prepared to identify itself henceforth even more closely with the cause of French-Canadian national survival.

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10 In Quebec as in Europe, the ultramontane reaction arose to combat liberal and revolutionary forces which questioned the position of the Church in society. René Hardy, "Libéralisme Catholique et Ultramontanisme au Québec: Éléments et définitions", *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française* 25 (2) (September 1971) p. 247.


If the period from the Conquest to the mid-nineteenth century was a time of grave insecurity for the Roman Catholic Church, the balance of that century witnessed a progressive ascendance of power under the leadership of an ultramontane hierarchy and more particularly under Ignace Bourget, Bishop of Montreal from 1840 to 1876. While it is true that the Church had defended the survival of French-Canadian identity since the Conquest by preserving its faith, under the impulse of ultramontanism the fusion between the Roman Catholic religion and the French-Canadian nationality was reinforced even more solidly. The impact of this ideological development on French-Canadian historiography cannot be underestimated.

Evidently, Garneau himself recognized that if he wished to remain a spokesman for the cause of French-Canadian national survival, it would be necessary to revise his historical writing in accordance with the dominant ultramontane political climate. Thus, with the completion of his third volume in 1848 in which the author tactfully acknowledged that historically, survival had depended on the French-Canadians rallying around "their religion, their laws and their nationality", the attacks of his religious critics subsided considerably.

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14 Ibid., p. 71.

15 Garneau's letter to O'Callaghan, 8 mai 1850, cited in Lanctot, Garneau, p. 54.
In the *Histoire du Canada* Garneau's tragic view of the Conquest is revealed in his reference to the British regime as "la sujétion étrangère". His portrayal of the role of the Church as the institution which united its clergy and people in a common bond of interest should be viewed within this larger context. The historical analysis of the Church under military rule was basically a constitutional approach to the legal struggle of the Church to restore its position, a reflection of the author's own legal background and contemporary milieu. The didactic message of this history warned that British motives ought to be analyzed carefully. Garneau concluded that the gradual relaxation of Britain's proscription was scarcely a generous act of liberty but merely an effort to win the allegiance of the Canadians.

The challenge which Garneau laid before his society, that is, the continuing struggle to ensure French-Canadian national survival, earned him the title, "historien national" even within his own time. Still, because of the earlier anti-clerical charges against the historian, his biographers have felt the need to prove that Garneau died an obedient son of the Church. Abbé Caserain, for example, absolved Garneau

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17 Ibid., p. 386.

18 Ibid., p. 417.

of any wilful erroneous historical judgments by noting his "reconnaître humblement la dernière édition de son Histoire à un ecclésiastique compétent, et en faisant plein droit aux observations qui lui avaient été suggérées". So powerful in fact were these ecclesiastical criticisms that Hector Garneau was impelled to undertake a further revision of the religious aspects of the history "à pince effleurée" by his grandfather in a continuing effort to satisfy the clergy even as late as the 1920's and 1930's.\textsuperscript{31}

The surging of Garneau's Histoire indicates the strongly ultramontane undercurrent overtaking French Canada in the intervening decades between Garneau and Lionel Groulx, the second historian to be given an extended treatment. French-Canadian historians writing after Garneau carefully preserved his theme of the patriotic struggle but insisted that the Church had played a far more central role in their history than originally acknowledged by their mentor. Both Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Perland and Thomas Chaperais represented this transition in historical writing by restoring the Church to a heroic position for guiding the French-Canadian community since the Con-

\textsuperscript{20} Abbé H.R. Casgrain, F.X. Garneau et Francis Parkman (Montréal, Librarie Beauchemin Ltd., 1912) p. 49. First published 1893.

quest. This revision of the past reflected the tremendous influence of the current Catholic and nationalistic revival which had developed by the second half of the nineteenth century. Consequently the alliance of nationalism and ultramontanism called for and even justified the redefinition of the historical role of the Church. An additional instance which exemplifies the impact of this "clerical nationalism" on historical writing was Bishop Lefèvre's (1818-1868) reference to the "Providence" of the British Conquest for saving the Canadian Church from the horrors of the French Revolution. Although not the original proponent of this particular view of


the Church at the Conquest. Lafleche infused this idea of Providence into the historical writing of the next generation and in so doing re-directed the historical interpretation of the Church at the Conquest. The question whether the British Conquest should be regarded as a benevolent act of Providence subsequently became an important debate in French-Canadian historiography.

II

Thomas Chapais, for example, the conservative French-Canadian historian of the early twentieth century, fully accepted this "providential" notion of the Conquest and from it

27 In his address at Bishop Briand's funeral on June 27, 1794, l'abbé Joseph-Octave Plessis attributed Briand's episcopate itself to the intervention of "Divine Providence" in the history of French Canada. Similarly, he explained that Catholicism in Canada had been saved from the French Revolution by the Conquest in which, "Dieu avait transféré a l'Angleterre le domaine de ce pays." "L'oraison funèbre de Mgr. Briand", Bulletin des Recherches Historiques XI (novembre 1905) p. 330, (décembre 1905) p. 353.

28 Bishop Lafleche's ideas on Church-State relations represented the Quebec hierarchy's acceptance of the political values represented in the ultramontane ideology. For a summary of his attitudes on religion and politics see: René Hardy, "L'Ultramontanisme de Lafleche: Genese et Postulats d'une Idéologie", dans Fernand Dumont, Jean-Paul Montminy et Jean Hamelin, eds. Idéologies au Canada Français 1840-1900 Histoire et Sociologie de la Culture, no 1 (Québec: Les Presses de L'Université Laval, 1971) pp. 53-62.
developed the theme that the British regime was beneficial in providing the country with parliamentary institutions. The son of one of the Fathers of Confederation, that is a member of the "establishment", Chapais's understanding of Canadian history had been sufficiently broad to provide him with an appreciation of the need for cooperation between the two founding peoples. His analysis of the Conquest attributed the survival of the Church to the loyalty of Bishop Brompton and the enlightened views of the English governors, such as Murray and Carleton. He concluded that: "tous ensemble...ils ont droit à notre imparissable reconnaissance pour avoir participé au salut de cette grande institution nationale, l'Eglise canadienne." In essence, Chapais's study of history assured him that French-Canadian survival since the Conquest ultimately depended on developing a spirit of cooperation with English Canadians.

Chapais's complaisant attitude toward Canada's past however did not remain unchallenged. The disruption caused by the First World War with the conscription crisis and the language controversy over the Ontario schools had embittered the relationship between English and French Canada. French-Canadian

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30 Thomas Chapais, Cours d'Histoire du Canada I (Québec, J.P. Garneau, 1919) p. 60.

survival seemed threatened once again. This apprehended crisis
called for a re-interpretation of Canadian history. It was
against this background that Abbé Lionel Groulx (1878-1967)
was initiated into the study of history. The impact of this
wartime crisis had been so profound that his historical inter-
pretations subsequently branded all Anglo-Saxons as fanatics on
the real enemy of French Canada. With his predecessor, P.-X.
Garnoux, whom he admired and with whom he identified, Groulx
assumed a similar nationalistic mission of re-writing the his-
tory of the French-Canadian struggle for survival. Professor
Michel Brunet has observed that historical research in French
Canada progressed very slowly before the twentieth century. In
response to that society's continuing political and economic
inferiority, Brunet explains that its historical writing assumed
a patriotic and panegyrical tone almost as a consolation. "De
1867 à 1915, il n'y eut aucun enseignement universitaire de

32 Ramsay Cook, "French Canadian Interpretations of
Canadian History", p. 7.

33 Groulx's political discussions with Henri Bourassa,
the champion of the French-Canadian cause during the First World
War, introduced Groulx to the need for a national revival of
French Canada. It was his admiration for Bourassa that was re-
sponsible for the abbé beginning a career in history at the Uni-
versity of Montreal. Susan Mann Robertson, "Variations on a
Nationalist Theme: Henry Bourassa and Abbé Groulx in the 1920's"
109, 117.

34 Jean-Pierre Gaboury, Le Nationalisme de Lionel Groulx:
Aspects Idéologiques (Ottawa, Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa,
1970, p. 112.)
l'histoire au Canada françois. Une science qui n'est pas enseignée à l'université ne peut pas avancer."

Like Garneau, Groulx lacked any historical training. His education for the priesthood instead included studies in French literature in Switzerland and philosophy and theology in Rome. This literary background had introduced him to the romantic French Catholic traditions of Chateaubriand (1768-1848) and De Maistre (1753-1821), whose idea that France and Catholicism were inseparable accorded well with Groulx's own views that French Canada had inherited this same historic mission. It should be recalled that this messianic approach was not unique to Groulx but represented an established ecclesiastical trend in French-Canadian historiography. Since, as F.H. Carr has pointed out: "the historian... is also a product of history and of society", it is essential to study the historian in the context of the historical traditions which he inherited. Abbé Groulx's history therefore represented the complete fusion of French-Canadian nationalism of the Garneau tradition with the conservative clerical direction characteristic of his


contemporary historical milieu. Before turning to history, however, Lionel Groulx was first a priest, which helps explain the intense spirituality in his history, the stress on the Roman Catholic Church and on faith. He was also essentially a teacher, which accounts for the didactic character of his writing. Groulx the historian tended to be the priest-teacher-historian, acting out all his roles at once.

The tendency to turn to history when a nation feels itself in peril has been a characteristic response of French Canada. Since Garneau, the French Canadians have proven to be a historically conscious group, and particularly so during times of crisis. As in the case of Garneau, Groulx's resolution to rise to the defence of the nation necessarily implied that the latter's theme of the French-Canadian struggle closely paralleled that of the original French-Canadian nationalistic historian. Each also believed that the writing of history would sustain his society in the continuing struggle. The outstanding difference between the two however, was the supreme position which Groulx ascribed to the Church in directing French Canada along the path to national survival.

Abbé Groulx's own personal sense of mission, that is to write and teach a history which articulated the French and Catholic heritage of his people, ultimately received its inspir-

ation from the "vision" which the historian acquired from his own social milieu. To misunderstand this so-called "clerical nationalism" in Groulx's history is to misinterpret the ideological directives of French-Canadian society in the interwar period, during which this historian had the greatest impact on his society. In addition to the importance which his own society attached to the Church, Groulx himself regarded the teaching of history as a form of apostolate. Given these circumstances it is little wonder that the issue of the Church at the Conquest attracted far greater attention in Groulx's history than it had done in Garneau's.

In his view of the Conquest, Groulx followed Garneau, indicating that it had been "une catastrophe", and denying the supposed benefits of the English regime which his contemporaries had acknowledged. For Groulx, the catastrophe of the Conquest was the sudden juxtaposition of two dissimilar

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42Although Lionel Groulx began to write history in 1915 and continued writing into the 1960's, almost until his death in 1967, the heyday of his career as a historian, at least in terms of influence, was the inter-war period.


peoples, "un peuple français et catholique, de formation monarchique et latine", the other, "un peuple protestant, de formation parlementaire et saxonne", whose differences were irreconcilable. More tragic yet, Groulx continued, was the endangered position of the Church now that the selection of the Catholic bishop had fallen to "un souverain hérétique." Groulx's analysis of Bishop Briand's struggle for episcopal recognition is detailed and fully documented. It should be observed here that the Public Archives in Ottawa had been established since 1872 allowing Groulx greater access to source material than had been available when Garnéau wrote his history. Ecclesiastical histories had also proliferated in the late nineteenth century under the ultramontane impulse. Studies such as MONSEIGNEUR HENRI TÊTU's Les Evêques de Québec (1889) and Abbé Auguste Gosselin's L'Église du Canada après la conquête (1916) greatly facilitated Groulx's research task. The episcopal archives of Quebec provided an additional resource although the bishops' correspondence was not catalogued completely before the 1930's.

Abbé Groulx carefully noted the British Government's efforts to Protestantize the colony. Catholicism persisted however, as the historian summarized, because "Dieu préparait à notre petit peuple les vertus de sa destinée laborieuse."

46 Groulx, Lendemain de conquête, p. 57.
47 Ibid., pp. 138-139.
49 Groulx, Lendemain de conquête, pp. 158, 162.
The eventual concession of the bishop was explained similarly: "Tout à coup la Providence interviennent." Groulx concluded his analysis by advising his readers that the simple faith of their ancestors had been responsible for French-Canadian survival. The moral lesson, a crucial part of Groulx's historical methodology, was clear. History furnished valuable examples from the past, upon which the present generation could build.

Providential intervention in history was an unquestionable tenet of Groulx's historical faith. Providence had been responsible for the very establishment of New France. The historian contended that because French Canada had "collaborated" with God, its future would be assured. That its people had been given a mission to fulfill, was an accepted French-Canadian nationalist tradition promoted by the Church since Monseigneur Lefèvre, as well as by contemporary historians, Abbé Auguste Gosselin and Thomas Chapais to explain the survival of the Church at the Conquest. Such interpretations however implied a positive acceptance of the British Conquest, a view which was unacceptable to Abbé Groulx.

50 Ibid., p. 172.
51 Ibid., p. 172.
52 Abbé Lionel Groulx, La Naissance d'une Racé, 2ième éd. (Montréal: Librarie d'Action Canadienne-Française, 1930) p. 131.
53 Abbé Lionel Groulx, "Ce que nous devons au Catholicisme", in Notre Héritage le Passé, Premiere Série (Montréal, Librarie Granger Frères Ltd., 1924) p. 257.
54 Abbé Auguste Gosselin, L'Élise du Canada après la Conquête I, p. 139; Cock, "French-Canadian Interpretations of Canadian History", p. 7.
He attacked the traditional "providential" view of the Conquest because it offered too simplistic an explanation of such a complex question. With Bossuet\textsuperscript{55} as his authority, Groulx contended that, "toute est providentiel en histoire; l'événement heureux ou malheureux." \textsuperscript{5} The historian insisted that the providential view of the Conquest must be explored, by tracing the theory back to its original source. In 1760 Bishop Fontbriand's last mandement regarded the Conquest not as a providential blessing, but as "un châtiment". \textsuperscript{57} The origin of this "providential" theory was not 1760 therefore, but 1724 when Monseigneur Plessis conducted the funeral service for Bishop Briand. \textsuperscript{58} In Groulx's estimation, Plessis had ignored too much in the restrictions which Britain had imposed on the Roman Catholic Church to regard the Conquest as a "blessing". The Conquest was the tragedy which disrupted the religious homogeneity of New France by introducing Protestantism. \textsuperscript{59} For Groulx, a Protestant regime was as odious as Revolutionary France, which had forsaken its historic and apostolic mission.

\textsuperscript{55} W. C. D'Arcy, The Sense of History: Secular and Sacred (London, Faber and Faber, 1959) p. 93.

\textsuperscript{56} Abbé Lionel Groulx, "La Providence et la Conquête Anglaise de la Nouvelle-France", Notre Héritage, Le Passé, (Troisième Série, 1944) p. 125.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 125.

\textsuperscript{58} The destruction of religion by revolutionary France made British rule appear mild to French Canada and preferable to that of their former masters. R. Flenley, "The Revolution and French Canada", Essays in Canadian History Presented to Mackinnon Morrie (Toronto, Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1939) p. 59.

\textsuperscript{59} Groulx, "La Providence et la conquête", p. 162.

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., pp. 161-162.
The historian concluded that the intervention of Providence at this moment in history when "Dieu a détaché le Canada de la France" must have had some ultimate design, but whether the Conquest was a blessing or not defies human explanation.\textsuperscript{61} Although Abbé Groulx had disputed the interpretation that the Conquest was a providential blessing because the advent of British rule for him was certainly no blessing, he carefully maintained and promoted the tradition that since the Conquest, "the church co-operated more than anyone in preserving the nationality."\textsuperscript{62}

That this historian's purpose was to affirm the continuing struggle to preserve Catholicism in Canada was evident in his interpretation of the Quebec Act. He lauded the Quebec Act as "le glas de l'absolutisme protestant" in the history of England.\textsuperscript{63} The historian recognized that the act had been a concession of liberty but the restriction imposed on the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, that is, "sous la suprématie du roi...annihilait l'existence même du catholicisme."\textsuperscript{64} The peculiarity of this arrangement, Abbé Groulx noted, "transformait en pape canadien, le roi protestant d'Angleterre!"\textsuperscript{65} There was,

\textsuperscript{61}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 160-164.
\textsuperscript{62}Groulx, "Ce que nous devons au Catholicisme", in \textit{Notre Maitre, le Passé}, Premiere Série, p. 254.
\textsuperscript{63}Abbé Lionel Groulx, \textit{Vers l'émancipation} (Montréal, Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1921) p. 181.
\textsuperscript{64}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 181.
\textsuperscript{65}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 182.
however, no doubt in Groulx's mind that the Quebec Act indicated a further act of God in French-Canadian history. The act of 1774 was "une intervention providentielle qui sauva le continent du pan-saxonisme." 66

Abbe Groulx's writing of Canadian history as an unremitting struggle between two races was directed almost exclusively to a French-speaking readership. His approach to Canadian history was, however, challenged by a contemporary, Abbe Arthur Laheux, who during the Second World War recognized the importance of promoting better understanding and co-operation between English and French Canadians, by developing a reinterpretation of Canadian history. Laheux attempted to bridge the linguistic gap by addressing his history to both language groups, convinced as he was that Canadian history should emphasize those things which the two groups had in common rather than emphasize the differences between them. In the tradition of Thomas Chapais, Laheux's view of the Conquest attempted to establish the idea that contrary to the nationalist interpretations of Garneau and Groulx, the British regime had been mild and marked the beginning of a relationship of co-operation in which the prejudices of both sides dissolved. 67

66Ibid., pp. 227-228.
67Abbé Arthur Laheux, "A Dilemma for our Culture", (Presidential Address), Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers (1949) p. 2.

It was however less the challenge from advocates of the "bonne entente" than it was the newer more secular direction of French-Canadian history which really questioned Abbé Groulx's interpretation of history in the post-war period. It is interesting to observe the shifting emphasis in historiographical criticism which followed Groulx's publications. In our discussion of Caron, it was observed how a more ecclesiastically-minded generation than his own, accused him of devoting insufficient attention to the role of the Church in French-Canadian history. The criticism of Groulx's work reflected the more secular pre-occupation of the post-war generation. His critics have denounced his "excessive nationalism", his "emotionalism", the "ethical emphasis", his "dogmatic approach" and his writing of history as "a confession of faith". While his attention to research was unquestionable, Groulx's divergence from objectivity has been questioned. "L'historien se blobs trop s'interposer avec sa thèse éloquente et sa phrase militante, entre le document et le lecteur." 70

III

Abbé Groulx represents the last of the school of the clerical nationalist historians who interpreted French-Canadian


history in terms of a providential mission. Still, his impact on French-Canadian historiography has been important if only because of its nationalist direction which he himself inherited and continued. The nationalist tradition has been carried on by his disciples in Montreal, by former students like Guy Frézault (1916-1977) and Michel Brunet (1917- ). What distinguishes these present historians most from those of the preceding generation in French Canada has been their lay orientation. This new secular approach to history does not refer simply to civil status, to the fact that the majority of French-Canadian historians are now laymen, while historical writing in the previous generation had been dominated by clerics. Groulx's contemporaries, who included a number of laymen, tended to view the past from an ecclesiastical perspective, by identifying the role which the Church exercised throughout French-Canadian history. The present-day historian in French Canada has abandoned the providential emphasis, as well as the idealized rural society dominated by the Catholic Church. Since every generation writes its own history based on the meanings which that society discerns in the present, an increasingly urbanized and industrialized population looked for a more appropriate interpretation of

71 This tradition, however, has persisted in the writing of some ecclesiastical histories. André Beauchesne, Jean Hamelin, Benoît Bernier, Guide d'Histoire du Canada, (Québec, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1959) p. 39.

its past which corresponded more closely to the new economic reality. It is equally important to emphasize that, unlike their predecessors, the post-war generation of French-Canadian historians have had professional training in the discipline. Frequently their education has included some post-graduate study in the United States where they were introduced to a more economic and sociological approach to history. These major changes in the underlying philosophical assumptions in the post-war period have had great implications for French-Canadian historiography.

The current acceptance by society of a pluralistic pattern also allows for a greater diversity of historical interpretations than had been tolerated in French Canada in the past. While the present writer acknowledges that several interpretations are discernible in French-Canadian historiography today, for purposes of consistency with those historians previously discussed, Michel Brunet, a neo-nationalist, has been selected here. Brunet belongs to a group of revisionists engaged in historical studies at the University of Montreal. With Maurice Séguin and Guy Frégault, Brunet has expanded the direc-

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73 Cook, "French-Canadian Interpretations of Canadian History," p. 10. Michel Brunet, for example, has indicated that his training in American history, particularly his studies of the South during the Civil War period, provided him with a basis of comparison between the agricultural ideal of the South and that of his own society in Quebec. Eleanor Cook, ed., "An Interview with Michel Brunet," The Craft of History (Toronto, Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1973). p. 43.

74 Beaulieu, Guide d'Histoire du Canada, p. 42.
tion of their research on the social decapitation of the bourgeosie at the time of the Conquest of New France. This new economic emphasis was in fact inspired by the Laurentian thesis of English-Canadian historians to explain the development of Canadian history. It is worth noting that the post-war French-Canadian historians, owing to a broader training have developed interpretations of history which reflect the work being carried on by English-Canadian historians to a greater extent than in the past. This does not imply however that a great deal of co-operation in research has developed yet among Canadian historians. For the most part the interests of French and English Canadians have remained almost mutually exclusive. Although the validity of the decapitation thesis has been challenged by Jean Hamelin and by Fernand Cuellet, who have examined the economics of New France in detail, the nationalist interpretation is worth exploring to emphasize that this approach to the

75See Maurice Séguin, L’Idéé Indépendance au Québec: Genése et Historique (Trois-Rivières, Éditions Boréal Express, 1968) and Guy Fréchette, La Guerre de la Conquête, 1754-1760 (Montréal, Fides, 1955).

76Cook, "French Canadian Interpretations of Canadian History", pp. 9-10; and Dion, "Le nationalismre pessimiste: sa source, sa significatiion, sa validité", pp. 3-11.

77Jean Hamelin, Economie et société en Nouvelle-France, Québec, Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960)

history of French Canada still persists. 79

For Michel Brunet as for the previous French-Canadian
nationalist historians, the Conquest remains the tragedy whose
repercussions are felt in present-day Quebec. Like Garneau
and Groulx before him, Brunet still perceives his role as
a historian as a kind of a guardian of the nation who contin-
uously must remind his society of its past. 80 Ramsey Cook has
studied this tendency among French-Canadian historians. He at-
tributes this "very special role" exercised by the historian
in French Canada to the fact that this society still consciously
seeks its definition and its values from the past. That pre-
occupation with its history has resulted largely from the im-
 pact which the event of the Conquest has had on that society. 81

79 Modern French Canadian historians have been divided
geo graphically and intellectually between Montreal and Laval
at Quebec; the former are distinguished for their emphasis on
the social exploitation theory as well as the more nationalistic
interpretations. (Cook, "French Canadian Interpretations of
Canadian History", p. 10.) Professor Brunet reminds us that
this difference of interpretation among the historians of Quebec
may be traced back to the previous generation when Thomas Cha-
pais chaired the Department of History at Laval while Lionel
Groulx held the same position at Montreal. Brunet believes
that the differences separating the two schools are beginning
to disappear gradually. 7. Cook, "An Interview with Michel
Brunet", p. 65.

80 Pierre Savard, "Un Quat de Siècle d'Historiographie
p. 84.

81 Cook, "French-Canadian Interpretations of Canadian
History", p. 3 and his "Some French-Canadian Interpretations
of the British Conquest: Une Quatrième Dominante de la Pensée
Canadienne-Française", Canadian Historical Association Historical
Papers (1966) p. 70.
Brunet's emphasis has been on explaining what he has referred to as the "historical evolution of the Canadian collectivity". It is this central preoccupation which pervades all his writing. In his concern for the nation, the Conquest itself has been the major focus of his attention. Unlike Abbé Gravel in the generation immediately preceding him, Brunet finds little consolation in the fact that of all French institutions the Church managed to survive the Conquest. The modern historian deplores instead the economic inferiority of French Canada which he contends resulted from the loss through emigration of lay leadership. Brunet acknowledges that after the Conquest, the clergy became the leading spokesmen of the French-Canadian community. Therefore documenting the actual role of the Church at the Conquest does form a major part of Brunet's historical explanation. For him, the survival of the leadership of the Church was in no way linked to "providential intervention", but developed from the conquerors' need to find some mediator among the leading classes. Since it is Brunet's view that among the former leading classes of New France - political, administrative and ecclesiastical - only the latter remained after the Conquest, the Church became the principal spokesman of French Canada almost by default.

82 Michel Brunet, "The British Conquest: Canadian Social Scientists and the Fate of the Canadiens", Canadian Historical Review, 40 (1959) p. 94. The French-Canadian "nation" in Brunet's historical writing has been termed the "collectivity", F. Cook, "An Interview with Michel Brunet", p. 53.

In his study, *Les Canadiens après la Conquête* (1969), Michel Brunet observes that the question of religion looms large in the history of French Canada, partly because many of its historians were priests and religious. He points out the temptation in Abbé Ferland and Abbé Groulx to "overemphasize the role of the Church in the French-Canadian past." Despite the importance of religion in New France, he contends that it assumed even greater importance after the Conquest, because it became, "un point de ralliement, une ligne de défense contre l'absolutisme de l'occupant." On this question of religion, Brunet has argued that the fact of the Conquest by a Protestant power was very significant for the survival of the Canadiens. Had the Conquest occurred under Spanish rule or some other Catholic power, the Church would have become simply another "agent d'assimilation", since the conquerors would have assumed the administration of this institution as they had in the areas of politics and economics. "Mais les conquérants du Canada étaient protestant", and for that important reason the Roman Catholic Church remained the exclusive preserve of the French. The attempts by the British Government to assimilate the Canadiens by Protestantizing them failed

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84 Michel Brunet, *Les Canadiens après la Conquête*, p. 112.
86 Michel Brunet, *Les Canadiens après la Conquête*, p. 112.
to materialize, since the Anglican Church could barely supply the needs of the Protestant colonists much less supplant the Catholic Church in Canada. More important however, according to Brunet, England was less concerned with actually "Protestantizing" the population than it was in establishing its rule. After all, the Seven Years' War was hardly "une guerre contre le Canada à cause du catholicisme de ses habitants." 89 The historian has concluded that the British instead tolerated the existence of the Roman Catholic Church once they had established the fact that their political domination could be established more firmly with the collaboration of the Church, than with its suppression. 90

On this issue of collaboration on the part of the Church, Brunet takes his contemporary, Marcel Trudel, to task for chastising Briand so severely for his actions. 90 Brunet contends that Briand simply continued the conciliatory policy recommended by Bishop Pontbriand and furthermore that the Church had little choice: "l'église Canadienne n'est pas libre." 91

88 Ibid., p. 114.
89 Ibid., pp. 114-114.

90 Nor should Governor Murray receive the entire blame for this policy of servitude of the Church since he was merely "un agent de la domination anglaise". Brunet, Les Canadiens après la Conquête, p. 122. See Marcel Trudel, L'Eglise Canadienne sous le Régime militaire, 1759-1764, I, pp. 195-241, and his "La Servitude de l'Eglise Catholique du Canada Français sous le régime anglais", Canadian Historical Association Report (1963) pp. 42-64. It should be observed here that government policy was subject to Murray's interpretation in the colony.

91 Brunet, Les Canadiens après la conquête, p. 34.
Accustomed to absolute monarchy and to the existing Church-State relationship of the eighteenth century, these churchmen were prepared to submit dutifully to legitimate authority in the expectation that by serving "throne and altar", the interests of the Canadians would be protected.\(^2\)

Brunet disputes any assumption that the clergy co-operated enthusiastically with the British: "les dirigeants canadiens n'étaient pas libres." Despite the frequent public pro-governmental declarations by the Church, the historian seriously doubted their sincerity.\(^3\) According to Brunet, the situation in which the clergy found itself was that of any conquered people. The recognized leaders had been called upon to transmit government orders; however, the limited response of the population indicated an expression of "passive resistance" to the conquerors.\(^4\) In Brunet's estimation, the British view of the Church was no more flattering. The Protestant administrators continually suspected the Catholic clergy of "toutes sortes de noir desseins contraires aux intérêts de la domination anglaise au Canada."\(^5\) Nevertheless, without the co-operation of the Church it would have been


\(^3\)Brunet, Les Canadiens après la Conquête, p. 77.

\(^4\)Brunet, "Les Canadiens après la Conquête, les débuts de la résistance passive", p. 179.

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 155.
very difficult for Britain to establish its rule.\textsuperscript{96}

Rather than condemning the Church for its assistance toward that end, Brunet has acknowledged instead the role which this institution played in preserving his "collectivité canadienne." He cites the concession of Briand as bishop as a "great victory" for the Canadiens. Subsequently, "l'Église devenait l'unique institution publique autonome exclusivement au service de la collectivité et s'identifiant avec elle."\textsuperscript{97} Carleton's decision to ignore his government's intention to "Anglicanize" the population has received Brunet's approval, as does the governor's policy to "Canadianize" the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec, since both policies directly promoted the recognition of the Canadiens as a distinct community.\textsuperscript{98} The consecration of a second bishop, a coadjutor, Abbé d'Espéry in 1772,\textsuperscript{99} and the Quebec Act of 1774\textsuperscript{100} similarly served to advance the interests of the Canadiens through the Church. Brunet concludes his discussion of the Church at the Conquest by praising Bishop Briand as "le représentant le plus prestigieux de la collectivité canadienne." In his role as an intermediary, he served the Church well and more importantly in Brunet's view, interpreted the interests of his compatriots.\textsuperscript{101}

\textsuperscript{96}Brunet, Les Canadiens après la Conquête, p. 132.

\textsuperscript{97}Ibid., p. 126.

\textsuperscript{98}Ibid., pp. 212-213.

\textsuperscript{99}Ibid., p. 234.

\textsuperscript{100}Brunet, Les Canadiens après la Conquête, p. 286; and his "L'Acte de Québec", L'Action Nationale 53 (6) (1974) p. 484.

\textsuperscript{101}Brunet, Les Canadiens après la Conquête, p. 292.
the collaboration of the Bishops of Quebec with the British was their persistence in such a policy into the twentieth century which was beyond necessity. 102

The political importance of the Roman Catholic Church and its bishops at the Conquest has been evident to three generations of French-Canadian historians. Although the degree of emphasis given to the Church has varied proportionately with the ecclesiastical climate in that society, no historian has really been able to ignore the role of the Church at that period. It is interesting to notice how the rising tide of religious enthusiasm in the latter half of the nineteenth century gradually promoted a more rigid clerical interpretation of history, the difference which distinguished Groulx's writing from Gaumeau's. That trend in historical writing shifted again perceptibly in the post-war period toward a more secular interpretation, as evidenced in Brunet's history as compared with Groulx's. The point here is that whatever view contemporaries may have held of the position of the Roman Catholic Church in French-Canadian society otherwise, makes little difference to the main fact which is the historical importance that these spokesmen of three generations of French-Canadian historians have attached to the Church at the Conquest.

102 Ibid., p. 34. Brunet also attributes the French-Canadian reluctance to develop and use its political institutions to this same origin in his "Trois dominantes de la pensée Canadienne-française: l'agriculturalisme, l'anti-étatisme et le messianisme", La Présence Anglaise et les Canadiens (Montréal, Beauchemin, 1953) p. 147.
IV

English-Canadian historians necessarily find themselves in a different position with respect to the British Conquest. Again in English Canada, no single church ever exercised quite the same penetrating impact which the Roman Catholic Church exercised on Quebec; hence historical writing in English Canada seems to be less responsive to ecclesiastical impulses than is apparent among French-Canadian historians. Historical writing in English Canada developed more slowly, lacking as it did any stimulation comparable to that which had launched Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* in the late 1840's. The first to attempt a comprehensive history of Canada in English was William Kingsford (1819-1898), an English-born civil engineer who turned to the study of history upon his dismissal from an engineering post on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence at the age of sixty. Although his ten-volume *History of Canada* (1887-1898) marked "a watershed" in Canadian history, and at the time of writing, "it was thought...to achieve in the English language what Garneau had done earlier in French," Kingsford's work never matched that of the French-Canadian nationalist historian.

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either in style or in subsequent popularity.

Writing in the later decades of the nineteenth century during the period which witnessed the ascendency of the British Empire, Kingsford's writing expressed an "imperial interpretation of Canadian history." His monumental History of Canada is important for its classical representation of this tradition in Canadian historiography. The movement for imperial unity which promoted the idea of the innate superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race generated for English-speaking Canadians a feeling of pride and solidarity among English-speaking peoples everywhere. Perhaps comparable to the French-Canadian ethos, la survivance, English-Canadian historical writing had found an equivalent sense of mission in its new enthusiasm for imperialism. Under the influence of ultramontane leadership during the latter part of the nineteenth century, French Canada had justified its national mission as a French and Catholic community by reference to a providential vocation. Similarly, the imperialist zealots endeavoured to sanction the expansion of empire as part of a civilizing role which had been entrusted to the Anglo-Saxon as


"part of the Divine plan." That profound sense of Anglo-Saxon idealism was endorsed by contemporary press reports of "the advancement made by Protestant nations as opposed to those that are distinctly Roman Catholic." The growing acceptance of imperialism and of the assumptions of Anglo-Saxon and Protestant supremacy, necessarily involved serious implications for interpreting Canadian history. Equally important in setting the tone in historical writing was the Victorian belief in progress. This seemed to imply that the principal value of history was to contrast the primitive past with the improved condition of the present. This view of history as the continuous march of progress toward the present has been classified as the "Whig" interpretation of Canadian history. It has been alleged that the Whig historian offered too simplistic a historical judgment, dividing individuals as "good guys" and "bad guys" according to his belief in progress.


historian was intent on telling "the story of the triumph of English over French imperialism, of Protestantism over Roman Catholicism, of liberty over authority, of enterprise over paternalism."¹¹³ Given the cultural assumptions of his day, it is understandable that Kingsford's whole approach to the problem of the Conquest would contrast sharply with that previously presented by P.X. Garneau.

For William Kingsford, the British Conquest brought liberation to the Canadians who had "remained unchanged generation after generation." Since the historian was interested in promoting the value of British parliamentary institutions, he insisted that "it was British rule which first awoke the French-Canadian rural population to the duties, the obligations and independence of manhood."¹¹⁴ While political and military events are evidently priorities in Kingsford's examination of the Conquest, the question of religion receives a fairly extensive consideration. By contrast with the enlightened British, the French Canadians in Kingsford's estimation were a suspicious and ignorant lot whose extreme attachment to the Church had resulted from a "want of education."¹¹⁵ Because of this intense religious feeling among the Canadians, Kingsford perceived that the question of religion required "careful judgment" on Britain's part.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 231.
¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 462
part. The intertwinings of religion and politics which the
historian discerned "even in modern times", that is in the
late nineteenth century, was a practice which he observed had
originated from the conquest. 116 But those same eighteenth
century fears voiced by Papineau, of the Canadians using religion
"to keep up the connection with France," seem to reverberate
again through Kingsford's history when he describes how the
only remaining French institution was ensnared in "great ecclesi-
astical activity." 117

In his discussion of the post-conquest controversy sur-
rounding the appointment of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec,
the historian indicated an awareness of the highly-political
nature of this position. To curb the threat of French clerical
influence which had heretofore "exercised great control over
the minds of the habitants", Kingsford acknowledged the dilemma
facing General Murray. Perhaps a hint of nascent Canadian
nationalism is discernible in his remark that "the appointment
of a bishop was indispensable", so as to obtain "a class of
priests...born in Canada who would be educated with feelings
of attachment to their own country...and the country would not
be forced to obtain foreign ecclesiastics, to perform the of-
fices of the church." 118

116 Ibid., p. 462.
117 Kingsford, History of Canada V (1892) p. 171.
118 Kingsford, History of Canada IV, p. 461.
Kingsford denied any injustice in the articles of capitulation in stark opposition to some French-Canadian historical interpretations. "No special privileges" were granted; the conditions "may be regarded as the acceptance of surrender by a conquered people."\textsuperscript{119} Disputing "the harsh treatment of the unhappy Canadians", the historian emphasized instead the leniency of the military rule pointing out how "the services of religion were in all churches carried on in the ordinary form without obstruction or interference."\textsuperscript{120} Kingsford's certitude of the generosity of the British conquest concluded thus:

indeed there is no brighter passage in the history of the empire, than the consideration shown to the new subjects of Canada by those in power, who for four years held the country by right of conquest.\textsuperscript{121}

The difficulty surrounding the selection of Bishop Briand in 1766 was depicted in a subsequent volume as a further incidence of British adaptability and tolerance. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, Kingsford says, "was never the subject of parliamentary debate" in anticipation "of avoiding a stormy discussion.... There was simply a recommendation to appoint a superintendent of clergy." While the historian noted Francis Masères's protestation that "Briand's position as a bishop should have been defined by an act of parliament,"

\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., p. 406.
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., p. 462.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., p. 466.
within ten years the Roman Catholic episcopate had regained its former position. This generous concession of religious freedom was the bequest of Governor Murray who for Kingsford stood out as an archetype of British liberty. 

Kingsford's rather condescending attitude toward French Canada in his interpretation of the Conquest reflected the same paternalistic approach of his contemporary English-speaking milieu. The imperialists had assumed the responsibility of bringing the benefits of British institutions and Protestantism to less advanced peoples of the world, which included the French Catholic population of Canada. While the Imperialist mission thus conceived, included both a secular and evangelical object, it was the secular aspect which predominated in Canada. Kingsford's history, for example, did emphasize the benefits of British institutions which the Conquest had brought to the Canadians. However, he totally neglected any reference to those ecclesiastical measures which the British contemplated during the eighteenth century to promote the cause of Protestantism among the French Canadians. Evidently, to the late nineteenth century historian, the desire to turn the Roman Catholic population toward Protest-

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antism had become a peripheral issue.

As Canada gained greater autonomy from Britain in the decade after World War I, its historical writing reflected the transition from the colonial mentality with its preoccupation with constitutional development to a more nationalistic interpretation. Arthur R.H. Lower (1889- ) whose lengthy historical career began in the 1920's has been selected as the historian who best expressed this new nationalistic orientation. He also represents the advance in Canadian historical scholarship toward professionalism and toward more synthesized studies. Of his principal themes - the English-French duality in Canada and the development of Canadian autonomy from Britain - it is the former which is of primary concern to us in this chapter.

124 This new orientation, called the "Environmentalist" approach, emphasized a North American geographical position and gained popularity in Canada during the 1920's and 1930's. William Kilbourn, "Canadian History and Social Sciences after 1920", pp. 500-501.

125 Although Professor Lower has been retired from his active teaching duties at Queen's University since 1959, he has continued writing history. Arthur R.H. Lower, My First Seventy-Five Years (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1967) p. 369.

Arthur Lower has explained the dichotomy of the two original national groups in Canada as one accentuated by religious differences. Although he has expressed his regret that the question of religion in Canada has received little attention from its historians, Lower himself has been an exception to this pattern. It has been pointed out that: "more than any other historian of his generation Lower was alert to the role of religion in Canadian history and was willing to explore and speculate on the religious influence in national development." In his autobiography, Lower attributed this interest in religion as a social force to the tremendous impact of Methodism in the home during his formative years.

The depth of his insight into the importance of religion in a society, especially in the eighteenth century, accounts for the historian's sensitive approach to the problems facing the Church at the Conquest. It has been noted too that Lower has achieved the rare distinction of writing a history which

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130 Both parents had converted to Methodism from Anglicanism. Lower, My First Seventy-Five Years, pp. 8-9.
both French and English historians agree has promoted "a greater understanding of the other's culture than any other Canadian historian." 131 He has earned this distinction particularly for his interpretation of the Conquest. 132

"The Conquest was for Lower, the key to understanding the subsequent development of Canadian history." 133 In his 1943 presidential address to the Canadian Historical Association, Lower maintained that the Conquest had resulted in "the juxtaposition of two civilizations, two philosophies, two contradictory views of the fundamental nature of man." 134 The distinctions which he observes between these two historic communities are essentially differences rooted in religion.

Given this frame of reference, Lower's historical analysis of the Conquest has been able to penetrate the spirit of the eighteenth century with all its religious hostility and bigotry. While the historian denied that the "English conquest


133 Much like Abbé Arthur Kaheux had done in French Canada, Lower too recognized the necessity of promoting better relations between Canadians during World War II by re-examining the historical relationship between the two communities. Margaret Prang has suggested that the emphasis on English-French relations is not unusual today since the meaning of the Conquest itself has become such a major debate in Canadian historiography but was less common thirty years ago. Margaret Prang, "A.R.M. Lower: The Professor and Relevance", in W.H. Heick, His Un Man, p. 16.

134 Lower, "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History", p. 15.
was cruel as conquests go, he could not overlook the deep psychological wound which this historic event had inflicted on the French-Canadian mentality. He characterized the traumatic effect of the event as "the most devastating experience a people can have." In describing the impact of the Conquest on this society, steeped in the Roman Catholic tradition, Lower has written that "worst of all it was the triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism." Frequently he has utilized the Weber-Tawney thesis to explain the dichotomy of the "two ways of life" apparent in Canadian development. However, the application of this theory to the dilemma facing the Catholic Church at the Conquest must be qualified. That thesis emphasized the differences in spirit between Catholicism and Calvinism, but the British Conquest had been executed by a government whose officials were for the most part members of the Church of England. Lower observed that these Tory aristocrats habitually found greater affinity with the Roman Catholic element than with the Non-Conformist commercial class which had descended on the

135 Ibid., pp. 18-19.
conquered colony. This would imply simply that the "triumph of Protestantism" should not be classified as monolithic, since there was as recognizable a conflict of interest within the English-speaking Protestant group itself. The Anglican governors like James Murray and Guy Carleton, according to Lower, were the principal defenders of Roman Catholic privilege and advocates of religious toleration against the incursion of the dissenters. The historian judiciously assessed the political nature of the religious question. Carleton had objected more to the seeming political affront to the Canadians owing allegiance to "a foreign potentate, the pope", than to any Roman Catholic doctrine. 139

Within the Roman Catholic Church, Lower recognized that the office of the episcopate had been a significant institution in facilitating the acceptance of the new regime. He even identified the ultramontane foundations laid by Bishop Laval as a factor which made the transition to British rule easier. By weakening the Church's link with the French Crown, this ultramontane orientation diminished the institution's adjustment to a new monarch. 140

The historian also observed how under the direction of J.C. Briand, initially as Vicar-General of Quebec and later as Bishop, the Church inculcated a spirit of obedience to auth-

139 Lower, Canadians in the Making, p. 97.

ority, political as well as spiritual.¹⁴¹ For one so concerned with the phenomenon of religion in the historical development of a community, Lower finds that this principle of Roman Catholic submission to authority helps explain Quebec's loyalty to the British Crown while the Calvinist opposition to authority so prevalent in the Anglo-American colonies was responsible for the eventual revolt against Britain. Based on the evidence contained in the bishop's mandements of this period, with their emphasis on "subjection to legitimate authority in the State and the Church," Lower was convinced of the significance of Roman Catholic political thought in explaining subsequent French-Canadian political behavior.¹⁴²

After the Conquest the Roman Catholic population had been promised the freedom to practice its religion, but only so far as "the laws of England permitted." The historian noted that although originally the British feared the possible political consequences of Roman Catholicism, their campaign to convert the French to Protestantism was short-lived, and Roman Catholic church services continued without interference. He regards this handling of the religious question as a clever bargain, a typical "example of the English ad hoc method of government."¹⁴³ That same spirit of compromise was evident

¹⁴²Ibid., pp. 100–102.
again in the British technique of resolving the thorny question of the Roman Catholic Bishop, that is by ignoring Briand's consecration in France. Because of his own interest in religious questions, Arthur Lower has been one of the few historians whose inquiry into the episcopal question has been sufficiently broad to relate the Roman Catholic situation in Quebec to that facing the Church of England in the Anglo-American colonies.

Of the dilemma facing the British government, Lower has written:

> Few things could have been more obnoxious to stiff English Protestants than the idea of a Romish bishop, especially as the introduction of even an Anglican bishop was enough to set Puritan colonists by the ears. Yet it seemed a hardship to allow the ranks of the priesthood to empty for lack of a bishop to ordain candidates and anyway priests would be smuggled in!^{144}

The historian concluded that the colonial authorities' acceptance of Jean-Claude Briand as "Superintendent of the Romish Church" represented the essence of the British political system, that is the willingness to compromise and to ensure justice.^{145}

While Lower's emphasis on the significance of religion to explain Canadian political development has proven valuable within the scope of the present inquiry on the Church at the Conquest, the limitation of his approach to French Canada has recently been challenged. Carl Berger has criticized Lower's attempt to explain French Canada almost exclusively according to its religious values. This approach, Berger contends por-

^{144} Ibid., p. 72.

^{145} Ibid.
trayed French-Canadian values as "a fixity... that hardly alter, even marginally, over time."¹⁴⁶

VI

Despite this mild criticism of Lower's concentration on religion, his understanding of French-Canadian society was exceptional considering the general trend of English-Canadian historiography. Prior to the Quiet Revolution of the 1960's in Quebec, few English Canadians concerned themselves with writing Canadian history as a dialogue between the two societies.¹⁴⁷ This assertion is confirmed in the historical writing of Donald G. Creighton (1902- ), a contemporary of Lower, but one whose orientation toward the question of the Church at the Conquest differs considerably. For his masterful contribution to the

¹⁴⁶ Berger, The Writing of Canadian History, p. 127. Berger's observation of this somewhat static portrayal of French-Canadian Catholicism seems particularly apparent today. On the question of "obedience," Lower wrote in 1958: "in French thinking there was no more room for disobedience to the new King and his representatives than there had been for disobedience to the old. In a day before the sense of nationalism had gone far, the conquered people's sentiments of loyalty were transferred to the king who had conquered them. Today the Church continues to preach, as it did two centuries ago, submission to the secular power. It will preach this duty as long as it exists and as long as they are Catholics, French Canadians will obey." Lower, Canadians in the Making, pp. 101-102. In the light of the sociological changes in Quebec since the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church and the Quiet Revolution, Lower's view of the continuing political influence of the Catholic Church has lost much of its relevance for readers today.

Laurentian thesis, as well as the literary style which has so characterized his writing, Creighton has been acclaimed as "English Canada's finest historian."\(^{148}\) Owing to the major influence which this University of Toronto historian has had on shaping the direction of historical scholarship in English Canada, he has been included in this historiographical study.

It is important however that our attention should be drawn to a certain bias in his historical analysis. By comparison with Lower, Creighton's antipathetical attitude toward French Canada is striking. In a survey of Canadian historiography, one French-Canadian historian has noted that: "en ce qui concerne le fait français, Creighton n'a guère dépassé les conclusions de Durham."\(^{149}\) What interests us here then is not that Creighton has arrived at some unique interpretation of the Church at the Conquest, but rather that this major Canadian historian has neglected the whole issue. This is not meant to depreciate his significant achievement in other areas, but only to emphasize that the question which has interested his contemporary Arthur Lower for example, has been of little consequence to him.


Both Arthur Lower and Donald Creighton originally approached Canadian history from the economic perspective of the staples thesis in co-operation with Harold Adams Innis. Whereas Lower began to focus more on the social aspects of Canada's historical development with an emphasis on religious and cultural factors, Creighton pursued a more "socio-economic" direction in which neither religious or purely cultural matters predominated.

In his renowned study, The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850, Creighton's impression of the British Conquest was first disclosed. Although in the preface the author has acknowledged his intention "to trace the relations between the commercial system of the St. Lawrence and the political development of Canada," such an exclusively political-economic approach seems to ignore certain crucial aspects of the society which he is studying. In this work, the success of the "commercial empire" is the predominant goal of Canada's early historical development. From that economic viewpoint, the British Conquest was interpreted as a definite benefit:

"The conquest could not change Canada. In fact, in some ways, it strengthened the dominant impulse of Canadian life. It tied Canada to Great Britain, a commercial and maritime power far stronger than France; and it

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opened the St. Lawrence to the capital and enterprise of Britain and British America. To the defeated society of the north it brought a fresh enthusiasm, a new strength and a different leadership.\footnote{153}

The author of \textit{The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence} conceived of the basic dichotomy in Canadian life less in terms of either race or of religion, as Lower has, than as a conflict between 
\textit{rural} economic ways of life, between "the insurgent commercial capitalism and a decadent and desperately resisting feudal and absolutist state." In Creighton's view, "race, language and religion had in this period, practically nothing to do with it."\footnote{154}

Considering the fact that Creighton's father, William Black Creighton, had been an ordained Methodist minister, closely involved in the social gospel movement in Canada, it seems surprising that the younger Creighton seemed so disinterested in pursuing the "social relevance of religion"\footnote{155} in the historical development of Canada. In his more comprehensive study, \textit{Dominion of the North} (1944), Creighton has examined the subject of the Church more adequately. He observes how the ultramontane tendency within the Roman Catholic Church had strengthened its Canadian character by minimizing its connection with France. Unlike France where the "secular spirit" had triumphed, the

\footnotesize
\footnote{153}Ibid., p. 21
\footnote{154}Ibid., p. 40.
\footnote{155}John S. Noir, "Donald Grant Creighton", in \textit{Character and Circumstance}, p. 1; Berger, \textit{The Writing of Canadian History}, pp. 208-209.
historian contrasted New France as the colony which had never been able "to escape completely the grip from of clerical control." It was this conservative, authoritarian tradition which subsequent British governors came to admire and defend in French Canada. "The Roman Catholic Church was treated with benevolence," Creighton remarked, "by these supposedly bigoted Protestant rulers," and was permitted "to retain something of its old pre-eminence in the colony." In his discussion of the Church at the Conquest, this historian has included only the basic details, since neither the Church nor the Conquest was of particular interest to him.

The occurrence of the Conquest itself was for Creighton merely a political event, handled with a serene detachment. "For better or worse, the rule of France in North America was done and ended." He seems little concerned with penetrating the consciousness of the defeated society. Since he has addressed the central event in the history of French Canada so lightly, it is little wonder that he has accorded the accompanying episcopal dilemma so little attention. However, Creighton

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157 Ibid., pp. 154-155.
158 Ibid., p. 144.
159 It should be noted that like Lower, he wrote before the decapitationists really broke new ground. Whether it would have made any real difference in Creighton's writing is dubious.
has noted the "dreadful calamity" facing the French-Canadian Church. Without a head, on the one hand, and the difficulty of allowing a "papish hierarchy" in the British colony. There is little elaboration of the political significance of the issue. It was merely a "curious dilemma", eventually resolved when the cathedral chapter elected Jean-Olivier Briand, the papacy accepted him and the British authorities allowed his consecration. The author concluded his single paragraph analysis of the ecclesiastical question by stating that it assured the future of the church and placed the clergy in the leadership of society.

This chapter began with the assertion that the perspective from which the historian views the Conquest itself will influence in large measure his interpretation of the role or political importance of the Church and the bishops during this period. Therefore, it is essential first to identify the historian's views on the larger historic event in order to clarify the context in which he sees the ecclesiastical issue. Precisely because the Conquest has been such a focal point for the French-Canadian historian, the question of the Church has been given considerable attention within the larger framework. The degree of emphasis given to the religious question has varied according to the ecclesiastical pressures in French-Canadian society. In the case of Carignan for example, it was noted how these pressures

160 Creighton, Dominion of the North, p. 156.

161 Ibid.
resulted in considerable revision of his work. In Lionel Groulx's generation the ecclesiastical issues attained a prominent position in historical writing. For the next historical generation, although ecclesiastical issues were given less emphasis, it is evident that in the historical writing of Michel Brunet the political implications of religious issues have remained an intimate part of modern French-Canadian historical writing. That interest in ecclesiastical issues, however, has been confined exclusively to the Roman Catholic Church because historically, French-Canadian cultural survival has been linked with the preservation of that Church. The possible pre-eminence of the Church of England after the Conquest, although mentioned by Groulx and Brunet, received no further attention.

English Canadians on the other hand tend to view the Conquest from another perspective, at least to the extent that they feel less emotionally involved by comparison with their French-Canadian confreres. Of the three historians discussed, Lower's approach to the Conquest was the most sensitive. Because of his personal interest in religious questions, his handling of the issue of the Church at the Conquest was well integrated in such a way that Lower even observed some inter-relationship between the two episcopal dilemmas. Neither Kingsford nor Creighton was interested sufficiently in the Conquest itself or in the religious issue to allow that question any extended discussion. This conclusion merely re-emphasizes the fact that for English-Canadian historians neither the Conquest...
nor the political role of the Church at that period has been as significant as they have been to French-Canadian historians. The question of the Church of England at least in the era of the Conquest was neglected by the English-Canadians as much as it had been in the historical writing of French-Canadians. It remains to be seen whether the political significance of either episcopate at the American Revolution would capture the attention of Canadian historians to any greater degree than it had at the Conquest.
CHAPTER V

RELIGIONS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION (1774-1783)

The American Revolution was the decisive political event which divided the North American continent. It resulted in a major influx of English-speaking people into the predominantly French-speaking colony of Quebec. In this context both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches exerted on the side of British loyalty. Since both churches advocated principles of loyalty to established authority and obedience as a religious duty, both exercised a very similar political role during the war for American Independence. In the initial stages of the war, the American invasion of Quebec tested the ability of the Roman Catholic episcopate to maintain the loyalty of the French-Canadian population. However, it took the loss of the Anglo-American colonies for Britain to recognize that an Anglican episcopate might possibly serve as a powerful political instrument for promoting loyalty to the Crown. This chapter will analyze the political significance of the two churches with respect to the American Revolution.

In order to understand the political role exercised by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, it is important to
recall the important alliance which existed between Church and State in the eighteenth century. Jean-Olivier Friend who, since the Conquest, had co-operated with the newly established British authority, continued to support the government, which had recently reaffirmed the position of his Church through the passage of the Quebec Act. The Bishop’s preoccupations, in the revolutionary period document the political role which the Church was expected to play. Friend was able to command the loyalty of the French-speaking population only when they understood that as bishop, he was prepared to employ those powerful ecclesiastical weapons of interdiction and excommunication to assist the political ends of the civil authorities. The prominent role which religion played in this essentially political conflict is apparent from an examination of contemporary evidence.  

The Quebec Act of 1774 had important repercussions both in Quebec and in the Anglo-American colonies. While the act had been framed in anticipation of pleasing the seigneurs and the clergy of Quebec, its provision for the legal restitution of the tithe left the habitants particularly dissatisfied with British rule. But the negative effect which it had on

1For a more comprehensive treatment of Canada’s involvement in the American Revolution, see George P.G. Stanley, Canada Invaded, 1775–1776 (Toronto, Hartkert, 1973) and Gustave Lanctot, Canada and the American Revolution, 1774–1783, trans. Margaret M. Cameron (Toronto, Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1967.)

2The Quebec Act was to take effect May 1, 1775. Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada I, p. 372.
public opinion in the Anglo-American colonies was one disastrous consequence of the Quebec Act. Thus while it failed to solicit any appreciable results from the Canadian habitant, the Quebec Act succeeded in rousing the hostility of the older colonists to the south.

The Congressional criticism of the Quebec Act revealed the religious animosity of the times. Its "Address to the people of Great Britain" denounced Parliament's intolerable legislation as an act by which:

the dominion of Canada is to be...disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, and by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe...they might become formidable to us, and...be fit instruments in the hands of power to reduce the ancient free Protestant Colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

The apprehended threat to Protestant liberty itself was attacked further as a "heresy in English politics". The American duplicity was revealed when the same Continental Congress, which only five days earlier had been so affronted by the arbitrary establishment of Roman Catholicism in Quebec, invited the Canadians to join with the colonists, and assured them that their "difference of religion" would not prejudice their friendship.

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5 Ibid., p. 53.
6 Address to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec, Wednesday, October 26, 1774. Journals of the Continental Congress I, Ford, ed., p. 112.
The address was translated and circulated in Quebec in the hope of winning French-Canadian support.

On the very same day it had addressed the Canadians, Congress also petitioned the king in further protest against the establishment of "an absolute government and the Roman Catholic religion throughout those vast regions that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free protestant English settlements." When the internal contradictions of these conflicting appeals became known in Quebec, the Church was quick to seize the opportunity to remind the Canadians of the genuine anti-Catholic attitude of these long-dreaded Estonnais. The several contradictory addresses made by the Continental Congress in October 1774 alienated the Canadians and served to reinforce the Bishop's contention that the Roman Catholic religion would be more secure under the British Crown.

Bishop Briand's position on the American Revolution was made clear with the invasion of Canada by rebel forces. At Governor Carleton's request, he quickly composed and issued a proclamation on 23 July 1775. The Bishop urged "tous les peuples de cette colonie" to join the militia to repel the enemy, "une troupe de sujets rivoltés contre leur légitime Souverain." He recalled "les favours généreux" granted by Britain under the

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7 Petition of Congress to the King, Wednesday, October 26, 1774, Journals of the Continental Congress I, Ford, ed., p. 117.

8 This was the name by which the Canadians usually referred to the Anglo-American colonists.
québec Act which had allowed "l'usage de nos lois" and "le libre exercice de notre Religion." Most importantly, Briand reminded the habitants that "vos serments, votre religion, vous imposent une obligation indispensable de défendre de tout votre pouvoir votre patrie et votre Roi."\(^9\) It is evident that he analysed this essentially political struggle principally in terms of religion. He viewed the obligation to support and obey legitimate authority as a duty sanctioned by religion. For the most part, the clergy joined with its bishop in urging government support, but the majority of the Canadians simply disregarded the appeal for troops while a few openly sympathized with the Americans.\(^10\)

Carleton anticipated that in gratitude for the Quebec Act, the Church would support him without hesitation. Its duty was to inspire "plus [zélo] pour le service du roi."\(^11\) The habitants, however, viewed the struggle as a quarrel within the English-speaking family which was no concern of theirs. "They had taken an oath not to fight against the English," which seemed sufficient reason for not taking up arms now against the English-

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\(^10\) Gosselin, L'Eglise du Canada après la Conquête II, pp. 8–9.

speaking Americans. Martial law was declared in June 1775, as the governor realized that despite the continuous exhortation of the clergy, even the Church had been unable to persuade the stubborn Canadians of their duty. 13

The Bishop attributed the habitants' failure to respond to the call to arms to their lack of faith. 14 Still, the Church had the authority to enforce obedience by using ecclesiastical measures. The Bishop had instructed his clergy to deny reception of the sacraments to those in their parishes who assisted the rebels. 15 Although the clergy complied with Briand's orders, not every French Canadian submitted to ecclesiastical authority as willingly. One curé reported the following incident. While he was preaching on the duty of obedience due to the secular authorities, a parishioner shouted out in church: "c'était trop longtemps prêcher pour les Anglais." 16 The Bishop would not tolerate such insolence. He explained that the Church was not interested in preaching war as some of the habitants charged, but only in insuring that the population remained faithful to

12 Baptiste, The Old Province of Quebec I, pp. 157, 192.
15 Gosselin, L'Enlise du Canada après la Conquête II, pp. 29.
16 September 1775, quoted in Gosselin, L'Enlise du Canada après la Conquête II, pp. 29-30.
its oath of allegiance to the king. After all, he reminded them, "leur bonheur éternel" was at stake.\textsuperscript{17}

Those who disobeyed the civil authorities were to be regarded as heretics in the eyes of the Church. Briand threatened to use whatever spiritual means were necessary to discipline the Canadians even if he had "to interdict the whole diocese."\textsuperscript{16} He was exasperated by the indifference of so many to his preaching. The bishop acknowledged that perhaps more severe measures were required to compel the Canadians to support the British cause more actively. In a letter to his Mayor-General in Montreal, Briand expressed his disappointment that the Church had had limited success in convincing the population of its duty toward the civil authorities:

\begin{quote}
J'écris et je punis. Mais qu'en dit-on? L'on dit que moi et les prêtres avons peur... Il faudrait des troupes; elles persuaderaient mieux que la parole de Dieu que nous leur annonçons.\textsuperscript{19}
\end{quote}

While the Bishop's authority could not guarantee any tremendous surge of volunteers for the militia, it succeeded at least in assuring the political neutrality of the majority of the Canadians. Benedict Arnold, one of the American commanders, testified to the effectiveness of the Church's deterrent role when

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{17}Lettre du 15\textsuperscript{e} octobre 1775, quoted in Gosselin, L'Eglise du Canada après la Conquête II, p. 31.
\textsuperscript{19}Briand à Montgolfier, 5 novembre 1775, cited in Caron, "Inventaire de la Correspondance de Egr. Jean-Claude Briand," p. 112.
\end{flushright}
he reported to Congress that "the Clergy are our bitter enemies." 20

In February 1776 the Continental Congress deliberated over some additional means of rallying the Canadians to the cause of independence, since military means had failed to persuade them. Congress reported that:

when the Canadians first heard of the dispute they were generally on the American side; but that by the influence of the clergy and the noblesse, who had been continually preaching and persuading them against us, they are brought into a state of suspense or uncertainty which side to follow. [That] papers printed by the Tories at New York have been read to them by the priests, assuring them that our design was to deprive them of their religion as well as their possessions... [we] therefore think it would be of great service if some persons from the Congress were sent to Canada, to explain viva voce to the people there the nature of our dispute with England. 21

It was resolved therefore, on 15 February 1776, that Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll would comprise this committee. 22 Congress further resolved that Carroll should invite his cousin, Father John Carroll, to accompany the mission. 23


22 Both Franklin and Chase were members of the Continental Congress. Carroll was chosen because he was a Catholic with a good knowledge of the French language from his education in France.

23 John Carroll was an "ex-Jesuit" since the Society had been suppressed by the Penury in 1773. Like his cousin, he had also been educated in France. The same John Carroll subsequently became the first Bishop of Baltimore in 1789 and its first Archbishop in 1808. Guilday, The Life and Times of John Carroll, p. 94.
Since Congress recognized that the Church in Canada had such a powerful political influence, it believed that by including a Roman Catholic priest on its Commission, perhaps one of their own could win over Bishop Bland and the clergy of Quebec. 24

From the beginning John Carroll recognized the futility of such a politics-religious mission and expressed doubt about his personal contribution to the Commission. He had had no previous experience in political negotiations, was unconvinced that a priest should involve himself in political matters, felt that the habitants posed no serious threat to the colonists, and furthermore that they seemed to have had little motive for resisting British rule. Still, he was prepared to serve on the Commission as the Continental Congress had requested. 25 Yet Carroll was faced with the nearly impossible task of conveying to the leaders of the Church in Canada, who were already strongly prejudiced against the 
octennesis, that Congress now intended to allow the Roman Catholic population "free and undisturbed exercise of their religion." 26

Considering the existing ecclesiastical opinion, there can be little wonder that the Commission failed to accomplish

24 It is interesting to observe how the Roman Catholic Church in Canada condemned the Revolution as opposition to legitimately established authority. Many Catholics in the Anglo-American colonies justified rebellion as legitimate opposition to unjust laws. American Catholics actually had little choice on either side of the revolution. Thomas-Marie Charlard, "La Mission de John Carroll au Canada en 1776 et l'interdit de P. Floquet," Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report (1933-1934) p. 49.


26 Ibid., pp. 98-99.
its purpose. Predictably, the reception of the American priest by the clergy in Montreal was cool, since the Bishop had advised his clergy against co-operating with the rebels. The Church doubted the sincerity of the latest Congressional offer of freedom of religion since the clergy had not forgotten the poor treatment of Catholic missionaries in the colonies nor the anti-Catholic protests which had followed the Quebec Act. Carroll could scarcely defend the American attitude to Catholicism based on its past record. The clergy reminded Carroll that under British rule the Roman Catholic Church in Canada had been respected. In addition they were bound by their oaths of allegiance and by instructions from the Bishop of Quebec not to entertain the American cause. Evidently Bishop Briand's ecclesiastical censure was effective in obstructing the mission; the Canadian clergy would have little to do with John Carroll. There was one notable exception among them. Pierre René Flequot.

27 The Commission left New York for Canada April 2, 1776; they reached Montreal on the 29th of April. The Commissioners spent most of their time in Montreal which was under American occupation where they resided with Thomas Walter, a wealthy merchant and American sympathizer. Franklin and John Carroll departed for home May 13, the remaining Commissioners on May 22 when they realized the impossibility of accomplishing anything further in Canada. Gosselin, L'États du Canada après la Conquête II, p. 69.


the former Superior of the Jesuits in Montreal, whom the Bishop already suspected for his previous American sympathy, welcomed this fellow Jesuit.\footnote{With Montgolfier's consent, Carroll had been permitted to say Mass at Floquet's residence. But on several other occasions, the two Jesuits were known to have met with other American sympathisers in Montreal. Charland, "La Mission de John Carroll au Canada en 1776 et l'Interdit du P. Floquet", p. 49.}

Within two weeks of its arrival, the Commission recognized the futility of its mission. Since by the spring of 1776 the American military occupation of Montreal was faltering and was without any hope of reinforcements, the Commissioners reported to Congress that their actions could serve no further purpose in Canada.\footnote{Sister Rita Mary, "The Failure of a Mission", p. 50.} This seemingly ingenious Congressional plan to convert the Canadian leaders to independence through clerical auspices had failed completely since Congress had underestimated the strength of Bishop Briand's authority in Quebec.

Still, the presence of American forces had caused ecclesiastical complications. The Bishop had forbidden his clergy to administer the sacraments to those who had defied their solemn oaths of allegiance and taken up arms against England. However, with the coming of Easter in the spring of 1776, even those Canadians who had sided with the rebels approached the Church with the intention of fulfilling their...
Faster duty. In his June 17, 1776 letter to the Bishop, Contrefier reported the case of three known rebels who arrived at the church of Father Brassier in one of the parishes near Montreal. Having recognized the rebels, the priest refused them communion, assuming that they were trying to make their Faster duty. The three contended that they had already been admitted to confession and communion in the parish of Father Floquet. Admitting rebels to confession was a serious breach of ecclesiastical discipline which the Bishop could not condone. Therefore, Briand informed the community that he had no choice but to place Floquet under suspension. Six months later as his conduct improved, the Bishop relieved his priest of the suspension when Floquet promised "à faire rendre à César ce qui appartient à César et à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu." Although some historians have attributed Floquet's suspension to his collaboration with John Carroll, it was actually this latter act of disobedience which finally brought down the ecclesiastical penalty.

Other clergy in the diocese were perplexed by similar


34Gosselin, L’Église du Canada après la Conquête II, pp. 72-73.


incidents of rebels seeking readmission into the Church.

The Bishop remained adamant in his conviction that the crimes of rebellion and disobedience were such serious errors that all who refused to obey could not be reconciled to the Church until "le roi aura accordé son pardon aux révoltés." 38 Briand had acknowledged clearly, that for the duration of this political crisis, the spiritual arm would co-operate fully with the civil authority.

The mandement which the Bishop addressed to the rebels, 39 shortly after the arrival of British forces, may seem unduly harsh to readers in the twentieth century who have become accustomed recently to more liberal church practices. Bishop Briand's position on rebellion evidently reflected the official attitude of the Church toward its political duty in the eighteenth century. The Bishop's unflinching attitude was reiterated in this mandement de se called upon the rebels to repent. In view of the generous treatment which the British had exercised toward their religion, he admonished the Canadians for their disappointing disloyalty. He reminded the Roman Catholic population that without God's protection, they might have lost their faith en-


39 Mandement aux sujets rebelles durant la guerre Américaine, Mandements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des Evêques de Québec II ed., Quebec, pp. 259-279. Unfortunately the mandement was undated but evidence suggests it was written about the end of July 1776. Laurent, Québec et l'Eglise aux Etats-Unis sous Mgr. Briand et Mgr. Flessis, p. 56.
tirely after the Conquest and became "des apostats, des schiff-
matiques et de pures hérétiques, protestants" like the Fantemas.

The Bishop added that these rebels who now refused to listen
to their prêtres "sont tombés dans le schisme et se sont séparés
de l'Église.... Votre conduite d'industrie même une disposition
erétique." 46 The Bishop then enumerated the sins which the
rebels had committed. First, he accused the rebels of disobedi-
ence to authority since rightfully, "les sujets doivent l'obser-
sance à leur souverain." Secondly, rebellion against authority
constituted the sin of perjury, since "le serment" which they
had taken, was "un acte de rébellion." Thirdly, in the course
of their rebellion, they were guilty of trait and of insolence
against the clergy. 47 The close alliance between Church and
State during this political crisis was apparent in the Bishop's
powerful declaration that the rebels would not be reinstated
in the Church until "Sa Majesté ait accordé le pardon, la
rémission et l'amnistie." 48

In the entire diocese of Québec, the Bishop estimated
that about five hundred French Canadians had taken up arms
against the British. The effect of his homiletic was not im-
mediate, but within a few months he discerned that "les habi-
tants se rapprochent peu à peu." 49

46. Enseignements, Lettres Pastorales et Circulaires des
47. Ibid., pp. 276-277.
48. Ibid., p. 274.
49. Étienne sur les causes de Mgr. de Fontbriand, (27 septembre
1776), quoted in Gosselin, L'Égalité du Canada après le Conquête
II, p. 85.
With the assistance of his clergy, Ireland was determined that the colony would be restored to its proper allegiance to the King. Of the habitants he was convinced that "ils sont bons, mais ils exécutent â tort et à raison." Still, their recent act of disobedience could not be taken lightly and the Bishop finally demanded a public reparation before the rebels were admitted to the sacraments.

The direct involvement of Quebec in the American Revolution was really over by the end of 1776. The Bishop's indulgence of 31 December 1776 celebrated the safe deliverance of the colony from the Bostonians.

The entrance of France in 1778 on the American side of the Revolution proved a temptation to some Canadians, especially those who had never dreamed of the restoration of French power in America. The French admiral, D'E斯塔ing, attempted to entice the Canadians to join the alliance against England by appealing to the common religion and language which they shared.

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44 Ireland à une de ses secours, (26 septembre 1776), quoted in Têtu, Les Prêtres de Québec, p. 344.

45 Jesselin, L'Eloge du Canda après la Conquête II, p. 87. The parish of Saint-Michel de Bellechasse recorded that five rebels who died without being reconciled to the Church were buried in un consecrated ground until 1780 when their remains were transferred to that part of the cemetery reserved for unbaptized babies. Têtu, Les Prêtres de Québec, p. 344.


47 Têtu, Les Prêtres de Québec, p. 345.

While there was no comment in the bishop’s correspondence of any subsequent disturbance in Quebec, Governor Haldimand, who had succeeded Carleton, expressed his apprehension of possible clerical disloyalty. He wrote home to England that:

I am well aware that since France was known to take part in the contest, and since the Address of Court D’Espeine...many of the Priests have changed their opinions and in case of another Invasion, would I am afraid adopt another system of conduct. 49

However, the challenge of a French invasion of Quebec lacked the whole-hearted support of the Continental Congress and thus the possible threat never materialized. 50 Consequently, for the duration of the American Revolution, the Church in Quebec actually proved to be a loyal supporter of the British Government.

Two principal reasons explain Bishop Briand's political support for the Crown. First, the solemn oath of allegiance which he and all Canadians had taken after the Conquest, bound him to support the British. At a time when acts of civil disobedience were punishable by ecclesiastical censure, episcopal authority served as a significant deterrent in curbing Canadian collaboration with the American rebel forces. Still, ecclesiastical pressure was only sufficiently powerful to assure the neutrality of the population during the war. Had the governor of Quebec not had at least this co-operation, perhaps the Americans might have been able to persuade the habitants to join them.


50 Hirt, The Old Province of Quebec I, p. 223.
In addition to the spiritual duty which Briand had acknowledged, the Bishop of Quebec also had a more pragmatic motive for his continued loyalty to Britain in its political struggle with the American colonies. The past attitude of the Anglo-American colonies toward Roman Catholicism had aroused the Canadian Bishop's fear of the Bonnais; their recent hypocritical propaganda confirmed his original suspicions. Henceforth, Bishop Briand was convinced that the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec would receive more favourable treatment under a British Government than under an independent American regime. However, the degree of British protection which the Church in Quebec had begun to experience only recently, depended upon obedience to the civil authorities. The Bishop was aware that political disloyalty might result in British prescriptions against his Church. Political activity was therefore justifiable for the Church since Bishop Briand's defence of the British cause was intended to reinforce the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. The primacy of ensuring the corporate existence of the Church warranted the suppression of individual political rights. In the Bishop's view, freedom of religion was of greater importance than political liberty. 51

The political course of action taken by Bishop Briand helped to preserve Canada for the British Empire. Furthermore, the significance of the Bishop's political conduct during the crisis of the American Revolution helped to establish a precedent within the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. During the sub-

sequent political upheavals of the War of 1812, the Rebellion of 1837 and Confederation in the 1860's the episcopate would demonstrate again and again its loyalty to established authority. 52

II

Since both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches promulgated much the same teaching on the duty owed to authority, the two churches took very similar positions in counselling loyalty during the American Revolution. Yet, despite what appears to be a strikingly similar ecclesiastical parallel, the present writer has been unable to discover any comparative study on the subject or much contemporary reference to the similarity in the roles played by the two churches. Still, it should be observed that the political crisis produced within these apparently rival establishments, almost identical ecclesiastical responses. This observation simply reinforces the contention that the role of the Church in Canada has remained heretofore too much the subject of partisan accounts. Its history would benefit from being placed in a broader perspective.

The balance of the chapter concentrates on the political importance of the Church of England which emerged in relation

52 Marion, "L'Episcopat québécois et la Couronne britannique," p. 32.
to the American Revolution. The American Revolution and the subsequent coming of the United Empire Loyalists has been referred to as "perhaps the most significant event in the history of Canada and of the Anglican Church in Canada."53

The viewpoint advanced by this Anglican historian is interesting for what it reveals about the partisan nature of the history of the Church in Canada. Similarly, the clerical historian in French Canada equates the preservation of the French-Canadian nationality to the decisive role of the Roman Catholic Church at the Conquest. Had either English or French-speaking Canadian historians taken a broader perspective, they might have observed this significant parallel in the Church-State relationship which emerged between the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church after the Conquest and the hierarchy of the Church of England following the American Revolution. The challenge posed by these political crises served to strengthen the alliance between Church and State at these critical moments in Canadian history.

In view of the role which the Roman Catholic Church played in Quebec in counselling loyalty to British authority during the war for American Independence, this political struggle provided the Church of England with an even more serious challenge since the latter depended directly on Britain for its very sustenance. For this reason, the direct involvement of the Church of England in the American Revolu-

53 Vernon, The Old Church in the New Dominion, p. 37.
tion was inevitable. The Anglican struggle to obtain bishops had produced a definite polarization within the colonial population.

An American Episcopalian Bishop has attempted to dispel the notion that "the clergy of the Episcopal Church were loyalists almost to a man", since he contends that two-thirds acquiesced in the American cause after the War for Independence. The patriotic intentions of his revisionist approach seem obvious since the same historian argued further that "the clergy as a whole were as true to the cause of freedom as the ministers of any religious body." While it can hardly be disputed that following the war, a number of loyalists did compromise and continue to live in the newly established republic; several studies have concluded that the Church of England as an institution remained closely allied with the cause of the British Crown for the duration of the political struggle.

Several good reasons may be suggested for the imperial position taken by the Church of England in the colonies. The first was the identical ecclesiastical argument advanced by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec during the Revolution. The

54 Documented in chapter III
Anglican Church resounded the teaching that: "loyalty to the ruler and obedience to law [were] religious duties." The clergy of the Church of England therefore, remained ardent Loyalists with few exceptions, because that position was essential to the "political science of Anglicanism." Politically, the Church of England stood for the recognition of law as against rebellion, ...for the unity of the empire as against a separate, independent existence of the colonies and for monarchy instead of republicanism.\(^\text{57}\)

The political philosophy of "loyalism" so consistently upheld by the clergy of the Church of England prior to the American Revolution is significant in the context of Canadian history, because the cessation of hostilities resulted in the British Government re-evaluating its politico-ecclesiastical policy with the intention of providing some form of limited establishment in its remaining North American colonies.

This principle of loyalty suggests the second factor which accounts for the staunch British support given by the hierarchy of the Church of England.\(^\text{58}\) By its very constitutional relationship with the State, the colonial Anglican Church was


\(^{58}\)Although prior to the revolution there was no "hierarchy" in the sense of having episcopal status, those prominent Anglican churchmen like Thomas Chandler, Samuel Seabury and Charles Inglis who led the campaign for episcopacy earlier, continued to champion the cause of loyalty to the Crown.
tied to the mother country more closely than any other church.\textsuperscript{59} That bond was fundamental in ensuring the loyalty of the Anglican Church during the American Revolution.

Prior to the outbreak of the Revolution, in America, the clergy had been pleading that episcopacy favored the monarchical principle. In their continuing efforts to attain a resident bishop in the colonies they warned the British Government that "Independency in Religion will naturally produce Republicanism in the State."\textsuperscript{60} The argument implied that political orthodoxy necessarily depended on ensuring a corresponding ecclesiastical orthodoxy. While it is improbable that the existence of bishops in the colonies could have averted the Revolution,\textsuperscript{61} the contemporary argument was sufficiently powerful to convince the British Government to reconsider its ecclesiastical policy for its remaining colonies in the post-revolutionary period. Thus the American Revolution effectively reinforced the traditional colonial argument for episcopacy.

The effect of the American Revolution on the Church of England was so decisive that ecclesiastical historians in particular have emphasized its lesson for imperial authorities continuously since that date.

\textsuperscript{59}Sweet, "The Role of the Anglicans in the American Revolution", p. 52.

\textsuperscript{60}Letter of the Anglican clergy of New York and New Jersey to Hillsborough, 12 October 1771, quoted in Seiser, "The Proposal in the Pre-Revolutionary Decade for Establishing Anglican Bishops in the Colonies," p. 53.

\textsuperscript{61}Cross, The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies, pp. 254-255.
For example, a representative of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel viewed the loss of the American colonies as a warning of the "danger in allowing settlements without adequate provision for their spiritual wants." He was convinced that the Church of England served as the most powerful instrument for preserving the connection between England and the colonies and contended that the establishment of bishoprics was as essential to the Church as it was beneficial to the State. The basis of this historical argument originated from the bitter experiences suffered by the Anglican clergy during the Revolution. That tragedy fortified their campaña for Anglican establishment as the principal means of ensuring colonial loyalty to the mother country. In essence then, the Church was prepared to assist in advancing British imperial designs through spiritual means.

Charles Inglis (1732-1816) became a spokesman for this politico-eclesiastical position as the first colonial bishop of Nova Scotia. As a Church of England clergyman in New York, he had endured the abuse and sacrifice of those who persisted in upholding the unpopular position of defending the king. Public prayers for the king had been a traditional part


of the Anglican liturgy, but in revolutionary America these royalist vestiges had become treasonous activities. Inglis reported that during one of his Sunday services a hundred rebels marched into his church with guns and bayonets "as if going to battle." The rebels were invited to sit down as Inglis proceeded to read the prayers for the king, and the service continued without further incident. However, more violent offences against the Church of England were anticipated after Independence was declared in July 1776, and the colonial clergy agreed that rather than omit the prayers for the king, they preferred to close up the churches. When Great Britain formally recognized American Independence in January 1783, the Anglican hope of establishment in the Thirteen Colonies was terminated, but that goal was transferred to the remaining British North American Colonies.

The settlement of Loyalist refugees in Nova Scotia suggested to the clergy of the Church of England that perhaps the lesson provided by the American Revolution might convince imperial authorities at last to establish a bishop there. At a convention held in New York on 26 March 1783, eighteen representatives of the New England clergy met to petition Sir Guy Carleton, then British commander in New York, that he should

64 Lydekker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, pp. 158, 160, 164-165.
65 Lydekker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, p. 217.
support their request for the appointment of a bishop for Nova Scotia and one for the newly declared United States. The conclusion of the American Revolution therefore constituted a definite watershed for the colonial Church of England. Unfortunately for the Church, however, it was not until the question of an Anglican episcopate began to appear as a positive political asset that the British Government began to reconsider the deficiency of its Church in North America. Admittedly, the clergy themselves had acknowledged that the Church and State were bound together in the expectation that this argument would award them a bishop eventually, but the government interpreted the function of a colonial episcopate "as being primarily political rather than spiritual in character." The Church would serve as a government agency whose responsibility would be to promote loyalty to the imperial connection. The warning of the American Revolution had been decisive. If dissent in religion promoted dissent in politics, then government officials reasoned that colonial institutions ought to resemble those in the mother country, a policy which included greater encouragement for the National Church. A closer alliance of Church and State was needful for good government and this implied that the Church of England ought to be strengthened to ensure the loyalty of the remaining British North American Colonies.

66 Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S.P.G., p. 751; Lydekker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, p. 219.
Initially, the government was reluctant to commit itself to an immediate reversal of policy since it had not forgotten the animosity which the question of episcopacy had raised in its older American colonies. In response to Carleton’s request for a bishop in Nova Scotia, imperial authorities questioned whether church establishment was generally acceptable to the colonial population, or was merely the desire of the clergy. The case for the appointment of a bishop in Nova Scotia had been endorsed by the clergy and by colonial officials. William Knox, the Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and an active member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, advocated episcopal establishment in Nova Scotia since he believed that the episcopal form of church government would promote “an esteem for monarchy” in that colony. He was convinced that by strengthening British institutions in the remaining British colonies, these loyal colonies would serve as rallying points for Episcopalians.

Similarly, Carleton regarded colonial episcopacy as

69 Reginald V. Harris, Charles Inglis, Missionary, Loyalist, Bishop (Toronto, General Board of Religious Education, 1937) p. 93.


a political asset in colonial administration, its best guarantee for promoting loyalty. It would be interesting to speculate whether his favourable relationship with the Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec in Church-State matters influenced his promotion of an Anglican episcopacy; however, this study at least, has been unable to discover any evidence to support the conjecture. With respect to the colonial population, it should be pointed out that the appointment of an Anglican bishop for Nova Scotia was based on Carleton's false assumption that the majority of Loyalists were members of the Church of England and therefore inclined toward the episcopal appointment. The Church of England also anticipated that if its services were provided, the Non-Conformist Loyalists would adhere to the established church; however, the Anglican Church failed to meet the needs of the colonial population. Despite the growing acceptance of colonial episcopacy in government circles, four years intervened between the peace settlement of 1783 and the actual concession of a bishop for Nova Scotia. Political matters considered more urgent than the ecclesiastical issue occupied the attention of the government.

Previously, at their New York Convention of 1783, the

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73 S.D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1943) pp. 69-75.

clergy of the Church of England urged that Thomas Chandler be appointed to the See of Nova Scotia. That same meeting also recommended that Samuel Seabury should be appointed as the first Anglican Bishop for the United States. 75 The British recognition of the independence of the United States had removed the traditional American objections to the possibility that Anglican bishops would be invested with temporal powers, 76 but the impossibility of an American taking the "prescribed oaths of Allegiance to the Crown" remained an impediment to the consecration of Seabury in England. 77 The difficulty for the Episcopal Church was surmounted when the non-juring Scottish Bishops agreed to consecrate Seabury in November 1784. 78 Then the British Government passed a statute enabling the Archbishop of Canterbury "to consecrate persons who were subjects or citizens of countries outside the King's dominions" the following summer, 79 this dispensation, intended for the American Church,

75 Lydekker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, p. 219.
76 Ibid., p. 222.
77 The hesitation of the Church of England to consecrate an American bishop was grounded in the apprehension that ecclesiastical interference might resurrect hostility between Britain and the United States. Lydekker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, p. 236. It is interesting to observe how the episcopal dilemma facing the Anglican Church in the United States after the American Revolution resembles the difficulty encountered by the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec after the Conquest in its attempt to re-establish episcopacy. The suspicion raised by the close alliance of Church and State was detrimental to the Church in both instances.
78 Lydekker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, pp. 236-237 and Harris, Charles Inglis, Missionary, Loyalist, Bishop, p. 69.
79 Lydekker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, p. 246.
proved to be a significant stimulus in promoting the cause of episcopacy for the colonies in British North America. With that concession to the Church in the American Republic, the Imperial Government could not deny its loyal colonies a bishop any longer. 80

Owing to the political circumstances which had stimulated the government to establish a colonial episcopate in Nova Scotia there was a general consensus that the position should be filled by a Loyalist clergyman, by someone experienced in colonial church affairs. 81 Although the colonial clergy had selected Thomas Chandler as its first choice for the appointment, poor health forced him to decline the position and to recommend Charles Inglis in his stead. 82 The issue of the long overdue colonial episcopate was resolved with the consecration of Charles Inglis as Bishop of Nova Scotia on 12 August 1787 by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese of Nova Scotia extended to include New Brunswick, Quebec, Isle St. Jean (Prince Edward Island), Newfoundland and Bermuda. 83


81 Ibid., p. 483.

82 Lydecker, Life and Letters of Charles Inglis, p. 219. A detailed analysis of the rivalry for the Nova Scotian Episcopal See is contained in Harris, Charles Inglis, Missionary, Loyalist, Bishop, chapter vi.

83 Robert Spencer Rayson, "Charles Inglis, A Chapter of Beginnings," Queen's Quarterly 33 (1925) pp. 165, 170. The letters patent which commissioned the episcopal appointment, dating 1 August 1787 are contained in A.R. Kelley, "Church and State Papers for the Years 1787 to 1791 being a Compendium of Documents relating to the Establishment of Certain Churches in the Province of Quebec", Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec, (1953-1955), pp. 75-76.
The establishment of Anglican episcopates in the post-revolutionary period was a crucial development in the history of Church and State in Canada. For in addition to the political division of a continent, the American Revolution represented a definite demarcation in Church-State relations between two opposing traditions. The Republic had rejected the idea of church establishment, but the governmental reaction in the other historic community instead attempted to reinsert the ancient connection between Church and State. In his episcopate, Charles Inglis affirmed the contemporary British commitment to the need for church establishment as an essential component for colonial government. The Loyalist bishop expressed his conviction thus:

"Government and Religion are therefore the pillars, as it were, on which society rests, and by which it is upheld: remove these, and the fabric sinks into ruin....there is a close connection between the duty which is due to God and the duty we owe to the King and others in authority under him. So intimate is this connection, that they can scarcely be separated. Whoever is sincerely religious toward God, from principle and conscience, will also, from principle and conscience, be loyal to his earthly Sovereign, obedient to the laws, and faithful to the government which God hath placed over him."

In response to the challenge to imperial authority which the American Revolution had launched, the mother country attempted to curb colonial dissent by consolidating its religious-political programme. By reinforcing the Church-State connection in Nova

C. Inglis, "Steadfastness in Religion and Loyalty" recommended in a Sermon preached before the Legislature of His Majesty's province of Nova Scotia in the Parish Church of St. Paul at Halifax, on Sunday, April 7, 1793 (Halifax 1793) in Judith Fingard, "Charles Inglis and his 'Primitive Bishopric' in Nova Scotia, Canadian Historical Review 43 (1962) p. 251."
Sectia, the British Government cast Bishop Inglis in the role of promoting colonial allegiance through spiritual means. The Bishop's co-operation in Imperial designs was ensured by his having to depend on the British Government for his entire income.

That same principle was evident in Britain's ecclesiastical policy for Quebec as well. With respect to ecclesiastical affairs, the Governor of Quebec, Lord Dorchester (Guy Carleton) had been instructed again in 1766 that the Church of England was to be the established church in Canada. These directions, which were no more than a repetition of the instructions issued to previous Governors, now carried far greater impact in the wake of the American Revolution. Not only had the Church of England since been acknowledged as "the guardian of loyalty," but with the Loyalist emigration from the colonies, Quebec had received a substantial English-speaking

Footnotes:


population. This new population resented the Quebec Act and protested the lack of British institutions to which they were accustomed in the older English colonies. The Constitutional Act of 1791 also divided the colony into Upper and Lower Canada in an attempt to accommodate the needs of both the English-speaking and French-speaking populations. The act contained further provisions for "the support and maintenance of a Protestant clergy...according to the Establishment of the Church of England."  

While it has been denied that the Church of England was established locally in either Upper or Lower Canada, to the extent that it received substantial government support, the Anglican Church was referred to customarily in government circles as the "Established" church in Canada. Whether or


34 Sections 36-42 of the act referred to ecclesiastical matters. Ibid., pp. 1044-1047.

35 Technically the Church was "endowed" with property but not "established" in the sense of being legally constituted by a colonial legislature as had been the case in Nova Scotia in 1759 and New Brunswick in 1785. A. R. Young, "A Fallacy in Canadian History," Canadian Historical Review, 15 (December 1934) pp. 351-360 and in the same issue J. J. Talman, "The Position of the Church of England in Upper Canada, 1791-1840", pp. 361-375.

36 In the sense that the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec was recognized and protected by the State, it too may be regarded in a broad sense as an established Church. Thomas B. Hillyer, Jacob Mountain, First Lord Bishop of Quebec: A Study in Church and State, 1793-1825. University of Toronto Studies in History and Economics Series, volume 10 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1947) p. 294.
not the Church of England was established legally is less important to emphasize than the underlying principle of the government's ecclesiastical policy in Canada. By establishing a bishop in Quebec, the government reiterated its Nova Scotia policy of strengthening Church-State relations primarily for political reasons. The first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, John Graves Simcoe, had been an ardent advocate of the episcopal principle as an hierarchical form which he believed would serve to combat the democratic influences in the western province. As commander of a royalist regiment, the Queen's Rangers, his experience of the American Revolution convinced him of the desirability of instituting a closer alliance of Church and State. On the question of episcopal establishment he wrote:

In regard to the Episcopal Establishment, it is impossible for me to be more anxious that such an arrangement should take place than I have uniformly shown myself to be; and that I firmly believe the present to be the Critical Moment in which that system so interwoven and connected with the Monarchical Foundations of our Government may be productive of the most permanent and extensive Benefit in preserving the Connection between Great Britain and her Colonies.92

Despite Simcoe's enthusiasm, no episcopal appointment was made in Upper Canada before 1839, when John Strachan (1772-1867) was appointed as the first Anglican Bishop of the Diocese of Toronto.93

92 J.G. Simcoe to Henry Dundas (London, 12 August, 1791) (Henry Dundas (1742-1811) was an influential member of the British House of Commons.) F.A. Cruikshank, ed. The Correspondence of Lt. Governor John Graves Simcoe I (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1923) p. 43.

The Crown, however, did appoint a bishop to preside over central Canada.

Jacob Mountain (1749-1825) became the first bishop of the Church of England in the newly erected diocese of Quebec by Letters Patent issued 28 June 1793. Although his ecclesiastical ideas had not been formed from any Loyalist experience, Bishop Mountain's philosophy of Church-State relations reflected the traditional English position that the two bodies should be mutually supportive of one another. Mountain's episcopate was dominated by his attempt to see the Church of England receive the recognition due the National Church in opposition to the semi-established position enjoyed by the Roman Catholic Bishop. The Anglican Bishop of Quebec did not receive sufficient assistance in his efforts to exercise a more politically prominent role because Lord Dorchester had no intention of awarding political privileges to the one church which were denied to the other. In view of the British Government's commitment to strengthening Church-State


95 Millman, Jacob Mountain, First Lord Bishop of Quebec: A Study in Church and State, 1793-1825, p. 12.

96 The details of this rivalry are beyond the scope of this paper but the question has been well articulated in Millman's study on Mountain, especially chapters 3 and 7.

relations in the post-revolutionary period, the governor's stand appears extra-ordinary. The demands of the political situation explain Dorchester's compulsion to tread carefully without alienating the Roman Catholic majority. Frequently, that policy implied that the interests of the National Church could be overlooked.

It is evident that the destinies of both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Churches were circumscribed by political expediency. The Anglican historian's contention that the close connection between Church and State was a disadvantage for his church because religious matters were often made subservient to politics, was equally true of both churches. What interests us here is the political role acknowledged by the first Anglican Bishop of Quebec himself. Mountain accepted the prevailing political theory that the Church of England strengthened the monarchical principle and thereby understood the necessity of inculcating loyalty. In his attempts to promote the advancement of the Anglican establishment in Canada, the Bishop constantly emphasized the interrelationship of Church and State. He deplored the neglected state of the Church of England in Canada and urged the government that measures which assisted the church were "no less desirable in a political point

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98 Hillman, Jacob Mountain, First Lord Bishop of Quebec, p. 287.

99 Trist Hawkes has noted the importance attached to the first occupant of an Episcopal See in laying the foundations for his successors. Annals of the Diocese of Quebec (London, Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1849) p. 32.
of view. 100 In addition to the Roman Catholic rivalry, other factors hindered Mountain's efforts to ensure church establishment. Although government policy toward the Loyalists implied that the majority were adherents of the Church of England, only about one-fiftieth actually were members of that church. 101 It was inaccurate to assume that Anglicanism and Loyalism were synonymous. Finally, the secular authorities did not share Bishop Mountain's whole-hearted commitment to the ideal of church establishment. The times and circumstances worked against Anglican efforts to attain church establishment in Quebec.

The extent to which the struggle for an Anglican episcopate succeeded at all was due directly to political circumstances. It was only as a result of the American Revolution that the British Government attempted to implement the Anglican establishment in its efforts to strengthen the Church-State bond. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration to conclude that the American Revolution was a decisive event in Church-State relations in Canada. That political crisis proved to be an occasion during which both the Roman Catholic and Anglican episcopates exercised a politically prominent role in promoting colonial loyalty to the British Government. The manner in which Canadian Historians have interpreted the political significance of these two churches during the American Revolution forms the subject of the next chapter.

100 Rt. Rev. J. Mountain to Rt. Hon. Henry Dundas (Quebec, 15 September 1794) in Kelley, "Jacob Mountain, First Lord Bishop of Quebec, A Summary of his Correspondence and the Papers Relating Thereto for the Years 1793 to 1799," pp. 204-205.

101 Hillman, Jacob Mountain, First Lord Bishop of Quebec, p. 49.
CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCHES AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION — INTERPRETATIONS

Prior to our consideration of the historiographical importance attached to the two churches during the American Revolution it is important to begin with a more general view of the impact of the Revolution itself on the course of Canadian history. Canada's historical relationship with the United States has been one of the principal themes in Canadian history. With the English-French duality issue which originated at the Conquest, this division of the North American continent between Canada and the United States represents the second of the two essential turning points which together have shaped Canadian historical development. However, Canada's English-speaking and French-speaking historians have differed in their interpretations of the meaning of these two historical watersheds and therefore the emphasis in their historical writing has differed accordingly.

It has been pointed out in the previous historiographical chapter that the Conquest has been the most central event in French-Canadian historical thought. Consequently, the historical importance which its historians have assigned to the American Revolution pales by comparison. With respect to the role of the churches, French-Canadian nationalist historians.
at least, have been little inclined to acknowledge the role played by the Roman Catholic Church on this occasion since the episcopal activity had been instrumental in saving Canada for the British. Instead, they have emphasized the survival issue. The fact that French Canada preserved its laws, language and religion against the threat of American assimilation was, for these historians, the more significant issue. Thus the political role of the Roman Catholic Church during the revolutionary struggle has received some attention from the French-Canadian historians, but less than it received after the Conquest. Although the political struggle also solicited the loyalty of the colonial Church of England, which ultimately resulted in the establishment of Anglican episcopates in British North America, the relationship of this ecclesiastical issue to the American Revolution has been ignored almost completely by French-Canadian historians.

In English Canada, the issue of the American Revolution has been more decisive because it was the historical event which stimulated the development of English-speaking settlement in Canada. The expulsion from the American colonies of the United Empire Loyalists also produced a strong commitment to maintaining the British tie in English Canada. To the extent that Canada's link with Britain has been a desirable goal for Canada, its historians have championed the cause of imperial loyalty. However, with the development of Canadian identity becoming increasingly bound up with a North American destiny,
the sentimental attachment to the British Empire subsequently has dissipated. Canadian historians' views on the Church of England have been associated rather intimately with the tide of Britain's imperial destiny. Therefore, with the demise of Canada's colonial dependence, the political significance once attached to the Church of England for inculcating imperial loyalty, similarly has declined in importance in Canadian historical writing.

While evidently contemporary ecclesiastics in both churches viewed the political crisis as a Church-State issue in the sense that the American Revolution compelled the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches to demonstrate their loyalty to the Crown, it is clear that subsequent historians have not perceived the American Revolution in terms of its importance to Church-State relations in Canada. For this reason they focus their attention on the political issue instead. Since historically, the churches both promoted loyalty to the British cause during the political crisis, this chapter will examine the extent to which Canadian historians credit the churches for obstructing the revolutionary cause. It is also worth inquiring whether historians have observed the interesting parallel which existed between the two ecclesiastical institutions, since both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches actually maintained the same political position by counselling loyalty to legitimately established authority.

As with the previous historiographical chapter, this
one will proceed to analyse first the historical writing of the three generations of French-Canadian historians, and then the historical writing of the three English Canadians on the political significance of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches during the American Revolution. Since many of the significant biographical details have been included already, this chapter need re-emphasize only those aspects which seem to pertain to the historical interpretations of the role of the churches during the Revolution.

In order to assess what significance François-Xavier Gaimard attached to the American Revolution, one only need recall that the essential feature of his Histoire du Canada was the concept of French Canada's struggle for survival. Therefore, he analysed the challenge posed by the American Revolution and the role which the Church played to counter this threat, from within his major historical theme. The sequence was an example of French Canada's continuing efforts to maintain its identity. Since the fear of assimilation of the French-Canadian culture had been the original stimulus for Gaimard's historical writing, one might have predicted that the historian would condemn the American Revolution and thereby support the royalist stand of the Roman Catholic episcopate. Such a judgment of Gaimard's thinking requires
careful examination.

Political circumstances in his own times helped account for his position on the historical question. With the failure of the 1837-1838 Rebellions, some of the Patriots suggested that annexation to the United States perhaps offered French Canada certain advantages. For Gameau, this contemporary annexationist movement merely recalled the American invasion of 1775, which, had it succeeded, would have meant the eventual loss of French Canada's laws, language and religion. Hence, the contemporary American challenge further served to reinforce the historian's argument that French-Canadian culture had a greater chance for survival under the British Crown than under the American Republic.¹

An additional source which no doubt influenced Gameau's preference for the British alternative in his historical account of the American Revolution was his personal commitment to the superiority of British Parliamentary institutions. That conviction had been strengthened by the two years (1831-1833) which Gameau spent in London as secretary to Denis-Benjamin Viger, the agent of the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada.² During his stay Gameau had been impressed by the Parliamentary tradition in Britain which he referred to as: "la première métropole de la liberté et de l'industrie."³ Gameau returned to

¹Savard, "François-Xavier Gameau," p. 34.
Québec convinced that the British institution of Parliament offered French Canada the more tolerant political system in preference to the American Republican form of government. It is interesting to observe that Gameau's pro-British position as the best means of preserving French-Canadian cultural identity was the same argument which Bishop Brind'Amour upheld in his homily of 1775 to remind the population of its proper allegiance. The Bishop's position remained a major credo in French-Canadian political thought well into the nineteenth century.

In view of Gameau's mildly anti-clerical and liberal reputation, it is understandable that the role which the Church played during the Revolution did not receive much emphasis. Still, he did acknowledge that religion had had an influence during the political conflict. Despite the prevalence of ultra-montanism in Québec which has been noted in the previous historical chapter, French Canada had not escaped entirely from the effects of the nineteenth century ideology of European liberalism. Gameau's liberalism had been reinforced as a result of his European tour. However, his liberalism was not the rigidly doctrinal brand which espoused religious skepticism, but a more conservative type tempered by Catholicism. This so-called "Liberal Catholicism" was actually the moderate form

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5Lanctot, Gameau, Historien National, p. 144.

of liberalism which had a fairly wide influence on French Canada.

There has been some misinterpretation regarding the question of Ganneau's anti-clericalism. As a "liberal", the historian evidenced some opposition to the supremacy of the Church in temporal affairs, but his historical writing never expresses anti-Catholicism or irreligion outright. Ganneau expressed his commitment to the importance of religion in the way he viewed the Revolutionary challenge as a possible threat to French Canada's nationality and religious tradition. In spite of charges of liberalism and anti-clericalism against the historian, nationalism was by far the most powerful ideological influence on his work. This latter influence therefore best explains his views on the Revolution.

It was because of his nationalism that Ganneau was not favourably inclined to the American offer of "liberty" in 1775. In his Histoire du Canada, Ganneau explained:

Les Canadiens ne reçussaient pas cette liberté pour laquelle leur voisins avaient pris les armes, Cet événement les avait fortement impressionnés, mais bientôt la raison avait tempéré leur enthousiasme, et le calcul les avait fait rentrer dans le repos. Une liberté qui doit anéantir votre nationalité est plus triste qu'un régime monarchique qui peut la laisser subsister.

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This same profound sense of nationalism was evident throughout Gareau's portrayal of the impact of the American Revolution. He noted how the Continental Congress lost Canadian support from the start by its resolution declaring itself "contre le catholicisme."  

On the role which the Canadian hierarchy played during the Revolution, Gareau observed that both the clergy and seigneurs opposed the invasion which threatened the continuation of French Canadian institutions. He acknowledged Bishop Étienne's efforts "pour exhorter les catholiques à soutenir la cause de l'Angleterre," by issuing his mendement in 1776. Yet what Gareau was quick to point out was the insignificant role which the episcopate actually played since: "ni la proclamation, ni la circulaire ne purent faire sortir les habitants de leur indifférence." Hence, despite their loyal devotion to the monarchy, Gareau maintained that the Roman Catholic clergy and seigneurs succeeded only in preserving the neutrality of the population.

11Ibid., p. 344.
12Ibid., p. 346.
13Ibid., p. 350.
14Ibid. Here Gareau was referring to the concerted efforts of Church and State to persuade the Canadians to join the militia; the proclamation referred to Carleton's declaration of martial law, the circular to the bishop's attempt to persuade the Canadians.
15Ibid., p. 367.
From reading Gameau's history it is clear that he was less interested in praising the role of the Roman Catholic episcopate in preserving Canada's loyalty to the British, than he was in analysing how French Canada's interest in preserving its cultural interests actually determined the course of action. In the belief that "leur nationalité aurait coulu plus de dangers avec une république anglo-américaine qu'elle n'en court avec une monarchie européenne," Gameau contends that French Canada selected the path which seemed to offer the best safeguard for its cultural survival. ¹⁶ What he therefore concluded as especially significant about the impact of the American Revolution on Canada, was the way in which French-Canadian culture survived the struggle and remained faithful to "ces trois grands symboles de sa nationalité: la langue, ses lois, sa religion." ¹⁷

Gameau therefore downplayed the political role of the Bishop of Quebec during this political struggle since he regarded Briand's influence as almost inconsequential. The relationship of the Church of England to the American Revolution did not concern this historian at all. The crucial question of French Canada's struggle to preserve its cultural identity was the real deciding factor for Canada during this political crisis in his view. Consequently, the survival issue remained Gameau's central thesis and the contribution of the church to this goal, although recognized, was judged to be indecisive.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 371
¹⁷ Ibid., p. 427.
In the preliminary remarks to this chapter it was pointed out that of the two historical events, the British Conquest and the American Revolution, the former has loomed as the far more significant watershed for French Canadians. This contention is supported by an examination of the historical writing of Abbé Lionel Groulx. His references to the significance which the American Revolution had on French Canada have been very limited in his publications, which themselves represent nearly fifty years of historical study. His own particular bias therefore serves to reinforce the importance which the Conquest has had on his historical consciousness. All subsequent events have been secondary, dealt with in view of the major historical catastrophe.

It is interesting to observe how closely Groulx's treatment of the question paralleled Gameau's approach. Both French-Canadian nationalists focused almost exclusively on the issue that French Canada survived yet another attempt to assimilate its nationality and its religion. Just as the Canadian Movement of 1849 for annexation to the United States had influenced Gameau's cautious approach to Canada's southern neighbour, the continuing presence of American influence on Quebec during Groulx's lifetime had instilled in him a definite
anti-American sentiment. In addition to his hostility toward excessive English-Canadian domination of Quebec, Groulx viewed the American penetration of the province as a further example of Anglo-Saxon ambitions to exploit and assimilate French Canada. He doubts this fear had been transmitted to his historical writing since Groulx frequently elaborated on the difficulty of the French Canadien surviving as a group while surrounded by English-speaking Canadians and Americans. 

Since as a historian, Groulx professed a belief in the didactic character of his discipline, his approach to the American Revolution reflected this commitment to writing history which articulated lessons for the present. That Groulx seemed to suggest was that the survival of French-Canadian society depended on remaining faithful to the principles which historical continuity had illuminated.

In an article entitled "L'Américanisme aux États Canadiens," Groulx outlined the recurrent trend through Canadian history when the country might have fallen "sous l'emprise du drapeau tué" because of the geographic fact of continentalism.


He explained the French-Canadian resistance to American imperialism initially in 1775 as the refusal to accept "la constitution d'un empire où ils risqueraient de perdre leur individualité puissance et nationale."²² Furthermore, the historian insisted that the position which French Canada had assumed during the War of American Independence must be interpreted from the viewpoint of national survival, and "aucun prix n'a été donné à l'âme de leur pays..."²³ Later, in 1789, it is clear that O'Sullivan was intent on advancing the utility of historical study, since he concluded his discussion of the annexion issue by asserting that for French Canadians: "leur position a été prise pour toujours."²⁴ During the War of 1812, the 1838-1839 rebellions, the economic crisis of 1847, O'Sullivan contended that French Canada's course of action with respect to American annexation had been determined by this continuing desire to preserve its identity and not by loyalty to Britain.

The annexion issue around which the historian based his inquiry on the American Revolution contains within itself an example of historical continuity which O'Sullivan chose to ignore. Historically, the church asserted its authority in counselling against

²²Ibid., p. 234.
²³Ibid., p. 235.
²⁴Ibid.
oration in each of these instances, but Groulx overlooked this aspect of the question in his historical analysis. Surely the historian who had examined such an effort to ensnare the Church for preserving the French Canadian nationality at the Conquest, could not have neglected the Bishop's mandates which have documented the important political role of the Church during the Revolution. While admittedly it is the historian's prerogative to interpret his sources, Groulx's reluctance to account for the leading role which the Church exercised during the Revolution, and when contemporary ecclesiastical sources have documented, would suggest to be a willful omission.

Groulx's failure to acknowledge the role which the laity of monks played in counselling loyalism during the Revolution was excusable, in that his sources could attribute such neglect to the influence of liberalism or anti-clericalism, charges which he never quite escaped. However, Lionel Groulx wrote his history within the bounds of the ultramontane ideology, which was strongly committed to a hierarchical ordering of society, the close alliance of Church and State and the monarchical principle in government. 25

25 See J. "Libéralisme Catholique et Ultramontanisme au sujet d'éléments de Définitions," p. 278. Ultramontanism in its French-Canadian context had been influenced most by French-sounding scholasticians such as Delisteau, See J. Ferreraz, Histoire de la philosophie au Canada au XIXe siècle: Traditionnalisme et Ultramontanisme. (Paris, Didier et Cie, Éditeurs, 1890) chapters 1 and 2.
It is important to bear in mind that the Church and espoused those conservative values to counter those very forces which the Revolutions had unleashed. Thus, in view of the background against which Groulx approached the American Revolution, his omission of the ecclesiastical issue appears almost uncharacteristic.

The royalist pretensions of the Roman Catholic episcopate in Canada since the Conquest, however, posed a dilemma for Lionel Groulx. For as much as he normally exalted the Church for its role in French-Canadian history, he could not reconcile Bishop Briand's royalist position in 1775. Canada's preservation from the Revolutionary struggle implied a triumph and reinforcement for British rule in Canada, and Groulx recorded this condition as antithesis for the French-Canadian nationality. Thus, a closer examination of Groulx's own historical framework helps to account for his reluctance to elaborate on the role of the Church on this occasion.

In his historical synthesis, Histoire du Canada Français depuis la Découverte (1960), written late in his historical career, Abbé Groulx provided a more detailed description of the repercussions of the American Revolution than his earlier works contained. Even this account, although it at least mentioned the loyalty of the clergy and the seigneurs during the invasion of 1775, did not elaborate on the issue. He maintained only that: "Sans doute, la fidélité du clergé et des seigneurs, en empêchant le crol de la population de se jeter ouvertement dans une prise d'armes, eût-elle sauve la colonie à la couronne..."
britannique." There was no further discussion of the political significance of the position taken by the Roman Catholic Church, and certainly no praise for Bishop Briand for his loyalty to the British Crown.

In this same work, Groulx even mentioned the existence of an Anglican episcopate in reference to Charles Inglis' 1784 visitation to Quebec. However, the historian only recognized the Church of England in any historical context for the immediate interest it served for the advancement of Roman Catholic interests in Canada. While Groulx failed to account for the political principles behind the proposed establishment of the Church of England, he did observe the negative implications of this policy for his own church. After 1791, he explained that the archbishop of the diocese of Quebec encountered "des obstacles insurmontables de la part du Gouvernement britannique qui s'occupe, au contraire, des peuples d'établir en ce pays un clergé protestant." Thus, although historically, the Roman Catholic episcopate played an important political role both after the Conquest and during the American Revolution, in Lionel Groulx's estimation, its political significance was diminished in the second instance by the fact that it assisted British political decisions on Canada. These political overtones coloured Groulx's historiography.

26 Lionel Groulx, Histoire du Canada Francais depuis la Decouverte: Le Royaume Britannique au Canada II (Montreal, Fides, 1960) p. 84.

27 Ibid., p. 76.

28 Ibid., p. 75.
ical interpretation of the role of the Roman Catholic Church. Although the Church justified its political activity, at least in part, as a means of preserving the Roman Catholic religion and the French-Canadian nationality, its goal was achieved at the price of strengthening Britain's imperial control on Canada. Therefore, the French-Canadian nationalist historians chose to downplay the political significance of the Roman Catholic episcopate during the American Revolution. It dealt with the Church of England principally as a competitor which deprived the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec of sufficient government assistance. But he neglected to find any relationship between Anglicanism and Britain's experience of the colonial revolution. What Groult's analysis of the religious question best exemplifies is his very obvious anti-British sympathies.

III

As had been the case of the historians discussed above, the role which the Church played during the American Revolution has received little attention in the historical writing of Michel Bruneau. The neglect of this issue in French-Canadian historiography indicates that historians have focused their attention elsewhere. Their preoccupation with the Conquest has not diminished in the least after three generations of historical writing. In reference to the Conquest, Bruneau contends in his recent study, *Notre passé, le présent et l'avenir* (1956)
that: "not événement a eu, depuis plus de six générations, une influence permanente sur l'évolution historique du val de la Saint Laurent." For this modern French-Canadian historian, the Conquest remains the central interest of his historical writing.

Trunet in fact deals with the impact which the American Revolution had on Canada almost as an adjunct to the Conquest, with the view that subsequent historical events did not alter the basic fact of British domination of Quebec. His relative indifference to the importance which the American Revolution may have had on the historical evolution of Quebec seems all the more surprising since as a graduate student, Trunet wrote his M.A. thesis in American history on Canadian-American relations. Furthermore, in view of the fact of the continuing alarm over American economic and cultural influence on Canada, his disregard for the historical event which divided the North American continent seems really, indeed. Trunet argues that the issue of anti-Americanism has been exaggerated in Canadian historiography; for the majority of French Canadians, it was never a serious issue.

In Trunet's discussion of the role of the Church during the American Revolution, he argues that political circumstances

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21 Eleanor Cook, "An Interview with Michel Trunet," p. 43.

22 Ibid., pp. 62-63.
determined the Bishop's course of action as had been the case since the Conquest. The Church had little choice. Once again, in Truax's view, the leading classes were compelled to cooperate with the British. The same spirit of "positive resistance" with which the Canadians confronted the "régime" after the Conquest was in evidence again in their failure to attend the Bishop's call to arms to resist the American invaders. Truax's analysis of the situation emphasizes the way in which the Roman Catholic Bishop failed to urge the Canadians to their political duty: "Ils se sont de la résistance passive.
Cette attitude revêtait leur profonde antipathie pour le conquérant et leur dévouer pour les vertus du clergé et de la noblesse qui collaboraient à l'administration britannique."

Not only did Truax attempt to overturn the myth that the French Canadians have been loyal supporters of the British, but he has denied that the French-Canadian leaders, including the Church, were as faithful to the British as has been accepted traditionally. In his view at least, the French-Canadian leaders actually attempted to use their position, as far as circumstances permitted, to advance the interests of their own people. As with his predecessors Garneau and Groulx, Truax points out the disparity in the conduct of the people with that of the Church hierarchy toward supporting the British during the American invasion of the colony. However, the modern his-

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terence has attempted to assess the underlying reasons for the loyalty displayed by the elite. Traditionally, their loyalty has been attributed to certain factors for the Quebec Act, but Pruet claims that interest was the prime motive:

Les partisans officiels de la collectivité, comme le colonel avec l'agence, avisaient que le bateau entre la mécanique britannique et les anciennes colonies augmentait leur souveraineté de Marguerite et servait les intérêts des Canadiens.

As an historian, Pruet could hardly ignore Bishop

friend's endorsement, which testifies to the Church's loyalty to the British during this political crisis. The historian has interpreted these sources as a means by which the French-Canadian leaders could legitimize their demands on the British government. In his view then, the collaboration of the Church with the British was the only means of defending the interests of the Canadian population. So the Church co-operated as it had since the Conquest, while the majority of the French Canadians resisted British authority. Although under British rule, the Church had little choice but to support the movement, Pruet argues that the American invasion of 1775 seriously challenged its authority as an intermediary. In his opinion the American Revolution revealed the shallow claim which the Church held on maintaining French-Canadian loyalty to the British Crown:

Calme de collaborer avec l'occupant, elles [the hierarchy] apparaissent sur vous du peuple comme

[Michel Pruet, Mémoire, Canada Anglais: Deux Itinéraires in confrontation (Montréal, T. H., 1953) p. 145.]
In spite of the fact that the Church could not demonstrate loyalty to the State on this occasion, Trunet says that its political significance continued. This was, because, in the absence of any other French-Canadian political institution, the Church continued to provide over the population in that capacity.

The role which the Church played during the American Revolution is not a major question by any means in Trunet's work. To the extent that he has dealt with the issue at all, he viewed the part played by the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec essentially as an extension of its role as intermediary which the Church assumed after the Conquest. However, since the Bishop was unable to maintain Canadian support for the British cause, the historian did not regard his impact on the Revolutionary struggle as very decisive. Since Trunet's interest in historical study has centered on the French-Canadians, he was not sufficiently interested in the Church of England to investigate whether it had any political-relationship to this question of the American Revolution.

There seems to be a common thread which runs through French-Canadian historicism on this question of the Church:

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of the American Revolution. None of the three historians perceived the role of the Roman Catholic Church as particularly significant in French-Canadian history. That interpretation seems to be less a question of overlocking the ecclesiastical sources, than it was a judgment reached on the basis of the political outcomes which were linked with the role of the Church in its loyalty to the Imperial authority, French-Canadian historians have recognized that the Church attempted to resist the American invasion, but they have been reluctant to acknowledge that as a result of its loyal political activity, Canada remained British. While the Anglo-American colonists have thrown off the role of hereditary general, after the American Revolution, the stime of the British Conquest remained in French Canada.

IV

Unlike the political implications of the American Revolution and the resulting exodus of the United Empire Loyalists, Canada's British-speaking historians have regarded this historic event with greater interest than their French-speaking counterparts, precisely because it helped to substantiate the British foundation of Canada. In much the same way that the British Conquest has been fundamental to the French-Canadian historical sense of national identity, the Loyalist experience has been an important historical focal point for British-Canadian identity.

the origin of which the historian located the American Revolution lends a clue to why the values innovative generation seemed to attribute to this historical incident. The era in which the contemporary society views Canada's relationship with Britain and the United States has been the major determinant of Canadian historical interpretations of the significance of the American Revolution.

Accordingly, on the surface of the preceding era, the influence which the church had on this era: the nature of church development in British-Canadian hisotry remains. The religious element was emphasized by the Anglican Church during the revolutionary period identified itself as one of the principal colonial centers for defense in the hour of imperial peril. This political-colonialism confusion which the Church of England and Imperial authorities attempted to realize in Canada during the eighteenth century had been seen as a political alliance for subsequent historians because the concept of a close Church-State alliance had persisted in ignorance by the nineteenth century and had vanished almost entirely by the twentieth. Therefore the political side of the issue has overshadowed the colonialist contribution completely in British-Canadian historical writing on the relationship of the American Revolution to Canada.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century when William Henry lorett was writing his History of Canada, the newly emerging nation experienced a unprecedented surge of imperialistic
Canada's interest in Imperial unity reflected an "identity crisis" "wracked by the threat posed by non-American sentimentality, which had reasserted itself early in the century. 27 It seems to history a curious twist of the colonial era to re-discover the seeds of its historical roots. The historical re-examination confirmed Canada's aspirations and the superiority of imperial ambitions as opposed to those of the United States. 28 Historically at least, the Anglican Church has furnished the dominant institutional basis of unity between Canada and the mother country, but with the disappearance of the official Church-State connection by the latter part of the nineteenth century, the movement for imperial federation focused on more concrete measures such as the Imperial preference for solidifying the bonds of Imperial unity. 29 It is of particular interest to us here that history itself provided a powerful means of promoting Imperial sentiments. 30 Canada's interest in preserving the Imperial tie in the late nineteenth century therefore...


29 Ibid., p. 23.

fore had a significant influence on Canadian historiography, a tradition which has been known subsequently as the "Britannic or Blood is Thicker than Water School." 41

This imperial orientation in Canadian historical writing focused on the Loyalist tradition and hence on the American Revolution as the historical basis of Canada's essentially British loyalty. 42 Although historical evidence has suggested that the churches were an influential factor for inculcating loyalty during the American Revolution, for William Kingsford, the influence of religion was of little consequence to his interpretation of the political crisis.

Kingsford has rarely been known for his concise handling of any historical question and his remarks on the churches during the Revolutionary War were no exception. His narration of the ecclesiastical situation was lengthy. However, the English-born chronicler was more intent on emphasizing the disloyalty of the majority of the French-Canadian population than he was in recognizing the loyalty of the Roman Catholic Church. The

41J. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolis, and Canadian History," in Berger, Approaches to Canadian History, pp. 64-65.

42Carl Berger has observed how both English and French Canadian historical writing has focused its attention on the question of survival. Both the Conquest and the Loyalist tradition evoke the idea of a defeat. However, because the 'losers' remained faithful to the principles for which their ancestors fought, both societies interpreted their survival as a form of national triumph. These two founding myths have accentuated the two separate historical traditions since English and French-Canadian historians tend to identify with different historical watersheds. Berger, The Sense of Power, pp. 90, 91.
historian described Carleton's disappointment at the ingratitude shown by the French population: "Many Canadians were acting in open hostility to the government and had joined the ranks of the invaders." He even estimated that there were only three hundred French Canadians loyal to the British cause. Still, Kingsford did acknowledge that the Bishop had issued a mandate in 1775 urging the population to defend the country, as well as the fact that the Church had refused absolution to those who sympathized with the Continental Congress. In Kingsford's estimation, Bishop Briand's loyalty was really a reflection of the benevolence with which Britain had governed the colony. Therefore, he attributed the Bishop's good conduct to "the goodness and gentleness with which Canada had been governed since the Conquest."

At view of the traditional approach that French Canadians supported the British because they believed that the Crown offered greater protection for their religion and nationality than the Continental Congress did—Kingsford's interpretation of the situation seems peculiar indeed. He claimed that the French Canadians favoured the American cause because they wished to escape from their own supposedly tyrannical institutions.

44 He recorded also that there were only about thirty English-speaking inhabitants aiding the British which does them little credit either. Ibid., p. 442.
45 Kingsford, History of Canada VI (1903) p. 41.
46 Ibid., p. 41.
In 1775, it was the very dread of reverting to those institutions, of having again to submit to the arrogance and power of the seigneur, and the exacting authority of a dominant church, which led so many French Canadians to accept the promise made by the invaders, of a future assured condition of liberty and freedom.

In order to support his contention further, that even the loyalty of the Church was suspect during the American Revolution, Kingsford cited the appeal made to French-Canadian sentiments in 1778 by the French commander D'Estaing as incriminating evidence. Although the present writer has found nothing in the ecclesiastical sources examined to support the disloyalty of the Church as a result of this appeal, Kingsford wrote that:

Many of the clergy were carried away by this sentiment. They no longer gave the hearty support to government shown by them when the province was over-run by the forces of congress; so that those in authority felt that on a second invasion by a French force the Canadians would throw their strength on that side, and that all feeling of loyalty to Great Britain had passed away.

Thus, Kingsford allowed that the Roman Catholic Church faithfully supported the British on the initial invasion of the province in 1775, but that its loyalty faded by 1778 when the French appealed to the Canadians on the basis of their screen heritage. It was his conclusion that the Roman Catholic episcopate had only a marginal impact on the conduct of the French-Canadian population. Clearly the Roman Catholic Church, in Kingsford's opinion, could not be credited with saving Canada for the British Empire.

Kingsford, History of Canada VI, p. 478.

Kingsford, History of Canada VII, p. 228.
With imperialistic sentiments flourishing as they did in Britain toward the close of the nineteenth century, British-Canadian historians were intent on promoting the view that it had been the United Empire Loyalists who, owing to their loyalty to the Crown, had sacrificed everything and on a sacrifice jeopardized the foundations of British Canada. In McInerney's historical writing, there was little room for doubt that were the complex developments of the British Empire during the revolutionary age. To honour these heroes of a united empire, McInerney testified that the Loyalists had sacrificed everything for the preservation of the empire. The loyalty, love, truth, all that can give form and shape to life; no man was true to their sentiments and convictions in their devotion to the British crown.

However, for this espousal for the imperialist interpretation, the Church of Ireland no longer held quite the same importance for preserving loyalty to the Crown as it had maintained during the American Revolution. Canadians in the nineteenth century still valued organized religion as a condition which had distinguished Canada by a more stable and orderly development as compared with the American Republic which had rejected any form of church establishment. This is evident in the Anglican Church in his account of the American Revolution.

Hinsford did recognize that it had some relationship to the political question; however his attempt to analyze the issue was rather disjointed. He provided a lengthy account of the attempts by the Church of England to establish bishops in the Anglo-American colonies. The historian evidenced some perception of the close political alliance between Anglicanism and the Imperial Government since he observed that the establishment of an Anglican episcopate in the Anglo-American colonies was covered by "these men laboured for the dismemberment of the empire," but failed to investigate the relationship any further.

After the Revolution, Hinsford clearly realized that bishops were appointed for the United States. Since the historian had overlooked the political overtones underlying Charles Inglis' appointment as the first Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia, Hinsford instead attributed this appointment to the fact that London was prepared to consecrate American bishops by 1787. While this observation is historically accurate, in that the consecration of bishops in the United States did hasten the appointment of a bishop in British North America, it was hardly the principal motive behind the Imperial Government's sudden reversal of policy. Ultimately, the American Revolution was responsible for the appointment of Charles Inglis, but Hinsford overlooked

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52 Hinsford, History of Canada VII, pp. 263-274.
53 Ibid., p. 274.
54 Ibid., p. 275.
this political relationship completely. Therefore, he failed
to develop the idea that the Church of Ireland was being strengh-
tened in Canada in order to solidify the imperial tie, as a direct
result of the American Revolution.

William Macfarlane's historical writing provided a clear
reflection of the imperial sentiments which characterized his
age. However, as an historian, his understanding of the important
political relationship of either the Roman Catholic or the Angli-
can episcopate in Canada to the American Revolution was rather
shallow since he was unable to transcend beyond the limitations
imposed by his own imperialistic frame of reference.

A perceptible shift in Canadian historiography has taken
place in the twentieth century which parallels Canada's decreas-
ing political dependence on Britain. By the 1930's the achieve-
m&ent of autonomous nationhood had replaced the imperial tie as
the major theme in Canadian historical writing. The basic fact
of North American geographic location had ceased to be a threat
to Canadian identity, and instead this continental environment
became the historian's focal point.55 Arthur Lepson's work repre-
sents this tradition in Canadian historical writing.

55 Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian
History," pp. 64-65.
Having studied for his doctorate at Harvard, the Canadian historian had been introduced to F.J. Turner's frontier thesis by his American professors. 56 Although Lever cautioned that the frontier thesis could be applied to Canada only in "a modified or adapted version," 57 what is important to note is the fact that his generation of historians was prepared at least to interpret Canadian history from within its North American context which marked a departure from the more exclusively British orientation of the preceding historical generation. 58

The result of this shift in historical perspective has been a re-interpretation of the question of the impact of the American Revolution on Canada. 59 Arthur Lever has argued that: "Canada is the child of the American Revolution," 59 as his predecessors had maintained, but whereas they had identified Canada's attachment to the British Empire as the outgrowth of its Revolutionary experience, Lever's interpretation of that event reflected his view that Canadians were essentially North Americans whose separate existence was the outcome of a historical tragedy. He explains that in Canada: "many of its people


59 Lever, Colony to Nation, p. 77.
are Americans who did not break the tie with England.... They are the children of divorced parents and they know the bitterness that comes from a broken home." Lever sees the American Revolution as an unfortunate incident which divided the English-speaking race, but because Canada's sentimental ties with Britain were fading in importance for his generation, this historian was less inclined to proclaim how Canada was saved for the British Empire than an earlier generation had been.

Lever has provided a more comprehensive analysis of the role of the churches during the Revolution, far surpassing the lengthy narrative of William Hinniford. Among Canada's interpretative historians Lever has been recognized for his interest in religion and its influence on historical development, and thus his examination of the interrelationship of Church and State during this political crisis has attained a better synthesis of the question than "futurologists achieved.

Arthur Lever views the Canadian reaction to the American Revolution in terms of a division of social classes rather than of race or of religion. Such an approach is particularly fruitful from the perspective of this study because his analysis enabled him to recognize the parallel reaction which in fact existed between the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches. In reference to the political positions taken during...
the Revolution, the historian has observed that:

Among the English, the official class remained loyal. Merchants were divided.... Among the French, the Biscay, as well as bishops and priests, denounced rebellion. Farmers and priests were loyal to a man. The members of Quebec were loyal. But the habitants deserted the authorities by voting the Americans.

Lever's observation on the divisions in society referred specifically to Quebec rather than to the British colonies as a whole, but his analysis of this class 'principles was as true of the French Catholic clergy as it was for the Church of England' even though his text does not mention the Indian clergy specifically.

As a historian, Lever was committed himself to the task of building a strong Canadian national consciousness by emphasizing these pre-historical experiences which English and French Canadians have shared in church. His portrayal of the loyalty of the French Catholic Church encompasses this effort by its clever analogy. A sensible but never the less judicious historical parallel is evident in Lever's observation that:

These two looked shoulder to shoulder with Canada. During that long winter of 1776 were just as much United Empire Loyalists as were the loyalists to be formally named such. The dire strait classes of French Canada by supporting the authorities proved from themselves all suspicion of a conquered status, associating themselves with the Crown of Great Britain and government from above, rather than from the people. For the clergy, their stand during the war sealed the alliance between the two authorities, secular and spiritual.

[2] Ibid., p. 121.
Most historians of the revolutionary period tend to view French
Canadian loyalty and British colonial loyalty as isolated histo-
rical phenomena. Arthur Leaver has reminded us that
the two communities acted for different reasons, there was a
parallel expression of loyalty. He has not overlooked the fact
that despite the important political alliance formed between
Canada and Great Britain there was a powerful interest in the under-
lying loyalty question of the French Catholic Church. In
Leaver's estimation, the clergy had real reasons for suppor-
ting the British. "There are few ideas of the Churchmen about Catholic
creeds that they would find more buttressed on the side of the
Crown."

In his analysis of the political circumstances of the
Church of England to the Revolution, Leaver sought to reflect
his contemporary society's attitudes to conform with the
winning of imperial authority. Thus, the intimate connection
between Anglicanism and Britain's imperial destiny has been
reflected in Canadian historiography. When the imperial con-
nection is viewed as an asset, the Church of England which
helped to bolster the alliance has received a favorable re-
view. However, if the Canadian historian is more intent on
advancing the colony's relative independence of the mother
country, the historical role of the Church of England since
the American Revolution would be interpreted as an unfortunate
vestige of imperial control. So it was for Arthur Leaver. The

63 Leaver, Colonial Occupation, p. 22.
rather negative view he takes of colonial Anglicanism should not be recorded as any doctrinal attack against the Church of England, but rather against the political power which the institution represented by tradition and its constitutional foundation. On this question of the politics-religious heritage which British Canada received as a result of the Revolution, Lever has written that:

Anglicanism was the focus of the last cause which had to retreat from the new American nation to the British bush. That is not to say that every Loyalist was a member of the Church of England, but that the significant Loyalists were the leaders, and that it was taken for granted that the Church of England would be the Church of new British America. Anglicanism was officially transplanted to the new soil as was the British flag; in fact, for some churchmen hardly distinguishable. 64

Quite therefore to the obvious relationship between the Anglican Church and the political authorities, its clergy remained loyal to the British government during the Revolution. The historian acknowledges that the American Revolution thus accounts for the efforts to establish Anglicanism in British North America. Lever concluded his analysis of the Revolution by explaining that Canada's historical development reflected a curious mixture of two historic traditions. For this historian, Canada represented the compromise of British traditionalism and of North Americanism, as but in his view Canada was "more American than English." 65 He acknowledged that Anglicanism

64 Lever, Canadians in the Making, p. 137.
65 Ibid., p. 140.
had been reinforced in Canada precisely because of the support lost by this political crisis, but he recognizes that the American Revolution had introduced loyalists of other dissenting groups as well.

Arthur Laver's interpretation of the political role played by the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches during the American Revolution was not a denial of Canada's British heritage. Instead, the perspective from which he viewed Canada's past was an attempt to provide new insight into Canada's historical development by emphasizing its essential North American character. By the inter-war and post-war years, Canadian historians could no longer ignore the tremendous impact of American influence on Canadian historical development.

The political role of the Churches in relation to the American Revolution is not a question of much consequence in Donald Creighton's historical writing. It is the context in which he has treated the subject rather than his discovery of any new historical source material which will be examined here. His interpretation of Canada's relationship with Britain and the United States distinguishes his approach to the historical question from that of his contemporary Arthur Laver. Although

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both historians represent the same historical conception, Croly-
ton in fact has been critical of the Liberal interpretation en-
pounced by Lower which concentrates on freedom from Britain —
the "colony to nation" idea. 67 This division accounts for the
difference in interpretation of the significance of the American
Revolution in relation to Canada.

Crolyton's pessimistic view of the shift away from
a British orientation in Canadian historical writing, stems from
his deep alarm over the increasing American cultural and economic
penetration of Canada. Lower sees the British tie as an
impediment which has hindered Canada from developing a separate,
national, self-consciousness, Crolyton views the British col-
nection as an important countervailing to the powerful United
States. The fact that Lower received his graduate training
at Harvard while Crolyton studied history at Alliel College,
Oxford 68 may have contributed to some extent to the difference
in their historical perspectives.

For Crolyton, Great Britain was the force in Canadian
historical development, without which Canada would have been
absorbed by the United States. "In the nineteenth century,"
the historian claims, "the British Empire had ensured Canada's
survival and growth in a continent dominated by the United States." 69

69 Donald Crolyton, "The Decline and Fall of the Empire
of the St. Lawrence," Canadian Historical Association Report
With the progressive decline of the Anglo-Canadian alliance under successive Liberal administrations, it is Crockett's view that Canada is destined to be absorbed by the American Orient. The historian's antibritish attitude to a continental destiny inevitably implies that Crockett's approach to Canadian history has been intentionally pro-British. In fact because of his partisan criticism of the Liberal interpretation of Canadian history, Crockett has acquired a reputation as the spokesman of a Conservative view of Canadian history and therefore a defender of the traditional institutions which includes the British tie.

In his Dominion of the North, Crockett's brief portrayal of the role of the Roman Catholic Church during the Revolution illustrates a pragmatic approach to the question. Rather than attributing the clergy's loyalty to their pledge to the sovereign, or D'Isrée Frédé had arrived in 1775, Crockett emphasized the interest factor as the primary motive for the clergy's support of the British cause. During the American invasion, Crockett says, "the clergy and soldiery of Quebec, grateful for the lavish concession of the Quebec Act set their faces stonily against the revolutionary contention." Since the Roman Catholic Church acted as a conservative force in support of the British cause, on this occasion, in Canadian history, Crockett has viewed its role favourably. He has not, however,

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70Ibid., pp. 20-21.
72Crockett, Dominion of the North, p. 150.
overplayed the importance of ecclesiastical influence during this political crisis.

Far more instrumental than the Church had been in generating Canadian loyalty during the American Revolution, Creighton regards the merchants as the really decisive group.

"Everything depended on the merchants.... The fact was that in both Halifax and Montreal the commercial group was as independent of the Atlantic seaboard as it was dependent upon England."

The viewpoint expressed here is a characteristic one which pervades much of Creighton's historical writing. For him, economy has been the predominant impulse directing Canadian development, and should be reflected therefore in Canadian historical writing. He has interpreted the impact of the American Revolution on Canada within the context of his "commercial empire of the St. Lawrence," hence the merchants were the deciding factor. In Creighton's estimation, the preservation of the British tie was due more to the expediency of commercial enterprise than to any duty of obedience inculcated by the churches.

Since Creighton's historical writing has attempted to document the way in which Canada has maintained a separate identity from the United States, the exodus of the Loyalists has furnished him with a valuable historical example of Canada's essentially British foundation. He referred to the Loyalists as "the greatest asset which the surviving North American col-

78 Ibid.
ones obtained from the enforced liquidation of the first British Empire. It should be recalled that from Arthur Leier's perspective, this same group of ex-patriated Americans represented English Canada's essentially North American element, an observation which reflected the nearly opposite viewpoints taken by these two Canadian historians.

The previous chapter pointed out how the Church of England had identified itself openly as the principal exponent of allegiance in the British Empire. Suddenly, these loyalist values had been transferred to British North America after the Revolution where an Anglican establishment was to serve as the bulwark of loyalty to the Crown. Of course, Creighton is less concerned with advancing the cause of Anglicanism than he is in illustrating the larger framework of Canadian conservatism. He attributes to the Loyalists those same political values which the Anglican leaders had claimed the Church represented during the Revolution. Thus, for this modern historian, it is the Loyalists rather than the Church who "stood for constitutional government as against rebellion, for the unity of the Empire as opposed to its disruption and for monarchy instead of republicanism." The privileged position of the Church of England in Canada has never been a popular theme among Canadian historians. While Creighton does not sanction its privileged position either, he has recognized the political importance of the Church

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74 Creighton, The Story of Canada, p. 73.
75 Ibid., p. 96.
of England in terms of Britain's post-revolutionary reaction. It acknowledged that in British North America, the Church was to serve as "another bulwark of royal authority and the established order." In view of Crockett's professed interest in the British tie, it is surprising that he has not developed the underlying political idea behind the Imperial Government's decision to establish Anglican bishops in Canada. However, this historian has not been sufficiently interested in the influence of religion on historical development to explore the implications of this politico-ecclesiastical theory.

To the extent that Crockett deals with the political role of the Churches at all, his approach has been a traditional one. He has only mentioned the Roman Catholic Church for what he saw as its rather minor role. Since the Church of England represented the British principle of political order and authority, at least in Crockett's estimation, he has acknowledged its political significance. Essentially, however, he was far more interested in the political and economic rather than the ecclesiastical implications of the impact of the American Revolution on Canada.

The political significance of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches during the American Revolution has not been a major preoccupation of Canadian historians in quite the same way as they perceived the importance of the religious situation at the time of the British Conquest. Although historically,

76 Crockett, Dominion of the North, p. 173.
both Churches interpreted their respective positions in terms of the political duty which the ecclesiastical institution owed to the State, historians have concerned themselves almost ex-
clusively with the political implications of the American
Revolution. Had historians been more concerned with the role
which religion did play during this political crisis, they would
have observed the interesting parallel position which these two
ecclesiastical traditions upheld. Perhaps because until recent-
ly the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches maintained the idea
of their strictly separate identities, as well as the fact that
English and French-Canadian historians have been inclined to
concentrate more on these aspects of Canadian history which
have divided the two groups, this question of the loyalty of
the two Churches during the political crisis has not received
the attention which it would seem to merit.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In recognition of the fact that ecclesiastical issues have not been well integrated into the mainstream of Canadian historical writing, this thesis has had two aims. First, it has attempted to articulate the major issues facing Church and State at the Conquest and the American Revolution, and to explain the relationship which the Roman Catholic and Anglican episcopates had to these two political crises. Secondly, in view of the fact that Canadian historians, for the most part, were more interested in political than ecclesiastical issues, the thesis has examined two major political crises in order to evaluate the context in which a selected group of English and French-speaking Canadian historians have dealt with the role of the Churches in each instance. We were interested in discovering what historians have said about ecclesiastical issues, as well as what they have failed to say.

Our inquiry has been organized around the basic contention that religious issues had been important to contemporaries, and had a definite bearing on political questions during the eighteenth century. This being the case, the thesis has proceeded to analyse how subsequent historical writing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries either reflected or ignored
the close Church-State relationship of the eighteenth century. The fact that historians have concentrated their attention on the political implications of both the Conquest and the American Revolution, while generally disregarding the political relationship of ecclesiastical issues to the larger events, has been the major question which this thesis has addressed.

Subsequent historical reflections on the British Conquest have emphasized the fact that this event severed the political ties between New and Old France but historical evidence, the bishop's mandates in particular, have suggested how contemporaries perceived of the disruption in imperial relations not only as a political crisis but also as a serious ecclesiastical dilemma for the Roman Catholic colony. Given the current eighteenth century understanding of Church-State relations, the French-speaking population of Quebec feared the loss of the Roman Catholic religion as much as the loss of their French nationality. That the Roman Catholic Church and its episcopate had been allowed to survive was principally a solution based on the political expediency of maintaining the loyalty of the French-speaking population. The liberal governors, Murray and later Carleton, judged that such an end might be accomplished more easily not by destroying the influence of the Roman Catholic Church but by securing an alliance with the remaining leaders of the colony. Thus after the Conquest of Quebec, the Roman Catholic episcopate which formerly served the interests of the French King of New France would be trans-
formed into a mediator for the British monarch of the newly conquered colony. The close association between the Roman Catholic Church and the French-Canadian population had been intensified by the Conquest; hence the survival of the Church since 1760 had been linked so intimately with the preservation of the French-Canadian way of life that no Canadian historian has really been able to ignore totally this important political-ecclesiastical question.

The historiographical aspect of the thesis has examined how subsequent historians have dealt with the religious question during this early period of Canadian history. Having selected three French-speaking and three English-speaking Canadian historians, this part of the paper inquires how these men seemed to represent the thinking of different historical generations on the political significance of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches at the Conquest and the American Revolution. There seems to be a stronger sense of historical continuity among the three generations of French-Canadian historians on both issues than is discernible among the English Canadians.

This particularism may be explained at least in part by the selection of the three French-speaking historians - Carreau, Groulx and Brunet - who have been French-Canadian nationalists. Nationalism has been closely allied to historical writing in French Canada to a greater extent than in English Canada.

For three generations of French-Canadian historians, the most significant fact of the whole ordeal of the Conquest
has been French-Canadian survival. The extent to which individual historians have attributed that end to the Church itself depends ultimately on the ecclesiastical impulses of their own contemporary milieu. In François-Xavier Garneau's work, the religious question did not constitute a major issue since his interests were essentially political, in response to the apprehended political crisis which had descended on French Canada after the Act of Union of 1841. However, under the careful 'persuasion' by the Church which toward the latter part of the nineteenth century had become increasingly ultramontane in its orientation, Garneau's revised editions came to reflect the 'proper' role which his society believed the Church had had in saving the French-Canadian identity after the Conquest. With Abbé Lionel Groulx, who was a cleric himself, the role which the Church played after the Conquest had been exalted to that of a messiah in French-Canadian history. Although he denied the providential theory of the Conquest because politically it implied that the British Conquest had been divinely sanctioned, Groulx left no doubt that God had willed the survival of the Roman Catholic tradition in French Canada. Lionel Groulx's historical writing exemplifies the fusion of French-Canadian nationalism with a profound sense of religious mission, a tradition which prevailed in Quebec well into the twentieth century, when the Roman Catholic Church remained an important focal point of French-Canadian identity. Since the Second World War, the close identity between French-Canadian nationalism and the Roman
Catholic Church has diminished. A contemporary writer like Michel Brunet is no longer interested in portraying how the Roman Catholic Church has preserved the French-Canadian nationality since the Conquest. Although Brunet still interprets the role of the Church as a politically significant one, his main emphasis has been rather on portraying the French-Canadian will to survive under British domination for some two hundred years, essentially of the support lent by the Church. He says that a conquered society has little choice but to co-operate with the conquerors — the Church therefore complied with the British but hoped to salvage something for itself. Thus, with respect to the Roman Catholic Church, all three French-Canadian historians testify to its political significance after the Conquest.

Historically, the Conquest of Quebec also had important political implications for the Church of England. Prior to 1760, the Anglican Church in the Anglo-American colonies had been engaged in an unsuccessful political struggle to obtain bishops for the colonies. Contemporary Anglican clergy both in the colonies and in Britain anxiously anticipated that the conquered French colony might serve the Church of England as a possible base for episcopal establishment, and an asset for Church and State alike. However, Anglican proposals were ignored consistently by a government which was far more concerned with the political than the ecclesiastical side of Imperial reorganization. Thus, for the Church of England in North America, the period from the Conquest to the American Revolution remained
a period of unfulfilled expectations since political expediency over-ruled ecclesiastical ambition. Perhaps Canadian historians have simply been realistic about the role of the Anglican Church during this period of Canadian history— they too have ignored its possible political significance almost completely, just as the Imperial Government had in the eighteenth century. As far as the French Canadians have been concerned, the fate of the Church of England has held little historical interest for them in any generation. Their interest in ecclesiastical issues in an historical context has really and understandably been confined to the Roman Catholic Church.

English-Canadian historians have also recognized the relationship of the Roman Catholic Church to French-Canadian survival. In the nineteenth century, William Hinksford regarded the French-Canadian Roman Catholic population of Quebec as a suspicious lot which the British conquerors failed to assimilate. In the twentieth century Arthur Lover has been far more sympathetic to the cause of French-Canadian survival. He interpreted the religious differences between that society and English Canada as one of the major dilemmas which the Conquest had imposed on the Canadian nation. Lover's understanding of the ecclesiastical situation facing both the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Church has been outstanding among Canadian historians because his personal interest in the impact of religion on society encouraged him to explore the implications of the Conquest on the episcopal question for both ecclesiastical institutions. His colleague,
Donald Creighton has been more detached from religious issues in Canadian history generally. He observed only that as a result of political necessities, the Roman Catholic Church had been allowed a bishop which assured the Church of a future, but the topic of the Church of the Conquest was of little genuine interest to him.

With respect to the political role of the Church of England, English-Canadian historians also have not had much sympathy with its cause in the historical context. The fate of colonial Anglicanism in terms of British policy was sacrificed on the altar of imperial expediency. As the American Revolution grew closer, the British Parliament could hardly bring itself to sanction sending bishops of the Church of England to North America, since the whole matter had become a bitter political issue. The ecclesiastical significance of this issue has escaped the serious attention of Canadian historians. Had they been more sensitive to ecclesiastical issues, they might have recognized the startling reversal in Britain's policy toward the Anglican Church which occurred after the American Revolution.

In our investigation of the political role of the Roman Catholic and Anglican episcopates during the American Revolution, this paper has contended that historical evidence suggests that both Churches played strikingly similar roles. Since the eighteenth century accepted the prevailing philosophy that Church and State were mutually supportive of one another, both ecclesiastical institutions regarded the political role which they had assumed
as a necessary duty to the State. Both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches however also enjoyed certain benefits as a result of their support of the State.

Subsequent historical writing on the impact of the American Revolution on Canada has been oriented almost exclusively toward the political implications of the event. Both French-Canadian and English-Canadian historians tend to view the Revolution as a challenge to Canadian identity. However, the role which they have ascribed to the Churches in preserving Canada from the Revolution has not been very significant.

The French Canadians as a group evidenced less interest in the historic event of the American Revolution than they had in the Conquest. While no French-Canadian historian ignored the important political role of the Church at the Conquest, the question of the political role of the Church during the American Revolution has been a different matter for these nationalist historians. All three have been reluctant to acknowledge how once again, the Roman Catholic Church was politically instrumental in preserving the French-Canadian identity during the American Revolution. This disinclination seems to be a result of their interpretation of Bishop Friend's political activity. The French-Canadian historians have acknowledged how the Church had survived the assault of the British, after the Conquest; however, this same group of historians has been less willing to recall how the Roman Catholic Church had supported the British cause actively during the American
Revolution. Although historically, during both political crises, the Church aimed at preserving itself and the French-Canadian nationality as well, the political circumstances surrounding the two events have resulted in the somewhat different emphasis on the ecclesiastical question in French-Canadian historiography.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Samneau downplayed any significance which the Church may have had in altering the outcome of the political crisis, emphasizing instead the triumph of the French-Canadian nationality. Abbé Lionel Groulx who has been notorious among his early twentieth century colleagues for his portrayal of the role of the Roman Catholic Church in French-Canadian history, also downplayed the role played by Bishop Briand during the American Revolution, since supporting the British cause was a subject which this French-Canadian nationalist preferred simply to ignore. Nor has the contemporary French-Canadian historian, Michel Brunet, been any more willing than his predecessors to acknowledge how the Roman Catholic episcopate actively supported the British. He noted that the Church had no choice but to collaborate with the British, as it had since the Conquest. He added, however, that by their cooperation, the Church leaders managed to maintain some form of leadership in the French-Canadian community, since the conquerors required intermediaries.

The English-Canadian historians were not any more interested in the ecclesiastical aspect of the American Revolu-
tion than were the French Canadians. As a group they have been more concerned with the implications of that historic event in relation to English-Canadian identity. Since William Kingsford represented the generation which championed the cause of imperial unity, the American Revolution allowed him to narrate how the first significant group of English-speaking Canadians expounded the cause of imperial unity. In his estimation, the role played by both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Church was rather peripheral to the question of the American Revolution. Arthur Lower viewed the impact of the American Revolution on Canada in terms of class divisions which implied that the hierarchy in society, including the Church and the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec, remained loyal to the British. In his analysis of the Revolution, Lower also acknowledged as none of his colleagues had, that there was a recognizable parallel between the French population who remained faithful to the British cause and the later so-called "loyalists" who supported British authority. While this historian has not over-emphasized the role of religious institutions during the Revolution, he has recognized quite accurately that for political reasons both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches persisted in upholding the cause of British loyalty during the Revolutionary struggle. The political relationship of the Churches to the historical context of the American Revolution is of less interest to Donald Creighton. He has acknowledged simply that the Roman Catholic Bishop of Quebec supported the British in gratitude for the Quebec Act. He also
points out how the Church of England became a political instrument for promoting loyalty to the British connection in the post-revolutionary period. In his view, however, the role played by the ecclesiastical institutions had only a minor impact on the outcome, since the author was far more interested in portraying how decisive the commercial interests had been instead in deciding Canada's destiny with respect to the American Revolution.

Neither Canada's French nor its English-speaking historians have been as concerned as contemporaries and Church historians have been in portraying the political role of the ecclesiastical institutions in relation to the Revolution. The historians dealt with in the context of the present discussion recognized no more than the marginal political impact of either the Roman Catholic or Anglican episcopate on this occasion. No doubt decline in historical importance once attached to the Church-State issues in the eighteenth century has been evident in the historical treatment of these questions, both at the Conquest and the American Revolution, at the hands of nineteenth and twentieth century historians. Still, it is the contention of this paper that had subsequent historians taken a greater interest in exploring the ecclesiastical side of these two political crises, they might have discerned that there were in fact important parallels between the Roman Catholic episcopal dilemma at Quebec after the Conquest and the struggle for an Anglican colonial episcopate, both of which had been subject to the demands
of the political situation. During the American Revolution both the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches upheld a fundamentally similar political position by supporting legitimately established authority. Nonetheless few of Canada's interpretive historians have been sufficiently interested in exploring the possible political implications of ecclesiastical issues in relation to the broader political questions. Such an approach in Canadian historical writing might result in a more comprehensive account not only of these two political watersheds but of subsequent political crises as well.

Originally, this thesis had anticipated exploring the additional possible political significance of the Roman Catholic and Anglican episcopates during later political crises in Canadian history: the War of 1812, the Rebellions of 1837-38, Confederation, up to the First and possibly including the Second World War. However, such a research project proved to be far too ambitious an undertaking to pursue in any depth.

It would be interesting to examine how Canadian historians have interpreted the role of the Church in the context of these later political events. Another possibility for further research might be to expand the denominational basis of such a study to include those groups which had begun to assert a greater influence on Canadian political life in the post-revolutionary era; the Methodists would provide a good starting point. Hopefully, this thesis has outlined at least some basis for taking a historiographical approach to Canadian history by its examination of the relations of Church and State at the Conquest and the American Revolution.
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