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## THE DIFFICULT BEGINNINGS OF A PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM IN QUEBEC (1801-1876)

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### Foreword

The purpose of this Research Bulletin is to present the preliminary results of a study that the Architectural History Section of the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building is currently conducting on schools built in Canada before 1830. This text is one of several reports which are intended to provide a basic outline of the architectural evolution of buildings connected with education in every region of the country. A more comprehensive analysis of these buildings will be completed over the next year.

Most of the information given here comes from people who are interested in this subject and who have kindly consented to help us. Their knowledge was supplemented by research on the architectural development of school buildings and on provincial systems of education carried out by architectural historians with the Canadian Inventory of Historic Building.

Following the Conquest, the rudimentary network of private educational establishments was unable to meet all the needs of the population. In Francophone communities there were not enough schools to serve all the children of school age, and the few that existed were unevenly distributed over a vast area. Moreover, a considerable number of French Canadians could not afford to send their children to schools run by the religious orders. As for the Anglophones in the St. Lawrence Valley, their children were excluded from the private system because of linguistic and religious barriers. An alternative solution was badly needed.

The first English-speaking teacher in Quebec is said to have been a sergeant in the army of occupation who was given the task of educating all the English children in the town.<sup>1</sup> The Loyalists, who had settled in the Eastern Townships, clung to American ideas of education and could not be satisfied with such stopgap measures. They lost no time in establishing their own schools. By 1800, for example, three or four schools had already been built in the townships of Stanstead and Hatley. Their construction had been left to the initiative of just a few individuals since the government failed to provide any direction.<sup>2</sup>

Needless to say, these first educational establishments often left a great deal to be desired.<sup>3</sup> They did, however, demonstrate the strong determination of the population to provide a proper education for their children. Rather than embarking on such enterprises on their own, the French Canadians preferred to rely on the church, as they had been in the habit of doing under the French régime.<sup>4</sup> Since the network of private schools could not be extended to serve the entire St. Lawrence Valley at that time, much less be opened to everyone, the House of Assembly was obliged to take action.

In 1801 the government set about taking control of public education in Lower



Parks  
Canada

Parcs  
Canada

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Canada by creating the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. The Education Act, 41 George 3, ch. 17, gave the government power to appoint commissioners in every parish or township who would be responsible for supervising the construction of schools. These agents, who were appointed by the Executive Council and not elected by the taxpayers, had considerable powers. They chose a suitable site, arranged for its purchase, then levied taxes on the taxpayers of their parish or township and ordered the construction of a school whose size and cost they themselves had determined. Finally, this property, paid for by the local residents, was handed over to the Royal Institution which was responsible for appointing the teachers and paying their salaries.<sup>5</sup> According to this plan, Lower Canada would soon have been provided with a network of public schools.

Because of opposition from the Catholic clergy, who saw it as a threat to their privileges and an attempt to assimilate French Canadians, the Royal Institution was never able to achieve what was expected of it.<sup>6</sup> Altogether only 84 schools were built under its auspices,<sup>7</sup> including the one at Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies (Fig. 1) and the Mansur school, north of Stanstead. This small number is a good indication of the Royal Institution's unpopularity. According to Louis-Philippe Audet, a specialist in the history of education, this institution, which had set out to satisfy the educational needs of the entire population, was tolerated only by the Anglophone minority.<sup>8</sup> In point of fact, even the Loyalists were not often tempted to subscribe to this government project. They preferred to retain ownership of their schools, rather than relinquish it to some corporation with its headquarters in Quebec City.<sup>9</sup> It may be said, then, that this first attempt to establish a network of public schools was a failure.<sup>10</sup>

Given the general indifference toward the Royal Institution, several individuals dedicated to the cause of education founded schools on their own. One of these was J.-F. Perrault, himself one of the most active educators of his day. He was influenced by the monitorial system (advocated by the Englishman Joseph Lancaster) which enabled one teacher, with the help of a few monitors chosen from among the oldest students, to teach more than 200 pupils.<sup>11</sup> One can well understand that such a teacher must have been very busy.

In 1822 Perrault opened a school for 200 pupils in the basement of a chapel in Quebec City.<sup>12</sup> Seven years later, he built a boys' school on the Rue de l'Artillerie; here is a description of it:

The school was a large building, forty-five feet long by thirty feet wide; there was a schoolyard in front of it, and on either side of the building there were shelters to protect the children from rain and sun.... The school consisted of only one enormous room. Since the ceiling was very high, Perrault had had two galleries constructed halfway up the walls at either end of the classroom; one of these galleries was used as a workshop and the other as a storeroom. In the classroom thirty-six benches which could each hold seven pupils had been arranged in rows. The school was opened on the 3rd of May and could accommodate two hundred and twenty-nine pupils....

Translation.<sup>13</sup>

In 1831 Perrault opened a school that was similar, although somewhat smaller, for 250 girls.<sup>14</sup> At that time, there was very little concern about hygienic conditions. All that mattered was that the school should be accessible to as many pupils as possible.<sup>15</sup>

The Academy at Eaton Corner, whose principal was Thomas K. Oughtred, was the rural counterpart of these schools for the education of the masses. It was built in 1824 and by 1827 had 70 pupils. This school belonged to a committee made up of local residents.<sup>16</sup>

In 1824 the government attempted to make up for the deficiencies of the Act of 1801, which had not produced the results that had been hoped for. In order to interest French Canadians in public education, parishes were allowed to devote one quarter of their revenue to maintaining schools on their land.

The spirit of this new law was not always respected. In reality, the Catholic clergy took advantage of it to build private schools. Thus at Longueuil, the parish school was quickly transformed into a convent (Fig. 2).<sup>17</sup> At L'Acadie, on the other hand, the school built in 1831 under the direction of the parish priest Father Paquin was used as a public school up until about 1880, when it became the sacristan's house.<sup>18</sup>

The legislation of 1824 was not enough to encourage the building of schools on a large scale. Another attempt was made in 1829 with the Assembly Schools Act. This new law, entitled "Act to encourage elementary education" (9 George 4, ch. 36), allowed the governor to grant a sum of money equal to half of the cost of construction or purchase of a school, up to a limit of £50,<sup>19</sup> to the trustees of a parish, this time chosen by the landowners and not appointed by the executive. In 1832 this law was modified; Lower Canada was divided into 1344 school districts, and each district had to have at least one school.<sup>20</sup> There was finally going to be an abundance of schools.

In 1829 the list of educational institutions in Lower Canada included four types of schools of varying importance. There were in fact 105 private schools, 84 Royal Institution schools, 14 parish schools and 262 Assembly schools.<sup>21</sup> By about 1835 there were almost 1500 Assembly schools, while the number of Royal Institution and parish schools showed a marked decline.<sup>22</sup> The grant of £50 coupled with the creation of local organizations which owned the schools built in the district apparently provided the necessary incentive.

On May 29, 1829, the trustees at Boucherville made an agreement for the construction of a schoolhouse 28 feet long by 24 feet wide by 11 feet high, built of square-cut timbers.<sup>23</sup> The Lagen school (Fig. 3), built in 1835 at Lakefield, gives some idea of what the school at Boucherville looked like.

Unfortunately, parliamentary dissension brought about the repeal of the Assembly Schools Act, which had to be brought up for renewal at regular intervals.<sup>24</sup> Since there were no grants, the schools had to be closed one by one, because the teachers could no longer be paid.

The Union of Upper and Lower Canada in 1840 meant starting all over again in the field of public education. The first legislative measure to revive the public school system in the St. Lawrence Valley was passed in 1841. This law (4 & 5 Victoria, ch. 18) divided the territory of Lower Canada (or Canada East) into municipal districts for educational purposes. It also created the post of Superintendent of Public Education, and Dr. Jean-Baptiste Meilleur was appointed to this position.

The superintendent was the keystone of this new system of education. One of his chief duties was to see that the permanent fund of £50 allocated for educational development in Lower Canada was equitably distributed among the various school districts according to the number of children of school age. He also had to visit the various educational establishments.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the taxpayers of a district had to be assessed for an amount equal to the government subsidy for their district.<sup>26</sup> This last measure aroused opposition.

In 1845 it was decreed that in the future the school tax would be voluntary. A further amendment was made in the 1841 law on June 9, 1846. Property owners could henceforth elect five trustees in each district. These trustees were to divide their districts into subdistricts or school areas, and in each of these there was to be a school. They also had the power to levy a property tax which must at least equal the amount paid by the Department of Public Education in their district, an amount up to £50.<sup>27</sup>



Many people who had never before had to pay taxes directly opposed this law in any way they could. There were taxpayers who refused to pay their assessments, some people set fire to schools, and in some cases the trustees were threatened with lynching.<sup>28</sup> The result of this "war of the candle snuffers," as it was called, was to dampen the Department of Public Education's enthusiasm for reform. From then on, any question of improving the educational system would be greeted with some embarrassment.

This dispute was to have a detrimental effect on the building of schools for a long time. In 1845, for example, a resident of Saint-Henri-de-Lévis made the following complaint about physical conditions in the schools: "of the many schools in the parish, I believe there are only three actually built that remain under the control of the trustees; the others are set up in wretched kitchens..." translation.<sup>29</sup> The condition of the schools depended on the decisions of the taxpayers in a school district. If they wanted to avoid excessive taxation, second-rate buildings would have to do. In some cases, however, the property owners in a locality were more favourably disposed to the educational development of their children. At Saint-Urbain in Charlevoix county, for instance, the schools presented a totally different picture from the ones at Lévis:

They are clean and decent; each one has its own privy and there is a dairy between the two houses where the children's provisions can be kept. The house at number six has three rooms, one for the school, another for the dining hall and the third for a kitchen. The schoolroom has six windows and the other two rooms have one window each. Translation.<sup>30</sup>

Judging by current research, it is clear that the buildings at Saint-Urbain were an exception to the general rule. Since the superintendent of education had limited powers, each school district was at liberty to put up schools as it saw fit. All it stood to lose was the meagre government subsidy. The result was an enormous disparity in the appearance of educational buildings.

Nevertheless, in 1847 a man named Juneau published a book entitled Dissertation sur l'instruction primaire dans laquelle on propose de réunir à la fois les avantages pratiques de l'enseignement mutuel, du simultané et de l'individuel, advocating some rationalization of school architecture. In this work Juneau sets out the basic principles for the design of the ideal school:

Its size must be determined by the number of pupils, allowing three square feet per child; the ceiling must be at least twelve feet high, and the windows in the side walls must measure six feet by six feet.... Translation.<sup>31</sup>

According to these precepts, the school would be airy and quite well lit. But few municipalities followed Juneau's advice. Nevertheless the Department of Public Education apparently took it to heart, as we shall see later on, although this department had little power.

This situation was not without its problems. If the taxpayers of a school district were reluctant to spend money, all they had to do was to elect trustees who shared their point of view. In rural areas this was common practice.<sup>32</sup> At Varennes there is reported to have been a school that measured 12 feet by 18 feet and had to accommodate 46 pupils.<sup>33</sup>

Gradually improvements were made to the bill of 1846. In 1851 a law was passed to regulate school inspections, thus giving the Department of Public Education a certain amount of control over the schools. The Council of Public Education was formed in 1856, consisting of two committees, one Catholic and the other Protestant; the bishops were ex-officio members of the committee of their respective denominations and took precedence over the lay members. These committees had the task of advising the Superintendent of Public Education on educational matters pertaining to their own denomination.<sup>34</sup> In 1867 a new law was passed (31 Victoria, ch. 10)

creating a Ministry of Education. Finally, in 1869 the division between the Protestant and Catholic sectors in the educational organization of Quebec was sanctioned;<sup>35</sup> each community would henceforth be independent of the other.

If the establishment of governmental structures took a long time, the architectural evolution of the schools took even longer. Since each school district was finally responsible for building its own schools, there was a certain amount of confusion prevailing within the districts themselves. A more densely populated area or subdistrict could afford to build its school of stone or brick, since the cost was shared among several taxpayers, while a neighbouring subdistrict, perhaps only recently opened up for settlement, could only afford to build a wooden schoolhouse. The areas were set up according to the number of children spread over a given area. At least 20 pupils were required to form an area, whose boundaries were determined according to the distance from the school: no child was to be obliged to walk more than five miles. As French Canadian families tended to be particularly large, three or four property owners might have to assume the responsibility of paying for the school in their area with only a meagre financial contribution from the government.

The trustees received no instructions from the Department of Education and often were satisfied with putting up any kind of a building at all, provided it did not cost very much. Generally these structures were modelled on the houses in the area, hence the expression "schoolhouse," so frequently encountered in the documents of that period. It was not until the advent of the school inspectors that we see the first vague attempts at improving school design. Some trustees asked inspectors to draw up building plans for them, even though they were civil servants with no training in this field.<sup>36</sup>

There was a further move to standardize school architecture in 1857, when the Department of Public Education asked P.L. Morin, a professor of geometry at Laval Normal School, to draw up standard plans for schools. Here is a description of them:

The door is located in the gable end, and this wall of the building must be sheltered from the prevailing winds. As one can see, the openings are wide and well-proportioned. There is a shallow basement with ventilation to prevent ground-level dampness from seeping into the building and to provide a very important safeguard for sanitary conditions. The roof is supported by a modest cornice and its overhanging eaves protect the building from the rain. It is surmounted by a charming bell tower in reality a squat, pointed turret to house the school bell. Translation.<sup>37</sup>

The main school at Simcoe, in Norfolk County in Canada West (Ontario), was even proposed as a model.<sup>38</sup> However, nothing came of it. The plans suggested by the Department of Public Education were too expensive for a good part of the rural population, and the government grants were too low for the plans to be easily accepted.

The conservatism of some taxpayers, together with the limited powers of the Department of Public Education (its only recourse was to refuse to grant subsidies, which were never very generous in any case), meant that each school commission was free to act as it saw fit. The physical aspect of the schools thus depended as much upon local economic conditions as on the taxpayers' attitudes toward education.

Be that as it may, school openings went on at a good pace between 1854 and 1875. By 1854 there were already 2795 educational institutions, and this number had nearly doubled to 4367 by 1875.<sup>39</sup> During this time education had even become specialized. In the field of higher education, there were universities such as Laval, McGill and Bishop's; secondary education took place in the classical colleges or industrial colleges and in academies like the Abercorn Women's Institute (Fig. 10). The primary (elementary or model) schools were at the base of this system and accounted for the vast majority of schools.<sup>40</sup>

Gradually, educational structures and facilities had been established, first under the direction of the Superintendent of Public Education from 1840 to 1875, and then under the Ministry of Education. It had taken years of conflict to work out a system. It may not have been perfect, but it seemed viable since it showed clear signs of stability and improvement, contrary to what had happened between 1801 and 1840. But in 1876 this evolution was once again brought to a standstill.

Particularly since 1829, the clergy had always mistrusted lay encroachment in an area it had reserved for itself since the French régime. It looked with great disfavour on the government's appropriation of education and feared that the public schools would compete with its own educational institutions. The English-speaking minority also shared these misgivings; it did not want to see its rights and autonomy undermined by a government controlled by French Canadians.

In order to appease these two groups, the position of Minister of Public Education was abolished as of February 1st, 1876, under an Education Act (39 Victoria, ch. 15) approved on December 24, 1875. The Department of Public Education was maintained, but was placed under the responsibility of a superintendent, who would henceforth be "guided" by the Council of Public Education. The Catholic committee was controlled by the bishops of the province, and the Protestant committee remained completely autonomous.<sup>41</sup> The passage of this bill meant a further setback in the evolution of educational structures and attitudes.

#### Notes

- 1 George W. Parmelee, "English Education," in Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., Canada and its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions by One Hundred Associates (Toronto: Publishers' Association of Canada, 1914) (hereafter referred to as "English Education"), Vol. 16, p. 446.
- 2 Ibid., p. 457.
- 3 Walter Pilling Percival gave the following description of some of the first schools in the Eastern Townships: "An early schoolhouse erected in the township of Shipton was built of round logs. The floor was made of basewood planks and the children sat on benches hewn from the same material. In 1809 the first school in Dunville was held on the threshing floor of a barn. Later the pupils were taught in the attic of a distillery. In 1825 a school was built by voluntary contributions in Mystic. In 1832 the first log schoolhouse was erected in Megantic County. It had a roof of spruce bark. No heating system was installed in the first year. Nevertheless school was held as usual during the winter months." Walter Pilling Percival, Life in School: An Explanation of the Protestant School System of the Province of Quebec (Montreal: Herald Press, 1941), p. 84.
- 4 Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. 2: "L'instruction publique de 1635 à 1800" (Québec: Presses universitaires Laval, 1951), p. 266.
- 5 Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. 4: "L'Institution royale, le déclin: 1825-1846" (Québec: Presses universitaires Laval, 1952) (hereafter "L'Institution royale, le déclin"), p. 261.
- 6 Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. 3: "L'Institution royale, les débuts: 1801-1825" (Québec: Presses universitaires Laval, 1952), pp. 172-173.
- 7 P.J.O. Chauveau, L'instruction publique au Canada: précis historique et statistique (Québec: Augustin Côté, 1876), p. 64.
- 8 Louis-Philippe Audet, "L'Institution royale, le déclin," p. 116.
- 9 George W. Parmelee, "English Education," p. 455.



- 10 Nevertheless, it should be mentioned that the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning, in accordance with the bequest of James McGill, was responsible for the founding of McGill University, and that the institution still continues to watch over the interests of this seat of higher learning. It is not within the scope of this study to provide a detailed history of the Royal Institution; more information may be obtained by consulting the two volumes by Louis-Philippe Audet dealing with this subject.
- 11 Procédés de la Chambre d'Assemblée dans la première session du huitième Parlement provincial du Bas-Canada; sur l'état et les progrès de l'éducation résultant de l'Acte de la 41<sup>e</sup> Geo. III, chapitre dix-sept, qui pourvoit à l'établissement d'écoles gratuites et à l'avancement des sciences en cette province; aussi un extrait du système amélioré d'éducation par Joseph Lancaster (Quebec: T. Marsden, 1815), p. 33.
- 12 Jean-Jacques Jolois, J.-F. Perrault (1753-1844) et les origines de l'enseignement laïque au Bas-Canada (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1969) (hereafter J.-F. Perrault (1753-1844), p. 104.
- 13 Ibid., p. 129; these schools no longer exist.
- 14 Ibid., p. 133.
- 15 Under the auspices of the "British and Canadian School Society," of which Louis-Joseph Papineau was a member, a school for 196 pupils was begun in Montreal about 1820. Then in 1826 the society planned to construct a building designed by O'Donnell to accommodate 414 boys and 232 girls. There were other schools of the same type in Laprairie and Châteauguay, according to The Fourth Annual Report of the British and Canadian School Society; Submitted to the Public Meeting Held at the Schoolhouse, on Friday October 20, 1826; with a List of the Subscribers and Benefactors (Montreal: Herald Office, 1826), pp. 9-11.
- 16 Information provided by Mr. Wayne S. Laberee, in the initial stages of this study.
- 17 Information gathered from Sister Claire Laplante, S.N.J.M., in the early stages of this study.
- 18 Nicole Martin-Varenka, "La maison du bédéau a 150 ans: L'Acadie, 1831 à 1981," a paper presented at the Historical Society of the Richelieu (October 14, 1981), pp. 8-11 and 28-30.
- 19 Louis-Philippe Audet, "L'Institution royale, le déclin," pp. 107-108.
- 20 Ibid., p. 319.
- 21 Louis-Philippe Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec, Vol. 5: "Les écoles élémentaires dans le Bas-Canada, 1800-1836" (Québec: Les éditions de l'Erable, 1955), p. 140.
- 22 Louis-Philippe Audet, "L'Institution royale, le déclin," p. 109.
- 23 Montréal, Archives nationales du Québec, greffe Augustin Delisle, "Marché entre Charles Danau de Muy et les Syndics de la seigneurie de Boucherville," May 21, 1829, no. 47. The school was to have 8 openings and a small window in each gable. Provision had also been made for a vestibule. The furnishings consisted of two tables ten feet long by three and a half wide made of planks, and the benches also made of planks.
- 24 Jean-Jacques Jolois, J.-F. Perrault (1753-1844), p. 70.
- 25 Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire de l'éducation au Québec Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971) (hereafter Histoire de l'éducation), Vol. 2, p. 58.
- 26 George J. Trueman, School Funds in the Province of Quebec (New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1920), p. 39.
- 27 George W. Parmelee, "English Education," p. 473.
- 28 Abbé Adélarde Desrosiers, Les écoles normales primaires de la province de Québec et leurs oeuvres complémentaires; récit des fêtes jubilaires de l'école normale Jacques-Cartier 1857-1907 (Montréal: Arbour et Dupont, 1909), pp. 76-

77. It should be stressed that English-speaking people were equally opposed to this measure and that they also took part in "war of the candle snuffers" according to Abbé Lionel Groulx, L'enseignement français au Canada, Vol. 1: "Dans le Québec" (Montréal: Librairie d'action canadienne-française, 1931), p. 242.
- 29 Québec, Archives nationales du Québec, Fonds ministère de l'Education, "Lettres reçues," no. 2477, October 9, 1845.
- 30 Ibid., letter from P. Clément to the Superintendent of Public Education, no. 1478, December 10, 1847.
- 31 André Labarrère-Paulé, Les instituteurs laïques au Canada français, 1836-1900 (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1965), (hereafter Les instituteurs), p. 130.
- 32 Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire du Conseil de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec, 1856-1964 (Montréal: Leméac, 1964), p. 19.
- 33 André Labarrère-Paulé, Les instituteurs, p. 167.
- 34 Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire de l'éducation, pp. 59-69.
- 35 Ibid., pp. 101-108.
- 36 Jacques Dorion, Les écoles de rang au Québec (Montréal: Les éditions de l'Homme, 1979), p. 75.
- 37 "Architecture des écoles," Journal de l'Instruction publique, Vol. 1, No. 7 (July 1857), pp. 136-137.
- 38 Ibid., Vol. 2, No. 5 (May 1858), p. 82.
- 39 Rapport du Surintendant de l'Instruction publique de la province de Québec pour l'année 1874-76 et documents relatifs à 1874-75 non publiés dans le dernier rapport (Québec: Charles François Langlois, 1876), p. 1.
- 40 Louis-Philippe Audet, Histoire de l'enseignement, Vol. 2, p. 108.
- 41 Ibid., p. 212.





**Figure 1.** School in Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies. This building is one of the rare examples of an educational establishment built in a Francophone area by the Royal Institution. It is the "schoolhouse" par excellence. There is nothing to distinguish it from an ordinary house for, as with other schools of the period, no special measures had been taken to provide proper sanitary conditions for the pupils. Moreover, since very few people had a clear idea of how a school ought to be built in those days, several schools from this period resemble the one kind of building familiar to everyone - the family home. The fact that stone was used, however, indicates that the people who built it cared about the cause of education. (Inventaire des biens culturels, Québec.)

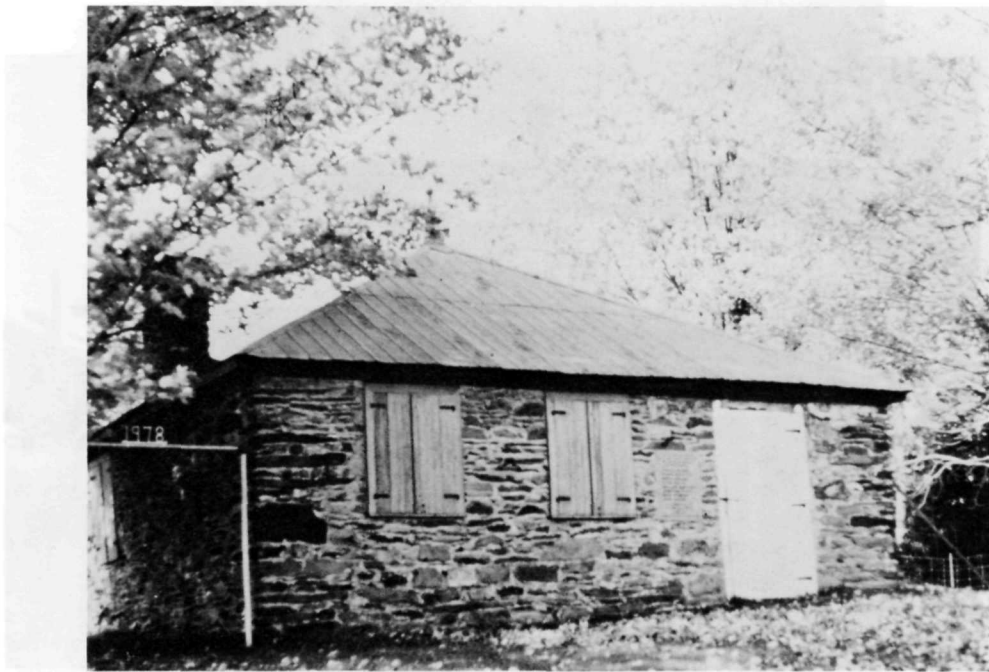
This is the same building that was used as a school until 1927. Later it was used as a residence for the schoolmaster (phase 1.)



**Figure 2.** Maison Labadie, Longueuil. This school became the mother house of the nuns of the order of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary. The building was moved in 1959. Like the school at Saint-Roch-des-Aulnaies, it is similar to domestic architecture. It is only the two front doors placed side by side that distinguish this building from a house. (S.N.J.M. Central Archives.)



**Figure 3.** Lagen School, 22 Mason Rd., Rawdon. This school was moved from Lakefield to Rawdon and restored in 1962. (C.I.H.B., phase 1.)



**Figure 4.** Rural school, Highway 143, Melbourne, Richmond County. Note that the windows are very close to the ceiling. This was an unusual procedure at that time. At least in this case, some care was taken to provide the pupils with more or less adequate natural lighting. (Collection of Jacques Dorion, Sillery, Quebec.)

Figure 5. Tibbits Hill School, Knowlton. Built between 1844 and 1846 and used as a school until 1927. Later it was converted into an educational museum. (C.I.H.B., phase 1.)



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Figure 9. Two former schools at Phillipsburg, Missisquoi County. When the stone schoolhouse was no longer adequate, it was replaced by a more modern building, which is also abandoned now. (Collection of Jacques Dorion, Sillery, Quebec.)





**Figure 6.** Former school, Saint-Grégoire-de-Nicolet, built about 1853. As one can see from the picture, in the mid-nineteenth century there was not yet any evidence of architectural development specifically for schools. Each school subdistrict was free to build whatever it chose. The only thing that makes this school somewhat different from a house is the width of the door. (C.I.H.B., phase 1.)



**Figure 7.** Saint-Ulric, school built in 1868. Once they had been closed, former schools were often converted to other uses. (C.I.H.B., phase 1.)



**Figure 8.** School at Mystic, township of Stanbridge, built about 1870, and apparently closely resembling the school at Eaton Corner. The architectural inspiration for this building likely came from the United States. The fact that it has a little bell tower indicates the builder's intention to make it look like a school, something that was rarely considered.



**Figure 9.** Two former schools at Philipsburg, Missisquoi County. When the stone schoolhouse was no longer adequate, it was replaced by a more modern building, which is also abandoned now. (Collection of Jacques Dorion, Sillery, Quebec.)



**Figure 10.** "Abercorn Women's Institute," Abercorn, township of Sutton, built about 1845. The builder attempted to provide the students with a maximum of natural light. There was probably living quarters on the second floor. Although it is a secondary school, it is easily distinguishable at a glance, from a convent school. (C.I.H.B., phase 1.)



**Figure 9.** Two former schools at Phillipsburg, Mississippi County. When the stone schoolhouse was no longer adequate, it was replaced by a more modern building, which is also abandoned now. (Collection of Jacques Dorion, Sillery, Quebec.)





Figure 10. "Abercorn Women's Institute," Abercorn, township of Sutton, built about 1845. The builder attempted to provide the students with a maximum of natural light. There was probably living quarters on the second floor. Although it is a secondary school, it is easily distinguishable at a glance, from a convent school. (C.L.H.B., phase 1.)