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Résumé de l'article

L'auteur se propose d'abord d'étudier l'organisation du territoire ecclésiastique telle qu'établie par l'Eglise catholique dans l'est et le nord de l'Ontario pendant le dix-neuvième siècle; puis, il tente de démontrer que cette organisation territoriale qui avait pour but de minimiser les conflits sociaux et de favoriser les bonnes relations a, au contraire, engendré des dissensions et miné l'esprit de coopération et de solidarité au sein de cette institution.

Le problème se pose à partir de l'érection du diocèse d'Ottawa, en 1847, parce que celui-ci couvre un immense territoire tant en Ontario qu'au Québec. Si l'établissement du diocèse répondait aux programmes de colonisation établis par la hiérarchie québécoise, il indisposait nettement les dirigeants des diocèses ontariens qui auraient voulu voir coïncider les limites des juridictions civiles et ecclésiastiques. De part et d'autre, on espérait protéger l'homogénéité de la population colonisatrice, fut-elle francophone ou anglophone, et de plus, minimiser les conflits ethniques.

L'auteur estime que, si cette politique a eu quelque succès au niveau de la paroisse, elle s'est avérée un échec au niveau des relations interdiocésaines; selon lui, la hiérarchie ecclésiastique a raté ici une excellente occasion de créer une atmosphère de coopération entre ethnies dans cette zone qui sert de transition entre le Canada français et le Canada anglais au dix-neuvième siècle.

Ecclesiastical Territorial Organization and Institutional Conflict in Eastern and Northern Ontario, 1840 to 1910

D.G. CARTWRIGHT

The analysis of location, human interaction and the organization of space by man through the assessment of policies and goals of space-organizing institutions is not a new procedure in political geography. It is, however, one that has had relatively few applications, in part because of the difficulty in gaining access to documents that relate to policy formulation of such institutions and in assessing correctly the goals of these organizations. In spite of such difficulties in observing organizational behavior McNee, in his research into the geography of institutions, maintains that the modern corporation is one of man's most effective agents "in the attempt to organize space for human purposes".¹ It is through such studies that greater understanding of the spatial framework of society can be achieved. The purpose of this paper is to analyse the organization of territory, by a specific institution, that was designed to minimize social conflict and to maximize human interaction, but in so doing encountered, for a time, the loss of internal cooperation and solidarity. The institution that organized territorially to achieve these specific goals was the Roman Catholic Church in Eastern Canada during the nineteenth century.

The pattern of distribution and the size of ecclesiastical territorial units must conform to codes of canon law, but there is sufficient flexibility to accommodate needs that may be perceived as regional in their significance. Consequently, while territorial organization of a universal church is clearly an administrative necessity, it also facilitates the implementation of programmes that may be interpreted as unique to a particular diocese or ecclesiastical province.

Edward Soja has described the political organization of space as a means of structuring interaction between component units.² The major purpose of such

* Research conducted in various diocesan archives was supported by a grant from the Canada Council. The writer would like to express his appreciation to the members of the Council for providing this opportunity.

1. McNee, R.B., "Functional Geography of the Firm With an Illustrative Case Study from the Petroleum Industry", *Economic Geography*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (1958), p. 322. See also, McNee, R.B., "An Inquiry into the Goal or Goals of the Enterprise: A Case Study", *The Professional Geographer*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1972).
2. Soja, E.W., *The Political Organization of Space*, American Association of Geographers, Commission on College Geography, Resource Paper #8, (Washington, D.C., 1971).

organization is to create and to maintain solidarity within the society by shaping the processes of competition, conflict and cooperation as they operate spatially. If it is accepted that the organization of ecclesiastical territory is associated, in part, with perceived regional needs, it would appear that the hierarchy of the Church also attempted to structure spatial interaction to shape the same processes that operated from within and without the Church. Indeed, by analyzing the territorial organization of the institution over a specific period, these processes may be found to be relevant to policy formation and to institutional activities.

Ecclesiastical ordering may be designated as a formal organization of territory, since a Catholic population must be associated with specifically bounded units at the scale of the parish, the deanery and the diocese/archdiocese. The religious activities and much of the social life of early Catholic settlers were focused upon the home and the parish church, but this was considered by the hierarchy to be complete only when these basic units were linked to a diocesan see.³ Once such formal organization of territorial units was accomplished, lay and church-sponsored activities were initiated and extended throughout the diocese to accommodate the religious, educational, medical and social needs of parishioners. Human interaction became more firmly linked to the home, the church and the see. It may be assumed that the hierarchy thereby attained a functional organization of territory that was complementary to formal organization. Ecclesiastical territorial organization is interpreted, therefore, as an attempt to make coincident the functional organization of space, in terms of human interaction, and the formal organization of space, in terms of precisely bounded administrative units. It is the formal organization of territory that will be stressed in this analysis, for it was through this process that conflict infested an outwardly monolithic organization.

Formal Organization of Ecclesiastical Territory

The expansion of territorial organization in Eastern Canada during the early decades of the nineteenth century had to be accomplished with considerable diplomacy by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The full authority of the Church could be realized only through attainment of an ecclesiastical province whereby a Council of Bishops could provide uniformity to Church discipline and clerical regulations. It was also an essential status to assure a rapport with the civil government. Both would provide the hierarchy with flexibility to anticipate and respond to demographic changes and imminent religious and ethnic conflicts.

Demographic turmoil developed within Quebec during the early decades of the nineteenth century and the hierarchy, secure in the web of the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec after 1844, was able to counter this, in part, through a reorganization of ecclesiastical territory and a program of clerical leadership in colonization. Young people and entire families were leaving the crowded parishes of the St. Lawrence lowland in response to salaried-employment opportunities in the

3. McKenzie, J.L., *The Roman Catholic Church*, (New York: Rinehart and Winston, 1969). See also Granfield, P., *Ecclesial Cybernetics: A Study of Democracy in the Church*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973).

mills and factories of New England.⁴ To counter this "loss of souls", the hierarchy looked to the lands beyond the St. Lawrence to apply their scheme of colonization.

In 1840 the Ottawa Valley was considered to be territory that would accommodate such a program. The area was accessible because geographically it was an extension of the St. Lawrence lowlands; moreover, it was familiar territory because of the significance of the valley to the early history of New France. It was feasible, therefore, that this sparsely populated land, with its Indian missions and shanty havens for the young and adventurous *Québécois*, should be incorporated into the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec. If civil and ecclesiastical limits were to coincide through this valley, and beyond into Rupert's Land, spatial continuity and accessibility into this frontier territory would be lost.

There were two major undertakings that were instrumental in entrenching ecclesial linkages within the frontier territory of Eastern and Northern Ontario, both preludes to the erection of a diocese. In 1841 Bishop Bourget of Montreal was successful in obtaining the services of the Oblate fathers from France for missionary work throughout the Ottawa Valley. Under the leadership of Mgr. Guigues, these French priests were located first at Longueuil and eventually in Bytown (renamed Ottawa in 1855). Next, Bourget was able to secure an agreement with the Bishop of the Diocese of Kingston that the Oblate fathers would conduct their mission work on both sides of the Ottawa River, which meant they would function within the territories of both Montreal and Kingston. During the next six years, as the Oblates familiarized themselves with conditions throughout the valley, Bishop Bourget persuaded the prelates of Upper Canada and the Archbishop of Quebec that portions of his own territory and that of Kingston and Toronto should be dismembered in order to erect the Diocese of Bytown.⁵ After careful overtures to Rome the movement was successful and, in 1847, the diocese was delimited with Mgr. Guigues, OMI, appointed as bishop. The see was located in Canada West (later Ontario) in the village of Bytown (figure 1).

Two features were significant in the areal organization of the new diocese. The boundaries flanked the Ottawa River and thereby absorbed a huge tract of land in the northern portions of Canada East and Canada West. Furthermore, the diocese was to be suffragan to the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec and as such to participate fully in the programmes and policies of the hierarchy of Canada East, in particular those that were involved with Catholic colonization.⁶

4. Vicero, R.D., *Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1968).

5. Archdiocesan Archives, Montreal (A.A.M.), Petition, "Aux Très Eminents Cardinaux de la Sacrée Congrégation de la Propagande", Registres et Cahiers Divers (R.C.D.).

6. Père Alexis (de Barbezieux), *Histoire de la Province Ecclésiastique d'Ottawa et de la Colonisation dans la Vallée d'Ottawa*, (Ottawa, 1897), II, p. 223. See also A.A.M., Mgr. Bourget au Père Moreau, missionnaire à Ile-des Allumettes, 15 novembre 1843, Registres des Lettres (R. de L.) III, p. 210. See also Silver, A.I., "French Canada and

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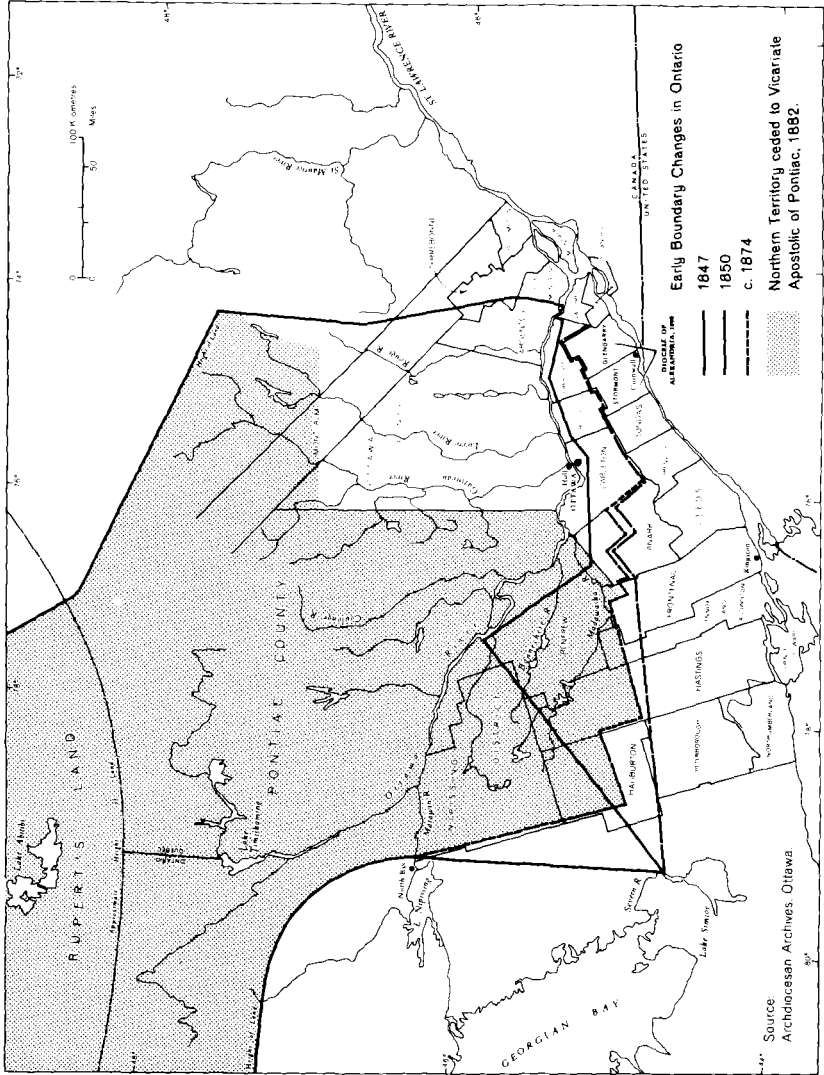


Figure 1. Diocese of Ottawa.

Source: Archdiocesan Archives, Ottawa.

TABLE 1

CHANGES IN CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT POPULATIONS IN
SELECTED COUNTIES, DIOCESE OF OTTAWA, 1851 to 1881

County	French Catholics	Irish Catholics	Total Catholic	Protestants	Total Population
Ottawa^a					
1851	6,984	7,122	14,106	8,797	22,503
1861	14,357	5,536	19,893	7,864	27,757
1871	22,676	8,245	30,921	10,596	41,517
1881	30,433	8,067	38,500	10,932	49,432
Carleton					
1851	898	7,327	8,225	15,412	23,637
1861	975	9,066	10,041	19,579	29,620
1871 ^b	797	5,231	6,028	15,711	21,739
1881	1,668	5,171	6,839	17,850	24,689
Lanark					
1851	378	1,509	1,887	8,676	10,563
1861	389	2,061	2,450	10,030	12,460
1871 ^c	309	1,694	2,003	6,522	8,525
1881	301	1,354	1,655	6,979	8,634
Renfrew					
1851	804	2,703	3,507	5,908	9,415
1861	1,139	7,430	8,569	11,756	20,325
1871	2,282	8,177	11,059	16,918	27,977
1881	5,240	11,721	16,961	23,164	40,125
Prescott					
1851	3,438	1,989	5,427	5,060	10,487
1861	6,558	3,063	9,621	5,878	15,499
1871	9,623	2,151	11,774	5,873	17,647
1881	14,601	2,294	16,895	5,962	22,857
1891	16,250	2,284	18,534	5,639	24,173
Russell					
1851	688	298	986	1,884	2,870
1861	2,889	629	3,518	3,306	6,824
1871	5,600	3,231	8,831	9,513	18,344
1881	9,622	3,633	13,255	11,827	25,082
1891	14,101	4,377	18,478	13,165	31,643

Source: Archdiocesan Archives, Ottawa

- a - The county of Ottawa contained the valleys of the Gatineau and the Lievre. The figures given include totals for urban centers and rural settlements.
- b - The drop in population between 1861 and 1871 can be explained through the loss of Gloucester and Osgoode townships to Russell County in 1871.
- c - In 1871 it became possible to determine the census by township. Those townships that were not part of the diocese were excluded.

Shortly after his installation, Bishop Guigues petitioned Rome to extend the boundaries of his new territory further into Ontario. In one appeal he supported his argument to incorporate all of Russell, Prescott, Carleton and Lanark counties into his diocese with an interesting geographical interpretation: "un changement des limites, parce que les montagnes des cantons sont très difficiles à administrer de Kingston et très faciles cependant à visiter de Bytown." His plea to Rome was successful and the four counties, as well as the southern edge of the Shield in Ontario, were ceded to the Diocese of Bytown (figure 1).

Territorial Conflict

While the colonization programmes of the hierarchy of Quebec were realizing some success in guiding French-Canadian settlers into the counties of Eastern Ontario during the 1850's and 1860's (table 1), Bishop Guigues was facing pressure from the new prelates of Upper Canada to restore the "Ontario" portion of his territory to the Dioceses of Kingston and Toronto. As these dioceses grew in wealth and in population, the desire to organize diocesan territory to suit the limits of civil jurisdiction mounted. If an ecclesiastical province were to be erected in Ontario, it was considered essential that the civil limits along the Ottawa River represent ecclesiastical limits as well. It seemed reasonable to the hierarchy of Ontario that the clergy in "Lower Canada" and in "Upper Canada" should be free to structure their own provincial councils and to organize their own territory within their respective portions of the United Provinces of Canada.⁸

At the Provincial Council meeting of Quebec in 1868, it was recommended that a new province should be erected in Ontario but, to the surprise of the bishops of Ontario, Bishop Guigues openly refused to belong to the new ecclesiastical province, even though his see was located on the southern side of the civil boundary. The Ordinary of Ottawa did not hesitate to declare that the French-speaking portion of his diocese would not be cared for properly if it belonged to the forthcoming (1870) Province of Toronto.⁹ Rather piqued by this pronounce-

the Prairie Frontier 1870-1890", *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. L, No. 1 (1969). Silver has stated that "French-Canadian attempts at colonization had . . . a very special form. The organization of the new parish had to be set up; in particular, a church had to be built and a priest brought in. This scheme for a frontier settlement, aimed at making the move to the frontier as smooth as possible. . . ." There is agreement with this interpretation, but before a parish could be erected or priests assigned it was necessary to secure territory to the jurisdiction of a bishop or a vicariate apostolic.

7. Archdiocesan Archives, Ottawa (A.A.O.), Guigues Papers, Guigues to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, Rome, *Registre des Lettres* (R. des L.) Vol. III (1850-1860), 10 February 1850. Minor errors of spelling and accents in French-language documents have been corrected to avoid confusion; this has in no way altered the meaning of any quotation.
8. A.A.O., Bishop Lynch to Bishop Duhamel, 18 November 1874. Diocese of Canada, "Toronto" (file #79).
9. A.A.O., Cardinal Taschereau (Quebec) to Mgr. Duhamel, 6 December 1874. R. des L., VI (1872-1875). It was in this letter that the Cardinal quoted such statements from one of Bishop Guigues' letters to His Eminence.

ment, the bishops of Ontario, nonetheless, came away from the Council with the understanding that, as soon as the Diocese of Ottawa could be divided, the portion of the diocese situated in Ontario would be "restored" to the Province of Toronto.¹⁰ Toward the end of his reign as bishop, Guigues, in a letter to the Archbishop of Quebec, warned that any territorial change would be a great misfortune for the large French-Canadian population that was colonizing the south shore of the Ottawa River. He explained that the French-speaking priests in the parishes and missions that had been established throughout Russell and Prescott counties had been successful in encouraging large numbers of *habitants* to take up land in this part of his diocese. Territorial loss here would terminate the important work of colonization and, hence, have an impact upon the crowded parishes of Quebec.¹¹

The move to divide the Diocese of Ottawa and to restore the Ontario portion was led by Archbishop Lynch of Toronto after the death of Bishop Guigues in 1872. Reorganization within Ontario was necessary to revitalize the Diocese of Kingston and, eventually, to attach the relatively wealthy and populated counties of south-central Ontario to frontier territorial organization in Northern Ontario.¹²

The Diocese of Kingston had experienced administrative difficulties after the death of Bishop Macdonnell in 1840. According to Lynch, his successor, Mgr. Gaulin, as a French Canadian did not understand fully the nature and customs of his people, who were mainly Irish and Scots. Moreover, Gaulin's health was never sound during his reign and this denied him the time to overcome the gulf. Although a successor, Bishop Horan, appointed in 1858, was of British ethnic origin, he had been a professor at Laval University and Lynch felt that he lacked the experience to cope with a diocese that was so vast and contained numerous missions.¹³ He too suffered ill health shortly after his elevation to bishop.

To make the diocese more manageable, Lynch planned to extract the five counties of Lanark, Grenville, Dundas, Stormont and Glengarry from Kingston and attach these to Carleton, Prescott and Russell and thereby create a new Diocese of Ottawa (figure 1). Large parishes within Kingston could then be divided, more priests assigned and the risk of exposure to "un milieu de sectes protestantes très actives" minimized.¹⁴ The Catholic population would still be sufficiently large to support the diocese according to Lynch. Consequently, Durham and Victoria counties in the west would be detached from Kingston and added to Toronto, thereby permitting the linkage of the Niagara Peninsula to Hamilton,

10. A.A.O., Mgr. Lynch to Mgr. Duhamel, 18 November 1874, *op. cit.* (Toronto received archdiocesan status in 1870).

11. A.A.O., Cardinal Taschereau to Mgr. Duhamel, 6 December 1874, *op. cit.*

12. Archdiocesan Archives, Toronto (A.A.T.), Lynch Papers, Archbishop Lynch to the Pope, 20 October 1873.

13. Bishop Phelan, the immediate successor to Bishop Gaulin, held office as Bishop of Kingston for only one year. He died in 1858.

14. A.A.T., Archbishop to the Pope, *op. cit.*

“qui selon les limites naturelles devraient appartenir à Hamilton et non à Toronto” (figure 2).¹⁵

The Archbishop of Toronto was concerned with the realignment of the southern tier of counties at this time. In 1874 the Vicariate Apostolic of Northern Canada was erected and consisted of the two districts of Muskoka and Parry Sound and part of Nipissing. A French Canadian, Bishop Jamot, was appointed to the administrative centre in Bracebridge. The new territory, however, extended southward only to the Muskoka River. Lynch appeared to have given little consideration to the possibility or necessity of joining the more populated and prosperous counties of the south to the new frontier territory. Conversely, it may have been structured deliberately to strengthen his argument for the realignment of civil and ecclesiastical limits. Whatever, the territorial organization of this frontier required subsequent adjustment and it was a situation that Guigues' successor, Mgr. Duhamel, turned to his advantage.

To the new Bishop of Ottawa, appointed in 1872, the progress of colonization was as important as it has been to his predecessor. Consequently, Duhamel also decided to resist the requests from the bishops of Ontario to have the ecclesiastical limits of his territory coincide with the civil boundary between Ontario and Quebec. Along with his dedication to the various religious tasks within the diocese, Duhamel felt a strong obligation for guidance and protection of French Catholics. This attitude was expressed firmly in a letter to his archbishop.

Nous ne devons nous abstenir de réclamer les droits de la nationalité à laquelle nous appartenons. Il m'a toujours semblé que les évêques devraient se mettre à la tête du peuple canadien soit pour marcher les premiers soit pour arrêter tout mouvement qu'ils croient préjudiciable à l'intérêt bien entendu des canadiens catholiques.¹⁶

Duhamel received considerable support from several prelates of Quebec, particularly Archbishop Taschereau, during his early years in office and successfully resisted the territorial claims by the hierarchy of Ontario.¹⁷

Territorial Organization in Northern Ontario

Over the next decade Irish and French Canadians continued to settle the Ontario portion of the Diocese of Ottawa, in part through the encouragement of church-sponsored programmes of Catholic colonization (Table 1). As families followed their kin and kind into Ontario, some prelates of Quebec measured the situation as favourable to intensify territorial organization beyond Quebec. In

15. *Ibid.*

16. A.A.O., Bishop Duhamel to Archbishop Taschereau, 27 November 1885. R. des L., (1885-1898), p. 72.

17. A.A.T., Lynch Papers, Archbishop Taschereau to Bishop Lynch, 16 December 1874. In this letter Taschereau stated, “J'irai même plus loin et j'avouerai que même dans le cas d'une division, les deux diocèses devraient rester unis à la Province de Québec, à cause de la communauté d'origine, de langue et de discipline qu'a avec nous la majorité croissante des canadiens français qui s'établissent sur la rive droite de l'Ottawa”.

1882 the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith was petitioned to create a vicariate apostolic in the northern section of the diocese. Duhamel was aware that a new source of revenue would be forthcoming if such a change were approved. The revenue from the Society of the Propagation of the Faith (Lyon) would aid the missions among the Indians and the work of the colonization societies in the new territory. He was confident that many Catholic families would be induced to locate along the rights-of-way of the newly-built Canadian Pacific and Canada Central Railways which would traverse the vicariate.¹⁸

Duhamel wrote to his archbishop that his northern territory, particularly in the vicinity of Abitibi, needed a bishop to offset the work of Protestant missionaries among the Indians, but such a move would also counteract the continual pressure from the hierarchy of Ontario to dismember his diocese.

Il m'est avis que ce serait un moyen d'empêcher qu'Ottawa ne soit annexé à la province de Toronto. Je prie V.G. de me donner les avis qu'il croirait utiles pour m'aider à gagner le vicariat de Pontiac et empêcher qu'Ottawa ne passe à Toronto.¹⁹

To avoid the error made by the bishops of Ontario in the formation of the Vicariate Apostolic of Northern Canada, Duhamel proposed to give several established parishes and missions to the new territory—Renfrew on the Ontario side, Pontiac on the Quebec side—thereby assuring further financial assistance to the new bishop and, consequently, a viable vicariate. Furthermore, if Ottawa were to take advantage of the location of the see in the capital of the nation, whereby the ordinary could address federal authorities directly on matters of interest to “la Religion”, some consideration should be given to eventual elevation to archdiocesan status. In such an event the Vicariate Apostolic of Pontiac would make excellent suffragan territory.²⁰

The Archbishop of Toronto responded to Duhamel's proposal in strong terms. The erection of the Vicariate Apostolic of Pontiac was recognized as a move that would further hinder the return of the Ontario portion of Duhamel's diocese to the ecclesiastical Province of Toronto.²¹ The selection of prelates and priests for this new territory would be made from within Quebec and, in Lynch's opinion, the clerical education within that province “laisse beaucoup à désirer.”²² Although the Bishop of Ottawa maintained that the Ontario portion of his diocese contained many French-speaking parishioners, this was not to be considered a strong argument, for their children would speak English. Besides, the English-speaking Catholics of the region were the wealthiest and most in-

18. A.A.O., Mgr. Duhamel to Archbishop Taschereau, 2 November 1880, *R. des L.*, (1880-1885) p. 25.

19. A.A.O., Mgr. Duhamel to Archbishop Taschereau, 13 December 1881. *R. Des L.*, (1880-1885) p. 76.

20. *Ibid.*

21. A.A.T., Lynch Papers, “Mémoire sur la division du diocèse d'Ottawa présenté par l'archevêque de Toronto à leurs excellences les cardinaux de la Sacré Congrégation de la Propagande”, n.d.

22. *Ibid.*

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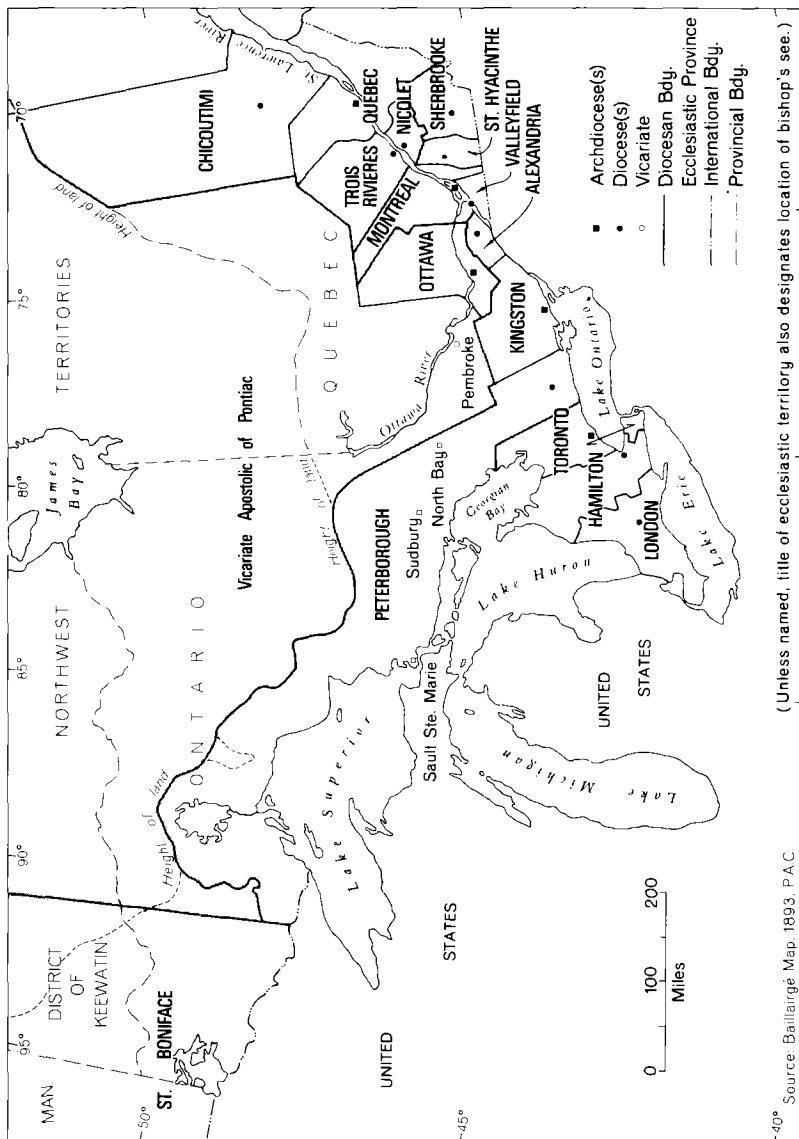


Figure 2. Territorial Organization of The Roman Catholic Church, Central Canada, 1893.

fluential. Growth in numbers should not be taken to indicate a gain in influence, as it was not even certain that such growth would continue. The French Canadians were leaving to join their kin in the United States. As to the significance of the French-Canadian culture in the diocese,

Les catholiques français eux-mêmes choisissent parfois pour membres du Parlement ses protestants parlant anglais. La langue anglaise fait de grands progrès dans les villes et les villages; ce qui est tout naturel, puisque le gouvernement est anglais, et que le grand commerce se fait avec les Anglais.²³

The arguments were intense and the conflict was strengthening. But, in spite of the apprehension and protestations of the hierarchy of Ontario, the northern territory of the Diocese of Ottawa was granted apostolic status by Rome in 1882. The Right Reverend N.Z. Lorrain was installed titular Bishop of Cythera and Vicar Apostolic of Pontiac with his see in Pembroke, Ontario (figure 1).

Reflecting the areal pattern of the original Diocese of Bytown, the new Vicariate Apostolic of Pontiac was composed of territory that straddled the provincial boundary. As suffragan territory to the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec, the colonization schemes of the hierarchy could now be extended into *Nouvel Ontario*. Also, the situation of this new territory assured geographical and, hence, eventual suffragan linkage with Ottawa. Since territorial elevation to apostolic status is a normal preliminary stage to full diocesan status, any aspirations on the part of Mgr. Duhamel or members of the hierarchy of Quebec toward metropolitan status for Ottawa received, thereby, considerable reassurance.

It was now impossible for Lynch to proceed with the desired territorial organization in Ontario. By the late 1870's, settlement was advancing further into Bishop Jamot's territory. The Northern Railway reached Gravenhurst in 1875 and the Victoria Railway was completed as far as Haliburton in 1878.²⁴ Jamot had contributed to this settlement by directing Catholic settlers to the Free Grant lands, but he expressed concern about the number of Icelanders, Swedes and Swiss who were entering his territory. To counter this he pressed the Commissioner of Crown Lands to appoint a Catholic land agent²⁵ and his archbishop to attach Peterborough and Northumberland counties to his jurisdiction (figure 1).²⁶ Lynch agreed with this and the same year that Lorrain was appointed to Pontiac, the Diocese of Peterborough was erected with Jamot as Bishop.²⁷

This immense diocese extended from the north shore of Lake Ontario to the boundary of Ontario and the District of Keewatin (figure 2). Northern Ontario

23. *Ibid.*

24. Murray, Florence B., "Agricultural Settlement on the Canadian Shield: Ottawa River to Georgian Bay", in *Profiles of a Province: Studies in the History of Ontario*, Ontario Historical Society, (Toronto, 1967).

25. Diocesan Archives, Peterborough (D.A.P.), Jamot Papers, Bishop Jamot to J.B. Pardee, Commissioner of Crown Lands, 14 December 1879.

26. *Ibid.*, "Petition to Rome", 3 September 1879.

27. The territory within the Diocese of Ottawa west of Minden, Stanhope, Sherborne and McClintock Townships was ceded to Bishop Jamot's territory, 31 July 1879.

was now divided by the Great Lakes/Ottawa Valley watershed between the ecclesiastical Provinces of Toronto and Quebec. Both were anxious to proceed with Catholic colonization into this frontier territory, but differences persisted on how this was to be carried out.

Geopolitical Impact of Ecclesiastical Conflict

With the northern portion of his diocese securely organized, the Catholic population of his own diocese continuing to expand, and the prestige of the location of his see in the capital of Canada, Duhamel began to press for the elevation of Pontiac/Ottawa to the rank of an ecclesiastical province. This move toward archdiocesan status for Ottawa was considered by some members of the clergy of Quebec as a strategic move to foster Catholic colonization throughout Northern Ontario and thereby effect a linkage with the French-Catholic population of Manitoba. The influential *curé* Labelle, prior to his appointment as Deputy Minister in the Department of Agriculture and Colonization of Quebec (1888), worked for this elevation of Ottawa to metropolitan status.²⁸ He spoke frequently of the "strategic position" of the Diocese of Ottawa and stressed that the creation of an archdiocese would mean that the Province of Quebec would have a secure foothold in Ontario. Labelle warned that any loss of territory to the ecclesiastical Province in Ontario would weaken the French-Catholic advance:

Si nous nous emparons du Nord, nous serons maîtres de la situation, parce que nous avons une position géographique inexpugnable. En nous emparant du sol, depuis la vallée de l'Ottawa jusqu'à Winnipeg, nous empêchons qu'on nous passe sur le dos pour aller à la baie d'Hudson. Ontario s'agit actuellement pour obtenir la possession du territoire de Keewatin. Supposons qu'il réussisse à l'avoir: nous nous répandrons dans le Keewatin et nous serons bientôt les maîtres dans cette province.²⁹

It has not been possible, to date, to determine how acceptable Labelle's scheme was to the hierarchy of the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec. There is corroborative evidence that it was discussed by some prelates in Quebec and that some members of the hierarchy of Ontario were aware of the scheme and feared the impact that it could have within the province (figure 3).

Eighteen months before permission to erect the Vicariate Apostolic of Pontiac was received from Rome, Archbishop Taschereau reminded Duhamel that to the north of the Vicariate Apostolic of Northern Canada there was "une région canadienne" and that it was possible that Bishop Taché of St. Boniface would grant this territory to a Vicariate Apostolic of Pontiac.³⁰ According to Taschereau, Taché had voluntarily ceded his rights to the territory that was situated to the east of the District of Keewatin.

28. A.A.O., Father Labelle to the bishops of Quebec, n.d., file #20, "Elevation to Archdiocese, Ottawa".

29. P.A.C., Casey Catalogue of Pamphlets, Colonization Pamphlets, 1932, quoted in "Le Curé Labelle et La Colonisation", 1885, pp. 53-4.

30. D.A.P., Jamot Papers, Archbishop Taschereau to Bishop Duhamel, 1 December 1880.

At the time that Rome was considering the request of the hierarchy to elevate Ottawa to an archdiocese, Bishop Lorrain informed Taschereau that there was a possibility that another vicariate apostolic would be requested to be situated north of Lake Superior. It was rumoured that the see would be located in Port Arthur and the territory would extend as far west as the boundary of the Diocese of St. Boniface. He suggested that this should be discussed thoroughly at the next Council of Bishops and concluded his letter:

Si Ottawa doit devenir Métropole, il me semble que c'est le temps de demander immédiatement l'érection de ce vicariat qui naturellement devra appartenir à cette dernière province plutôt qu'à celle de Toronto. Et ce sera le moyen de mettre le chaînon qui doit rallier Québec, Ottawa à St-Boniface.³¹

It would appear from these comments that some members of the hierarchy of Quebec agreed with the geopolitical significance of an Archdiocese of Ottawa to form a linkage of French-Canadian settlement between the core area of French Canada and the French settlements in Manitoba.

In 1885 this plan seemed assured when Ottawa was elevated to an Archdiocese with the federal capital as metropolitan see and the Vicariate Apostolic of Pontiac as suffragan. The formal organization of territory was not yet complete, however, for Archbishop Duhamel wished to have a second suffragan for his new province. He again emphasized the significance of the work of the colonization society of his province and earnestly believed that the creation of new suffragan territory would aid this work. Colonization schemes had to be intensified at this time, for French Canadians were entering New England at a rate that was almost double that of the decade of the 1870's.³² It was time, therefore, for Duhamel to turn his attention toward the neighbouring Diocese of Kingston and to assess the possibility of absorbing Glengarry and Stormont counties into the orbit of his ecclesiastical province.

Since 1860 many French-Catholic farmers from the countries of Soulanges and Vaudreuil had gradually and randomly taken up land in the neighbouring Ontario counties of Glengarry and Stormont. The two counties on the St. Lawrence River were beyond the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec and outside the direct influence of the processes of French-Catholic colonization. Originally settled by loyalists of Scots-Catholic origin (1783) and later by Catholic Highlanders from Scotland, these farmers neither took the time nor had the inclination to improve their land. As agricultural output on these marginal lands declined, some Scots Catholics took advantage of the colonization movements into western Ontario and later to Western Canada.³³ News of

31. Diocesan Archives, Pembroke (D.A. Pem.), Lorrain Papers, Bishop Lorrain to Archbishop Taschereau, 18 May 1886. *Correspondance: Manuscrite*, tome I, Sept. 1882-Dec. 1901, p. 138.

32. Vicero, R.D., *op. cit.* Vicero has calculated the net migration for the 1870's and 1880's at >65,000 and >100,000 respectively.

33. Jones, R.L., *History of Agriculture in Ontario, 1613-1880*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1946). Also, Mgr. R.J. Macdonald, Cornwall, Ontario, personal communication.

available farmland filtered into the crowded neighbouring counties of Vaudreuil and Soulanges in Quebec and young *habitants* began to take up the land vacated by the Scots. This was a more random movement than that in Russell and Prescott counties, but contact with old parishes in Quebec was sufficiently regular to sustain the ethnic displacement.

By the time that Ottawa received archdiocesan status, the rate of increase of French Catholics within Glengarry and Stormont was increasing while that of the Scots Catholics was waning (figure 4). Between 1891 and 1901 the French replaced the British, and "others", as the dominant Catholic group among the population of the two counties. The hierarchy of Ontario, which had formerly taken the initiative regarding the "restoration" of Ontario territory, now faced the loss of more land to the French-Canadian hierarchy because of this change in the composition of the Catholic population. In February, 1889, suffragan bishops of the Province of Toronto met to consider the rumours that the Diocese of Kingston was to lose a portion of its eastern territory to a new diocese that was to be created as suffragan to Ottawa and, hence, to have a French-Canadian bishop. The Ontario hierarchy was concerned about this possibility: "This aggressive scheme menaces the rights and interests of our Scotch and Irish people and would, if put into execution, effectively drive them out of Canada."³⁴

This move on the part of Archbishop Duhamel to expand his ecclesiastical province at the expense of the Diocese of Kingston may be symptomatic of a break in the concern of this prelate with French-Catholic colonization in Northern Ontario. His move against his neighbour angered his colleague in Montreal, Archbishop Fabre, who was convinced that the elevation of Kingston to archdiocesan status would be provoked by Duhamel's ambitions: "l'archevêché d'Ottawa va devenir une cause de trouble pour les voisins. Si le titulaire pouvait se décider à être tranquille il nous rendrait service."³⁵ Relations between the two prelates were strained because of Duhamel's attempt to wrest territory from Montreal as well as from Kingston. The concern of the Archbishop of Ottawa with the growth and vitality of his own archdiocese alienated some members of the hierarchy of Quebec and may have caused him to lose interest in the development of his suffragan diocese to the north.³⁶

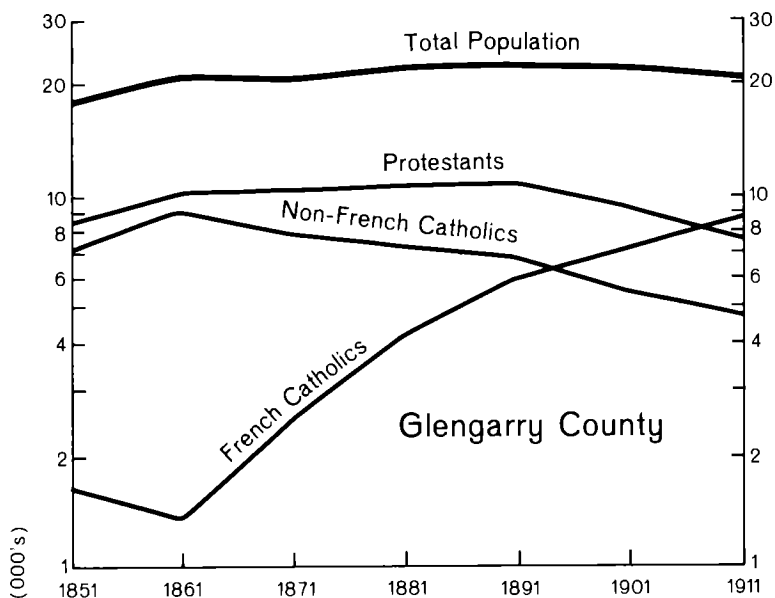
34. Diocesan Archives, Alexandria (D.A.A.), "Creation of the Diocese of Alexandria", *St. Finnans Record Book*, Alexandria, n.d.

35. Diocesan Archives, St. Boniface (D.A. St. B.), Taché Papers, Archbishop Fabre to Bishop Taché, 13 December 1889.

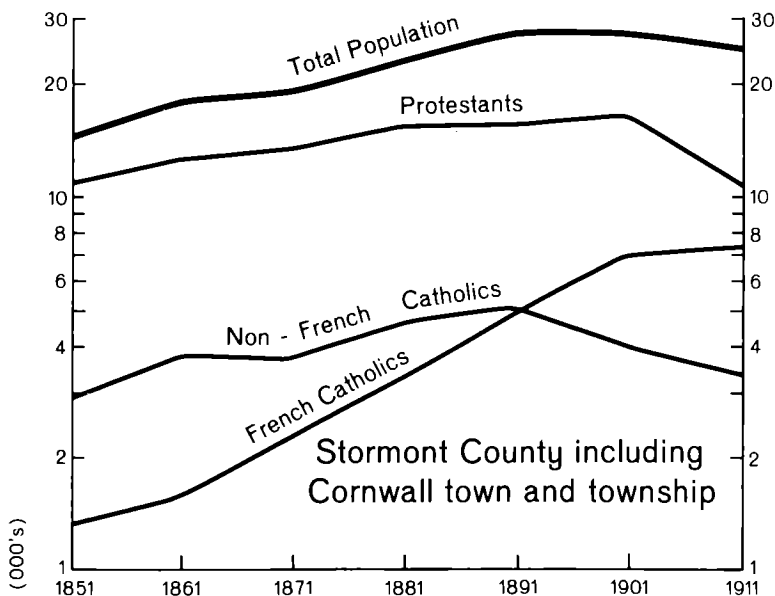
36. *Ibid.*, Archbishop Fabre to Bishop Taché, 30 March 1892. In spite of the "loss of souls" to New England and the statement by Bishop Lorrain regarding the geopolitical significance of the linkage between Quebec-Ottawa-St. Boniface, the writer concurs with A.I. Silver's thesis that the majority of the prelates of Quebec did not favour the movement of habitants to Manitoba (*op. cit.*). Duhamel was among those who were reluctant to support this scheme and, in a letter to Father Lacombe, he wrote, "Vous ne devriez pas vous attendre de pouvoir attirer plusieurs de mon troupeau au Manitoba car vous savez que la Vallée de l'Ottawa a besoin de milliers de colons encore pour défricher la terre magnifique qui s'y rouve". A.A.O., Duhamel Papers, Mgr. Duhamel à Rev. Lacombe, 30 mars 1876, *R. des L.*, (1874-1879), pp. 118-9.

Figure 4

POPULATION CHANGE



Source: Statistics Canada



To counter this movement against Kingston, the bishops of Ontario decided that a reorganization of ecclesiastical territory within Ontario was to be effected immediately. The ecclesiastical Province of Toronto was restructured with suffragan bishops located in London and Hamilton. Kingston was elevated in 1889 to the level of archdiocese with Bishop J.V. Cleary appointed as archbishop. The new Archdiocese of Kingston was to be given Peterborough as a suffragan diocese to the west and, to the east, a small diocese, Alexandria, would be erected and consist of the present counties of Stormont and Glengarry. While Peterborough served a vast territory that extended from Lake Ontario north and west of the Great Lakes as far as the western boundary of Ontario, Alexandria was to be the smallest diocese in Canada. Thus, territorial organization was to be used to perpetuate an English-speaking hierarchy in Glengarry and Stormont and to entrench the sovereignty of the Archbishop of Kingston.³⁷

The possibility of the absorption of these counties into the ecclesiastical orbit of the hierarchy of French Canada had been a concern to the government of the province of Ontario as well. Shortly after the assembly of the bishops of Ontario, Cardinal Rampolla, Secretary of State for Pope Leo XIII, received a confidential letter from a civil official who described himself as the "chief of the civil government of Ontario". Written during the administration of Oliver Mowat (c. 1889), the letter referred to the rumours of the territorial changes described above.³⁸ The "official" was worried about the political and social ramifications of such a move and throughout the letter made reference to the territorial ambitions of French Canada. The fear of potential conflict was expressed in terms of territorial reorganization:

The difficulties of Government would be immensely increased by the introduction of a foreign influence into our social and political system that would be in constant sympathy with the pretensions of the French Province, and thus be a source of weakness to Ontario and a permanent menace to its independence. It is not easy to foretell what disastrous results might be brought about by the agitation that would surely follow, and the pressure that would be brought to bear upon the Government to yield to popular clamour in a direction adverse to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. The press, the pulpit and the political platform would combine, and would be too successful, in persuading our people that the encroachment of the French Province upon the independence of Ontario and the freedom of the electorate had received religious sanction and permanent vitality from the establishment of a diocese in Eastern Ontario made subject to the Archbishop of Ottawa

37. D.A.A., *St. Finns Record Book*, *op. cit.* This document is signed by Bishop Cleary, Kingston, n.d.

38. A.A.O., Gauthier Papers, "Documents de Kingston", Chief of the Civil Government to Cardinal Rampolla, c. 1889. (Note: the signature on this handwritten document was removed). The writer is indebted to Professor Bruce Hodgins, Department of History, Trent University, for his examination of this document and enthusiastic response. It seems reasonable to assume that this letter was sent to Cardinal Rampolla by Premier Oliver Mowat of Ontario.

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and consequently destined to assimilation with the Province of Quebec in the ideas and governing influences derived from that French Province.³⁹

The hierarchy of Ontario concurred with the opinion expressed by the civil authority and, in 1890, attained a measure of success when Rome agreed to the plan of the prelates of Ontario; the counties of Glengarry and Stormont were organized as the Diocese of Alexandria with the see located in the small town of Alexandria. Alexander Macdonnell was named Bishop, suffragan to the ecclesiastical Province of Kingston.

To counter the claims by Bishop Duhamel that the ethnic composition of Glengarry and Stormont made this territory logically suffragan to Ottawa, Archbishop Cleary stressed the historical significance of Scots-Catholic settlement in Glengarry. He claimed that Alexandria should become the see of the new diocese because of its locational significance in the history of the expansion of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. On the eve of the erection of the diocese, Alexandria had a population of about 2,800, almost entirely Scots Catholic, and Cornwall had a population of approximately five thousand. While half the population of the latter were Catholic, it was pointed out in the petition to Rome that these were largely itinerant, adolescent workers and added nothing to Catholicism.⁴⁰ Alexandria was geographically central to the missions and parishes of Glengarry and was easily accessible by road to those in Stormont. There was a large church already situated in the town and the house of the parish priest was considered adequate for the new bishop. Throughout his letter to the Holy See, Cleary continually referred to the Scots as the "indigenous population" of the new diocese and terminated his correspondence with this plea: "Thus, the Scots Canadians merit more from the Church and, therefore, the diocese should be a Scots Diocese with the see in Alexandria."⁴¹

Archbishop Duhamel interpreted the choice of the village of Alexandria as diocesan see as pretext to another attempt by the hierarchy of Ontario to extract a portion of Ontario from his diocese. He feared for the loss of Russell and Prescott counties and questioned why Cornwall had not been selected as see since it was the largest and most important city in the new diocese. The proximity of Alexandria to the boundary of his own diocese he considered to be an "aggressive" location, a pretext to justify an extension of the Diocese of Alexandria eastward to the provincial boundary.⁴² These suspicions were verified in 1896 when Bishop Macdonnell of Alexandria stated that his diocese was too

39. *Ibid.* The letter to Cardinal Rampolla was apparently turned over to Archbishop Gauthier of Kingston, for it is now among his papers in the Archdiocesan Archives, Ottawa. An entry, March, 1889, has been placed in the margin apparently at the time that the signature was removed. This would have allayed any concern of the writer and honoured his request that the letter be treated as "strictly confidential". March, 1889, is probably the date that the letter was received, as the Diocese of Alexandria was not erected until 1890.

40. A.A.O., Gauthier Papers, Bishop J.V. Cleary to the Holy See, 1 October 1889.

41. *Ibid.*

42. A.A.O., Archbishop Duhamel to Cardinal Ledochowski, 24 February 1897, *Diocèses du Canada*, "Toronto", file #79 (Division du Diocèse).

small and too poor to continue indefinitely. In a letter to his metropolitan, Bishop Macdonnell stated,

If I correctly understood the idea at the outset, it was in contemplation that in the course of time the boundaries of Alexandria would be extended. . . . I believe from hearsay reports that the clergy of the two counties adjoining us (Russell and Prescott) would be glad to be annexed to this diocese.⁴³

Three months after this correspondence, the question of territorial expansion of Alexandria was on the agenda of a meeting of the bishops of the Provinces of Kingston and Toronto. The resolution was passed, once again, that the boundaries of ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions should coincide. This would not only facilitate homogeneous and peaceful working of the laws that related to Catholic affairs, but it was a situation that the civil authorities preferred, according to the hierarchy of Ontario. The bishops reiterated the stand that they had taken thirty years ago that it was not in the best interests of the Roman Catholic religion that Russell and Prescott should be governed "by the special laws of discipline and the customs and ideas of the Province of Quebec which differ widely from those of the Province of Ontario."⁴⁴

Duhamel countered with data to demonstrate that Russell and Prescott were becoming more and more French Canadian in their composition and he forecast that this trend would continue. This difference in the composition of the ethnic groups in the counties and the rate of growth of the French-Canadian population were submitted to Rome as major reasons for not dismembering the Diocese of Ottawa. Once again the bishops of Ontario failed to extract the counties of Russell and Prescott from the hierarchy of French Canada. Their disappointment and frustration was evident in a letter from Archbishop Cleary to the Archbishop of Toronto, when it was learned that Ottawa would retain Russell and Prescott:

I apprehended a similar trouble will arise from the effort to create a French Diocese at Nipissing by the division of Peterborough's territory. It is an age of French aggression. May the Lord direct and assist us.⁴⁵

In spite of the decision of the prelates of Ontario to reorganize territorially and thereby thwart the expansionist movements of Bishop Duhamel, French-Canadian settlement in the Diocese of Alexandria grew to eventual dominance (figure 4). The formal organization of diocesan territory in Ontario had helped to sustain a British hierarchy in Stormont and Glengarry, but there had been no complementary functional reorganization of the territory to influence human spatial interaction and, hence, to perpetuate English-speaking parishes. The boundaries of the diocese were subsequent to parish structures. The patterns of human interaction and the patterns of settlement that eventually produced a

43. Archdiocesan Archives, Kingston (A.A.K.), Cleary Papers, Bishop A. Macdonnell to Archbishop Cleary, 4 February 1896.

44. A.A.O., Gauthier Papers, "Documents de Kingston", statement contained in the notes from a meeting of the hierarchy of Toronto and Kingston, 7 May 1896.

45. A.A.O., Gauthier Papers, Archbishop Cleary to Archbishop J. Walsh (Toronto), 16 October 1896, "Documents de Kingston".

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change in the composition of the new diocese were introduced and sustained from outside the new territory. Contacts with parishes across the provincial boundary in Soulanges and Vaudreuil counties and with frontier parishes in Russell and Prescott counties⁴⁶ maintained the movement of French Canadians into Glengarry and Stormont and reduced the rate of assimilation into an English-speaking (and Gaelic) milieu. When farmland became available through the desire of the English-speaking owner to take up new land in Western Canada, the news was relayed into Vaudreuil and Soulanges.⁴⁷ Nor did these former residents of Quebec lose their religious ties with their old parish across the boundary. One letter from the parish priest of Glen Nevis (Glengarry) to Bishop Macdonnell complained that fourteen families within his parish went frequently to mass at Rivière Beaudette in Quebec and that the year before seven children had been baptized in Quebec. The priest declared that the *curé* of the Quebec parish "is more a pastor to two-thirds of these families than I am".⁴⁸

In a memorandum regarding the future of the Diocese of Alexandria, the Reverend D.R. MacDonald of Glen Nevis, consultor of the diocese, presented an impassioned plea to his bishop:

The Diocese of Alexandria owes its existence to the attempt made by the Archbishop of Ottawa in 1888/89 to have the counties of Stormont and Glengarry . . . attached to Ottawa. The movement originated in Ottawa and was exclusively a nationalist one. The institution of the new Diocese of Alexandria was intended to prevent this attempted absorption. . . . Our conclusion is that the establishment of Alexandria has not provided the expected permanent result. The scheme has failed. Therefore, we should be put back where we were. In other words, the Diocese of Alexandria should disappear and become reincorporated into the Archdiocese of Kingston.⁴⁹

This declaration reflected the frustration among some members of the clergy with the change in the composition of the Catholic population of the Alexandria Diocese.

For the next twenty years the four county area and the frontier territory in Northern Ontario remained the focus of conflict between the prelates of the two provinces as first one and then the other made overtures to absorb these lands into their ecclesiastical jurisdictions. However, with the shift in the ratio of English- to French-Catholic population within the four counties and the growth of Catholic population in the northern regions of the ecclesiastical Provinces of Kingston and Toronto in the early years of the twentieth century, the credibility for claims to territorial adjustments began to wane. The territorial conflict

46. A.A.O., Duhamel Papers, Mgr. Duhamel to Rev. F. Towner (St. Eugene), 9 October 1879, *R. des L.*, (1879-1885), p. 2.

47. Parish records, although incomplete, contain the birth place of new parishioners. Annual reports to the bishop also recorded the parish of origin of new arrivals.

48. D.A.A., "Parish Records, Glen Nevis", The Rev. D.R. Macdonald to Bishop Macdonnell, 18 March 1908.

49. D.A.A., Couturier Papers, The Rev. D.R. Macdonald, Glen Nevis, to Mgr. Couturier, 6 December 1925.

appeared to be resolved when, upon the death of Archbishop Duhamel in 1909, Mgr. Gauthier of Kingston was appointed to the see in Ottawa. A man of French ethnic origin who had lost the ability to speak his mother tongue, Gauthier was among the few members of the hierarchy of Ontario to eventually recognize the futility of further attempts to extract Russell and Prescott from the Archdiocese

TABLE 2

POPULATION DENSITY PER SQUARE MILE AND PERCENTAGE OF CULTIVATED LAND, BY TOWNSHIP, EASTERN ONTARIO 1831 AND 1841

	Population Density Per Square Mile		Percentage of Land Cultivated*	
	1831	1841	1831	1841
Russell County ¹				
Cambridge	<1	2	0	0
Clarence	1	1	<1	1
Cumberland	1	2	<1	1
Russell	0	2	0	<1
Prescott County ¹				
Alfred	1	3	<1	>1
Caledonia	4	9	2	3
Hawkesbury E.	3	17	2	6
Hawkesbury W.	1	34	14	21
Longueuil	31	35	17	24
Plantagenet N. & S.	3	5	1	2
Glengarry County ²				
Lochiel	18	20	8	9
Lancaster	24	31	12	14
Kenyon	11	20	4	5
Charlottenburg	32	32	18	20
Stormont County ²				
Roxborough	14	9	-	2
Cornwall	20	38	24	25
Finch	14	9	-	3
Osnabruck	20	36	15	18

* The term cultivated is used here in the very broadest sense.

1 Counties incorporated into Diocese of Bytown, 1847.

2 Counties that remained a part of Diocese of Kingston.

Source: Township records, Public Archives, Ottawa.

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of Ottawa.⁵⁰ The same year that Gauthier was appointed to Ottawa (1910), a new organization took up the struggle for the rights of Franco-Ontarians. L'Association Canadienne-française d'Éducation d'Ontario (ACFEO) was created through the combined efforts of laymen and clergy and institutional conflict was now associated with civil rights rather than with claims of territory.⁵¹

Conclusions

It has been accepted that, in general, ecclesiastical territorial organization in Canada evolved in response to the growth of population and to the religious needs of established Catholic settlement. In Southern Ontario this has been, in part, the evolutionary process of diocesan and archdiocesan formation. It is the contention of the writer, however, that in frontier regions the formal organization of ecclesiastical territory tended to precede rather than to follow Catholic settlement. Both formal and functional organization in this area reflected perceived regional needs. There was general agreement among the hierarchy of the Church that frontier regions in Eastern and Northern Ontario had to be formally organized to foster Catholic settlement. Differences in policy developed essentially over the issue of the potentials of ecclesiastical territorial organization to this end.

The hierarchy of Ontario realized that all counties and districts in the province should be under their jurisdiction so that ecclesiastical boundaries could be adjusted to accommodate population movements. They learned that to provide for the religious needs of a frontier population, wealthier and more densely populated parishes had to be linked administratively to mission territory in which parishioners were dispersed and frequently in contact with non-Catholics. Ethnic differences were considered secondary to mission work among the Indians and the need to assure and secure the faith. It was anticipated that English-language parishes would prevail and that non-English Catholics would gradually assimilate through the unifying processes of their religion.

In the face of the argument of uniformity, Bishops Guigues and Duhamel considered it essential that the integrity of their diocesan territory be maintained. Association with the core area of French Canada was to be sustained through suffragan status and participation in the program of colonization developed by the hierarchy of Quebec. Frontier territory would accommodate Catholic colonization, but it was also to be used to discourage the *habitants* from employment opportunities in the United States. If French Catholics from the same parish in Quebec could be encouraged to take up land on the frontier, the impact of a new environment would be minimized, community associations retained and cultural

50. D.A.A., Mgr. Gauthier (Kingston) to Mgr. Macdonnell, 24 July 1909, "Propagation of the Faith" (Roman Congregations).

51. Centre de Recherche en Civilisation Canadienne-Française, University of Ottawa, ACFEO documents. The early records of ACFEO indicate the significance of French-language schools to settlement and language maintenance in Eastern Ontario. See, particularly, "Rapport de 1910, ACFEO".

heritage assured. This was considered to be an important process in this aspect of the functional organization of territory throughout the Diocese of Ottawa.⁵²

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the degree to which colonization policies and programs of the French-Catholic prelates affected the decision of French-Canadian settlers to migrate into Eastern and Northern Ontario. For example, population density and the percentage of cultivated land in the two Ontario counties along the Ottawa River, Russell and Prescott, were below that of Glengarry and Stormont counties along the St. Lawrence prior to the erection of the Diocese of Bytown/Ottawa (Table 2).

It is possible to surmise that land that was underpopulated relative to the crowded parishes in Quebec would have been taken up eventually by French-Canadian settlers even if the Bishops of Ottawa and Montreal had hesitated to extend their program into this territory beyond Quebec. What is significant is that there was no hesitation; the correspondence of the various bishops revealed that they believed their program was influential in attracting colonists into the frontier dioceses. For that reason territory beyond the civil limits of Quebec had to be linked to the ecclesiastical Province of Quebec. Furthermore, it is probable that the work of the colonization societies influenced the patterns of French-Canadian settlement that developed, particularly in Eastern Ontario.⁵³

Institutional policies that were designed to minimize ethnic conflict and maximize contact and cooperation were partially successful at the scale of rural parish and mission, but failed at the inter-diocesan level. Because of this and the variations in perceived regional needs, the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Eastern Canada lost the opportunity to contribute to the development of an environment of ethnic cooperation and empathy during the nineteenth century in the zone of transition between French Canada and English Canada.

52. Cartwright, D.G., "Institutions on the Frontier: French Canadian Settlement in Eastern Ontario in the Nineteenth Century", *Canadian Geographer*, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (1977).

53. *Ibid.*

Résumé

L'auteur se propose d'abord d'étudier l'organisation du territoire ecclésiastique telle qu'établie par l'Eglise catholique dans l'est et le nord de l'Ontario pendant le dix-neuvième siècle; puis, il tente de démontrer que cette organisation territoriale qui avait pour but de minimiser les conflits sociaux et de favoriser les bonnes relations a, au contraire, engendré des dissensions et miné l'esprit de coopération et de solidarité au sein de cette institution.

Le problème se pose à partir de l'érection du diocèse d'Ottawa, en 1847, parce que celui-ci couvre un immense territoire tant en Ontario qu'au Québec. Si

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l'établissement du diocèse répondait aux programmes de colonisation établis par la hiérarchie québécoise, il indisposait nettement les dirigeants des diocèses ontariens qui auraient voulu voir coïncider les limites des juridictions civiles et ecclésiastiques. De part et d'autre, on espérait protéger l'homogénéité de la population colonisatrice, fut-elle francophone ou anglophone, et de plus, minimiser les conflits ethniques.

L'auteur estime que, si cette politique a eu quelque succès au niveau de la paroisse, elle s'est avérée un échec au niveau des relations interdiocésaines; selon lui, la hiérarchie ecclésiastique a raté ici une excellente occasion de créer une atmosphère de coopération entre ethnies dans cette zone qui sert de transition entre le Canada français et le Canada anglais au dix-neuvième siècle.