

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

IN

NEW BRUNSWICK

1830-1871

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

The colonies of North America have furnished endless sources of research material for historians, biographers, sociologists, economists, educationalists, and countless numbers of novelists. It is a rich field, as yet unexhausted by the pens of ardent students of its past. New Brunswick, one of the older colonies, offers vast opportunities to those who would delve into its background. Vibrant with the tales of exploration, adventure, political implications, expansion, interesting personalities, and culture, its story has intrigued the curiosity of men and women throughout the last century and a quarter. The publication of the first history of New Brunswick in 1825 by Peter Fisher marked the beginning of a flow of literature which, though abundant, has left much yet to be dusted off and set within the framework of the past. Particularly is this true of the educational aspect of the province's story.

When considering the undertaking of a study in the educational field, one is confronted by the need to choose one phase of the problem, so wide are its implications.

Will an historical treatment be attempted, a chronological description of the various steps by which educational legislation has finally achieved the modern system of schools and universities? This would comprise a great deal and has been done repeatedly. Many historians have included it in summary form within a larger topic. Peter Fisher briefly described education until 1825, while James Hannay and W. O. Raymond dealt with it incidentally throughout their histories of New Brunswick. In "Canada, an Encyclopedia of Education" is to be found a brief, but accurate, account of educational legislation until the last decade of the nineteenth century. The writer, J. R. Inch, was at that time Chief Superintendent of Education and a very reliable account was given by him. A similar survey was included in "Canada and Its Provinces". G. U. Hay, the contributor, wrote on lines very similar to those of Mr. Inch. Two theses have also been submitted concerning this phase. One by A. M. S. Murray is, in this writer's opinion, a rather sketchy perusal of the field. It was not a graduate school thesis. The other, "A Century of Educational Progress in New Brunswick, 1800-1900", by J. H. Fitch, is a very detailed account of the situation principally as regards the government supported institutions.

Much reliance has been placed on its authenticity. As one may note from the title it does not cover the period from 1900 to the present day. Indeed there is practically nothing available concerning that era save the short article in "Canada and Its Provinces" already mentioned and a description of elementary education in a thesis by Amos Anderson. It would, indeed, be a stimulating field for research and would, no doubt, prove an abundant one.

Or will the choice lie in a discussion of policies in elementary education with no concern for the higher branches of learning? This is, in reality, but a section of the first study suggested. However, if one were to attempt to reproduce some of the thought and policies behind the actual legislation it would involve extensive research. Amos M. Anderson presented such a thesis in 1940 wherein he examined the influences, and educationists responsible for the type of elementary schools established prior to 1939, as well as the extent to which these schools were effective.

Perhaps a similar study of higher education will be considered. This would, indeed, be a profitable experience for apart from the summaries mentioned above, no work has been done along this line. However, one must not create a false impression. Each institution of

university level has had its past recorded faithfully. "The Genesis of the University of New Brunswick" is the topic of one of W. O. Raymond's many books. It deals with the factual history of the development of the seminary to the university as of 1860. Another brief but most concise account has been written by A. G. Bailey for inclusion in the present university calendar. The most complete account of the Methodist college is contained in J. Watson's, "History of the Methodist Church", but it leaves much to be desired concerning detailed information as to the actual educational policies there practised. Quite to the contrary is the material available concerning the growth of St. Joseph's University. Two volumes, "Le Père Lefebvre et L'Acadie" by Pascal Poirier and "Vie de l'Abbé François-Xavier Lafrance" by Ph. F. Bourgeois, C.S.C., have been placed at this student's disposal. They contain a wealth of information on the background and establishment of the present St. Joseph's University. As none of this knowledge of the three universities has been collected in a single volume, the field presents a challenge.

Another aspect of the problem comes to mind. Would not a study of the historical background prove advantageous to posterity? Such a thesis has been most ably interpreted by Katherine McNaughton for the University of New

Brunswick. An attempt "to set developments in New Brunswick education against the social, political, and economic background of the province and to relate them to the wider field of educational movements in Britain, Europe, the United States, and other parts of British North America"⁽¹⁾ was her aim, an aim most thoroughly accomplished. Taking as the setting, the elementary education as furnished by the provincial government, Miss McNaughton has guided the reader's thoughts back and forth through the network of political controversies, social influences, and economic implications of nineteenth century New Brunswick. Especially to be praised is her expert linking of the theories and practises in provincial educational policies to similar movements elsewhere. A comparable study of higher education against this background is under consideration and progress but is, as yet, unfinished.

And yet another topic rears its head and seeks acknowledgment. Surely New Brunswick has made some contribution to education in Canada and the United States. Although studies of early times revealing her dependence upon existing institutions are available, no study has been made of her influence upon other systems. With the emigration of many of her sons to the western provinces and the United States as great as it has been, doubtless some strains

reminiscent of their native province have crept into new institutions far removed from the Maritimes. Perhaps New Brunswick will have a contribution to make to the re-organized educational systems of Europe. Interesting speculation is provided which would, in the future, prove a stimulating subject of research.

The possible channels of study have been presented. What will the conclusion be? Upon the decision rests the responsibility of interpreting the chosen field to the best of one's ability. But first, a glance at the various factors prompting such a conclusion.

In the belief that insufficient research has been conducted in the realm of university education, an attempt will be made to present a chronological history of New Brunswick's three colleges, the University of New Brunswick, Mount Allison University, and St. Joseph's University. In a society so predominantly aristocratic the changes affected by the struggle for representative government were reflected in every aspect of life in the province. Whereas the University of New Brunswick was for many years the sole institution of higher education with restrictions placed upon the participation of Dissenters, it followed as a natural consequence that those Dissenters established their own halls of learning. The different patterns of

organization and growth during the period until 1871 will be discussed as fully as the available background material permits. In the case of Mount Allison University, the writer feels much more could have been written which would have resulted in a clearer, more interesting history but scarcity of information available hampered this considerably. It is regrettable but unavoidable. In all instances, detailed descriptions of courses and methods will be given, which points have not been stressed before in other theses. Particular attention will be paid to the influence of the professors presiding over the various college courses during that period of time. In university education, the period 1830-1871 has been chosen because it was to the Dissenters the most fitting moment to conduct the struggles to assert their independence and to receive financial support from the newly granted representative government, as proof that the province really had assumed a democratic way of life. In 1870 the non-denominational policy was adopted and the final compromise made. The University of New Brunswick which, for many years, had theoretically been open to all faiths was continued as such by the support of the province. The other two universities were eventually forced to become self-supporting as an indication that provincial policies

could not include the upkeep of sectarian schools. The conclusion that the development of university training followed closely the social and economic trends of the age is evident.

Although the field of elementary education has been frequently studied, it seems only fitting that it be included as it is through its means that the majority of the people are taught. However, rather than conform completely to the previous manner of presentation, much space will be devoted to discussions concerning the courses of study, textbooks, equipment, and progress within the classrooms in addition to a chronological treatment of legislation for parish, superior, and grammar schools. Denominational schools, especially those other than Anglican, have received little attention from reviewers. They, like the Dissenting universities were indicative of the spirit of the times and should not be neglected. A section of this study will be devoted to a description of the origins of the various sectarian schools, the extent to which they flourished, and succeeded, and their ultimate destination. Although the history of elementary education is not a new topic of research, it is hoped that the development of these aspects will give increased knowledge of its progress.

No survey of this sort is complete without some reference to the teachers. During the period under observation teacher training was introduced into the province. Its organization, administration, and success will be duly considered. As much light as possible will be thrown on the programs set forth. Not by any means an undeveloped phase of education, some attempt at greater detail will be made in the consideration of the methods adopted in the Training Schools, while as complete a discussion as possible will be presented on the merits of the resulting progress. A period marked by uncertainty, groping, trial, and error culminated in the establishment of a Normal School in 1870.

The role played by the inspectors of the era was invaluable. Many of their suggestions were made part of new legislation, their enthusiasm kindled like zealotry in the teachers they guided, and their continual campaigning for assessment as a means of support for the schools gradually forced on the inhabitants the realization of the need of their personal interest in and aid to the school system. No history of education in New Brunswick would be complete without mention of their service to the cause. Much of it has been incidental to the larger unit

of elementary education. Perhaps a conscious effort to interpret their significance will prove to be an addition to knowledge of the period.

The period 1830-1871 has not been chosen as the focal point of this thesis without reason. In 1830 New Brunswick could boast of a few grammar schools, many parish schools, several private schools, and one college. At that time too, began the great social struggle for recognition of all peoples which was to end in representative government. Following this a period of readjustment forced its influence on every phase of life in the province and education received its just share. It was an age marked by the liberal tendencies of thought which produced a variety of responses in the establishment of several universities and a teacher training scheme, the provision for higher education preparatory to university level, improved methods of support, organization, and instruction on the elementary level, and a keener sense of responsibility on the part of the citizens themselves. By 1871 an education "system" had been achieved wherein, for the first time, could be perceived a natural chain of educational institutions linked together by provincial direction and presenting ample opportunity for a complete

education from elementary to university level. The formative years were past, the expansion of these policies was to come in the future. However, one cannot simply pluck a period of two decades out of history and expect its interpretation to be understood without some backward glances. A retrospect of the historical influences and the resulting educational policies prior to 1830 will be briefly given. The social, economic, and political tendencies of life in the new colony were reminiscent of the varied backgrounds from whence its colonists came. Some space will be devoted to a discussion of these forces which were not wholly engulfed in the new life.

No claim is made to originality in the social, economic, and political background presented. A summary of these influences will be made from Katharine McNaughton's thesis which, it is hoped, will add to the interest and understanding of the situation as it concerned education.

A chronological description of the development of all institutions of elementary and higher education in the province of New Brunswick during that period when the social, economic, and political outlooks were being transformed from the aristocratic to the democratic way

of life, with particular emphasis on the internal developments and the influencing personalities which led to the final provision of free, non-sectarian education at all levels save the university in 1871. This, then, will be the object of this thesis.

CHAPTER II
THE EARLY SOCIAL PATTERN

A. The Indians.

New Brunswick, at the time of her legal founding, was the home of three peoples. Each of these peoples possessed their own language, their own religion, their own mode of life. They were all children of this land and as such they had to learn how to live rightly within its encircling protection.

First, in historical precedence, were the Indians. Two great tribes dwelt in the forests of eastern New Brunswick and along the banks of Champlain's Fleuve de Saint Jean. They were the Micmacs and the Malecites - brothers in the great Algonquin family but mortal foes in their native haunts.⁽¹⁾ To teach them the creed of their white conquerors came the Recollet fathers as early as 1619. One short year later another member of the same order was making his way among the Indians of the Nepisiquit. Previously Father Massé had spent the winter of 1613 with the Indians of the Saint John. By 1634 the Jesuits, too, had missionaries in the field.⁽²⁾

They centered their early work around Miscou Island, the most north-easterly tip of the province. The same year reveals through records that other mission stations had begun at Nepisiquit and, later, at Meductic, Aucpec, Skinouboudiche, and Restigouche. Nearly a century later (in 1715 to be exact) the first Indian Catholic church raised its walls at Meductic. It was the first church of any kind in the country.⁽³⁾ These "religieux" were not merely content to give divine worship to their red children. We are told that as early as 1616 the Recollet Fathers had schools for Indian Catholic children in New France.⁽⁴⁾

Then came in 1649 the order from the Long Parliament of England to promote and propagate the gospel in New England. The society known to early history as the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England" and later as the "New England Company" was at that time organized for the purpose of carrying on missionary and educational work. During the reign of Charles II it was rechartered and the phrase "And Parts Adjacent" added to the title.⁽⁵⁾ It also erected schools and supplied them with books including many hundreds of Eliot's translation of the Bible. As a result numerous Indians of Massachusetts

Bay, Plymouth, and Nantucket were christianized.⁽⁶⁾

After the American revolution this English-financed society transferred its work to New Brunswick where its interest lay principally in the education of the Aborigines. A local board of Commissioners had come with the Loyalists. In 1786 the Company affirmed its appointment of its commissioners: Governor Thomas Carleton; Honourable Chief Justice George D. Ludlow; Honourable Isaac Allen, Judge of the Supreme Court; Jonathan Odell, Provincial Secretary; Jonathan Bliss; William Paine, Doctor of Physick; and John Coffin, a military man.⁽⁷⁾ These men were empowered "to treat, contract, and agree with any person or persons for cloaths, books, tools, implements, and other necessities for the civilizing, employing, educating, and placing out any of the heathen natives or their children in English families with and under English masters."⁽⁸⁾ Nor were their efforts to be totally dependent upon charitable contributions. The Company's annual revenue of £600 was to be the means of hiring teachers and missionaries from twelve to sixteen in number. The salaries generally varied between £10 to £30 per annum⁽⁹⁾ "for civilizing, teaching, or instruct-

ing the heathen natives and their children, not only in the principles of the English tongue and in other Liberal Arts and Sciences; but for the educating and placing of them and their children in some trade, mysterv, or lawful calling."(10)

Accordingly four years after the Treaty of Paris, schools for Indian children (both Indian and Whites attended, however)⁽¹¹⁾ were in existence, one cannot say "were flourishing", at Sheffield, Woodstock, Miramichi, Sussex, and Westfield.⁽¹²⁾ A record of their first schoolmasters reveals the care with which they were chosen. Frederick Dibblee, the Schoolmaster at Woodstock, was a graduate of King's College.^(a)⁽¹³⁾ The Miramichi school was under the guidance of one James Fraser, a Presbyterian minister.⁽¹⁴⁾ For the school in Sheffield, Gervas Say was appointed. He was not a college graduate but his aims were lofty. Quoting from the Winslow Papers, one finds he was teaching "with a view of civilizing the Indian natives and thereby making them useful inhabitants, as well as for keeping their own youth from going into the neighbouring States of America for their education and imbibing the disloyal principles of that country."⁽¹⁵⁾ The curriculum was equally ambitious: "reading and writing, English grammar, mathematics and natural philosophy,

(a) (The nucleus of the present Columbia University.)

surveying, navigation, and geography; also the Latin and Greek languages.--- Whole expense for the English scholars --- will amount to £18 currency per annum." (16)

Despite such interest on the part of the white settlers the Indians were not eager to have an education thrust upon them. In 1794 all the schools were closed in order to send the pupils to an Indian Academy at Sussex Vale. (17) This was under the direction of Oliver Arnold, a Yale graduate. (18) He aimed at establishing a practical curriculum where the lads could learn farming and the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Eliot's translation of the Bible remained the chief textbook for many years. Despite these factors, contemporary writers viewed the Academy as an "asylum where the aged and infirm could rest from the fatigues which are incident to savage life, and where the young of both sexes were fed, cloathed, and instructed as far as they were inclined to be." Arnold's dream child had deteriorated into a mere charity home. (19) Towards the end of the nineteenth century James R. Inch wrote of it: "It is disappointing to learn that an enterprise, so benevolent in its purpose, has apparently left but little permanent result for good." (20) The school was finally and officially closed in 1833 as the result

of a report made by Mr. John West in his survey of conditions in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The factors which contributed to its failure are reminiscent of many similar educational experiments at the birth of a country. Firstly, it was expensive. Over a period of years a sum of \$140,000.00 was expended. From this over three per cent was paid to officials who had little or no direct connection with the work. For example, at the time Judge Chipman received £50 annually while General Coffin was given the exorbitant sum of £125. Both were too busy to devote sufficient, if any, attention to the school affairs. Secondly, the directors lacked common ordinary good sense. To mention one item, all the prayer books were written in Iroquois dialect which was absolutely unintelligible to the Malecites. Not one Iroquois even attended the Academy! Little wonder then that the school proved unattractive to the practical-minded Indian. Thirdly, the Indians showed more interest in the supplies of provisions and clothing which they received than in the education to be had.⁽²¹⁾

From the closing of the Academy until Confederation, the Indians were left to their own devices as concerned education. At that time they came under the jurisdiction of the Federal government and since 1922 education has been compulsory for them.

B. The French.

As is the age-old story of colonization, so runs the early history of the French speaking people in New Brunswick. Their first representatives came from Brittany, Normandy, and the country of the Basques to fish in the ever abundant coastal waters.⁽¹⁾ After the Treaty of Paris in 1763 their ranks were swelled by many from Canada (now Quebec). Previous to that in 1755 the great expulsion of the Acadians, made so famous by Longfellow, had taken place under the guidance of Governor Shirley of Massachusetts.⁽²⁾ Resistance to the evergrowing English power was useless. Further and further they withdrew leaving behind them the charred ruins of their homes. For protection's sake they formed small communities which inevitably clustered around the Church and the priest. These dotted the North Shore at Bathurst, the Miramichi, and the Saint John principally at St. Anne's (now Fredericton).⁽³⁾ Thus isolated for several generations, they guarded their language and their religion against disintegration and assimilation. Their preoccupation with this aim of life and their necessitated drudgery to eke out a living from the rocky land and the treacherous sea, blinded them to any intellectual impetus. The Church, being the center of

all, instructed the children in a few essentials of religion.

Nevertheless, mention is made by Omer Le Grèsley of "des pedagogues ambulantes tels que Pierre Duperre, Thomas Costin and Antoine Joilet."⁽⁴⁾ These men received, by way of a salary, their board, lodging and 3s. per family for each school term. As early as 1775 a night school was in existence at Neguac. Its duration is questionable as no other recognition of such a school was made. Some provision was made about 1817 for the instruction of girls. At that time records reveal there were three convents at Tracadie. In 1825 several regular schools were founded in Madawaska. Both French and English were taught in a fashion. Just how effective they were shall be seen later. The following year the Trappistines opened a school to teach children to read.⁽⁵⁾ Further records are dubious or absolutely silent concerning the number of French schools in existence at the turn of the century. Their general aim has been well expressed in these words: "Elles constatèrent vite que le meilleur moyen de propager l'étude du catéchisme était d'apprendre à lire aux enfants."⁽⁶⁾

Apart from this no education was needed. They had no passion for greater prosperity, or that strong individualism and initiative necessary for genuine pioneers.

They were a home loving and sociable people.⁽⁷⁾ In addition to this self-sought isolation, by 1763 the policy of their British conquerors had changed admirably from the days of Governor Shirley. In that year, General Amherst cautioned his officials and men "to take the most effectual care of the French inhabitants." He issued decrees "to prevent all --- from insulting and poking observations on the language, dress, manners, customs."⁽⁸⁾ Unintentionally this drew the division line even more sharply for by then a conscious distinction was recognized between these people and their rulers. When they next appear in history towards the middle of the nineteenth century we find them a group of uneducated, physically unfit, poverty stricken, church-dominated beings from whose persons the habitant life had drained any desire for change, improvement, or progress.⁽⁹⁾

C. The Americans.

In spite of the attempts made by James I of England to people the Maritimes with English and Scotch settlers, no really important settlements were established permanently before the middle of the eighteenth century. At that

time it was pertinent to the British policy that a military garrison be set up at Halifax, not only to guard against sea attacks but also to carry out the English policy in the hinter land.⁽¹⁾ With this latter aim in view Governor Lawrence of Massachusetts was likewise instructed to entice settlers to leave the civilization of New England and seek new homes in the adjoining "forest primeval". Those New Englanders were a race thoroughly habituated to the conditions of life in the new world. Unlike the aristocratic society that flourished in Halifax, the people who came to Scodiac (St. Stephen), Wilson's Beach (Campobello), Indian Island, Digdeguash (Portland), Monckton, and Sackville were simple, hard-working settlers.⁽²⁾ Their lot was not the pomp and ease of a military life, not the casual application of the small business world. Rather did they sweat and toil in all weather, wresting from the land a meagre livelihood which in time gave to their adopted country a face of rich fields and abundant harvests.

In 1762 a large group of these people (261 in all) left their comfortable Essex county homes in Massachusetts and migrated northward to the Saint John River. Nearly eighty miles from the mouth they found, under the guidance of Colonel Peabody, the settlement of Mauderville.⁽³⁾ Of

these men and women all were American born, save 10 Irish, 6 English, 4 Scots, and 6 Germans. The majority were, by faith, Congregationalists. Through their community efforts the first Protestant Church on the Saint John River was opened for service in 1775. (They had had organized worship in their faith since 1763.)⁽⁴⁾ To these people schools were equally as necessary as churches as may be gathered from the following quotation from a document marking the legal formation of their village. Therein one plot of land was to be set aside "as a glebe for the Church of England, one for the dissenting Protestants, one for the maintenance of a school, and one for the first settled minister in the place."⁽⁵⁾ By 1783 a school was in operation under the guidance of David Burpee. Like all early pioneer schools we find from the sparse records available that the fees, four shillings a month, per pupil, were paid principally in kind. "Work, grain, cattle, musquash skins, rum, hauling hay, making shoes" are but a few of the contributions listed. One winter Mr. Burpee was extraordinarily fortunate for his cash salary amounted to all of 10 shillings!⁽⁶⁾ Little is known of his courses, but we do know there was little inspiration for such "book-learning" as papers and

books were practically non-existent in the farming homes.⁽⁷⁾ They did not forget, however, the way of life they had left behind them.

American life during the eighteenth century was a struggle between the aristocratic and the democratic way of life. Fostered and guided for a long period of time by England, inheritance and tradition influenced colonial institutions and ideals. Nearly all the colonies were ruled by oligarchies. At first class distinctions remained. For example, at Yale and Harvard the names of students were arranged according to the wealth and prestige of their families. However, a variety of other influences "weaned the American colonies from their old world heritage and created an independence of spirit characteristically American and favorable to the growth of democracy."⁽⁸⁾ Geographically America was far removed from England. The soil, climate, and geography of the land itself called forth new responses. "While settlers were transforming America, America was transforming the settlers."⁽⁹⁾ In spirit, many of the original settlers favoured the underlying democratic principles of the Puritan Revolution. The very exodus to the new land via the Mayflower was an act of approval of the new way of thought. The seeds of democracy were sown, and though

almost buried beneath the traditions the colonists could not shake off, they remained alive to spring into full bloom in the minds of such enlightened men as Benjamin Franklyn and Thomas Jefferson. The township form of community also fostered an independent spirit. During the Civil War in England, the Mother country allowed the new colonies to manage their own affairs and an aversion to outside interference developed. The diversity of origins was still another factor which tended to do away with aristocratic principles. What cared the French, Germans, or Irish for the English established way of life? "The jumble of religious faiths represented tended to promote the cause of true religious liberty."⁽¹⁰⁾ There was a strong basis of democracy in Quakerism while the Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist Churches tended to be liberal in politics. The frontier life, too, allowed for no class distinctions. All lines of social cleavage were obliterated under the stress of wilderness life. It was there that democracy really thrived. Thus, those men and women who emigrated to Nova Scotia during the period preceding the American War of Independence took with them ever growing beliefs in the principles of democracy kept slightly conservative by the restraining

hand of tradition which they could not ignore.(11)

D. The British.

Prior to the American Revolution a few immigrants from Great Britain settled in that part of Nova Scotia north of the Bay of Fundy. The economic collapse of the small farmer, miller, shepherd, and fisherman in northern England and Scotland had created financial difficulties and discontent with industrial progress at home. In the new world the lure of the salmon fisheries and the lumber industry called such men as William Davidson (1774) to the Miramichi, and Messrs. Schoolbred and Smith to the Restigouche the following year. Yet these Scotsmen, unlike the New Englanders, had no permanent interest in the colony.⁽¹⁾ Many of these so-called "pioneers" exploited the natural resources of the country and returned to Britain when their expectations were realized. However, some of their less fortunate countrymen stayed rather than face the hardships the industrial revolution had forced on Scotland. These people formed the nucleus of the small Scotch colonies in Eastern and Northern Acadia. As concerns education their early contributions were nil. Nevertheless, the fact that their communities found themselves

competing neighbours to the French settlements forced upon the latter the realization of the advantage of mastering the fundamentals of learning.⁽²⁾ This realization was slowly awakened in those villages which otherwise would have turned out a totally illiterate population.

One group, though apparently insignificant at the time, is worthy of mention. This was a group of English settlers from the East Riding of Yorkshire. They purchased land in the County of Cumberland and in 1770 took up residence there.⁽³⁾ Methodists for the most part, they were not rich in culture but had the necessary common sense to meet adversities in a new land.⁽⁴⁾ From their ranks came Canada's first Methodist evangelist, William Black. These early followers of John Wesley were the forebears of the founders of Mount Allison University late in the nineteenth century.⁽⁵⁾

It is obvious then that the future dependence on British institutions did not come from these peoples. With the advent of the Loyalists in 1783, New Brunswick was created as a province separate from Nova Scotia⁽⁶⁾ and it was through the ties of loyalty for which they had fought that British thought and legislation were influential

in shaping New Brunswick's policies.

E. The Loyalists.

The colonies at Shepody (Yorkshire settlers), Fort Cumberland (English and New England Methodists), and Maugerville were severely disturbed by the American War of Independence. Especially in those districts where staunch New Englanders lived side by side with loyal Britishers, situations were strained to the breaking point.⁽¹⁾ Long and bitter were those seemingly trivial battles. But when the decisive victory came in 1783 and the boundary line was drawn forever separating them from their beloved New England, those who had fought with Colonel Eddy sadly turned aside from the cause and went back to their neglected farms and homes with these words on their lips and in their hearts. "Here a man can find security, so long as he keeps his head high and his fists hard. And between these walls, if nowhere else, he can have peace. Our sons will never give themselves wholly to anything but this homeland."⁽²⁾ This was not hatred. It was only a determination learned through bitter experience, a determination that this country they were building

should be free -- free to govern itself, to finance itself, and to educate its children as it saw fit.

All radical tendencies in the new land were soon subdued by the coming of the United Empire Loyalists, the traitors of the States. Along the banks of the St. Croix, settlements sprang up peopled with military families from the 74th Highlanders. They were mostly Catholics as were many of the Scotch who came with the English and Germans from New York to the valley of the Saint John. There were also many Presbyterians among the Scotch who added their fine Calvinistic principles to the traditional Anglicanism of the English settlers. They were ten thousand strong in the spring of '83. Accustomed to comfortable homes, they naturally sought the shelter of what villages there were in the land. Parrrtown (Saint John) was swelled beyond recognition. The three houses (one could hardly call them cabins) that formed the village of St. Anne's were soon hidden by the mushroom tents of the Loyalists. When the boats came again in the fall there were nearly 1,200 more souls who, failing to find refuge in the overcrowded settlements, gratefully accepted land at Gagetown and at Tay Creek far from any white habitation. Distraught negroes, now lost without masters to guide and care for them,

wandered aimlessly to the Nerepis River, while others settled at Kingston Creek (a side branch of the Belleisle River).⁽³⁾ Eventually in 1812, after years of hardship and suffering they were united to form the settlement of Otnabog. It is still today a completely negro district and a thoroughly happy one. Those coloured folk who stayed in Parrtown were finally looked after by the white people. They are still an unhappy race, due to their extreme poverty. In spite of this, many clever negroes have arisen from their ranks and have helped their less fortunate brothers to keep a strong faith, a good moral attitude, and, in the majority of cases, a sense of the necessity of hard work. There was but one group of Quakers who landed on a broad plain on the south shore of the province. This they named Penn's Field in honor of their religious leader, William Penn. Their descendants may still be found in that district of New Brunswick. Their worship is in true Quaker fashion, simple but firm.⁽⁴⁾ They are industrious, well-living folk who have found little interest outside of their immediate homes and villages. As such they have contributed little to education in the province.

All this responsibility of settlement rested in the hands of Reverend Mr. Sayre, Messrs. George Leonard,

William Tyng and James Peters (an ancestor of Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley).⁽⁵⁾ Unlike the policy of Governor Lawrence who sent his settlers to the deepest wildernesses, this committee aimed at consolidating the towns already in existence.

Naturally, the first few years were spent in building homes, establishing business, and organizing the governmental administration. In 1785 all land north of the Bay of Fundy was given a separate government under the leadership of Thomas Carleton, brother of Sir Guy, the governor of Nova Scotia.⁽⁶⁾ The new province was called New Brunswick in honorary tribute to the then ruling royal house in England. It is interesting to note in passing that Thomas Carleton was a staunch Britisher. In fact, the lure of the Mother country was so strong that in 1803 he returned home and left the reins of the government in the hands of capable New Brunswickers.⁽⁷⁾ His first Legislative Council was equally pro-British. Among its members were: Edward Winslow, whose ancestors had come to America on the Mayflower and who, himself, had ascribed to the third governorship of Plymouth; Jonathan Odell, a Church of England clergyman whose services were better understood in New Brunswick than in her dissentient neighbour; William Hazen, a very loyal

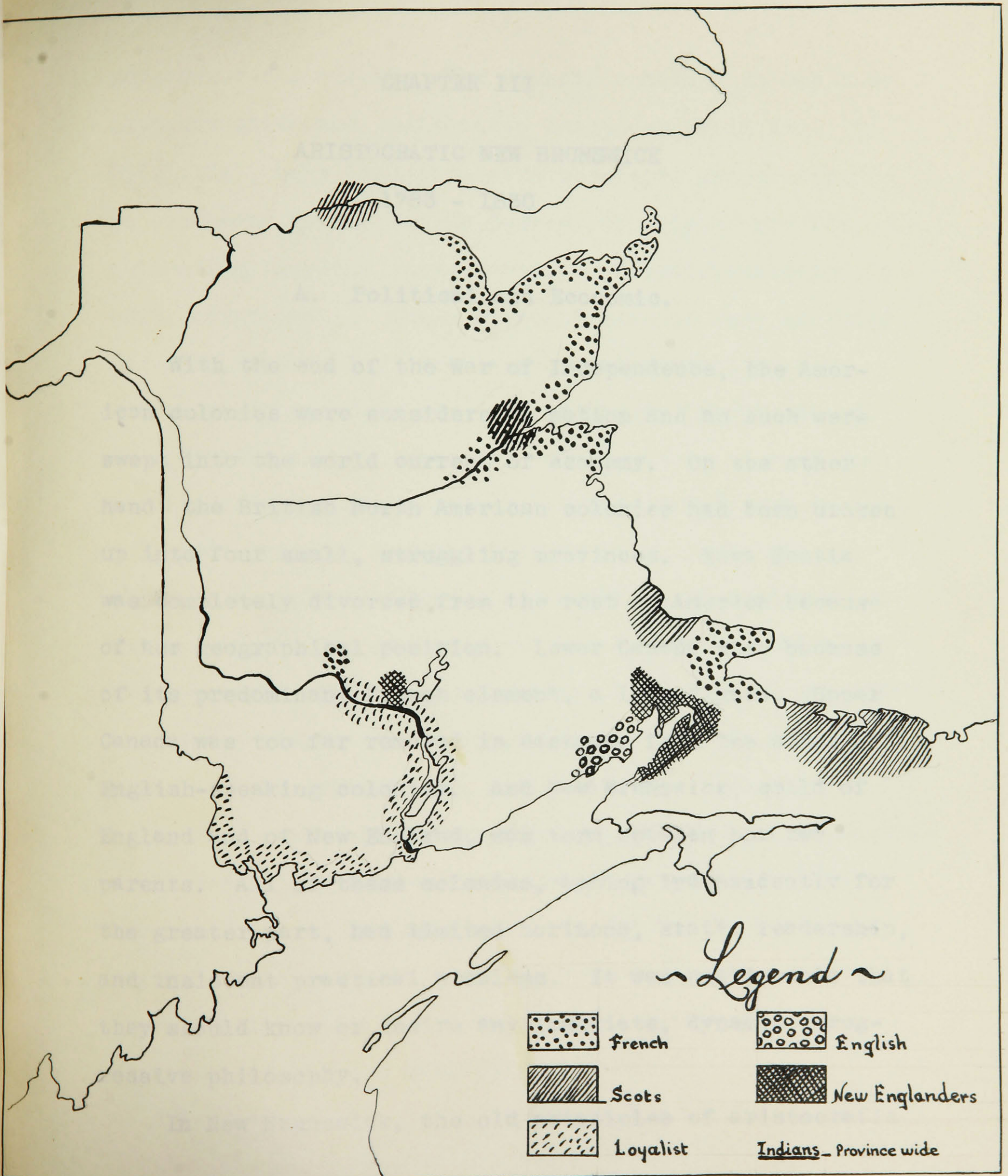
pre-loyalist from New Jersey; Beverley Robinson, George Ludlow, and James Putnam whose New England legal heads were not amiss in the infancy of the newly formed colony.⁽⁸⁾ In fact, Putnam was at one time rated the ablest lawyer in America. They were all excellently educated. Some, like Winslow, were from the traditional halls of Harvard;⁽⁹⁾ others were from Yale.⁽¹⁰⁾ It was unthinkable to them to live without their libraries, their clubs, their churches, their schools, and their universities. Once their homes were erected and the material necessities of life well started on the way, they sought to pick up again the threads of their former existence.

Unfortunately, this they could not wholly do. They had taken their choice and had supported the British cause. Life in New England had been not only a struggle with political implications but also one with social implications. The Loyalists, the minority, the leaders, the traditionalists, had embraced the ideal of a static society.⁽¹¹⁾ They were now completely estranged from their nearest neighbours - the Americans. Their only ties were with London whose colonial policy was, as ever, full of traditional conservatism. This, coupled with

the lack of cultural life in a new land, brought about the maintenance of unchanged social conceptions, concerns, interests, and educational views among the leaders. (12)

Preloyalist days in New Brunswick presented the nucleus of the influences which were to have a significant bearing on educational thought during the early years of the new colony. It must be borne in mind that the Indian element presented a problem with which the legislators were unable to cope. The French influence was negligible due to the community policies of their priests. The settlers who came to New Brunswick from New England prior to the Revolutionary War had the most democratic approach of all groups, while those who came as Loyalists clung stubbornly to the British traditions and aristocratic principles they had defended. Brewing in the lives of the older British settlers were thoughts of dissension and freedom from the way of life which had only spelled hardship for them. Although the dominating group was at first that of the United Empire Loyalists, none of these peoples lost their identity and their force of assertion, as time was to prove.

ETHNIC GROUPS 1783



CHAPTER III

ARISTOCRATIC NEW BRUNSWICK

1783 - 1830

A. Political and Economic.

With the end of the War of Independence, the American colonies were considered a nation and as such were swept into the world current of economy. On the other hand, the British North American colonies had been broken up into four small, struggling provinces. Nova Scotia was completely divorced from the rest of America because of her geographical position. Lower Canada was, because of its predominant French element, a lone figure. Upper Canada was too far removed in distance from the other English-speaking colonies. And New Brunswick, child of England and of New England, was torn between her two parents. All of these colonies, acting independently for the greater part, had limited horizons, static leadership, and insistent practical problems. It was unthinkable that they should know or desire any immediate, dynamic, progressive philosophy.

In New Brunswick, the old principles of aristocratic

government flourished. The Council combined in one body both executive and legislative functions until 1833.⁽¹⁾ Until 1817, only Anglicans were permitted membership. It was known as the Family Compact as only a very few ruling families and their immediate friends succeeded in being appointed.⁽²⁾ The commercial classes were excluded and when, eventually, the lawyers and merchants were admitted, it was done very begrudgingly. The House of Assembly was a very necessary body to those of American background. The law, however, forbade the French, on religious grounds, and the Indians to vote for it. Indeed, no Roman Catholic was given the right of franchise until 1810.⁽³⁾ The Assembly was not a powerful factor in the government for various reasons. The Council was often able to overthrow their decisions, the members were ill paid and that irregularly, attendance was inconsistent due to lack of roads and transportation, and the people on the whole were disinterested because of the complete lack of any knowledge of the problems laid before the House. England applauded and staunchly supported this stress on class distinctions. As a result legislation for the education of all was seriously delayed.⁽⁴⁾

Britain's colonies in the British West Indies were

instructed, after the American Revolution, to trade only with the Maritime provinces and the Mother country. Economically, New Brunswick was unable to meet the demand. As a consequence trade was reopened with the United States of America. England was, at the turn of the century, at war with France so the Maritimes found their supply line from there cut off. As a result a brisk clandestine trade was carried on with New England. Within the province there was little industry. Capital was very scarce in the early years of its life, and skilled labourers were few. The lack of experience, distance, and high freight and insurance rates made exporting unattractive. Resources were in abundance but there was no way to export them. Great forests would have yielded endless supplies of lumber but there were no roads by which to get it out. The New England fishermen had more capital and, in addition, enjoyed the benefit of state bounties. Shipbuilding had been established almost immediately but until the end of the Napoleonic wars long slumps and brief boom periods made it very unprofitable. Many of the new settlers were untrained for rural life so agriculture was not indulged in too greatly.⁽⁵⁾

Immediately following the Napoleonic Wars, New Brunswick enjoyed a period of prosperity. Due to a temporary

absence of trade relations with western Europe, Britain sought timber supplies in the Maritimes. It was the sole export. In 1815 the provincial revenue was four times greater than in 1811, and in the following year it was five times that of 1815.⁽⁶⁾ Attracted by such favorable prospects immigration from Europe began. The primary cause was the decidedly unfavorable economic aftermath in Britain of the great European struggle. New Brunswick encouraged this influx because, for her part, she needed agricultural workers. In 1816 the crops had failed and, in addition, most of the rural inhabitants had found lumbering more profitable. Thus the double attraction of farming and lumbering drew many thousands of young men into the country.⁽⁷⁾

B. Religious.

The revolution cut off a supply of Wesleyan missionaries and newcomers to the population from Yorkshire. It also divorced from outside contacts the evangelical enthusiasm which had been aroused by Wesley's preaching in England. Under pioneer conditions their original enthusiasm steadily cooled. The other non-conformist religious denominations

were also weakened to some extent by the Revolution.

On the other hand the Church of England secured new supports as a result of the war. Advantages which the Congregational Churches lost with the increasing emphasis upon loyalty the Church gained. The colonial government vigorously promoted its interests as a means of strengthening the imperial connection. The greater importance of military interests enhanced the church's favorable position. Finally the Loyalist immigration added its voice to the clamour for the established church.

Yet in the long run the influence of the church was not greatly increased. The control of missionary activities remained in the hands of the S. P. G. and only slowly was there any improvement in the type of clergymen sent to the colony. Bishop Inglis in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, states the situation: "Were this Diocese once supplied with a set of respectable, active Clergymen, we should have few Dissenters in a little time."⁽¹⁾ As time wore on another factor appeared. The clergy were supported as missionaries and as such were paid out of British funds. Being thus independent of the people in pecuniary matters, they did not take the same interest in their congregations as ministers of the other sects did. J. F. W. Johnston said of them: "Until they

are disengaged from home dependence, and are thrown upon the liberality of their own people, they will not compete on equal terms with the rival denominations." (2)

This failure to provide effective leadership secured emphasis by the success of new religious movements in the out settlements. Henry Alline, among the New England settlers, and William Black, among the Yorkshire English, made successful efforts to revive the religious feeling of the Congregational Churches and Methodist Societies. The latter, although ordained in the Philadelphia Conference, sought aid from England. As a result the Methodist Church was strongly established in the Maritimes with important influences coming from its English trained and supported ministers. (3) After the turn of the century, these two religious denominations gained considerable accessions of strength and served to combat autonomous tendencies in the province. The shift to Baptist doctrines in the New Light churches brought about the deflection of the more orthodox Congregationalists and their eventual absorption into the Presbyterian Church. By 1800 only four Congregational Churches remained in the Maritimes, while the first Baptist Association had gained a firm foothold. (4) Yet another group comprised those of the

Catholic faith.(5)

C. Educational.

The provisions for higher education followed closely the economic and social trends of the province. Our early rural ancestors had little time for schooling. The fathers and mothers of these hardy families were often literate --- some extremely so. Their favorite books were brought with them from the New England colonies. In almost every farmer's home you could have found in 1785 a Bible, a copy of Pilgrim's Progress, the inevitable book of sermons, and the even more popular "Saint's Rest" by Doddridge.(1) But for the children there was nothing besides the few things their parents had time to teach them. Theirs was the bliss of ignorance.

In the towns and villages chances of gleaning an education were less slim. Into St. Anne's drifted a talented teacher in the person of Mr. Bealing Stephen Williams. A native of Cornwall, England, he had lived for a time in Nova Scotia and in 1790 started a school in New Brunswick. People of his day rated him an "accomplished penman and an expert in arithmetic and the elementary mathematics."(2) It was a beginning. Most

outstanding of the private schools for young ladies in Saint John was one taught by a Loyalist, Mrs. Cottnam, and her daughter. It, too, was simply to cultivate skill in the three r's and in the finer arts of sewing and crocheting.⁽³⁾

Despite the general lack of organization in educational affairs, some preparations were made even before the exodus from New England. In March, 1783, a meeting was held in New York to consider the ways and means whereby the cause of religion and education might be best promoted in the new colonies about to be founded by the Loyalists. Dr. Charles Inglis (appointed first Bishop of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Upper and Lower Canada, Bermuda, and Newfoundland in 1787) and Jonathan Odell were there. A plan was drawn up for providing religious and educational privileges. Among suggestions was that of setting apart lands for the use and maintenance of schools. --- "It will be highly beneficial and expedient both from the present state and the immediate prospect of extensive settlement of that province, that the youth be furnished as soon as possible with such means, necessary education, and liberal instruction, as may qualify them for public utility -- to fill the civil offices of government with credit and

respectability -- to inspire those principles of virtue and public spirit, that liberality of sentiment and enlargement of mind which may attach them to the constitution, happiness and interest of the country. For this purpose, a public seminary, academy or college should, without delay, begin to be instituted at the most central part of the province."(4)

As the legislators of New Brunswick's genesis were all well educated men, they took the problem to heart. Two Harvard graduates, William Paine, a medical graduate of a Scottish university, and Ward Chipman, William Wanton, the son of the governor of Rhode Island, and Dr. Adino Paddock used their influence towards the fulfillment of the planned government "college".(5) In true New England fashion, they solicited the backing of such sound business men as Zephaniah Kingsley, a former Charleston merchant, and John Coffin, a Quaker. All these men were aware of the many leading settlers who had sons in their teens, boys who needed education that they might succeed in carrying on the financing and governing of the new province. In the Memorial of 1785 they claimed that many public advantages and many consequences would result to individuals could this be effected within the province.(6)

An Academy was indeed opened almost immediately under the tutelage of whatever masters were available.⁽⁷⁾ But it was not until 1800 that the College Charter was officially granted and the Academy became incorporated as the College of New Brunswick, "with a power of conferring degrees in the different faculties, and with a very liberal endowment, considering the then state of the Province, the many difficulties which the first settlers had to surmount, and the great privations to which they had to submit."⁽⁸⁾ The "endowment" had been granted on March 2, 1786. At that time revenue from the Heddon grant^(a) was "to be used for an Academy or College to be erected and supported at Fredericton for the education of youth in the various branches of literature and for the salaries and maintenance of the several preceptors or teachers appointed thereto."⁽⁹⁾ In the Speech from the Throne in 1792, Thomas Carleton, one of the most conservative and discreet men of New Brunswick's early history, pleaded for an annual allowance in support of this provincial institution of learning. "A foundation," he said, "was laid some years ago for an Academy established in this province but the lands are not yet

(a) (Town of Fredericton when laid off consisted of two grants -- the Ackerman and the Heddon grants. The latter consisted of all property east of town from Sunbury to Mill Creek and land west of the town. All in all, it comprised about 5,950 Acres.)

sufficiently productive to answer the immediate exigencies of such an institution." The always practical speaker replied with these words: "We shall, after having provided for those important objects formerly recommended to us, proceed to consider that subject." (10) The plea resulted in the sum of £100 per annum being granted to the academy. This increased until in 1828 £600 were annually paid towards its upkeep. (11)

In spite of such financial difficulties the "college" continued to give instruction to the boys of the province. The great future its founders had planned for it was far from evident. It was styled after King's College in New York (12) due to the influence of Bishop Inglis who, prior to his arrival in New Brunswick in 1787, had been a director of the said College (now Columbia). Conducted on the lines of an English grammar school, it offered courses in English grammar, Latin, Greek, orthography, and religion. (13) (The Church of England was the accented church of the province. (14)) By the Charter of 1800, the institution legally possessed the right to confer degrees but was scholastically unable to exercise this power.

Dr. James Somerville, a Church of England ecclesiastic, who had become Principal Preceptor of the Academy

in 1811,⁽¹⁵⁾ was an outstanding man in the field of religious education and an energetic worker towards the betterment of the educational situation in New Brunswick. Through his efforts the College of New Brunswick was finally organized in 1820. (The Academy became the Fredericton Academy -- a preparatory school). He, himself, was the first and only President of the College, for in 1823 the Governor and Trustees obtained an Act of the Assembly to enable them to make a conditional surrender of the Charter into the hands of the King. They had found the existing one to be so defective as to be entirely inadequate to the needs of the "College" then in its fifth decade of existence.⁽¹⁶⁾ In practise, it was hardly distinguishable from the Academy which it had replaced. In the college, the boys continued with their studies of the classics, religion, and English under the guidance of Dr. Somerville and the Reverend Messrs. Abraham Wood, A.M., George McCawley, A.M., and George Cowell, A.M. All these men were educated in American colleges, save Dr. Somerville, whose old-country zeal was a sobering influence.⁽¹⁷⁾

Based as it had been on the traditional English grammar school standards, the "College" was essentially a Church of England school. It was in true English fashion only for the sons of the leading families. Correspondence

between Governor Carleton and the Secretary of State in England reveals that in 1790 a plan was proposed "for establishing foundations for the maintenance of a certain number of young men native of the North American Dominions ---- to be sent to England to finish their studies at any University, and then, if qualified, to be admitted into Holy Orders and sent to supply vacancies arising in the Ecclesiastical Establishments of North America." The Governor replied that he was sending a draft of a charter for a college, prepared by the Attorney General, "necessary as educated Loyalists cannot afford to send their children to England." (18) Thus was shattered a possible imperial hope that ties with England could be strengthened by forcing the professional education of her colonial sons to be received abroad.

The governing council, no doubt, saw to it that no divergence from the age-old system occurred. For on the first "college" council sat Chief Justice Ludlow, Honourable Jonathan Odell, Honourable Edward Winslow, and Honourable James Bisset (19) all staunch supporters of the tradition that was England and all that it stood for. When the first schoolmaster, Mr. Bremen, resigned in 1811, they brought the Reverend Doctor Somerville out from England to replace him. (20) It was under his guidance that two separate

institutions were established -- the College of New Brunswick and its preparatory school, the Fredericton Academy. For the first time since the Memorial of 1785 a college came into existence as such. We know little of its curriculum but we do know that it was highly inefficient.⁽²¹⁾ Yet this inefficiency served a purpose. It came to the attention of the Council and they took the third step towards the building of a university. They surrendered the useless charter to the King and in return in 1828 received one that was to make the college what it was intended to be, an institution for "the instruction of youth in the liberal arts and sciences, with a power of conferring degrees in the different faculties."⁽²²⁾

Elementary.

Prior to the coming of the Loyalists, small schools had been in existence throughout the settlements. Generally their function was to keep alive the elementary skills, reading, writing, and, in all cases, religion. A few of the classes were conducted by itinerant teachers, a few by private schoolmasters, but mainly, the instructors were under the guidance of the Society for the Propa-

gation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.(1)

During these early years the S. P. G. had been particularly active in establishing elementary schools. In limiting their efforts to this field they followed the Presbyterian Schools of Scotland, the schools of the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland, and the Lutheran Schools of Germany and Sweden. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a total of fourteen schools, plus one African school, were in operation in New Brunswick under their guidance. The aim of their system was "the instruction and disposing children to believe and live as Christians to teach the children to read truly and distinctly, also to write a plain, legible hand in order to the fitting them for useful employments; with as much arithmetic as shall be necessary for the same purpose."(2)

At the time of the founding of the Province of New Brunswick, royal instructions were issued to the governor, Thomas Carleton. Included were detailed instructions concerning the provision of educational facilities in the province. These called for:

(1) A grant of land in each township, not exceeding five hundred acres, to be used for the support of a school-master.

(2) The legislating of "proper laws for the erecting and maintenance of schools in order to the training up of youth to reading and to necessary knowledge of the principles of religion."

(3) No schoolmaster "from this kingdom be henceforth permitted to keep school in that our said province without the license of the Lord Bishop of London, and that no person now there or that shall come from other parts, shall be admitted to keep school in New Brunswick without your (Governor's) license first obtained." (3)

Obviously these instructions were difficult to carry out. The first proposed legislation arising from the document took the form of a grant of £10 "to aid and assist in educating the youth." It was rejected by the ever powerful Council. This was in 1793. (4)

Shortly after the College officially received its charter (1800) acts were passed establishing elementary education in the province. In 1802 appeared the act "to extend literature", and three years later the Parish School Act eventually came into legal existence. (5) (It had been shelved ever since 1793).

The Act of 1802 called for provincial aid to education, local control in the hands of the Justices of the Peace, and a compulsory report to be submitted

to the Legislature regarding the use to which the school money was put. Each Parish was given £10 towards the support of the teacher. This was bad allotment for, as is the case of Kings County where the parish required more than one school, the grant was of little use. There, only £70 (£10 to each of the seven parishes) was not nearly sufficient to establish the schools needed to provide facilities for the concentrated population.(6)

By the Act of 1805 for "Encouraging and Extending Literature in this Province", provision was made for a Grammar School at Saint John and for two County Schools for each county. The Justices of the Peace were to appoint the schoolmasters for the latter and the place where school was to be held, "so that only one of the said schools shall be kept or holden in any one parish at one and the same time for one continued year and no longer and then shall be removed to another parish."(7) From a provincial fund the master was to be paid £25. The Justices were also to appoint a committee to visit and examine the schools twice a year. In the school itself four scholars were to be admitted free. This school reminds one of the Moving School in Massachusetts.

The Legislative Assembly granted £100 towards the

erection of a building for the Saint John Grammar School and an annual sum of equal value towards the salary of its master.⁽⁸⁾ This school was traditionally under the guidance of Church and State. The President of its Board of Directors was to be the Rector of Trinity Church, the school was to be regularly inspected by a clergyman or missionary of the parish while English language, writing, and arithmetic were the main subjects on the curriculum. It was the pattern for the future county grammar schools. Its legally-provided for sister schools remained by law rotational for eleven years.⁽⁹⁾

Theoretically, New Brunswick now had two kinds of government supported schools, the Parish Schools and the County Schools. The former were designed to teach the rudiments while the latter evidently were intended to be of a more superior type. Unfortunately, the County Schools did not materialize. The Grammar School at Saint John was the only one which came into existence. Whether it was the indifference of the people and the justices, or whether the moving school principle was unfavorable to the population is not known. Whatever the cause, there was no mention of the system again in New Brunswick's educational legislation. In 1816, the Act expired.

In paving the way for the three education acts of 1816, Major General Smyth (acting governor) said: "The great advantages resulting to every country from those habits of temperance, industry, and loyalty in the people at large ---- are generally the result of an early and well-directed education."⁽¹⁰⁾ His words had the desired effect and in that year three acts were made law. One of these established a grammar school at St. Andrews similar to the one in operation in Saint John. The second, "an Act to establish Grammar Schools in the several Counties of the Province" provided for the support of one grammar school in each county. The Trustees or Directors were to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. These men were extended the same duties and privileges as those of the Saint John Grammar School, namely, they were given full authority to hold public inspections, to choose a site for a school, to engage a teacher, to collect the necessary contributions, and to admit free scholars. The grant to each was £100 on guarantee that a school and schoolmaster had been provided and an equivalent sum had been raised by the inhabitants.

The curriculum in these new schools was to remain in favour for many years. Latin and Greek were essential as were also English Grammar, Geography (with Globes),

and Mathematics. In each school eight of the pupils were free scholars. The others paid a small tuition fee. In principle this course intended to raise the schools above the level of the Parish Schools. This then was the type of Grammar School which existed in its original form for thirty years (1816-1846).⁽¹¹⁾

The third act dealt with the Parish Schools. In place of the Justices of the Peace who had administered their needs since 1802, local Boards of Trustees were to be appointed by the said Justices. These men, two in number, were required to raise by donations, subscriptions, or assessment the sum of £30 for school purposes. Upon report of this to the provincial secretary a sum of £20 was added by the government. The maximum paid to the schools of a parish was set at £60 with no school receiving more than £20 per annum. Thus the number of schools in any parish was limited to three. The principle of assessment was introduced as a voluntary measure to be adopted by a majority decision at a public meeting. In schools not supported by assessment, only those children whose parents contributed to the support of the teacher could attend. They were to be taught free of all expenses "other than their own books and stationery and individual

portion of fuel." The trustees were instructed to take care that the benefits of such schools should be confined to the youth of such persons as contributed to their support.⁽¹²⁾ Two years later the assessment principle was repealed, having been considered unwise and too premature.⁽¹³⁾

That the governing officials were continually interested in the standards of these schools may be evidenced from these words of Major-General Sir Arthur Campbell (acting Governor): "Our expectations have been defeated by the appointment of improper and incompetent schoolmasters. How much depends on the character and qualifications of those who are to instruct the young and to preside over the formation of their morals! I suggest the nomination of competent local committees for the examining not only of Teachers -- but of every future Canadian."⁽¹⁴⁾ Similar advice had been followed in 1823. Once again the local Trustees were placed in power -- this time of other than financial problems.

This new act provided for three Trustees (in place of the former two) who were to appoint a licensed teacher, endeavour to keep regular attendance, and inspect the school twice a year. The Justices of the Peace were to submit an official report annually to the Lieutenant-

Governor. Once again the experiment of raising £30 to receive the government's £20 grant was introduced.(15) By the same Act the government grant to Grammar Schools was increased to £175.(16) Major-General Smyth was most zealous in legislating and executing these acts. Reverend James Somerville said of him - "Through his means it is now within the power of the poorest and meanest in the country to give their offspring a religious education."(17)

There is one fact that, however insignificant, should not be overlooked. In 1829 it was made illegal for a clergyman to teach in a Grammar School, thus declaring the policy of non-denominational schools supported through public funds.(18)

Despite the apparently complacent attitude toward the Grammar and Parish School situation there were other evidences of keen interest in reform. Following the Act of 1823, seven new schools were opened with two hundred and thirty-eight boys and eleven girls in all.(19) However, the steadying hand of the Anglican ancestry lent conservatism to the interpretation. It was with this attitude that Major-General Smyth took up the cry for Madras Schools.(20) He was interested in the excellent results of both the Madras and Lancaster systems but,

naturally, being a good Anglican, he narrowed his study to the former type. The English sponsor of this system was the National Society for the Promotion of Education of the Poor. For some time the missionaries of the S. P. G. had been urging the adoption of its principles in their schools. (21)

Schools and a training school were flourishing in Nova Scotia, while a school on this plan was established in Saint John in 1818. The preceding year two trial schools were set up in the villages of Kouchibouquac and Buctouche. They proved so highly successful that in 1819 as acting governor, Smyth asked that others be established throughout the province. Accordingly charters were granted to three such schools in Saint John, Fredericton, and St. Andrews. A year later the number had increased to eight schools, with an enrolment of nine hundred and ninety-two. In 1824, thirty-seven schools, with over four thousand pupils, were functioning. (22) A Provincial Corporation was established in 1819 and with the granting of the charter, an annual grant of £700 was begun. (23) These schools gave gratuitous education to the poor and were open to all sects and denominations of Christians, yet the Church of England decidedly cracked the whip. In

the Calendar of Church manuscripts (August 23, 1831) appears this statement - "Hope to eliminate the Dissenting Schoolmasters." (24)

The spectacular growth of the monitorial system was due; (1) to the eager patronage of the lieutenant-governor; (2) to the support of the Church of England; (3) to the fact that the citizens were duly impressed by the discipline and quasi-military character; (4) it filled the clamoring needs of elementary education at a very small cost, and thus attracted children of all classes of society and denominations; (5) the press was favorable; and (6) good grants of land and money were made by the government. At the date upon which this survey opens, the Madras schools were enjoying widespread popularity and a fair amount of success. (25) Their influence was even later carried into some parish schools which were organized on those principles.

During the 1820's, schools other than those discussed, were likewise thriving. For the unfortunate negro children, two schools were open, one in Saint John, and another in Fredericton. (26) The academy for Indians was in operation in Sussex. There were numerous Sunday schools maintained by the various denominations. Most of this work can be attributed to the untiring efforts of the S. P. G. and

later the S. P. C. K. which latter body took also into its own hands the establishing of public libraries in Saint John and Fredericton, a Female Benevolent Society for the relief of indigent females in Saint John, the New Brunswick Bible Society and the Saint John Sunday School Union Society.⁽²⁷⁾ With such a moderate provision of elementary education through the government and religious societies, there was arising in the province a fair number of educated young men.

In forty-five years vast progress had been made in education. Whereas virtually no schools were in existence in 1783, now a fair number of academic institutions presented their curricula to the public for a price. The parish schools taught the rudiments; the grammar schools did likewise, but went a bit further in that they delved into the classics and literature; the college was also to offer courses leading to an arts degree. Thus the youth of the province no longer needed to seek an education far afield.

The forces that guided education during those early years -- i.e. the Church, the State, and religious

societies -- still held supreme sway. Education was mainly for the select few who could pay. But no longer were opinions uncontested. From the rank and file protestations were beginning to rumble. As yet they were not voiced aloud but they were there. This was only natural with the development of new strength in the dissentient faiths and the gradual change of social life due to a new economic status. The period to follow (1828-1871) was a time of conciliatory legislation, of gradually blending into one the many and varied elements that comprised New Brunswick. What each faith, what each people had as their ideals of education, these were added to the conventional stabilizing English ways and produced the nucleus of our present organization.

CHAPTER IV

GROWTH

1830 - 1871

The period under consideration was one of momentous social, political, and economic implications. The aristocratic tenor of administration was forced to yield to the new way of life imposed by those who found in the land of their adoption opportunities for self betterment. It was the period when the whole western world was shaken by the steadily strengthening theories of democracy and the equality of all men. The effects were not lost on New Brunswick.

The immigration which had begun in the early part of the century was at its peak in this period and did not fade until after 1860.⁽¹⁾ Largely Scotch and Irish settlers, these people came in vast numbers to the province where great prosperity seemed to await them. They were generally those for whom there was no longer any employment in their homeland. Famine stricken Irishmen, unfitted for pioneer farming and unskilled in trades, were a burden rather than a help to the province. The ablest and cleverest of them often went to the States where higher wages and more opportunities seemed to beckon. Thus the poorest

of them all stayed in the province.⁽²⁾ It is estimated that the population of the province doubled approximately every seventeen years. In 1824 there were 74,176 souls within the boundaries of New Brunswick. This number increased to 210,000 by 1857.⁽³⁾

The immigration policy of the government accounted for a large proportion of those figures. Lecturers were sent to England to travel and deliver addresses on the opportunities awaiting one in America. James Brown went on one such expedition.⁽⁴⁾ A competition was conducted by the Saint John Mechanics' Institute whereby the literary talents of the inhabitants were expended on writing essays in praise of New Brunswick's resources, which offered prosperous homes for immigrants.⁽⁵⁾ J. F. W. Johnston's "Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry" was published and sold in England.⁽⁶⁾ Other similar volumes were also written.

Once in New Brunswick, the majority of these newcomers presented a great problem. The existing educational facilities were inadequate to meet it. Most of the work of educating them and providing for their well-being was left to philanthropists. Some aid came from Britain and from the Provincial Treasury but it was not nearly enough.⁽⁷⁾ National societies, as St. Patrick's

Society, St. George's Society, and St. Andrew's Society, came into being with the assisting of the immigrants as their immediate problem.⁽⁸⁾ The need of free, compulsory education was all the more pressing because of the presence of these inhabitants.

The lumber boom continued to the disaster of the agricultural situation.⁽⁹⁾ Crop failures in 1836 and 1845 added further gloom to the picture.⁽¹⁰⁾ However, the opening up of the country by means of the railroads developed villages and permanent settlements. Thus, with the first railroad built in 1836, the pendulum began to swing back.⁽¹¹⁾ In 1849 the "New Brunswick Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Home Manufacturers, and Commerce Throughout the Province", was begun. Its promoter and most zealous supporter was Professor Robb.⁽¹²⁾ Sir Edmund Head, the Liberal Lieutenant-Governor, was instrumental in arranging for various series of lectures on that and similar immediate issues. Professor Robb delivered such a series in 1849. Mr. McMahon Cregan in 1854 lectured for three months on systematic civil engineering and surveying. For his labours he received £100 plus a small fee from each student.⁽¹³⁾ It is quite conceivable that the depression of the 1860's speeded up the movement

towards agriculture. At least the diminished demand for labour in the principal cities must have given few alternatives.(14)

The lumber industry has always been a source of wealth to the province. In the mid-nineteenth century great fortunes were made by the merchants, who thus presented a distinct challenge to the pretensions to social prestige of the landowning and professional aristocracy. The merchants were joined by the great shipbuilding kings who made Saint John the fourth largest shipbuilding port in the world.(15) Even the lowest worker during the days of prosperity received good wages. The loose, spendthrift approach to life was evident everywhere. In addition, the characteristics so distinctive of every frontier society were apparent. "Intemperance, rowdyism, and illiteracy" abounded.(16) Such peoples were indifferent to educational facilities, thus greatly thwarting the success of any legislation made concerning elementary education.

On the other hand, those merchants whose business talents yielded them abundant returns, engaged private tutors for their children or sent them abroad to the best of schools. In their prosperity and ignorance they did

not realize that a well planned system of education was necessary to support their liberal ideas.(17)

Although the Family Compact and their Tory adherents would have gladly allowed this lethargy to continue, those who championed the cause of the people were increasing their ranks and their effectiveness. The various denominations were gradually officially recognized. In 1830 came the Catholic Emancipation Act,(18) while a year previous the ban on Catholics attending Kings College and receiving degrees from the said institution was lifted.(19) The rise of denominational schools such as the Baptist Seminary, the Sackville Academy, and the College of Saint Joseph as competition for the Collegiate School in Fredericton, is indicative of the spirit of freedom of enterprise which grew during this period. The first native Lieutenant-Governor, Lemuel Allan Wilmot, appointed in 1868, was a Methodist.(20)

Within the walls of the government building, the struggle for Responsible Government was waged. In 1833 the Council's executive and legislative functions were separated.(21) The Mother country herself was undergoing a reform of parliament; in France, Louis Philippe had just succeeded in establishing his bourgeois government; in the United States of America, Jackson was tasting

triumph for his democracy; in Upper and Lower Canada, the famous rebellion of 1837 was taking its bloody course; and in Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe was likewise campaigning for representative government.⁽²²⁾ New Brunswick could not help but be caught up in this great wave of political change. The conservative attitude of the House of Assembly was wasting time and money. Disproportionately high salaries were bestowed on Family Compact high officials.⁽²³⁾ Samuel Leonard Tilley, Lieutenant-Governor Colebrooke, Charles Fisher, and Lemuel Allan Wilmot were instrumental in defending the principles and practices of Responsible Government. The Civil List Bill came into effect in 1837, which legislation was termed "the most progressive --- in any British colony."⁽²⁴⁾ During the '40's and early '50's this question of government policy was predominant in the province. The Grey Despatch, which was presented in 1846 suggesting that "the governor seek the advice and assistance of those who could command the confidence of the Legislature and Assembly," was adopted without any difficulty in 1847. Responsible government came without the physical violence which marked its advent elsewhere but unofficially the struggle continued for some time.⁽²⁵⁾

Until it was settled any drastic reform in educational matters was impossible.

Meanwhile, the settlement of relations with their American neighbour was likewise a tonic of much discussion and disagreement. In 1839, many disputes concerning American encroachment on New Brunswick's timber lands resulted in the Aroostook War.⁽²⁶⁾ The unsettled boundary line remained a bitter question for many years. However, in matters of trade there was more co-operation. With the establishment of free trade in England, all preferential duties were abolished in 1847 and ships of all nations were free to trade with the colonies. England seemed to be intentionally loosening her grip on the Empire. In New Brunswick the step was considered disastrous as Britain had always presented an assured market for the provincial lumber industry. However, the change resulted in necessary reciprocity with the United States of America which in the long run brought prosperity to the Maritimes.⁽²⁷⁾ This link with America, shunned officially for so many years, could not help but be reflected in all aspects of life within the provinces. The democracy embodied in American institutions no longer seemed distasteful to the more conservative Maritimes.

As the age advanced, exploration of the West and its subsequent opening for settlement gradually moved the economic center farther away from the Maritime Provinces. Towards the close of the period the new emphasis on industry in Upper Canada began to enhance the economy of that province to the destruction of that of the Maritimes. Smug and secure in their trade with Britain as they had been for so many decades, the sea-side provinces were now forced to recognize the need to use their own initiative in business enterprises.⁽²⁸⁾ It was the death knell of the remaining aristocratic Tories. For the first time in provincial history a budget was brought down in 1857. Shortly after, the Liberals gained a sweeping majority with such men as Charles Fisher, James Brown, Samuel Leonard Tilley and David Wark -- all reformers.⁽²⁹⁾

The last decade under observation was one involving many momentous problems. The questions of Maritime Union and Confederation occupied the government,⁽³⁰⁾ the press and the minds of the people. Business was in a depressing state due to the reasons mentioned above. Consequently the demand for labor rapidly diminished and all ranks of men felt the pinch. The spirit of unrest and indecision was augmented by the numerous political changes

and agitations. Even the final decision to enter Confederation did not silence those opposed to union with the more powerful Upper Canadian provinces. But in any government opposition is healthy. In this case it was to lend a note of conservatism to the radical policies of the eager, zealous Liberals.

In spite of the materialistic stress on life during this period, the province was not devoid of the cultural adornments of society. Almost forty newspapers came into existence after 1812, some of which were outstanding in voicing the opinions of the public.⁽³¹⁾ Various libraries were in operation, one of which was the Subscription Library of Fredericton opened in 1830.⁽³²⁾ In the private homes of that time valuable libraries were to be found in the nucleus state. Many of them contained whole collections of English authors but amongst the volumes of the masters appeared the first slim volumes of native history. Fisher's "History of New Brunswick" was almost a pass word at that time.⁽³³⁾ Nor did the different societies fail in their duty as educators. The Mason's Library in Saint John is reported to have been "the most complete thing of its kind in the Dominion."⁽³⁴⁾ Music and art sought expression at the Academy of Music and in

Mr. Notman's Art Studio in Saint John. (35)

The Fredericton Athenaeum Society was founded as a literary and scientific organization, and counted amongst its members the majority of the leading educationalists of the period. (36) Debating Societies sprang up, not the least notable of which was the Young Men's Debating Society of Chatham (1837). (37) Samuel Leonard Tilley began his diplomatic career in the Saint John Young Men's Debating Society. When he became a member of the Provincial House in 1855, his talents were well-evidenced in his pleas for Confederation and prohibition. (38) Slason Thompson, a young law student in the office of Judge George Botsford, wrote enthusiastically of the Quiz Club and "moot" courts held amongst the Juniors. Nor did they confine their talents to discussions of law. Literature, history, philosophy, and education were equally familiar to them. (39) To provide for the lighter side of life there was a Dancing Academy in Newcastle. Travelling theatrical companies presented the occasional play in the best of traditions. (40) The Mechanics' Institutes were introduced in 1839 from Britain and served not only as educational but also social and recreational centres for the labouring class. (41) "Punch" and "Harper's Monthly" appeared side by

side in many literate homes.⁽⁴²⁾ As late as 1849 British regiments were stationed in Fredericton and social life was gay in the upper classes.⁽⁴³⁾

Thus did New Brunswick pass through a momentous era of her life. From an aristocratic colony utterly dependent economically, politically, and socially on England, she had emerged an independent province in a new nation where freedom of enterprise, responsible government, and a society based on the principles of democracy were in the ascendancy.

CHAPTER V

HIGHER EDUCATION 1830-1871

A. The University of New Brunswick.

Due to Governor Sir Howard Douglas' influence, the new charter was granted in 1828. Many were his pleas made "to train men to virtuous and well educated, accomplished manhood", and to bring them "to the blessings of a sound, virtuous, useful, religious education, to enable them to live to an old age with consciences devoid of stain and conduct devoid of censure."⁽¹⁾ He saw the partial fulfillment of his hopes when in 1829 he officially opened King's College, New Brunswick -- a college "for the education of youth in the principles of the Christian religion and for their instruction in the various branches of literature and science which are taught in the Universities of this Kingdom."⁽²⁾ (England) It was essentially a replica of the English Universities. As such it was somewhat of a disappointment to Douglas for he had hoped for an institution founded on less restricting lines.⁽³⁾ He had wished it to be religious without being sectarian.

The Statutes of King's College provided for a college

council whose members were:

(1) a Visitor. The Bishop of the Diocese was automatically appointed.

(2) a Chancellor. The Lieutenant-Governor was to hold this office. He presided at all meetings, appointed all professors, and appointed one of the said professors to be Vice-President of the Council.

(3) a President. The Archdeacon of the Province held this office. It was his duty to appoint the Chaplain and to see that the professors and students conducted themselves in a seemly fashion at all times.

Or a Vice-President. If the President had parochial duties the Vice-President relieved him and took his place on the Council.

(4) Seven of the Professors in Arts and Faculties. These men were required to be of the United Church of England and Ireland and "shall sign the thirty-nine articles of religion."⁽⁴⁾ To provide for a sufficient number (in its infancy the college did not have seven professors) the charter stated that the total was to be filled out by graduates of the said university who, too, would be of the Anglican faith.

This Council had the right to frame and make all

statutes. It also was in sole trust of the management and disposal of college funds, and of all decisions concerning fees and salaries in connection with the institution. Naturally all its decisions became effective only after the King had approved them.

An ambitious staff was called for in the charter. In all nine professors were to be appointed: - (1) Divinity and metaphysics, (2) Classical literature, (3) Oriental literature, (4) Mathematics and natural philosophy, (5) Moral philosophy, (6) History and the law of nature and nations, (7) Logic and rhetoric, (8) Modern literature, and (9) Anatomy, chemistry, and medicine. Each of these professors was to lecture once a week and they were strictly instructed to refrain from teaching "any principle --- contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the United Church of England and Ireland -- or to the British constitution." (5)

The pupils were likewise required to abide by rigid instructions. Each student was to have a tutor who would "assist and direct the private studies of their pupils, inspect their religious and moral conduct, control their expenses, and regulate those parts of their education and behaviour which are not within the province of the Professors." (6) They had to have matriculation standing

prior to college entrance. This was ascertained by a public examination. Added to that, each student went individually to the President to be examined in person. Complete compulsory attendance was demanded at lectures and at chapel during the week and church on Sunday. Nor could they frequent public places of amusement without permission. All the undergraduates had to prepare a theme in prose or verse once a week. Every other week it was in Latin! The students in the graduate departments had two a week and had to recite them publicly!

The Arts course was most frequented. Examinations were held three times a year in the following subjects: Greek, Latin, English, and in the "Sciences and Arts in which instructed". The Bachelor of Arts course required four years in residence. The Law course was of seven years duration. The last three years were not necessarily spent in residence, but preferably in a law office. To obtain a Bachelor of Divinity took fourteen years (four for Bachelor of Arts, three for Master of Arts, and seven for Bachelor of Divinity!) and to receive a Doctorate of Medicine the student had to study for eight years (four for Bachelor of Arts, one for Bachelor of Medicine, and three for Doctor of Medicine.)

The college building was well equipped with a residence for the President, one for the students at the other end, class rooms, a chapel, a refectory, and a library. The latter was open from ten o'clock until three but only the Chancellor, President, Vice-President, or Professors were given permission to take books out.⁽⁷⁾

A more completely Anglican college could not have been established. This policy was kept alive for at least twenty-five years. Its staunch supporter was its first and only vice-president, the Reverend Doctor Edwin Jacob. A native of Gloucestershire and a graduate of Oxford, he considered the new college to be as a bulwark against the levelling influences of the United States of America.⁽⁸⁾ The first College Council held similar views. Its members were all prominent government officials as the following list will testify: The Honourable the Chief Justice, the Honourable Judge Chipman; the Honourable Judge Botsford; Charles Simonds, Speaker of the House of Assembly; Charles J. Peters, Attorney-General; Robert Parker, Solicitor-General; and William F. Odell, Secretary of the Province.⁽⁹⁾ Chipman, Botsford, and Odell held the positions their fathers had filled when New Brunswick was first made a province. Tradition ran strong in their veins. All were

of Loyalist descent, while the two judges had received their education in England.⁽¹⁰⁾ Small wonder then that the college was destined for a future dominated for a generation by the aristocratic ideas of the Family Compact. It stood for everything opposing reform.⁽¹¹⁾

For thirty years (1829-1859) Dr. Jacob offered to his students a steadying influence during times of reform. Through his classes in Classical Literature, History, Moral Philosophy, Metaphysics, and Divinity,⁽¹²⁾ he taught to a young generation in a young land the wisdom of the past. He believed that a college should teach youth "the principles and application of truth."⁽¹³⁾ They alone were fundamental.

Early assisting in the teaching of the students were three outstanding men in the field of education, Dr. William Brydone Jack, Dr. James Robb, and Joseph Marshall, Baron D'Avray. It is interesting to consider the contributions they brought to the college from their own universities.

William B. Jack was a native of Scotland. After attending the parish schools there and later Halton Hall Academy, he went to the University of St. Andrews. There it was he came under the personal guidance and influence

of the principal, Sir David Brewster, who was a world renowned mathematician. Jack became an enthusiastic professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. To his classes he brought not only a great store of knowledge but also a zeal for his subjects that was highly infectious. His way was that of the Scot -- tenacity of purpose, common sense, optimism, energy. To the youthful spirits he was an ever youthful comrade on the playing field, a keen scientist in the classroom, and a strong, firm friend to whom one went for the best of advice. (14)

One of his colleagues, Dr. James Robb, was likewise from Scotland. He had studied medicine at Edinburgh University before coming to New Brunswick. Perhaps this alone would have been enough to contribute to the ever growing state of culture in this new province. Yet he had something greater to offer. When his course at Edinburgh was completed, Robb, in company with Dr. van Beneden toured the continent. They had with them letters of introduction to all the scientific savants of Europe. Through these meetings Robb gained an ever-increasing zeal for botanical collecting. His collections, his memories, his knowledge -- all these he brought with him to the small college "Up the Hill". The contacts he had

made were never broken. Thus, through his influence, King's College, New Brunswick, was kept in continual intercourse with the most outstanding research in natural science at that time. Nor did Dr. Robb merely rely on past laurels. His botanical collections and geographical surveys of New Brunswick were the first ever to be made. His was a virgin field. It was made doubly effective by his influence as a professor.⁽¹⁵⁾

The third professor of note during Dr. Jacob's presidency was Joseph Marshall, Baron D'Avray. Marshall's father had been a physician in Gloucestershire, England, and knew intimately Edward Jenner. For many years he was physician extraordinary to King Ferdinand IV of Naples from whom he received his title. Thus most of young Joseph's life was spent on the continent. He grew to love the French atmosphere and spirit and was, in later youth, an earnest Bourbon supporter.⁽¹⁶⁾ Although the first professor of Modern Languages at King's was a Frenchman (E.W.W.G. Housseal),⁽¹⁷⁾ he did not succeed in interpreting to his classes the fiery zeal for French and all that is French as Baron D'Avray did. Perhaps, however, New Brunswick will remember D'Avray as an educator rather than as a mere professor of Modern Languages, for he was for five years Chief Superintendent of Education and prior

to that Director of the Fredericton Training School.(18)

The Reverend Doctor Somerville resigned his position as Headmaster of the Fredericton Academy and in 1829 became professor of Divinity and Metaphysics at the College. Tradition was strength to him and his very actions revealed his desires to hold forever aloft the torch of England and Anglicanism in New Brunswick's heart and mind. Ten years later he again resigned, this time to become Principal of King's College at Windsor, Nova Scotia.(19) England, at that time, lost one of her staunchest supporters in New Brunswick.

Such a completely Anglican institution was bound to invoke a protest from the dissenting faiths. The protest came in 1841 in the form of a suggestion to the Queen. As at that time but one-fifth of the provincial population were Anglicans, the objectors saw "no reason why the entire management and control of the Institution should be vested in any one denomination to the absolute exclusion of all others who equally contribute to the public endowment."(20) The suggested amendment was couched in the most conciliatory tones. They offered a change in the council set-up, preferring to have as its members the Chancellor, the President, the Master

of Rolls, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Secretary of the Province, the Attorney-General, and nine other members appointed by the Visitor. They stipulated, moreover, that "no clergyman of any denomination be allowed to hold a seat in the said Council."⁽²¹⁾ The reformers further objected to the religious stress. They asked that only the Professor of Theology be required to be an Anglican and he, with pupils enrolled in Divinity, be the sole persons compelled to profess that they "believe in the authenticity and Divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments and in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity."⁽²²⁾

This was the outcome of a movement which commenced shortly after the official opening of King's College under the new charter (1829). Protests were later lodged by the Reverend James Hannay (Presbyterian) and eleven other ministers and elders of the Synod of New Brunswick; by Reverend James Souter (Presbyterian); by John M. Wilmot (Methodist); by Reverend William Wishart (Presbyterian) of Saint John, and numerous others.⁽²³⁾ Officially, nothing materialized. In the meantime, a committee had been appointed to look into the matter, compare the situation with that of other colleges and report to the House. The

members of the committee were: Lemuel Allan Wilmot (Methodist), James Brown (Universalist), I. Woodward (Quaker), Mr. End and Honourable Mr. Crane.⁽²⁴⁾ (The last two mentioned are of no consequence as they withdrew before any important decisions were drawn up). The committee of three then continued their research and chose, as an example for comparison, King's College, Toronto. Its original charter was amended in 1837. It was not strange that in their report of 1838 they recommended amendments similar to those of the Upper Canadian college. Their report formed the substance of the suggestion stated above. Naturally, a few points were debated and changed. Wilmot and his colleagues wished to have at least two professors on the Council. The House preferred to keep it strictly governmental. As concerned the professor of theology, their ideas differed from those of the House. L. A. Wilmot, who wrote up the report stated: "We did not desire an Anglican to always occupy the theological chair On the other hand to abolish entirely the Professor of Theology and thereby reduce the College to a purely literary and scientific institution would be a measure which we could not venture to recommend: to increase

the number of professors in this branch of Collegiate study so as to supply the wants of every denomination would be an extravagant and unjustifiable expenditure of the public money We are aware of the difficulty in dealing with the sectarian prejudices of mankind ... and are convinced that no arrangements.... would afford complete satisfaction to all The principal Protestant divisions in this Province are the Church of England, the Wesleyan Methodist, the Presbyterian, and the Calvinistic BaptistsAll agree in opinion as to the main and fundamental doctrines of the Old and New Testament. The differences.... form a very inconsiderable portion of a theological education. We consider it practicable for one professor to give his lectures such a direction that the peculiarities of no one denomination need be preferred. Those who may enter College as Students of Divinity will carry with them the bias and prejudices of previous religious instruction, inclining them to a preference for those denominations in which they have been educated."⁽²⁵⁾ This was a most startling, broad-minded statement coming as it did only three years after the ban on all dissentient ministers' licenses to perform marriage ceremonies had been raised.⁽²⁶⁾

It reveals how far ahead of action are the thoughts of men.

In spite of such weighty arguments the House, still predominantly Anglican due to the fact they were, on the whole, the only ones educationally prepared to assume office, wanted an Anglican Professor of Theology. The 'ayes' carried. (27)

In 1839 and 1840 Bills were introduced to effect such amendments and were rejected by the Council. In addition, the College Council petitioned the House in 1840. (28) After carefully examining their proposed changes, Wilmot charged that their suggested Council and Anglican professor of divinity kept the college as exclusive as ever. The Church of England would still hold the upper hand. He held out for two professors on the Council. The college was loathe to yield on the question of religious tests. Wilmot was "of the opinion that those established in the University of Oxford and Edinburgh should be adopted as well as a declaration of belief in the Doctrine of the Trinity and in the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures -- so that degrees in Divinity may not only be conferred on Members of the Churches of England and Scotland but also on persons of any other

Protestant denomination whose piety, talents, and erudition may entitle them to such a mark of distinction." (29)

Lord John Russell suggested that the Charter once again be surrendered and a new one taken out, or that it be amended by legislative enactment as had been the case in Toronto. (30) Russell knew it was the only way for, with Sir George Grey, he himself was for years an ardent champion of non-denominational colleges in England.

No satisfactory reply concerning the suggested amendments of 1841 was received from England for nearly five years. Finally, the Council yielded and abolished all religious tests on entering and graduating from the college, save in the faculty of divinity. This was in 1846. (31) A loosening of the bonds of aristocratic autonomy had begun. But it was not soon enough to spare New Brunswick from the future quarrels of denominational schools. The immigrants who came to their new homes either because of revolt against the ruling but disorganized system of Church and State, or because they had suffered cruelly in the adjustment of their old way of life to a new industrial age -- these people were not going to stand aside long and watch the same principles shackle their freedom.

The Baptists were the first to put their objections into action. In 1835 the Baptist Seminary was opened in Fredericton under the guidance of the Reverend Fred Miles.⁽³²⁾ Here it is important to note that this was the first step toward the establishment of a Baptist college, which was eventually situated in Wolfville, Nova Scotia. Nor were the Methodists lacking in initiative. Until 1838 all their ministers had been appointed in England from English educated and ordained men. In that year the Mother Country gave them the freedom of calling the men of their choice with only the visiting missionary appointed in England.⁽³³⁾ This break gave them confidence to attempt greater things. In 1842 a Wesleyan Academy was in operation in Sackville and received a government grant of £500. The following year Charles F. Allison gave £4,000 to its cause.⁽³⁴⁾ It, too, was a good start towards a future Methodist college. Much later, in 1861, the Presbyterians opened an Academy at Chatham. This school, though successful, closed its doors after four years of unrewarded efforts.⁽³⁵⁾ The Catholics, both Irish and French, refused to be reconciled to the state college. Due to their general poverty, they were unable to take immediate action. Finally, however, they succeeded in founding a

seminary at Memramcook in 1854. It is the St. Joseph's University of today.⁽³⁶⁾ Prior to that (in 1853) Father J. C. McDevitt leased twelve acres of the Hermitage (land on the outskirts of Fredericton) and also the use of the Stone Lodge for a Catholic Theological College which never materialized.⁽³⁷⁾ Thus it is clear that opposition was active and keen throughout the province.

During the first sixteen years of its existence, thirty-eight students graduated from King's College. Of these, but six took Theological orders.⁽³⁸⁾ By 1854, one hundred and ten degrees had been conferred.⁽³⁹⁾ The total provincial expenditure per student for the whole course was calculated to be £480.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Many improvements had been brought about. In 1854 a report was made to the government and from it may be gleaned along what lines progress had been achieved. The library contained three thousand volumes. Of these, seven hundred were on Theology, one thousand one hundred on science, and one thousand, two hundred on general literature. It was started by Professors Gray and Robb in 1837. There was a good museum begun at the same time. Its prize possession was an excellent geological collection. The list goes on to include "several skeletons, models of

furnaces, a good quantity of chemical apparatus, much mathematical apparatus, hydrostatic and hydraulic apparatus, pneumatic apparatus, optical, geological, and astronomical instruments." (41) The Astronomical Observatory was built in 1851. In it was placed an equatorial telescope which was for many years the best of its kind in British North America. (42)

By 1848, the name of Vice-President had been abolished. The chosen Professor was now known as Principal of the College. (43)

Regardless of these indications of progress, the college was still an Anglican institution. The formation of New Brunswick's first responsible government in 1847 (of which L. A. Wilmot was Attorney-General) seemed to end the magic career of the Family Compact. A Methodist, Wilmot was deeply concerned with the futures of the lads of his and of other faiths -- lads who might be excluded from educational opportunities on religious grounds. His attitude was shared by many members of the provincial government. Accordingly, in 1854 they appointed a Royal Commission to investigate the matter and to draw up a set of recommendations for consideration by the House. The Commission counted two outstanding

educationalists among its members. They were Dr. Egerton Ryerson of Ontario and a great admirer of his, William Dawson of Nova Scotia, later to become Principal of McGill University. The tales of their work in their native provinces do not need to be repeated here. Suffice it to say, their achievements were great. They had as colleagues J. H. Gray, John S. Saunders, and James Brown, all Liberal members of the House.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The latter, Surveyor-General of the Province, was an ardent advocate of a provincial, non-denominational university. This was not strange for he was essentially a self-made man. A universalist in religion, a liberal in politics, and a former teacher, James Brown "ranked a close second in the race for public honours with such men as Samuel Leonard Tilley and Lemuel Allan Wilmot."⁽⁴⁵⁾

The principal purposes of the Report laid before the House in December, 1854, were stated in Mr. Dawson's accompanying letter. They were as follows:

- (1) Improvement of the college course of instruction and its extension by the introduction of special courses.
- (2) Definition of the true place of the Provincial College in relation to

other educational institutions
of the province and to the
religious beliefs of the people.

- (3) The union of all educational
institutions in a provincial
system. (46)

All the members of the Commission attacked their assignment vigorously. First, after defining their aims, they drew up a tentative plan whereby these aims might be accomplished, basing their decisions on studies of Harvard and Brown Universities in particular. The third outlined goal was achieved upon extensive study of the system of Schools in force in Dr. Ryerson's home province, Canada West. They then paid a visit to their American models. Dr. Walker of Harvard was interviewed as was also Dr. Wayland of Brown. The latter was asked to pass judgment on the proposed scheme. He heartily approved it as being most suitable for New Brunswick. From there they went to Canada West and made many personal inspections of Public Libraries, Normal and Model Schools. (47)

The following were their conclusions:

1. "The system of Collegiate education... must be ...
comprehensive, special, and practical.... It ought to

embrace those branches of learning which are usually taught in Colleges both in Great Britain and the United States.... and special courses of instruction adapted to the agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits and interests of New Brunswick..... The subjects and modes of instruction in science and the modern languages (including English, French, and German) should have practical reference to those pursuits and interests.

2. "The youths of New Brunswick should be able to secure that advantage in their native land.

3. "Collegiate course of instruction should be provided embracing the English Language and Literature, Greek and Roman classics, Mathematics, Modern Languages, Natural History, Chemistry, Natural, Mental, and Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity. The standard of matriculation for entrance should be similar to that of the University of Toronto.... The course for a Bachelor of Arts should be of three years duration. All must be in harmony with that adopted by most experienced and practical educationalists in the recently established Colleges in England and Ireland, as well as in Canada.

4. "But to provide for this class of Collegiate students only.... is to provide for only a small proportion of those youths who seek for the advantages of a superior education.

We recommend three additional courses ---- Matriculation requirements for which to be English Language, Mathematics, Geography, and History (not including Greek and Latin).

5. "First additional course to be in Civil Engineering and Land Surveying.

6. "Second additional course to be in Agriculture.

7. "Third additional course to be in Commerce and Navigation.

8. "Anyone to be able to attend a single course if he so chooses, thus will King's College be made available to every class.... of young men in New Brunswick.

9. "The question of religious instruction has not failed to engage the most earnest attention of the Commissioners.....There should be no difference of opinion in a Christian land no youth can be properly educated who is not interested in religion as well as in science and literature. As the government is not constituted to represent and inculcate the sentiments of any one religious persuasion it would be false to its duty and sentiments to do so. But the government should require that the evidence, the truths, and the morals of Christianity should be at the foundation of all public collegiate instruction, and the

spirit of Christianity should pervade its whole administration. As to the teaching of what is peculiar to each religious persuasion, this clearly appertains to such religious persuasion and not to the government. In a national and provincial college, like King's College, special provision should be made for allowing the authorities of each religious persuasion to give religious instruction during a part of one day in each week to such of its own youth This has been in operation some years in the Normal School at Toronto ... and the satisfactory and complete success of it there has led to its recent introduction into the Toronto University College.

10. "Thus may King's College be non-denominational yet facilities provided for giving denominational religious instruction to its students by those whose proper province it is to give such instruction.

11. "The students should be allowed to board in private houses." To prove the success of such a system they quoted the experiences of Harvard, Brown, and Toronto University Colleges. Dawson said, "The Scotch and German universities are old illustrations of colleges without....residences." (48)

In the second division of the report the Commissioners complained that the college constitution was not

suited to adopt such a system. They suggested the following organization:

1. A Provincial body to be styled "The University of New Brunswick", to exercise the powers and fulfil the functions of the then present Council of King's College and the Board of Education.^(a)
2. A Senate composed of nine members appointed by the Governor-in-Council. One third of these were to retire annually but could be reappointed. This body was to make all regulations relative to the course of study; the governing and the discipline of King's College, the Collegiate School, the Normal School, all Grammar and Parish Schools; School Libraries; the selection of text and library books.
3. The immediate administration of the whole system to be under a Chief Superintendent of Education, who was also to be Rector of the University.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The Report made many general suggestions as to remedies for the correction of weaknesses in the Grammar

(a) (The use of the term "University" in this sense was after the French custom. Here it designated a School for teaching all branches of learning. In France it included all the public educational institutions of the nation from the Sorbonne and the Collège de France to the Primary Schools.)

and Parish Schools so that each child would receive an education to "fit him for his duties as a Christian citizen." The application of this principle had given to Massachusetts, they said, "their pre-eminence in mind, wealth, and prosperity."

The Parish Schools were the colleges of nine-tenths of the people. "To make them efficient is to make the great body of the people more elevated, more able to add to the wealth and resources and improve the institutions of their country. Knowledge is power of government."

To create this great unified system from the Parish Schools to the University inclusive, it was essential that the University be affiliated to other seminaries of learning, to create and maintain those bonds "of common relationship, co-operation, and interest." It was likewise important that no child be compelled to receive any training in "religious exercises and instruction against the wishes of his parents or guardians."

Nor did they pass over, blindly, the age-old question of salaries. "A just and liberal remunerationis the best economy." They urged that good equipment and well-trained men be provided.

In suggesting reforms in the teacher-training system

the Commissioners proposed a Normal School with an absolutely indispensable Model School. The latter would educate pupils from five to sixteen or eighteen years of age. It would be used by every teacher-candidate one-half day a week for practise teaching. They even went so far as to propose that a grant of £1000 be given to establish such an organization with an additional £1000 given annually toward its maintenance.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Commissioners prepared a rough draft of the bill they desired. It provided for:

- (1) The University of New Brunswick (as previously explained).
- (2) The Corporation of the University of New Brunswick. It was to include the Rector and eight other members, also called the Senate.
- (3) The Governor-in-Council was to be in general control.
- (4) The Lieutenant-Governor was to be Visitor.
- (5) The Senate was to take over all duties of the Council of King's College and the Board of Education. This would give it control of every aspect down to the very text books.

- (6) The Lieutenant-Governor was to appoint one man as both Rector and Chief Superintendent of the Schools.
- (7) The Rector was to have complete control, to visit each Grammar School at least once a year, to use "his best endeavours to provide for and recommend the use of uniform and approved text books in the Schools generally; to make a report of the actual state of King's College, the Collegiate, Normal, Model, Grammar and Parish Schools." (51)

The degrees of B.A., M.A., B.Sc., B.L., B.Ll., D.L., B.M., D.M., and diplomas in Civil Engineering, Land Surveying, Agriculture, Commerce, and Navigation were to be obtainable at the college. To enter any one of these courses one had to have matriculation. It is interesting to note that all students were required to pass examinations in (a) Mathematics - Arithmetic (ordinary rules, vulgar and decimal fractions, extraction of the square root); first four rules of Algebra; Euclid, Book I: (b) Modern Languages -- English Grammar and Composition; (c) Geography and History -- Ancient and Modern Geography; Outlines of

English History; Outlines of Roman History to the death of Nero; Outlines of Grecian History to the death of Alexander. In addition to this, all degree candidates had to matriculate in Greek and Latin -- Homer, one book; Caesar de Bello Gallico, two books; Virgil's Aeneid, one book; Translations from English into Latin prose.

They, likewise, prepared a precise curriculum to lead towards the various degrees. Towards that of Bachelor of Arts three years of study were to be required. In the first year, the student was to take courses in Greek and Latin (four terms), English (one term), Modern Languages (three terms), and Mathematics (four terms); in the second year, Chemistry (four terms), Zoology, Botany and Mineralogy (two terms), Physical Geography and Geology (two terms), Higher Mathematics, Greek and Latin, or 2 Modern Languages (four terms); in the third year, Natural Philosophy, (four terms), English Literature and History (two terms), Logic and Mental Philosophy (two terms); Ethics and Civil Polity (each one term). The classical stress was still evident but the second year did offer a choice.

In the course in Civil Engineering and Surveying two years of attendance were to be required to complete the work for the diploma. A brief glance reveals that Mathematics, English, General Physics, and Chemistry were scheduled for

the first year; Higher Mathematics, Practical Mechanics, Physical Geography and History, Mineralogy and Geology, Civil Engineering, and the Principles of Architecture rounded out the second year. It was definitely a practical course, which showed no traces of the classical.

The outlined courses of Agriculture and that of Commerce and Navigation were equally enterprising and practical. Perhaps they were proposed too early in educational development. Or it may have been that economic support was not available at that time. At any rate interest waned generally. Dr. Jack strove to fulfil the dreams of the present University's founders, but he spoke into heedless ears and wrote for uncomprehending minds. Although Forestry has recently been added to the faculties, navigation, commerce, and agriculture have been forgotten -- to the great misfortune of our province.

There is one minor detail which, though rather insignificant, is interesting. The proposed scheme urged that all students, in Arts and the special courses alike, be required to attend a course in Ethics and Civil Polity of two terms duration. The Commissioners were determined "to fit him for his duties as a Christian citizen."⁽⁵²⁾

To further encourage the youth to seek an advanced

education, they drew up a scale of scholarships to be offered as inducements to attend university. They proposed to establish two bursaries in each division -- English Language and Literature, Classics and Mathematics, and two in each of the specialized departments. These bursaries were to be of the value of £20 and £15.

As concerned the salaries of the professors, they approved the then present salary of £300. However, a few of the instructors were not considered as such. Therefore, their salaries were about half of those of their colleagues. The Commission sought to remedy this by defining a system of Professors. This they did and allotted the following subjects to individual lecturers --

1. Classics. 2. Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.
3. Natural History and Chemistry. 4. English Literature and Mental Philosophy.

However, the teacher of Modern Languages was omitted and they declined to raise his scale of salary or rank. He was considered to be in the class of special lecturers in the vocational subjects and was like them to receive £100. All fees were paid directly by the students to their respective professors.⁽⁵³⁾

This was, in essence, the Bill as it was laid before the House during the sessions of 1855. It was of urgent

importance to give due consideration and thought to its contents for,"college instruction ---- has been too much restricted to the preparation of young men for the three so-called learned professions of law, medicine, and the Christian ministry ... and in many cases, almost entirely the last which has been, with some justice, viewed as the only one of the three that could bring any large measure of popular effort to the support of higher education. Erected on this narrow basiscolleges fail to attract a large attendance. The benefits of the special courses must not only promote the development of all the resources of the country -- but must create a popular reaction in favour of the College. The union of all in the support of one collegiate institution insures a more perfect education --- and promotes the great end of love and sympathy between the members of different religious bodies By linking together all the educational institutions of a country their benefits can be fully enjoyed. Without such unity all must be incomplete, uncertain and unfruitful." (54)

By February, 1857, no immediate action had been taken concerning the Report and Proposed Bill submitted by the Commission. At that time the College Council took upon itself the task of preparing a Bill which would provide

the necessary reforms suggested. Their excuse was that -- "up to the present time King's College has failed to realize the expectations of its founders and friends." (55) L. A. Wilmot was instrumental in the preparation of this document. It followed very closely the lines of the Commissioners' proposition with one major exception. The "University of New Brunswick" was to apply only to the institution up until then known as King's College, while the Senate (composed entirely of laymen) was to take over the duties of the Council and no other. As it was the only university in the province and, in addition, had government support, it would, they believed, automatically be the means of uniting into one graduated ladder the educational system of New Brunswick.

Several other slight changes were effected. In place of the proposed system of scholarships, the Council substituted one based on counties. Each county was to have a specified number of students who would receive gratuitous education at the university level. A President was to be at the head of the University but was not, like the suggested Rector, to have control over any other institutions. Although all religious tests were abolished and no theology was to be taught, every

student was required to have a satisfactory certificate from his religious instructor before his degree could be granted. (56)

The Bill was passed in 1859. The college charter was once more surrendered, this time to emerge as the University of New Brunswick. (57) In 1860 it opened its doors to boys of all faiths. Dr. Brydone Jack was its first President although during the year of transition Dr. Hea had performed those duties. (58)

Dr. Robb had passed away shortly after the college became the provincial university. In his stead lectured the young Loring Woart Bailey. A descendant of American colonists of 1635, he early attended West Point Academy where his father was a brilliant lecturer. During his life there the young Loring met some of the outstanding men of the day -- Grant, Sherman, Lee, Asa Gray, Torrey, Dana, Agassiz, Silliman, Tyndall, Huxley and countless others. As befitted a gentleman's son he went to St. James College in Maryland to receive the foundation of his classical knowledge. Inspired by the friendship of his father's famous acquaintances, Bailey continued his education at Harvard. There he studied under the guidance of Agassiz who was at that time laying the foundation of that new method of studying nature, by direct appeal to

nature herself. Bailey was an enthusiastic supporter of this new method which was to revolutionize the whole system of scientific teaching. Longfellow and Holmes were also professors at the time. From Harvard he went to Brown University where he specialized in Chemistry under the direction of Professor Hill, later a mining expert in the West. His appointment to the University of New Brunswick is one of the more outstanding moments in educational history in New Brunswick.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Another new member had recently joined the staff, George Montgomery-Campbell, a graduate in Classics of Magdalen College, Cambridge.⁽⁶⁰⁾ With Dr. Jack as President and Baron D'Avray as Language Lecturer, the University promised itself a career of brilliance.⁽⁶¹⁾ At that time it was second only to Toronto.

Many precedents were introduced during these years. Because the University had become non-denominational did not mean it was available to everyone. Far from it. Outstanding ability was required from each and every applicant. In view of this, Dr. Jack personally interviewed every candidate and his parents, taking into the classes only those he considered worthy of such education.⁽⁶²⁾ An average of thirty-four students attended each year.⁽⁶³⁾

If one reads over a list of the graduates of those years one is constantly struck by the fact that the majority rose to provincial leadership.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Although Dr. Jack believed in an intellectual aristocracy, he did not believe in restricting that aristocracy to a general cultural education. Equally as essential and equally as cultural was a study of science and the practical applications. "The arts course", he admitted, "is essential to sound mental training. But we need to have practical courses to adapt the college to needs of our age and country."⁽⁶⁵⁾ His suggestions covered every field in the province - law, medicine, agriculture, mineralogy, engineering, and navigation. It was not his desire to turn the University into a mere trade school. "Theoretical science is the basis of all progress. It is the life blood of practice."⁽⁶⁶⁾ Of his suggestions all save agriculture and navigation have been added to the curriculum.

Dr. Bailey's zeal for science never waned. With the help of an interested friend, John Babbit, he constructed the first telephone and the first electric lights ever to be seen in Fredericton. Inspired by his enthusiasm the Fredericton Athenaeum Society was begun.⁽⁶⁷⁾

The period thus marked a tremendous change in the constitution of the provincial university. From being an aristocratic Anglican institution it had developed into a non-denominational seat of learning though still only patronized by the few whose wealth permitted such. Supported by provincial funds it was truly the centre of culture as was evidenced by the prominent part its professors and graduates took in that aspect of provincial life. At first only offering courses in the humanities, its curriculum had been extended until the practical demands of the technical sciences gradually won some approval. Originally utterly dependent on English practices, its builders had eventually found the New World universities more inspiring models and had introduced their elements into the highest branch of education in the province. At all times the University was dependent on the policies of the government and its development followed closely the political enlightenment of that authority.

B. Mount Allison University.

Nor was Fredericton the sole center of enthusiasm for learning. The other universities established during

the century were suns of influence, shooting out their rays in ever growing circles of intellectual zeal. Perhaps the most outstanding was Mount Allison University at Sackville. For some years before 1839 the Methodists of the Maritime Provinces had been looking for a site to build a college. At one time land was purchased in Fredericton and again a spot was chosen in the Annapolis Valley. However, as sufficient funds were unavailable no buildings were erected.⁽¹⁾ In 1839 Charles F. Allison, a Sackville merchant, wrote: "It is---under this impression, connected with a persuasion of my accountability, to that Gracious Being whom I would ever recognize as the source of all the good that is done in the earth, that I now propose through you, to the British Conference and to the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries in the Provinces of New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, to purchase an eligible site and erect a suitable building in Sackville.....for the establishment of a school of the description mentioned, in which not only the elementary but the higher branches of education may be taught....to be altogether under the control and management of the British Conference, in connection with the Wesleyan Missionaries in these Provinces."⁽²⁾

Due to his zeal and economic assistance the nucleus

of the present Mount Allison University was formed the next year (1840). After laying the corner stone, Mr. Allison expressed this hope: "May the education ever to be furnished by the institution be conducted on Wesleyan principles to the glory of God and the extension of His cause."⁽³⁾

Thus began unpretentiously the Wesleyan Academy in Sackville in 1842.⁽⁴⁾ At that time a government grant of £500 was made towards its support.⁽⁵⁾ The following year this was reduced to £200⁽⁶⁾ and in 1845 £300 was paid.⁽⁷⁾ The support thus acquired was consistently irregular. Had it not been for the generous gifts of Charles Frederick Allison, it is doubtful whether the academy would have survived. However, with an initial donation of £4,000 in 1843 and a yearly sum of £100 for ten years thereafter, the school was well provided for.⁽⁸⁾

An early report (1845) reveals that the one building was a wooden structure, three stories high. Courses were offered to boys and girls in Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Geography, English History, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Navigation, Chemistry, French, Latin, Greek, Declamation, and English Composition. Eighty-four students were in attendance in the following age groups:

<u>Ages</u>	<u>Pupils</u>
under 10	6
10- 12'	11
12- 14	13
14- 16	24
16- 18	15
18- 20	7
over 20	8

The chief function of the Academy then may be compared to a modern High School for the 'teen aged child. Its system followed closely that of the Madras schools, which by that time had been in operation for a generation and were at the peak of their popularity. The staff was composed of a Governor, a Principal, a French tutor, an English master, and two Ushers. Their method was the question and answer style with oral and visible demonstrations in the Mathematics and Geography. The Report states that there was a sufficient supply of books but that the Library was small. There was great stress laid upon the unexpected abundance of Philosophical and Chemical apparatus as well as on the generous allotment of Globes, Maps, and Boards.

The school was a residential one which had a

"pleasant, healthy, and retired situation,.....a comfortable and commodious...building" where the "religious, parental, and moral character of its government and the moderate price of Board and tuition" made it "perhaps the very best educational Establishment in the Province." Thus declared James Brown, who personally inspected the school as a member of the Commission appointed in 1844.⁽⁹⁾

A second grant came from the college's great benefactor, Charles F. Allison. This time he gave £1000 towards the foundation of a school for girls. An equivalent sum was given by the residents of Sackville. The Ladies College opened in 1854 as a counterpart to the Academy.⁽¹⁰⁾ Upon the death of Mr. Allison in 1858, it was revealed that he had made provision in his will for the founding of a college with power to confer degrees under the name and style of Mount Allison Wesleyan College. He stated its object thus: "to make the education here imparted religious, not in the sectarian, but the truly Christian sense of the word."⁽¹¹⁾ How much broader were these aims than those expressed by the same man in 1840. Then it was "may the education...be conducted on Wesleyan principles".....now, "not in the sectarian, but the truly Christian" manner. His wishes were carried out, for the

new college enrolled students of all denominations. This was an innovation, for at the time of its founding the only two operating colleges were predominately Anglican (King's, Fredericton, and King's, Windsor). Dalhousie College was then temporarily closed.⁽¹²⁾ Nor was this college unnecessary, if not to all denominations then to those of the Methodist Church. For many years students had been compelled to go to Wesleyan College, Middleton, Connecticut, or to Victoria College, Coburg, Ontario.⁽¹³⁾ How much more convenient and sensible to be able to receive one's education near at home.

Dr. Humphrey Pickard of Fredericton was chosen to be the first Principal of the College. He was a graduate of Wesleyan College, Connecticut,⁽¹⁴⁾ and for a year was Minister of Portland Methodist Church in Saint John, New Brunswick.⁽¹⁵⁾ He guided and developed the College and its preparatory schools through a half-century of their early existence, being at first principal of the Academy. Included in his early staff were Dr. Thomas Pickard, Dr. Allison, and Dr. Jost, all of whom had been Wesleyan students.⁽¹⁶⁾ The policy of appointing provincial men to guide the courses of the college was the first of its kind in the Maritimes.

Even today, Mount Allison University rewards native talent more than any other Maritime university.

The new university offered degrees in Arts and Science⁽¹⁷⁾ and was the first in the British Empire to throw wide its doors to admit women to all the privileges of regular collegiate courses and degrees. It was possible in the Arts course to honour in Classics, Mathematics, Science, Philosophy, English Language, and Literature.⁽¹⁸⁾ Classes were conducted in the Academy and the Ladies College until 1862. At that time the first separate university building "The Lodge" was opened and the following year saw the first graduating class receive their degrees.⁽¹⁹⁾

The original charter was slightly amended in 1866. By this amendment the Corporation of Mount Allison was to include the University, the Academy, and the Ladies College. The ultimate ownership of the institutions was in the hands of the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada. The direct governing of the three was by: (1) a Corporation (later called a Board of Regents) appointed for the most part by the aforesaid General Conference. Twelve of those twenty-four members were laymen, twelve clergymen. The remaining eighteen

were drawn from the Alumni and Alumnae of the preparatory schools. Twelve were chosen from the Academy and six from the Ladies College. This group controlled the financial aspects of the institutions.⁽²⁰⁾ And (2) a Senate composed of the faculty of the University, the principles of the Ladies College and the Seminary, and twelve Regents appointed by that Board. They were concerned solely with the educational policies of the three institutions. No sectarian claims were required of the members of either Board.

The University, being the only Methodist University in the Maritimes, was supported by grants from both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.⁽²¹⁾ These grants were continued until 1872 and 1881 by the respective provinces. Private endowments, a grant from the Educational Society of the Methodist Church, public contributions, and fees were the only other means of finance at the disposal of the Board of Regents.⁽²²⁾

Unfortunately, the records of the University are not publicly available. Much interesting information concerning the curriculum and its background, the professors, the growth of the institution until 1871, and its successful interpretation of the term "non-sectarian" would add much to an essay of this sort.

Based on the meagre information here set forth, some conclusion may be drawn. Fulfilling its primary purpose as an institution of learning for the children of the Methodist faith, the Sackville Academy met a great need. During its early years of existence, the sectarian divisions were sharp and there was little welcome for Dissenters' children in the Anglican establishments. True to all policies of reformers, a compromise was made in the public institutions whereby non-denominationalism was achieved rather than separate schools. This attitude was held by the founders of Mount Allison University for, whereas their Academy had been Methodist, their University admitted students of any faith. The coeducational approach was an innovation which gave it a decided advantage over the provincial University. Girls were not admitted to the latter until the '80's. The engaging of provincial men as professors also marked a step forward in the field of education. The utter dependence of the University of New Brunswick on British and American men gave no impetus to the young college graduates desiring to remain in the university atmosphere. Perhaps financial reasons compelled the Regents to resort to such measures. Be it as it may, the securing of the services of New Brunswick's sons gave the first

outlet of the kind to the province. In spite of inconsistent financial support, all three institutions were highly efficient. Their success was further evidence and proof of the liberal trend of the period from the exclusive conservative control of the early years of the nineteenth century.

C. St. Joseph's University.

South of Sackville, another university rose into being during those eventful years, St. Joseph's University. It became the symbol of protestation from the Catholics of the province. This was to be a lasting memorial to those decades of religious jealousies. In dealing with its birth and growth, two names stand out as the great minds and forces behind the venture, Abbe Francois - Xavier Lafrance and Père Lefebvre.⁽¹⁾ The former came to Memramcook in June, 1852. After he had received the tonsure in Quebec (1838) he went to Prince Edward Island to teach French and Latin at Mgr. McEachern's newly established "St. Andrew's College". There he continued his theological studies which prepared him for his post at Memramcook.⁽²⁾ His first duty in his new parish was to establish a school. In 1854 his "Séminaire

St. Thomas" opened its doors to forty-four day scholars and twenty evening pupils. By the end of the first scholastic year there were ninety-five in attendance.⁽³⁾ This was a reassuring beginning. Although styled a seminary it could more fittingly have been termed a parish school. There was no religious teaching order to conduct its classrooms. Père Lafrance's brother, Charles Édouard, came as head for the salary of 130 louis (approximately \$520) plus lodging and a few other essentials. In the following year, Miss O'Regan, an Irish girl who had studied in Paris, took the classes of girls and taught them separately.⁽⁴⁾ Due then to its teaching staff and the *mélée* of French and English, it was in reality a parish school. Nevertheless, it was by far the most ambitious of its kind until then attempted in Acadia.

Père Lafrance was indeed an energetic director. At personal cost he bought land upon which his dream-school of the future was to be built. After a few years he had in the vicinity of three hundred and **sixty** acres. Such was his zeal that he once sat until midnight in a parish home, brandishing his driving whip and ordering the householders to sell. They gave in. He also urged, one might say pleaded, the Brothers of the Christian

Doctrine to come and teach. They refused.⁽⁵⁾ At length his health gave way, and though a young man he was forced to accept a smaller, northern parish. His school was closed (1862) and he himself felt as a broken man. For years he had held his dearly beloved property in his own name, absolutely refusing to meet the demands of his bishop, Mgr. Connolly, of Saint John, that he turn over all into the name of the Church. He hoped to make it a gift to the order that never came. In 1860 Mgr. Connolly went to Halifax and in his place came Mgr. Sweeney, a former pupil and friend of Lafrance. They had met at St. Andrew's College. To him Père Lafrance yielded his property rights.⁽⁶⁾ He was replaced by Père Lefebvre in May, 1864.

Lefebvre had expected to carry on his duties alone. But early in the summer one of his parishioners died without receiving the last rites of the Church. It had occurred when Lefebvre himself was ill and he could not get to her in time. Thereupon he resolved to have assistants at all costs. Two priests arrived in early September, R. P. Bazoge (from France) and R. P. O'Brien (from Ireland). They were soon followed by two teaching brothers. The latter were both French. Towards the middle of the month his staff was completed by the arrival of two more

French members of the order, R. P. Robert and F. Elzéar. The first was sent to be director of a reform school with the latter as his assistant. However, they were immediately attached to the teaching personnel and nothing more was said about the Reform School.⁽⁷⁾

On the tenth of October, 1864, the College of St. Joseph's was officially opened. M. Lafrance was there to sing the High Mass. Nineteen "demi-pensionnaires" and twelve "externes" attended those first classes. During the year their ranks swelled to forty-two of which three or four were full boarders.⁽⁸⁾ The elementary years of the true classical course were taught as in Quebec and France. From the first the school was bilingual. For instance, in the beginners' Latin class were three French children of Memramcook and three Irish lads from Saint John. Robert taught "les belles-lettres" and a course in Latin; Bazoge, Latin and one French class; O'Brien, English; Elzéar, the intended reform school assistant, looked after discipline and the farm; while Alphonse and Dieudonné took French with the beginners. All these men were of the "Congrégation de Sainte-Croix". The proud Abbé Lafrance said to his successor: "Ce collège marque le point tournant d'une époque: ce collège consacre l'égalité nationale des

Acadiens avec les autres races."(9)

The school buildings had been hastily constructed and were bitterly cold and draughty. The teachers and pupils, even Father Lefebvre, went out together in search of firewood. Lefebvre invented a saw run by power from a wind-mill so that their tasks would be lightened.(10) The school was always in the public eye. So much so that a public examination was held each year. This was indeed a departure from the established Catholic system. It was, to quote an Acadian author, "naïve condescendance."(11)

The true classical course began before the third year of the College's existence. Nine scholars between the ages of twelve and seventeen embarked on this venture. It was designed primarily for the training of clergymen and the future glory of the Church. As such it existed in New Brunswick.(12)

As it was necessary that the school teach the rudiments of both French and English, these subjects were an integral part of the program. In this way the college curriculum resembled the introductory course given at the Agriculture School of Laval. In addition, M. Lefebvre shortened the first Latin course from two years to one, thus condensing the course considerably. Another

innovation was introduced at the suggestion of the pupils. Thereafter, much of their versification was done according to the French style. This, too, lightened the course.(13)

By 1868, a total of seventy-five pupils were boarding at the school. In that year the Legislative Assembly of New Brunswick gave the college a legal constitution with a university charter. However, it was still to retain its original name "Collège de Saint-Joseph." (14) It became "L'Université du collège de Saint-Joseph" in 1898 but not until 1928 did it obtain its present name "L'Université de Saint-Joseph". (15)

By the charter of 1868, it was recognized as a university and was given a Senate, similar to other institutions of that name. The Bishop of Saint John, the curés of five or six parishes of the diocese, and several laymen were the Governors of the college. Their rights and duties were:

- (1) to name the president or "supérieur"
- (2) to engage the professors and "tuteurs"
- (3) to direct the financial and educational proceedings in the granting of the degrees of B.A., B. Lit., and B.Sc. (16)

At no time was the college to be permitted the possession of property of the value of more than a thousand

louis, thus putting the order into a retiring position. This was extended in 1894 to \$10,000 annual income.⁽¹⁷⁾

Dating from the year of its official recognition by the provincial government the college received an annual sum of \$400 for the support of the institution. It was increased in 1869 to \$800. With this money and various contributions the order built a school chapel and an annex to the pitifully small buildings. The chapel's ground floor was used for many years as a community hall for the village.⁽¹⁸⁾ Truly this college was one of the people, built for the improvement of their intellectual and moral health. At the close of this survey it was a thriving establishment keeping alive the spirit of France in Acadia and yet, in so doing, scattering its swelling crumbs of education to all who cared to pick them up.

Père Lafrance, speaking of his dream-child said:
 "Vous autres Anglais, vous méprisez les Acadiens; pourquoi?... parce qu'ils n'ont aucune instruction. Eh bien! faites-les instruire, facilitez-leur l'instruction, et ces Acadiens -- au lieu d'être un danger pour la Province, deviendront pour tout le pays un appoint et une force de premier ordre.---L'éducation inspire l'amour de l'ordre,

de la justice et des vertus, fait connaître enfin et aimer de plus en plus son pays."(19)

Offering by far the most ambitious curriculum, the University of New Brunswick took the lead, a position she still holds today. One cannot compare the two arts and science courses presented because, at that time, Mount Allison was very much in its infancy and the provincial University had had many years of experience and growth. The curriculum of St. Joseph's was patterned after the religious schools of old France, and thus found no counterpart in New Brunswick.

Two generations had wrought a vast change in the provision for university education. Actually non-existent in the province in 1828, it was liberally provided for all denominations by 1870. Closely paralleling the trend of liberal thought in matters of state, two of the three universities made no sectarian claims upon their students while their administrative councils were fairly representative of the governing class in the province. This was truer of the University of New Brunswick than of Mount Allison because of the automatic participation of nine government representatives in the

Senate of the former. Doubtless, men and women equally as competent and outstanding in business, professional, or political circles were appointed to similar duties at the Methodist college.

Mount Allison was more dependent financially and administratively upon the church than was the provincial University in Fredericton. On the other hand, Le Collège de St. Joseph was entirely under the control of the Roman Catholic authorities.

When in 1871 the schools of the province were made free and non-sectarian, the two English universities were ready to take the top rank of the educational ladder and to fill that position adequately. St. Joseph's performed the same service for the French-speaking schools. Although, quite naturally, the universities all remained the schools of a select few whose class was based on wealth, they were, none the less, not restricted as in the past. Truly, the spirit of liberalism had opened the doors of opportunity a bit wider that more might share in its wealth.

CHAPTER VI
ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
1830-1871

A. Parish Schools

The optimistic future that had seemed inevitable in 1830 had, a decade later, faded until even the Speaker of the House of Assembly was forced to admit in 1842: "Notwithstanding the very liberal aid constantly extended to education we are painfully aware that the condition of the common schools is by no means such as it ought to be."⁽¹⁾ The "liberal aid" to which he referred had been provided for in two acts.

In 1833 an act was passed which called for three trustees in each parish, whose duty it was to divide the said parish into as many school districts as seemed advisable. In addition, these men were to act as inspectors and as such were required to visit the schools under their jurisdiction.⁽²⁾ The grant for each parish was substantially increased to a maximum of £160 with an average of £120 for the county.⁽³⁾ It was hoped through such inducements to ameliorate the standard of schools and schoolmasters. Unfortunately, the act

failed in its purpose chiefly because of the incompetency and negligence of the local Justices performing their duties and the absence of a central authority to guide them.

Three years later, in 1836, a select committee was appointed by the House of Assembly to "take into consideration the Law relating to Parish Schools and to report thereon by Bill or otherwise." To the list of appointed members was added the name of Lemuel Allan Wilmot, a very influential factor in the instigation and administration of reforms in education. The Committee submitted a report in the same year wherein they set forth their recommendations. Their main interest centered around the "adoption of such measures as might have a tendency to ensure a description of Schoolmasters superior to those hitherto employed." The suggestion that a Board of Commissioners to examine and license teachers be set up in each county was considered. However, their decision ruled it out for, they argued, "a measure of this kind would increase difficulties of persons in remote settlements in procuring Schoolmasters and thereby prevent the benefit of Education being extended to many of the poor inhabitants of the province." Up to this period

all teachers had been commissioned under His Majesty's Royal Instructions. The committee further recommended that such licensing be put into the hands of the local Trustees.(4)

When the Bill of 1837 was brought down it included the appointment of county Boards of Education so vigorously objected to in the preliminary report. These boards, composed of three or more members, appointed by the Governor-in-Council, were to receive all applicants for certificates to teach in their respective counties, to examine the said applicants, and to recommend the successful candidates to the Lieutenant-Governor for licensing.(5) No teacher was permitted to transfer from one county to another without undergoing an additional examination by the second county's Board.(6) The parish trustees were maintained and, as in 1833, were to act as inspectors of the parish schools.(7) Further financial aid was given with the maximum grant increased to £180 and the average to £160 by this Act.(8) By this Bill five free scholars were permitted to enter each school.(9)

Still the situation was unsatisfactory. Actually little had been accomplished in the quality of the schools and school-teachers. By 1845 the enrolment had risen to

15,924 pupils.⁽¹⁰⁾ This had necessitated a great increase in the number of schools and in the cost to the province. By 1840 the maximum grant was £260 per parish and yet no school was entitled to any more than the original £20 set up as an adequate sum.⁽¹¹⁾ This led to a great increase in the number of schools but was ineffectual as concerns the quality of each.

Again the House of Assembly named a committee to investigate all matters concerning education (1842). Lemuel Allan Wilmot was the chairman. With him were serving members appointed from each county.⁽¹²⁾ To assist them, in their survey the trustees of the various parishes throughout the province were asked to send in reports concerning the state of education in their respective schools. These reports yielded interesting and yet depressing information. There were in the province in 1841, 541 parochial schools with a total attendance of 14,988 pupils.⁽¹³⁾ This is probably a high figure as another estimate gave 564 schools with 10,690 pupils.⁽¹⁴⁾ This gives an average attendance of 18.9 students for each school. Mr. Alfred Reade, secretary and son-in-law of Lieutenant-Governor Colebrooke, stated his definition of the requirements of a "teacher";

"Honesty, sobriety, and morality are essential but a certain amount of mental and intellectual power must be considered equally indispensable." He went on to state that the chief need was a Training School, based on the principles of a Normal School. However, as he saw it, three obstacles stood in the way to the success of such an institution: (1) "the insufficiency and uncertainty in the mode of remuneration, (2) the variety and nature of books generally in use, and (3) the short length of time during the year when a school was actually in operation. Nearly all the trustees had one complaint. They lamented the financial loss and inconvenience it causes the citizens." Reade suggested they (the Trustees) be given travelling expenses to visit their schools!(15)

The trustees in the county of Saint John gave a fairly detailed account of the subjects taught there. "Nearly all", they state, "were studying reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography." In all schools there was a great need for books. The New Testament seemed a favored text. Catechisms were also greatly favored, although used rather incongruously. In Charlotte County "Roman Catholic and Methodist Catechisms are used in schools taught by Episcopalians and in the

only school taught by a Roman Catholic the Episcopalian and Methodist Catechisms are used." In Kent County the Bible was the sole text for the English-speaking students and the New Testament the only book for the French! (16)

The state of the buildings was, in general, appalling.

"Look at the miserable huts which in many parts of the country are made to answer the purpose of a school, many of them in such a state that every wind of heaven has free entrance, so small, so inconvenient that they would make indifferent pig styes, and yet in them the unfortunate teacher must perform his laborious and imperfect duties, he must teach reading and spelling without books, geography without maps, and oftentimes writing and cyphering without paper or slates." (17) By means of such reports and through a record of their own observations, the members of the Committee prepared a lengthy statement. In all of this, Governor Colebrooke was a most zealous worker. Through his personal efforts a series of letters was sent out which yielded the above interesting data. (18)

The report submitted was sweeping in its proposals. In order that the serious lack of good teachers be overcome, the Committee urged the organization of a Provincial Training School to train and license men and women for the profession. They also suggested that a system of parochial

assessment be adopted in place of the existing voluntary method of contribution to the support of the teacher and to the erection and upkeep of the school house. For the first time a division of teachers into classes according to qualifications and ability was proposed. The Committee also recommended that some uniform system of inspection be evolved whereby competent men could be used with the best of results. They deplored the general state of apathy concerning educational matters which they found in the majority of parishes. To facilitate further surveys they recommended that regular reports of the Parish Schools be submitted. It was an astounding report and paved the way for the Parish Schools Act of 1847.⁽¹⁹⁾

In 1844, under the never-tiring zeal and influence of Wilmot and Colebrooke, a Commission was again appointed to inspect Grammar Schools, Parish Schools, and all other institutions receiving Government aid for educational purposes. The House of Assembly voted £500 for the survey. Of its three members, S. Z. Earle, M.D., John Gregory, and James Brown, the latter was to prove the most outstanding in shaping educational policies in the province.⁽²⁰⁾ Upon its recommendations, a new bill was drawn up which became law in 1847.

The Commission presented a much more explicit report than had the foregoing committee. From a comparison of facilities, and the provision thereof in New Brunswick, the United States of America, Nova Scotia, and the Canadas, a noteworthy conclusion was drawn. New Brunswick had, in proportion, adequate funds but these funds were not producing as effective a system of elementary education as was to be found in any of the above mentioned areas.⁽²¹⁾ The instance of one school was cited wherein was found a complete absence of pens, ink, paper, slates, pencils, or desks. A few miserable benches were its only claim to being classed as a school! This was an extraordinary case, but all school buildings they designated as "appalling". The standard of work produced in such surroundings and against such odds was equally depressing. The teachers in general were quite ineffective. In most instances, they were handicapped because of their own lack of scholarship. Many knew no arithmetic, were vague or ignorant concerning the essentials of grammar, and even were often unable to dictate the simplest words for spelling. Such ignorance was not surprising when the very limited amount of their incomes was considered.⁽²²⁾

As a panacea for such ills, the Commission presented

a list of necessary changes. To replace the County Boards of Education, which had made little or no impression on the improvement of schools, they advocated that a Provincial Board of Education be established as a centrifugal authority. This Board, they suggested, would have the power to establish a much needed Training School, or Schools, for teachers. Here prospective teachers would not only be given valuable training in the art of pedagogy but they would also have the opportunity to improve their own knowledge of the fundamental skills. Inspectors would be appointed by the Board and would be directly responsible to this main authority. A uniform set of school books would be issued. Set forms for school regulations and returns would be prescribed. Upon such recommendations was based the Parish Schools Act of 1847.(23)

As a practical solution to these problems the Act provided for: (1) a Board of Education. Its members included the Governor, the Executive Council, and an appointed Secretary. John Gregory held the latter post for five years. He received a salary of £100 and was, for that small sum, entrusted with the guidance of the whole educational system.

- (2) a Training and Model School.
- (3) The same Parish Trustees. The Justice of the Peace was to be the link between them and the Provincial Secretary. Their duties were unchanged but it was hoped that their guidance by a central authority would improve their interest and methods of approach to the problem of their local schools.
- (4) Two Inspectors. These men were given an annual salary of £200 each and were to travel from school to school assisting in any way possible the teachers, trustees, and pupils of all parishes.
- (5) The division of teachers into three classes. This first classification of teachers was based on knowledge and applied only to those who attended the Training School. A first class teacher received £30 per annum, a second class, £22, a third class, £18. There was no distinction of the sexes. Those teachers who did not attend the Training School were to receive £20 which could be reduced to £18 if they failed to attend within a set period.
- (6) No change in the provincial grants to each parish. These were, as stated above, £260 maximum, £180 average and £20 per school.
- (7) A grant for school supplies. The government voted

£1000 towards the purchase of school books and apparatus. This was the first on such a large scale and with a view to uniformity.

(8) An approved list of books. In addition, provision was made for the editing and printing of other suitable texts. (24)

The provisions above were sound and augured a favorable future for the parish schools. The system proposed offered for the first time an organized administration with control in the hands of those who were, presumably, able to direct and guide the education of the young because they, themselves, understood the principles and needs of such an education. Unfortunately, those who were nearest to the pupils and schools, namely, the parents, teachers, and trustees, were completely indifferent. The apathy that had been so deplored was still evident. In general, the parents cared not that their children attended school. In the rural population the youth were needed on the farms. Any money spent on acquiring knowledge which, they believed, offered little benefit to being a good farmer, was begrudged. The parents were utterly ignorant of the advantages such an opportunity offered. On the other hand, the teachers

were so inefficient that it is doubtful these children would have benefited greatly. It was a vicious circle.⁽²⁵⁾ Many teachers refused to better their status or skills by attending the Training School. Fifteen years later there were still to be found untrained teachers in the schools. In 1861, 305 were reported.⁽²⁶⁾ The trustees, most of them in a poor position to offer any criticism of methods or results, were likewise indifferent. They were not overly anxious to see that a school was well-financed. They seldom even bothered to carry out their duties as inspectors.⁽²⁷⁾ Although there was provision made for the submittance of regular reports, there is no evidence available that these were ever filed.. Such general lassitude almost completely defeated the administration of the Act of 1847. Baron D'Avray, who later became Superintendent of Education in the province, described this period in these words: "From all that has been ascertained, it appears that indifference, apathy, and neglect are the characteristics of parents, generally, in matters of education; that teachers are equally unmindful of their especial duties; and that to these facts may be attributed the failure of all past efforts as surely as the failure of every future one may

be predicted from their continuance." (28) Such was the defeated state of the schools in 1852.

In that year an Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of the Parish Schools was made law. (29) The Secretary of the Board of Education became the Chief Superintendent of Education in the province. This was a full-time position and one giving him complete control over all educational matters as concerned the provincial government. The Chief Superintendent was to receive a salary of £200 and the very insufficient sum of £50 for travelling expenses. To assist him in his work, fifteen county inspectors were appointed. They were to make four inspection trips a year to every school in their county. For the second time, a clause was introduced which provided for voluntary adoption of assessment. It was hoped through such a measure to arouse local interest to take a more active part in the support and development of the schools. As an inducement, the teacher of any district which did so would receive a twenty-five per cent increase in his or her government grant. The rates of the grants were changed on the basis of sex. Male teachers were to receive £30 for a first class license, £22 for a second, and £18 for a third. Female teachers were given £20 for a first

class license, £18 for a second, and £14 for a third. At that time there were approximately two male teachers to every female teacher.⁽³⁰⁾

Again the duties of the Trustees were defined. They were to divide their separate Parishes into Districts, to provide fitting school houses, and to engage the teachers. The maximum parish grant was left unchanged but the minimum was raised to £200. However, the maximum was only to be allotted to one parish in a county. This was a safety measure for the provincial treasury. Should every parish be entitled to £260 the government would soon find its budget sadly inadequate to meet the demands.⁽³¹⁾ This Act was to be in force for three years. Actually it remained law for five, for in 1855 it was renewed for two years.⁽³²⁾

The first Chief Superintendent of Education was Reverend James Porter. He began his career by immediately urging the continuance of Mr. Duval's Training and Model School at Saint John. To insure efficient examination of the candidates for licenses, he appointed a committee of examiners. Turning his attention to the great need for a uniform set of school books, he sanctioned the use of the books of the Irish Board, adding Lennie's "English

Grammar" and Pinnock's "Catechism of the History of England and America".⁽³³⁾ A circular was issued to the county inspectors and instructions to the teachers stating their duties in clear, insistent terms. In addition, the latter received forms for daily registers and semi-annual reports, which returns were to be submitted to the Chief Superintendent at appointed periods.⁽³⁴⁾ As if all this organization were not sufficient, Mr. Porter personally spent a month visiting as many of the schools as possible. In his annual report he admitted his visits were indeed very "sketchy" but they were not, he hoped, without some benefit.⁽³⁵⁾ From his own observations and from the reports submitted, he was able to draw up various tables of statistics. Incomplete as they are, these tables were the first of their kind and give as accurate a record as it is possible to find for that period.

There were, in the fourteen counties, ninety-six parishes which had been divided into 818 districts supporting 688 schools. There was an enrolment of 18,591 pupils out of a school age population of 53,324, with an average daily attendance of 18 per school.⁽³⁶⁾ Actually those who regularly attended were but one-sixth of the children between the ages of six and sixteen.⁽³⁷⁾ In

glancing over the data concerning the types of school houses one is rather shocked to find that, of 700 buildings, 107 were still of logs, 421 were framed, and 14 were classified as "others". 205 of these schools boasted of a yard and sanitary facilities, 380 had no provision whatsoever, while the rest of the schoolmasters failed to report on the situation. Ownership in 540 cases was by the district. One hundred and thirteen buildings were rented. Of nineteen erected during the year, two were at the expense of the teacher, one by the Madras Board, three by public subscription, one by the Sons of Temperance, one by the inhabitants, two by assessment, and three by private enterprise.⁽³⁸⁾ That better, more efficient schools be built, Mr. Porter advocated the circulation of Barnard's "School Architecture" for the information of all.⁽³⁹⁾

Mr. Porter, although in office but a year, was a keenly observant and zealous superintendent. He saw the defects in the system of which he was head and did not hesitate to suggest improved methods of administration. Assessment, he urged, was necessary. It would not only distribute the burden evenly but it would arouse the interest of all citizens to the needs and opportunities

of education. He expressed his approval of the situation in Upper Canada where "the Provincial allowance is proportioned to the average number of children in attendance at the schools. With regard to such an arrangement, the late Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education says that it would 'conduce greatly to the benefit of the smaller, the more agricultural, and the more sparsely populated towns' I would add that it would meet and remove the injection against the principle of the present school law that it extends a helping hand to those districts which are able to do something towards supplying their own necessities but it, in some measure, overlooks the wants of those which are unable to do much for themselves....." He realized the great responsibilities laid on the shoulders of the Trustees. These men should be most carefully chosen and should be representative of their community. Mr. Porter applauded the practise of election of such men which was to be found in Upper Canada. He also approved of the extensive powers given them. In "Upper Canada, Trustees are authorized by law to contract with and employ all teachers, and determine the amount of their salaries, and to provide for the salaries of teachers and all other

expenses of the School in such a manner as may be desired by a majority of the freeholders or householders of the School section, and to employ all lawful means to collect the sum required for such expenses." (40) In Saint John the problem of a large number of schools was making itself felt. The Chief Superintendent expressed his disapproval of the "perpendicular" division of pupils. Rather did he prefer the "horizontal" scheme "classifying and regularly grading the schools in well adapted and furnished school houses, and instructing them by means of such teachers.... to leaven with knowledge and to mould by discipline the entire mass, in a manner incomparably more thorough and economical than can possibly be the result of present primitive and inefficient arrangements." (41) In all of his work Mr. Porter had found one problem outstanding. It was very difficult to diffuse information concerning education throughout the province. He suggested that a Journal of Education be published regularly and distributed widely that all ignorance and opposition might be eradicated. (42) Having started the new educational organization off so firmly on the right foot, Mr. Porter resigned and Baron D'Avray took his place.

For several years the schools annually increased their enrolment. The school year also lengthened. Its greatest single leap was in 1853. In that year schools were in session an average of 33 weeks as compared to 19 weeks in 1852.⁽⁴³⁾ In the towns and areas of concentrated population the schools were overcrowded. For example, in Saint John, where the population was 30,000, there were but ten Parish Schools and fourteen Public Schools which included the Madras Schools, the Roman Catholic Free School, the Grammar School, and others. Throughout the county, a similar situation prevailed. In the Parish of Portland, there were sixteen Parish Schools alone.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Due to the fact that the government grants averaged £200 per parish with no more than one parish in the county receiving £260, the amount each school received, in such an instance, was small. Consider the plight of the Parish of Portland. There, each school would receive one-sixteenth of £200 - £12 10s. - or one-sixteenth of £260 - £16 5s. at the most, in place of the minimum £20 expected. It was impossible to carry on under such conditions. As a result, the trustees were often required to close several schools.⁽⁴⁵⁾ This did not relieve matters because the remaining schools promptly

received the pupils from the closed schools, and in their turn became unwieldy and more difficult to finance.

In spite of the success of the newly established Training School, there was much to be desired in the professional skill of the teachers as a group. Baron D'Avray repeatedly stressed the necessity of studying teaching as a science. He considered the ability to impart knowledge more important than great stores of knowledge itself. "Elementary knowledge thoroughly mastered, and the art of clearly and thoroughly communicating that knowledge" were his requirements of a common school teacher.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Nor were the parents more keenly aware of their duty. Many were quite willing to pay the school fee of 2s 6d per term, provided that any member of the family could attend. This led to the practice of taking turns going to school.⁽⁴⁷⁾ With this attitude among the parents, any teacher would be practically defeated before he started.

Mr. A. T. D. McElmen, inspector for Kings County, made, in his report for 1855, some startling comparisons between Upper Canada and New Brunswick. In the former colony the students paid a monthly rate of 1s 3d or their families were taxed according to local assessment.

As a result the cost of education in Canada West was not quite double that in New Brunswick and the population was five times greater!(48)

Marshall D'Avray was well aware of the existing state of affairs. In his report of 1856 he baldly listed the main sources of trouble: (1) The Trustees were not dividing their parishes into proper districts. Although they were required by law to file returns concerning the said divisions, they were more often than not very tardy in their correspondence. Such negligence should, according to D'Avray, be punished severely. In addition, the school Districts were, under the Act of 1852, subject to be altered from year to year. If a newly appointed Trustee so wished, he could have the parish redivided to suit his own purposes. This resulted in people of a district often having to support the building of two new schools in as many years if they were unfortunate enough to be in the section redivided. The only remedy was the fixation of divisions with a prescribed minimum area. In addition, the Trustees, under the Act of 1852, could change the division of Districts. (2) The Trustees were not supporting the teachers financially or professionally. They should be "sympathetic" and helpful in solving their

problems of tardiness, irregular attendance, poor pay, ill-kept school houses, and parental disputes. D'Avray expressed the opinion that the engaging of a teacher should be left to the Inspector who would have more ability to judge the candidate's professional recommendations. Arrangements as to the class of teacher desired (i.e. 1st, 2nd, or 3rd) and the salary to be offered should be under the control of the Trustees, who would always act according to the wishes of the community expressed at a public meeting. (3) He disapproved of the existing Board of Education. It was far too politically minded. In place of the Governor and his Executive Council, D'Avray urged that a group of persons interested and active in education be appointed by the Governor to form a similar Council. He quoted the success of such a Council in Upper Canada. (4) The duties of the Superintendent were too restricting. Zealous and active as he always was, it was irksome to Baron D'Avray to have his only contact with the schools through the reports submitted. He suggested the extension of the Superintendent's duties and travels that he might be able to personally visit each county once a year. (5) The period of attendance at the Training School

for Teachers was insufficient. He advised doubling the three month period then required. He also urged that only the art of teaching be taught. The practise of improving the prospective teacher's intellectual standing he deplored. Such knowledge should be a requirement for admission, not an aim of the training given. (6) The Inspectors were under-paid. According to D'Avray, their salary should be £300. He also urged that there be fewer appointed (five in fact) so that there be closer organization to facilitate exchange of ideas and plans with one another. (7) The teachers were also under-paid. D'Avray argued that capable men and women would never enter the profession until it was made financially attractive to them. Their local pay, he said, should be made equal to the provincial grant. (8) As usual, he stressed the immediate need of the adoption of assessment. (49)

In view of the fact that Baron D'Avray was Chief Superintendent of a non-denominational, government supported system of education, it is rather surprising to note his instructions to the teachers of the province in 1856. He advocated the practise of the monitorial system. This system, which was the main principle of the Madras schools, left the teacher free of the drudgery

which would certainly be almost overwhelming in the crowded schools. He himself had, he admitted, no first hand contact with such a system but he judged it on the type of scholars it produced. He believed it would serve as an aid to those teachers who found themselves with far too many pupils and far too little time to accomplish the necessary work. (50).

The Act of 1852 had indeed set the machinery of administration in motion. However, the rapidity of advancement soon made it necessary to consider a re-organization of the whole system. Politics and religion had entered into the question. The centralization of the scheme had not improved the local approach to matters concerning the district schools and their teachers as it was hoped. Salary schedules and financial support were inadequate. The whole tenor of the system had not advanced in step with the steadily increasing numbers of pupils. It had been but five years since the framing of the Act of 1852 but what observant, keen minds had been at work. Reverend James Porter, Baron D'Avray, Mr. Duval, and the various inspectors were all alert and eager for the advancement of education in their province. In 1857 a questionnaire was prepared by the Chief Superintendent

and sent to the various inspectors. Their replies furnished the evidence needed to force a change.

The questionnaire of November 24, 1857, contained the following questions:

"What is the state of Parish Education in your county as compared with its condition previous to the passing of the existing Act, with reference to the following points:

- (1) "Is Education more valued by parents and do they prove that it is so by the engagement of none but well-qualified teachers, by the liberality of their subscriptions, by their readiness in paying them, and by enforcing the punctual attendance of their children at school?"
- (2) What is the state of the school houses?
- (3) What is the method of hiring a teacher?
- (4) What is the method of paying a teacher?
- (5) What are the effects of the system of boarding around?
- (6) Are teachers more professional in their work?
- (7) Are trained teachers superior to untrained teachers?
- (8) Is it necessary that a teacher have a vast knowledge of many subjects?
- (9) In what esteem are teachers held?

(10) What is the general feeling towards assessment?

The answers, in most cases, were in accord with one another. All agreed that the indifference of parents still existed. All teachers were poorly paid and in many schools the person engaged would inevitably be the one who was willing to come for the smallest sum. Qualifications had little effect. Attendance was not forced and was very irregular. Although one-sixth of the school age population was purported to be at school, such was not the case. Many only attended for a few weeks at a time, whereupon other members of the family would replace them.

The school houses were improved in Kings and Kent Counties. More apparatus had been purchased but the lighting was in every instance very inferior. In Charlotte County the schools were termed "bad" and ill-equipped. The same complaints came from all over the province.

In answer to questions three and four, the inspectors turned in discouraging reports. In most districts the method determining a teacher's salary was still by subscription. Those who had more children of school age were generally expected to contribute proportionately. Usually this was in inverse ratio to their income thus

resulting in only one or two of the family going to school or in the practise of taking turns. The subscription promised was not always paid. But it was necessary to arrange for payment in order to receive the government grant. The local grant was paid often only in part, sometimes in produce, and frequently not at all. Although the Trustees were to arrange the salary of the teacher and gather the subscription, the teachers were more often than not forced to get the necessary signatures themselves.

Question five revealed that the practise of boarding around was degrading to the teacher. In many cases it was "subversive to discipline."

Questions six and seven invariably drew positive answers. The difference was not too great, but it was enough to make the untrained teacher realize the significance of training. All seemed to be taking a more professional approach to their rank.

All agreed that the fundamentals of knowledge were more important than acquaintance with a vast variety of subjects. This must have pleased Baron D'Avray for he was an avid supporter of the belief that a "little of everything and nothing well" was to no one's credit.

To the query concerning the teacher's status in the community came the replies that, as an individual citizen, the teacher was respected but, as a professional worker, no respect was paid.

Most communities seemed in favor of the principle of assessment. In Westmorland County, the general feeling was reported as being against it. This seemed to be the only case of direct opposition.⁽⁵¹⁾

On the basis of the foregoing reports, a new bill was framed. It became law immediately and was known as the Parish School Act of 1858. Two days later, Baron D'Avray was dismissed from his post as Chief Superintendent after five years of faithful, zealous service. The reasons have been lost in the shades of time, but Miss McNaughton mentions four possible explanations: Government opposition to his political views, to his educational views, to his dual role of Chief Superintendent and lecturer at King's, or political patronage.⁽⁵²⁾ He was succeeded by Mr. Henry Fisher and his assistant, Mr. George Thompson. Mr. Fisher's duties were basically unchanged. However, he was required to spend some portion of his time in instructing the public concerning educational needs and principles. He was also, as Chief

Superintendent, expected to gather any information pertaining to education, its principles, policies, and application, which would, perhaps, have some bearing on the provincial system. For his services he received £250 a year. The number of inspectors was reduced to four which fact did not ease the new Chief Superintendent's burdens. They received £200 each.

The most outstanding innovation was in the provision for district School Committees. Since 1816 there had been a definite trend towards centralization of administration. Now, however, the Parish Trustees were instructed to call a meeting of the taxpayers in each district. Election of a Committee of three from the members of that group was required. These men, known collectively as the School Committee, would have direct control and responsibility for the upkeep of the school house, apparatus, and grounds, the financial support of the school, and the engaging of a teacher. At their discretion children could be admitted as "free scholars."

It was by this act, too, that Superior Schools were established. Eventually, they were to prove to be the link between the Parish and Grammar Schools. Created to provide more training than the common schools offered,

there was provision made for one in each parish. It was hoped they would "induce the people to improve their schools. The Board of Education offered to pay an increased grant to one school in each parish if it merited a high rating. To be eligible, the school had to have a competent teacher." Evidently, no regulations were laid down for the content of the curriculum or the qualifications of the students attending. The government agreed to pay a grant of £75 per school if the parish provided £50 first.

Again a voluntary assessment clause was included. This time the grant to the teacher of the district was reduced to ten per cent from the twenty-five per cent of 1852.

For the first time a systematic provision was made for the beginnings of individual school libraries. For every sum raised by the district for such a purpose the Government would pay a sum of half the value. If, for example, a district raised £25, the government would add £12 10s. (53)

A very interesting dispensation was granted at this time which later led to a great deal of disagreement and legal difficulty. The Douay version of the Bible was

permitted to be read in the schools.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In the Separate School Issue of 1870-71 this was a bitter source of argument.

The period to follow was one of concentrated organization and effort. New, very detailed school registers were issued free of charge, report forms were exacting, and penalties were threatened if such returns were not made on the stated date. As a result, very accurate records were filed which, for the first time perhaps, gave one a complete, over-all view of the existing situation. Especially was this true as concerned the subjects studied. A perusal of the required courses at the Training School for Teachers may be accepted as the desired curriculum for the Parish Schools. (see Chapter VII) But to what extent were these subjects actually taught in the years preceding and following 1858?

In 1852 reports showed that spelling and reading were highest on the list. Next came writing and arithmetic. Three thousand two hundred and fifty students studied English grammar; two thousand seven hundred and thirty-seven, geography; seven hundred and fifteen, history, and a few students followed courses in bookkeeping.⁽⁵⁵⁾

In all schools there was a great scarcity of books. There were no texts on the history, geography, and resources of New Brunswick. Mr. Porter mentioned that, in Nova Scotia, Mr. J. W. Dawson, then Chief Superintendent of Schools in that province, had published a "Handbook of the Geography and Natural History of Nova Scotia", which was proving very helpful in the schools of that colony. He hoped a similar volume would soon be forthcoming for New Brunswick.⁽⁵⁶⁾ An unofficial report stated the following list of subjects as taught in the schools in the period 1847-1858: "Spelling, Reading, Writing, English Grammar, Geography, History, Geometry, Bookkeeping, Mensuration, Land Surveying, Navigation, and Needlework."⁽⁵⁷⁾ As Baron D'Avray was such an influential factor in that period, it may be assumed that his repeated statements on the advisability of confining a child's studies to "reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography,"⁽⁵⁸⁾ forced the other subjects into the background. Tables, compiled from the returns of the teachers and inspectors, add statistical evidence to support the truth of their summarizing statements.

A glance at returns for 1861 reveals that the following subjects were studied in the Parish Schools:

Spelling	23,636	pupils
Reading	21,787	"
Writing	17,110	"
Arithmetic	15,431	"
Grammar	6,591	"
Geography	7,213	"
History	3,257	"
Bookkeeping	606	"
Geometry	271	"
Mensuration	192	"
Land Surveying	64	"
Navigation	43	"
Algebra	257	"
"Others"	776	"

When one considers that there were 25,225 pupils enrolled for the year, it is clearly evident that the majority of the students studied only the fundamentals.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Surely there was no lack of subjects offered. What, then, was the reason for this situation? Inspector Wood expressed the opinion that the poor method of presentation was the source of the evil.⁽⁶⁰⁾ Other Inspectors' reports bear out the truth of his belief.

In 1859, Inspector Bennett (who later became Super-

intendent) discussed at length the methods of teaching practised in the schools of his area. Spelling was taught in such a way as to ignore the fact that words were composed of syllables. Writing, taught on the principle of imitating a copy, was poor due to the lack of good materials, the ill-fitting desks, and the constant changing of teachers which resulted in a variety of styles. The only remedy was to be found, he believed, in the use of standard copy-books. Arithmetic was the only subject he considered successfully presented. Grammar, on the other hand, was "prosecuted". Geography was nominally taught but suffered due to lack of globes and maps in so many schools. The history books were principally used for reading exercises.⁽⁶¹⁾ These were generally "monotonous, affected, or careless", according to Inspector Duval (1861).⁽⁶²⁾ The teachers, especially those who were untrained, had very distorted conceptions of the aims of the profession. Duval wrote that "some tell me that they have not time to explain the lessons, just as though it was quite an unimportant matter that the pupils' understanding should be trained, and the mind well stored, and that everything had been attained if all the lessons had been mechanically attended to."⁽⁶³⁾ With the introduction of maps, the old

system of teaching only two or three was abandoned and teachers were carefully shown how a great amount of valuable instruction could be given to nearly the whole school in a minimum of time. In the same way, the inspectors were often called upon to demonstrate how, by using a blackboard, a teacher might in one lesson instruct a whole class in grammar even if but a mere handful possessed texts. The teachers were also urged to present more variety in their school studies, than the three r's offered. (64)

With the appointment of assistants in the schools the teachers' tasks were lightened. The Teachers' Institutes also proved to be sources of great assistance. There they aired their problems and received suggestions and guidance from Inspectors and fellow teachers. The Chief Superintendent himself, in fulfilling his duties to the public, was not only frank in his criticisms but also quick to suggest ways which could be used to correct such ills. For example, in his report of 1866, Superintendent Bennett was quite firm in his belief that the failure of the schools seemed to lie in the fundamentals of the elementary branches. There, he said, there was a lack of efficient drill and review. He stressed the

importance of slates and enumerated their uses. They added variety to the work, induced employment rather than idleness in a classroom, and helped to perfect spelling. "Use them all day", he urged. His attack on reading was followed by a list of sensible suggestions for improvement. "Short, frequent, and thoroughly mastered lessons would produce better results," he wrote. Closer attention on the part of the teacher to eradicate any bad habits at the very beginning was essential. Above all, he stressed that, in advanced work, the teacher must fire the pupils by his own enthusiasm. His remarks on penmanship pleaded for closer adherence to a set form of writing and not a style. He also asked the teachers to use better examples as copies for the children.(65)

Thus, until a definitely planned and specified curriculum could be devised, the teachers gladly took the assistance offered which, in some measure, improved the general situation.

From time to time the House of Assembly had voted sums for the purchase of suitable texts. In 1839 Governor Harvey personally had a collection of books

sent from England for the Parish Schools. Following is a list of the books received with the comments made by Edwin Jacobs and George Roberts, a committee appointed to determine their usefulness to New Brunswick.

"Elementary Publication of Sunday School Union"
(These included Spelling Books, Class Books, Outlines of English Grammar and Arithmetic) "They seem to be simple abstracts, unobjectionable to any denomination... recommendation of remarkable cheapness".

Four Spelling Books (Vyse and Fenning. These each contained a history of England). Favored.

Four Catechisms (Church of England, Calvinist, Baptist, Dr. Watt's Catechisms) They preferred the latter as being an excellent statement of Christian Doctrine, "free from dogmatic peculiarities and admirably adapted for general use."

"The School for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge"
(A very general collection of information concerning Geography, History, Famous Men, etc.) The Committee disapproved because of its "democratic and disaffected spirit."

A large collection of vocational books with two volumes called "Exercises for the Senses" and "Arithmetic for Young Children" -- They said they could hardly recommend

such for the general use of Parochial Schoolmasters.

The chief criticism was expressed by Dr. Jacob. "The collection does not furnish any work calculated to instruct the rising generation in the true principles of the British Constitution".(66)

During the next fifteen years many books were obtained through the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland.(67) Some, indeed, were purchased from the firms of J. & A. McMillan and Messrs. Chubb & Company in Saint John, but no record has been preserved of the contents thereof.(68) In 1850, Johnston's "Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry" was introduced on Mr. Duval's request.(69) In 1852, Mr. Porter sanctioned the use of "Guide de l'Instituteur" in the French schools. It had been recommended by Dr. Meilleur, Superintendent of Education for Canada East.(70) The following year the House granted a sum of £100 for the purpose of procuring a sufficient number of the French translations of the Parish School books for the benefit of the French speaking inhabitants.(71) In 1858 "Le syllabaire de Québec" and "Devoir du Chrétien" were allowed in the provincial schools.(72) Thus it is seen that the method of establishing text books was purely incidental. William

Wilkinson, Inspector for Northumberland County, said in 1852: "In regard to the books used in the schools, I found particularly in a majority of the rural districts, all kinds of books without regard to order and uniformity, by which anything like classification with the scholars was perfectly out of the question.... and the teacher was reduced to the necessity of hearing one by one a routine of lessons without suitable examination or explanation." (73)

However, some degree of uniformity had been attained by the Act of 1852 and the subsequent sanctioning of certain texts by the Chief Superintendent. As a result, one may conclude that a start had been made and, no doubt, was effective in the more densely populated districts where finances were not quite so difficult.

In the twelve years that elapsed between 1858 and the date of the close of this survey, much mention was made of the gradual introduction of standard texts into the schools. In 1861, Mr. John Bennett, the Chief Superintendent, noted that the general dictionaries in use were the "Worcester's Series of English Dictionaries"; the usual history text was Munro's "History of New Brunswick" (so long awaited); the Arithmetic most favored was a small provincial book whose authorship is now unknown;

and in agriculture, the approved text was Professor Johnston's "Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry and Geology".⁽⁷⁴⁾ Mr. Duval proposed that "Denton, Payson, and Scribner's Copy Books" be made available to all schools.⁽⁷⁵⁾ His recommendation was acted upon the following year. In 1863 Sangster's "National Arithmetic" was advocated for use in order that the decimal system be taught. This book was being used at the time in Upper Canada and introduced into New Brunswick schools on the suggestion of Mr. Duval. Lovell's "Atlas Geography" was likewise sanctioned that year.⁽⁷⁶⁾ Gradually maps and globes were introduced. In 1862, 358 schools had maps and 12 boasted of globes.⁽⁷⁷⁾ By 1868, the increase was small but it was an advancement - 392 with maps, and 30 with globes.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The texts were, in most cases, those already proved useful in other school systems. Gradually, however, the provincial authorities were able to see the degree of utility of the various editions used over a period of time and soon frank criticisms of them were forthcoming. Of all the inspectors, Mr. Duval had, it appears, the greatest knowledge of his work. His opinions were always given freely and frankly and were considered carefully. In his report for 1864 he criticized

the reading books of the National Schools of Ireland which had been so long in use. "They are not suitable for our schools. The arrangement is unphilosophical, the subjects are generally uninteresting to children, and the American editions are so full of orthographical errors, that they are quite unfit to be used." (79) The other books issued by the Irish Board later received high praise from Mr. Duval (1867). (80)

One would expect that such changes would have affected nearly all the schools. Such was far from the case. Lack of interest from the parents, lack of funds, and lack of enthusiastic teachers no doubt resulted in the failure of so many to follow the leads offered by their Chief Superintendents and Inspectors. As late as 1865, Inspector Morrison said he had been in one school where there were no less than six kinds of primers. (81) In the French schools, nearly all the books were similar to those in Quebec. (82) There, the situation as to diversity of texts seemed to be worse than in the English districts. "Not one (book was) devoted to science or general literature." There were several fair geography books and a few arithmetic texts which used the French system of weights, measures, and currency. (83) This was

hardly practical in a colony where the English pound and later the American dollar were the legal currencies. The only solution to the existing confusion was a uniform set of texts, considered carefully, and offered at a nominal charge to all with strict regulations concerning their use.

To this discussion of the ever-growing awareness of the need for standard text books may be added a few sentences concerning the origin and growth of school libraries. The Act of 1858 authorized the provincial government to augment the sum raised by a district for that purpose by one-half. Many took advantage of the offer which, during the first year of its existence, placed 946 volumes on the shelves of various school houses at a cost of £77 19s to the districts and £38 19s 6d to the province.⁽⁸⁴⁾ In addition, a map of New Brunswick was given as a bonus to every district raising an amount of £5 for such purposes.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Over a period of years an average of nine schools per year boasted of a new library for the use of their pupils.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Unfortunately, nothing was available for the teachers although the need for some scheme of circulating professional books had been expressed by Mr. Duval in his

report of 1858.(87)

Lack of sufficient finances seemed to hamper every attempt. The ceaseless efforts of the inspectors, the Chief Superintendents, and many philanthropic persons were not without results but there was always much to be desired. In their struggles against the existing evils of inadequate school buildings, they were frequently met with open opposition or indifference. Some school houses "would make one laugh and weep by turns".(88) The log structures which still flourished, were miserable huts with floors of rails, a few boards at one end for the teacher, and benches two or three feet high for all ages of children! This, of course, was the poorest type. But far too often the report of damp, dark rooms with no means of ventilation was submitted. Many of the schools were conducted in private homes or were owned by individuals. In 1861, 260 such schools were in operation as compared to 539 publicly supported buildings.(89) In most districts the old-fashioned arrangement of the desks around the walls was giving way to the new system of placing them in rows, the

backless benches were being replaced by seats, proper ventilation was being considered, and blackboards were being slowly installed.⁽⁹⁰⁾ In 1862, 805 schools were in operation and of these 542 possessed blackboards.⁽⁹¹⁾

Often, too, the Parish Trustees did a very poor job of dividing the parish into school districts. They allowed themselves to be influenced by personalities and, as a result, a condition, one example of which existed in Sackville, arose. There, five different schools were in operation within a radius of one mile! Nor did the students go to the school nearest their homes.⁽⁹²⁾ It was, indeed, a curious, impractical arrangement.

There were, however, often brighter sides to the question. Many men erected modern, comfortable school houses at their own expense. One such building was provided by Mr. Alexander Gibson in 1864 for a district near Fredericton. It was forty by twenty-nine with fifteen foot posts. The school room itself was thirty-two by twenty-eight. Following is a very interesting description of it which was taken from the report of Inspector Freeze for that year:

"The work is done in the most careful and workman-like manner, and the whole painted externally. The land

adjoining the house is levelled, and in the rear comfortable out-houses have been erected.

"The internal arrangement is very superior. The furniture was imported from the States and is of the most costly kind. There are twenty desks to accommodate forty pupils and for small children, sixteen separate seats with pockets, besides five settees for the classes while reciting. The teacher's desk is at the back of the room on a slight elevation, and immediately behind it, and running the whole length of the wall, is a nicely prepared blackboard. On the walls are hung eight maps, four of which were furnished by Mr. Gibson. There are five windows on each side of the building, and so arranged as to lift or let down as convenience may require. All of these are furnished with green window shutters.

"The school room is ceiled up to the windows, and painted an oak colour, and the walls are panerled with expensive material, in panel work; the whole presenting a beautiful experience. The Library, a neat little room between the two entrance halls, fitted up in the same style as the school room, contains three hundred volumes for the use of the school.

"In addition to all this \$40 have been expended

to light the building in case it should be necessary to use it in the evening." (93)

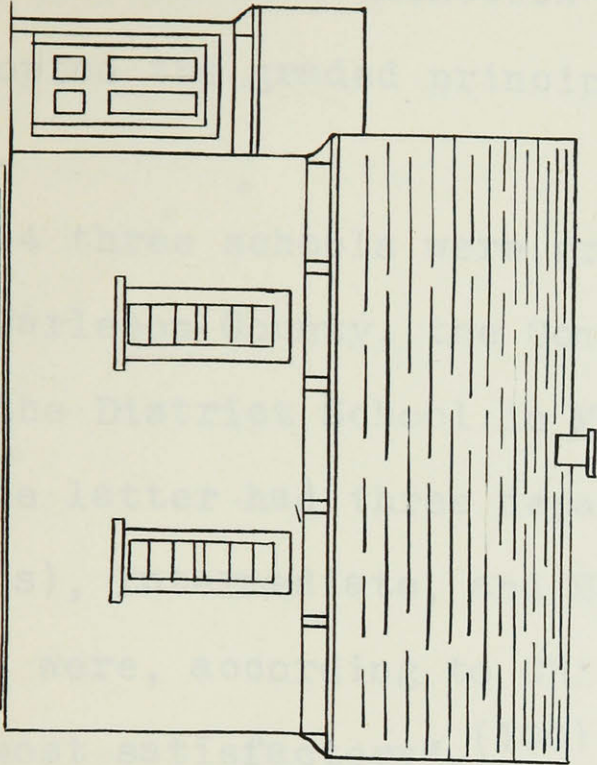
The type of school building suggested by the Board of Education is demonstrated in the accompanying design: (94)

As is apparent from the foregoing designs and descriptions, the schools were constructed to provide for one class-room. There, children of all ages and stages of advancement were taught by one teacher. As the attendance grew, schools became overcrowded and the teachers found it impossible to impart even the slightest grains of knowledge to many of the boys and girls. Especially was this so in the more thickly populated areas. In 1852, Reverend James Porter indicated that the situation in Saint John was such that thinking had already begun on the subject of graded schools. (95) The following year Baron D'Avray, in his annual report, discussed at length the merits of the division of schools in Massachusetts. He concluded that the system of elementary and superior schools would be most beneficial in New Brunswick. (96) In the meantime assistants were being employed to help the overburdened teachers. Seven were reported engaged

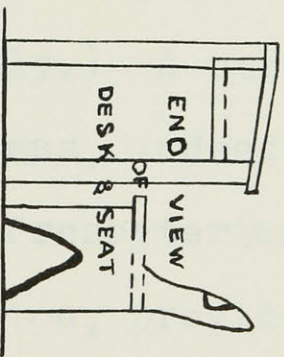
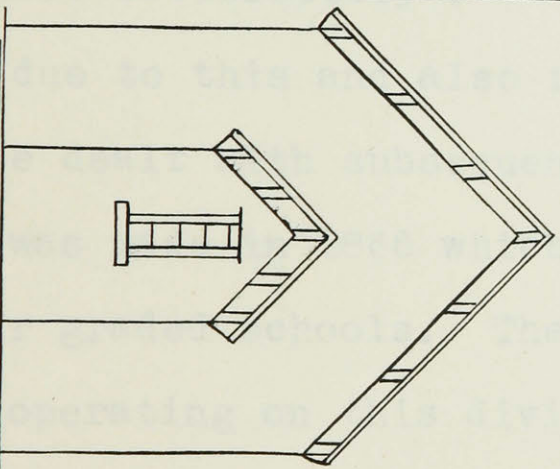
COMMON SCHOOLHOUSE

Scale 10 feet to one inch.

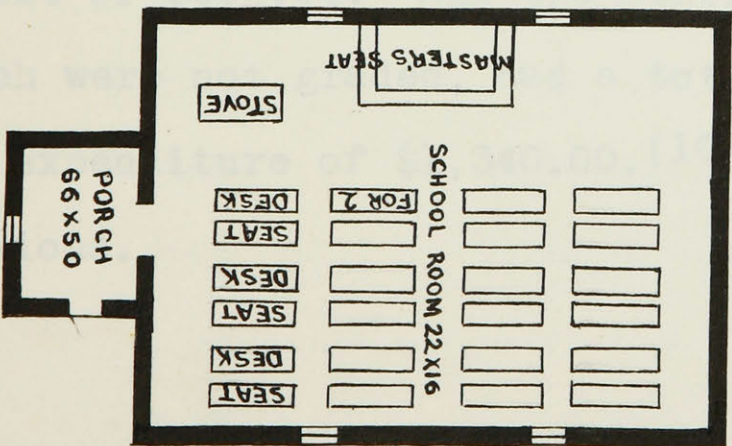
SIDE ELEVATION



END ELEVATION



GROUND PLAN



in 1864⁽⁹⁷⁾ which number had increased to seventeen the following year⁽⁹⁸⁾ and to nineteen in 1867.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Several schools adopted the graded principle and found it very successful.

In 1864 three schools were graded: a Roman Catholic School in Carleton County, the Commercial School in Saint John, and the District School in Milltown, Charlotte County. The latter had three departments: Primary (two schools), Intermediate, and High School or Academy. The results were, according to Chief Superintendent Bennett, "most satisfactory".⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ (The improvement in attendance due to this and also the adoption of assessment will be dealt with subsequently.) A striking comparison was made in 1866 which was, indeed, a strong argument for graded schools. The Presbyterian Academy in Chatham operating on this division, provided for 107 pupils at a cost of \$500.00. All the other schools in the area, which were not graded, had a total enrolment of 168 and an expenditure of \$1,340.00.⁽¹⁰¹⁾ The conclusion is obvious.

During the period 1858-1870 the number of children enrolled in the District Schools (as distinct from the Superior Schools) greatly increased as may be observed from the accompanying table:

	<u>No. of Schools</u>	<u>No. of Pupils</u>	<u>Average Attendance</u>
<u>Year</u> 1852	688	18,591	12,384
1853	774	24,127	11,997
1854	635	21,977	10,795
1855	--	--	--
1856	828	29,005	14,076
1857	892	29,973	13,380
1858	762	24,138	13,895
1859	785	23,682	13,700
1860	799	24,773	--
1861	801	25,225	14,236
1862	805	25,983	14,473
1863	784	28,067	14,105
1864	744	26,621	13,724
1865	763	24,417	14,200
1866	793	27,809	14,601
1867	797	28,231	14,662
1868	861	31,426	16,670
1869	870	32,641	17,022
1870	888	33,627	17,610

These figures state the maximum number of students enrolled. Many factors contributed to their inaccurate representation. The irregularity of attendance, against which the inspectors strove with such little success, greatly reduced the actual number of children who could be considered pupils. For example, in 1862 the average attendance was 14,473 out of a total enrolment of 25,983.(103)

A glance at the preceding table will show that similar conditions prevailed throughout the period. The indifference of the parents was very largely responsible. Then, too, many of the students in the rural areas were needed on the farms and thus were really "seasonal" scholars. One of the greatest contributing factors to the condition was the practice, discussed before, of paying for one child but having the whole family take turns. In this way, the names of several would be entered who were only attending for a few weeks. In winter the school buildings were often in a completely uninhabitable condition. It is not surprising that the attendance dropped in that season also. The continual wrangling between parents and teachers, and among the parents themselves no doubt also resulted in some degree of irregularity in attendance.

In an effort to improve the situation, the Board of Education passed and published an order in 1862 which required an average daily attendance "of not less than ten pupils of six years or upwards in each school in the rural districts, and a similar attendance of not less than seventeen pupils of like age in certain specified cities, towns, and villages." The penalty for non-conformity to this regulation was the reduction or loss of the government grant which would necessitate the removal of the school from the district.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ It was hoped that strict enforcement of this rule would bring about the desired regularity. In addition, the Chief Superintendent lectured continually on the subject. A survey of the year following the Board's action revealed that no rural school had achieved the ten pupil average, while in the towns the range was from thirteen to sixteen.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Everywhere the opposition was great. However, the parents were so terrified that they put forth every effort to correct the ill. In some cases, their zeal was a hindrance for they would fill up the ranks with children who were not six years of age and who, consequently, could get nothing from the lessons. As a result, they were a great impediment to the teacher and the efficiency of

the school. In many districts it was absolutely impossible to have ten children of school age. Sometimes in such areas, the subscriptions would be filled and yet there would be but five or six pupils eligible to go to school. Inspector Duval pleaded that each case be given careful individual consideration.⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Consequently, the regulation was relaxed occasionally upon the recommendation of the Inspector. Even so, it was responsible for a large percentage of the seventy-six schools which were closed during 1863.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ Finally, it seems to have been dropped completely as, after 1864, no further mention of it is to be found.

The principle of assessment, which was being used successfully in Upper Canada, was introduced as a voluntary measure in the Acts of 1852 and 1858. It had been, however, a subject of discussion for a much longer period.

In the reports of the Trustees of the Parish Schools for 1841-42, the following statement was made by the Trustees in Carleton County: "Until more adequate provision is made for procuring school houses, for the management of schools, and for the direct compensation

of competent teachers, little can be done
unless a tax on property were the consequence." (108)

In 1850, Reverend J. Paterson, Mr. L. B. Botsford, and Mr. R. Jardine who, at that time, were examiners in the Training School at Saint John, prepared and submitted a concise report on the advantages to be gained by the adoption of such a system of taxation. They chose the parish of Hampton as their model. There the local subscription was paid by less than one-quarter of the population assessed for general purposes, and, naturally, this proportion represented principally the parents of the school age children. A number of parents did not subscribe because of financial difficulties. Thus many children were deprived of an education. According to their calculations no teacher received more than £22 8s and that usually in board. To obtain the services of the most competent of teachers, an average of £30 would be a liberal amount. This, they stated, would require an additional £100 for the parish. A system of taxing everyone could meet this increase with very little difficulty. Under the system of subscription then in practise the minimum cost per subscriber was 19s. Under a similar scheme, including every taxpayer,

the amount would be but 14s 6d. However, if taxation on assessment were adopted the amount paid by the poorest families would be much below this sum. The benefits resulting were clear: (1) All being compelled to pay, all would naturally avail themselves of the opportunity offered. (2) Districts would not be satisfied with inferior teachers, and a better class of instructors would thus be realized. (3) The fair remuneration thus made available would command the services of men well adapted for the important office of instructing. (109)

The need of such organization was recognized widely but it was generally felt that the time was not quite ripe for the change. The committee who drew up the Bill of 1852 expressed the situation clearly: "On the subject of assessment, that although they think that the Parish Schools in this province can never be in an efficient state until this principle be introduced; yet your Committee are unanimously of the opinion, that direct taxation for this object can only be adopted in this Province by degrees, and upon the voluntary principle, leaving it to the option of the people of the respective parishes." (110) Thus it was arranged in the Act of 1852.

In the ensuing year two districts saw fit to erect

their school houses by assessment. One district, Indian Town, in the Parish of Portland (Saint John County) attempted to finance their school in the same fashion. According to law, those required to pay taxes based on this principle were residential property owners. Those persons who owned property in the district but did not reside there paid no tax. As Indian Town was a waterfront area, doubtless there were many sections owned by non-residents. Those who did reside there refused to pay. It was quite some time before the necessary funds were collected.⁽¹¹¹⁾ In the meantime, Inspector Dole brought forth the suggestion that the Act be amended to include the taxation of all property in the districts. He likewise advised that some method of fair distribution be adopted. For example, a county might be considered the unit of assessment and funds would be distributed according to need.⁽¹¹²⁾ This would provide equal opportunities for education, whereas with the district as the unit, the facilities made available would depend on the financial status of the area. It was evident that some revision was necessary, for in 1853 out of £23,000 spent on education only £313 were raised by assessment, barely 1.3% of the total.⁽¹¹³⁾ This dropped considerably, and in

1857 the amount by assessment was only .3% of the total.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Yet, in answer to Baron D'Avray's questionnaire of that year only one county expressed actual disapproval of the system.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Again in the Act of 1858, the clause providing voluntary assessment was included. Baron D'Avray had carried on a most ardent campaign in favour of some measure of support by this method, and his successors were equally keen in their efforts to procure the desired change. Contrasts were continually made with Upper Canada and Nova Scotia, which provinces had flourishing systems of assessment for their schools.⁽¹¹⁶⁾ However, progress was very discouraging and slow.

In 1862, Mr. Duval reported that one school had been supported by assessment, and, as a result, the attendance had jumped enormously.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ In 1865 the Upper Mills District in the Parish of St. Stephen voted "to support their schools by direct taxation, to have them graded, and placed under the control of an efficient committee." As a result nearly every child attended school. Twenty-two per cent of them had perfect attendance, while seventy per cent lost only one week of time.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ On the other hand, another inspector, Mr. Freeze, observed in 1864: "In almost every instance in this district, in

which assessment has been enforced for the support of schools, it has proved a failure, and, in addition, has stirred up strife and contention so much so, that in some districts great effort was necessary to re-establish the schools." (119) Obviously, the district unit was too small for such a principle. The County of Carleton considered adopting it as a county unit but was forced to surrender the idea, as the Act stipulated that the bonuses would be given to the districts and parishes which sponsored such a scheme, but did not take into consideration the county. (120) Thus, although a few scattered districts tried the assessment policy and found it successful, it was obvious that under the existing legislature it would never be accepted by all. The individual financial status of a district would reveal its strength or its weakness under either subscription or assessment. To provide equal educational opportunity for all, the unit would have to be much larger to equalize the differences in wealth. The fact that it was purely voluntary and to be voted upon by a district or parish led to many disputes and much ill feeling amongst the inhabitants. Those who had no children did not wish to pay, even though it was pointed out to them how improved a community they would live in as a result. Those who

were indifferent concerning educational matters were annoyed that they would be forced to pay if the majority accepted it. Those who were most keen because of the opportunities their children would have at reduced cost to themselves could not see eye to eye with the former. Frequent clashes resulted. Consideration of the financial benefits should indeed have been the deciding factor if nothing else.

The Act of 1852 had provided for no change in the financing of a school. The minimum and maximum parish grants as of 1852 were maintained in spite of the ever increasing number of schools throughout the province. As a result, the districts bore the brunt of the burden or suffered the loss of schools. Instead of paying half the cost of education in the Parish Schools of the province, they were meeting more than their share. For example, in 1861, the provincial grant was \$41,403.75 while the individual districts contributed \$54,451.38 (approximately 56%).⁽¹²¹⁾ This was a staggering proportion to consider in those districts where money was scarce in the depression years. In addition, a school fee was charged every pupil, which added to the parental expense. In 1862, the government spent \$4.84 per pupil.⁽¹²²⁾ How much more

costly was it for the parents. It was obvious that some compulsory measures would have to be taken to relieve the strained economy of the local schools and to increase their efficiency to warrant the cost.

It had been hoped that the creation of District School Committees would have promoted the cause of assessment. As only 344 schools out of a possible 809 had elected such bodies by 1868,⁽¹²³⁾ it is quite evident that their influence was not widespread. Little has been recorded concerning their activities but it may be supposed that they carried out the duties assigned to them by law. Doubtless, in the areas where they existed, the interest in educational matters was keener as a consequence. To their efforts may be attributed some degree of the improvement in the school buildings, the attendance, the standard of scholarship, the provision of facilities, the financing, and the general development of the Parish Schools.

Seemingly unguided by any one conscious educational policy during this period, the Parish Schools were the testing grounds for the schemes of the Legislature, whereby the most satisfactory and efficient system of education

might be attained. Various proposals were tried in an attempt to discover the best unit of administration. The whole period was marked by numerous and varied measures of financing, always with a secret hope that assessment might be accepted. No uniform detailed curriculum or series of text-books was completely achieved but definite progress was made toward the latter.

Through the keen and intelligent activities of the various superintendents and inspectors, the efficiency of the schools and school teachers was greatly increased, the apathy of the parents was somewhat overcome, and information concerning contemporary measures in the rest of Canada and the States was circulated. Freedom of enterprise was not discouraged and, as a result, many schools voluntarily adopted improved systems of organization and methods which were in later years to become general throughout the province. No restrictions were made concerning denominationalism, which fact was to smooth the way for non-sectarian schools by law at least. The Parish Schools of this period laid the foundations for the future elementary schools of New Brunswick's post-Confederation period.

B. Superior Schools

"To educate, according to my interpretation of the term, signifies to fit man for the right performance of his duties in life; to lead him from his pristine state of utter ignorance, to a knowledge of such things as it may be necessary for him to be acquainted with in that station into which he is born, or out of which he hopes to rise by the exercise of uncommon natural ability, of extraordinary energy and perseverance, or of some fortuitous circumstances. I do not believe that any one system of education can be equally suited to all men ... to their various mental capabilities, and to their several occupations. I contend that the means afforded should be adapted to the end in view and that the education placed within the reach of the poor labourer's son need not be identical with that at the disposal of his wealthier neighbour because one cannot devote the same time to mental cultivation as the other and consequently requires to be taught what is most useful."⁽¹⁾ These words of Baron D'Avray were used in support of his favorite discussion topic, elementary schools for elementary subjects, and more advanced schools for more advanced studies. During his term of office as Chief Superintendent he campaigned

vigourously for the exclusion of all but the most essential subjects from the District School class-rooms. The wide curriculum which was offered was unnecessary, he claimed, because only one-seventieth of 20,000 children were taking advantage of the higher branches of learning officially provided.⁽²⁾ He expressed his strong approval of the system of Common Schools in Massachusetts where there were three divisions. The most elementary taught orthography, reading, writing, English grammar, arithmetic, and good behavior. The intermediate taught these subjects and the history of the United States of America, book-keeping, surveying, geometry, and algebra. The most advanced offered, in addition, instruction in Latin, Greek, general history, rhetoric, and logic. The curriculum of the latter corresponded to New Brunswick's Grammar Schools, while that of the first two corresponded to the theoretical curriculum of the provincial Parish Schools. Their establishment in Massachusetts was based on population. A total of 100 families warranted a school of the first description, 500 of the second, and 4,000 people of the third. This system would be most beneficial in New Brunswick, Baron D'Avray stated, and would mean the division of the existing Parish Schools only into elementary and superior branches. The grammar schools were already serving their

purpose. In addition, it was not at that time within the jurisdiction of the Chief Superintendent to attempt to change them.⁽³⁾

In the Act of 1858 provision was made for the establishment of Superior Schools. The campaign had been successful. However, it was a compromise between the system advocated by D'Avray and the existing system in the province. It was really a measure "to induce the people to improve their schools. For one school in each parish the Board of Education offered to pay an increased grant if it merited a high rating. To be eligible the school had to have a competent teacher for whose support the inhabitants had raised a sum of £50 or more. If, then, the inspector certified that the school was satisfactorily **taught** the Provincial grant would equal the sum raised, up to £75."⁽⁴⁾ No stipulations were laid down concerning the curriculum. Obviously the courses given in the District Schools were considered sufficient. The fact that the teacher would be paid a much higher salary than usual would demand one who was qualified to teach the whole range of subjects and thus, in reality, would copy the corresponding schools in Massachusetts.

During the first year three parishes took advantage

of the provision and established Superior Schools. Each one received a £50 grant from the government.⁽⁵⁾ By 1861, there were nineteen in operation with an enrolment of 1,162 pupils. Of these, 207 were over sixteen years of age. The attendance average was 62% which was much higher than at any time prior to 1870 in the Common Schools.⁽⁶⁾ In 1868, twenty-three superior schools were in existence. The enrolment was 1,484 with 272 over sixteen years of age and an average attendance of 59%. The provincial cost in that year was \$3,909.21 while the parishes contributed \$4,557.63.⁽⁷⁾ The plan had achieved some degree of success in inspiring local interest in the raising of the standard of the schools.

In his report of 1861, Chief Superintendent John Bennett stated that the branches of instruction offered in these schools "embrace all that are usually required to prepare boys for a commercial life, and, in some instances, for entrance at College."⁽⁸⁾

A glance at the following list of subjects will not quite uphold his statement. The studies in classics required for University entrance were not given. However, it is interesting to note that the majority of the students followed the courses most popular in the Common Schools:

<u>Subject</u>	<u>No. of Students</u>
Spelling	1154
Reading	1144
Writing	1036
Arithmetic	995
Grammar	694
Geography	720
History	460
Bookkeeping	113
Geometry	117
Mensuration	103
Land Surveying	39
Navigation	21
Algebra	108
"Others"	435 (9)

It is doubtful that these schools were offering training in advance of that offered in the Common Schools. From time to time the inspectors reported the reduction of the status of a school from Superior to Common which indicates that there was in reality only a difference in efficiency.⁽¹⁰⁾ All of the schools known as Superior possessed blackboards and maps, while 50% had globes and a few had tablets. Most of them had libraries.⁽¹¹⁾

The Superior Schools prior to 1870 were not, as has been shown, unlike the Common or District Schools. They were intended to provide a link between the Common and Grammar Schools, but during this period their sole contribution was to the more efficient professional development of elementary education in the province.

C. Grammar Schools

The Acts of 1805 and 1816 had bountifully provided Grammar Schools for the province. During the period of years from the latter date until 1846, little check was made on their activities. All that was required was proof of the maintenance of a school, a qualified master, and a subscription of £50 raised by the inhabitants.⁽¹⁾ As a result, several of the schools thus supported became very lax and inferior to many of the Parish Schools.⁽²⁾ A committee of investigation was appointed in 1846 to report on the conditions. This committee was composed of five members: L. A. Wilmot, George Brown, David Wark, S. Z. Earle, and Alexander Rankine.⁽³⁾

Seven Grammar Schools were found to be in actual operation. Of a total of 143 pupils, twenty were studying

Latin, three Greek, two the Use of Globes, seven Mathematics, and thirty-one English Grammar. The rest of the students were studying the elementary subjects as taught in the Parish Schools.⁽⁴⁾ The Committee recommended that the Government require:(1) an average daily attendance of twenty-five scholars over ten years of age.

(2) At least twelve pupils receive instruction in Latin and Greek, and twenty in English Grammar, Arithmetic, Algebra, Mathematics, Geography, Globes, English Composition, Ancient and Modern History, Natural History, and Natural Philosophy.

(3) A register of daily attendance be kept and be remitted semi-annually to the Trustees.

(4) The Trustees examine the schools once in every six months.

(5) The Trustees submit semi-annually to the Provincial Secretary returns of their Registers and Reports concerning the condition of the schools.

(6) The government be permitted to withdraw a proportion of the grant in case of negligence. (£40 was suggested as the maximum). The text-books used were those of the National Board of Education for Ireland with which the Committee found no fault.⁽⁵⁾ All of these recommendations

were embodied in the Grammar Schools Act of 1846. One minor change was made. The average number of scholars required was reduced to fifteen.⁽⁶⁾

One of the first returns made was that of the Kings County School. Their average attendance was nineteen pupils with four under ten years of age. The total enrolment was twenty-six. Following is the submitted list of students in each subject:

<u>No. of Students</u>	<u>Subject</u>
26	Reading
26	Writing
26	Arithmetic
21	English Grammar
21	Geography
17	English Composition
12	Ancient and Modern History
10	Use of Globes
10	Latin and Greek
3	Bookkeeping
8	Mathematics

Although the number of pupils in most subjects was not the suggested quota yet it was accepted by the Provincial Secretary and the grant given. The report is representative of the various returns made.⁽⁷⁾

In 1848, twelve Grammar Schools were operating with an average attendance of 354 or 73% of the full enrolment. One hundred and ten of the pupils were under ten years of age. It is rather interesting to again note the list of subjects offered with the number of students partaking of each.

455 in Orthography, Reading, Writing, and
Arithmetic

334 in English Grammar and Composition

341 in Geography and the Use of Globes

268 in History, Ancient and Modern

126 in Natural History

178 in Natural Philosophy

115 in Mathematics

158 in Latin

43 in Greek

15 in French (offered in four schools only)

37 in Bookkeeping

17 in Chemistry (offered in two schools only)

24 in Astronomy (offered in two schools only)

In addition German was added to the Saint John curriculum in 1850. Six students took advantage of it.⁽⁸⁾

Two, at least, of the provincial grammar schools were

very efficient. They were in Saint John and in Fredericton. Although the latter was alternately called the Fredericton Grammar School and the Fredericton Collegiate School, it is ranked in purpose as the former. (Further discussion may be found on its status in Chapter V (A) and Chapter VI (D).) In the interests of Grammar Schools, the records show that the attendance in 1849 at this school numbered eighty-six.⁽⁹⁾ Dr. George Roberts, a graduate of Oxford University and the grandfather of Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, was the principal for many years.⁽¹⁰⁾ For his duties he received £200 (as much as the principal of the Training School or the first Chief Superintendent of Education). Reverend Charles Coster and Mr. Hugh Moore were his assistants and received £100 and £50 respectively for their services.⁽¹¹⁾ The school had two departments, the Classical and the English Departments. It was the best example of a university preparatory school in the province for a large proportion of its classical students went on to further studies at King's College, later the University of New Brunswick.

In Saint John, Dr. James Patterson was principal of a thriving school which boasted of fifty-nine pupils in 1847. His salary was £250, a very phenomenal sum for the period.⁽¹²⁾

In spite of the increased enrolments, the more zealous participation in the advanced subjects, and the excellent qualifications of the masters employed, Grammar Schools remained basically as they were in 1816. The Act of 1846 had tried to force closer, more rigid supervision upon them but it had met with little success. The need of the times for higher education provided more stimulation and impetus to their growth than that given by local Trustees. They were still, theoretically, college preparatory schools. However, their students enjoyed the whole gamut of the curriculum from the alphabet to Homer. In 1861 the government felt it necessary to open them to the inspection of the Chief Superintendent.⁽¹³⁾ Under his supervision it was hoped they would really fill their place in the system of education in the province. He found, of the schools he visited, that four were good, three were "middling" and six were definitely inferior to the Parish Schools of the province. All of the teachers had attended university but only half of them were graduates. The average attendance was thirty-three per school with a total enrolment of 393. Sixty-eight of these students were under ten years of age. Latin and Mathematics were taught in all the schools, French in five,

Greek in six, and Chemistry in two. Of course, all the usual branches of the Common School education were presented. There was no standard of entrance required and no defined method of determining advancement. Examinations were not held, and in most cases books were scarce. There was no uniformity of texts whatsoever. In every case, the furniture and apparatus were poor.⁽¹⁴⁾ Nine schools possessed blackboards, ten had maps, while only four boasted of globes.⁽¹⁵⁾ It was a most discouraging state of affairs to be existent in the highest type of school in the province. Mr. Bennett expressed his opinion that these deficiencies were such "which only time and the steady co-operation of teachers, Trustees, and parents under judicious regulations can effectually remove."⁽¹⁶⁾

Regulations were issued in 1863 by the Chief Superintendent and were exacting in every detail. The principal or head was required to be a university graduate who had received a certificate to teach upon examination by the Board of Education. The licenses, in future to be known as Grammar School licenses, were to be issued by the Governor-in-Council. This was the first legislation of any kind concerning the qualifications of the staff. It was made compulsory for every school house to be fully

equipped with globes, maps, boards, desks, chairs, and, in fact, all apparatus necessary to the conducting of a school of such standing. A minimum of 150 cubic feet of air per pupil was stipulated. These matters were the responsibilities of a Board of Trustees appointed by the Governor-in-Council. The ruling of 1846 that every school have an average attendance of not less than fifteen pupils over ten years of age was stressed. Any under that age could be admitted only at the discretion of the trustees. At least ten pupils were to be studying English Composition and Modern History, while a minimum of five was required in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. Semi-annual examinations were made obligatory. Reports on the same were to be made by the Trustees and Directors on the first Mondays in May and November after their validity had been sworn to by the master before a Justice of the Peace. The Chief Superintendent was to personally inspect the twelve schools in the province.⁽¹⁷⁾

As strict enforcement of the regulations as possible was demanded. However, with only yearly visits from the Chief Superintendent it was difficult to control the schools. The masters were in many cases outstanding. Mr. George Parkin, A.B. (Carleton County), Mr. George Burbee, A.B.

(Sunbury County), and Mr. Thomas Harrison, L.L.B. (Sunbury County)⁽¹⁸⁾ later became leading figures in the province. Two schools had assistants in 1865. The Sunbury County Grammar School carried on an interesting project. They attempted to establish an academy with a fully equipped boarding school for forty pupils. It was a large establishment for at one time ninety pupils were in attendance.⁽¹⁹⁾ By 1868 all of the twelve schools possessed blackboards and maps. The total enrolled was 1,068, while the number under ten years had been reduced to 133. All of the subjects required were taught, although there is no indication that rigid conformity to the regulations was observed. The following is a list of the courses taught throughout the province: Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar and Composition, Geography, Globes, History (Ancient and Modern), Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, Chemistry, Geology and Land Surveying.⁽²⁰⁾

The period under study thus marked no constitutional change in the Grammar Schools. Financially, they were still being supported largely by ample government grants. In theory, they were university preparatory schools as they had been for over half a century. In practise, they

accepted students of all branches of learning and, in many cases, were no better than the Parish Schools. Their numbers had increased, their enrolments had increased, and their efficiency had improved. From being almost completely independent of government control, they had advanced to a state of dependence, in that their existence was based on their conformity to provincial regulations. Such were the Grammar Schools of New Brunswick in 1868.

D. Denominational Schools

As has been pointed out, the rise in popularity and influence of the dissentient faiths, strengthened by the great influx of immigrants during the first half of the nineteenth century, presented a challenge and a threat to the autocracy of the Church of England. Although not officially the established church of the province, it had assumed that position in a colony whose political allegiance to the Mother country was at first its only means of survival. The zealous activities of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. further solidified this dependency. When, in 1845, it was seen fit to create the Ecclesiastical

See of Fredericton to include the entire province, yet another link was forged in the chain of relationship to England.⁽¹⁾ These bonds were for a time made more secure by the educational policies of that church in the colony.

It has been observed that the Madras Schools, sponsored by the National Society and championed by the S.P.G., were very popular in 1830. Their system, the monitorial method, was adopted in many Parish Schools as well.⁽²⁾ Supported by voluntary contributions, a government grant of £400 per annum,⁽³⁾ revenue from the National Society in England and from the funds of the S.P.G.,⁽⁴⁾ the schools were able to offer education at a nominal cost. Originally their purpose was philanthropic but, due to the inclusion of subjects beyond the elementary, they attracted a good many children of well-to-do families.⁽⁵⁾ Although they were conducted mainly within the principles of the Church of England, the superior type of education offered drew many Dissenters.⁽⁶⁾ Evidently the Madras Board found no objection to this situation and modified its rules concerning church attendance.⁽⁷⁾ Their curriculum was described as "religious and useful". In 1845 reading, writing, spelling, slate and mental arithmetic, geography, grammar, English history, natural history, drawing, and

singing were taught.⁽⁸⁾ Three years later, in the Thirtieth Report of the Madras Schools, the Directors claimed that their purpose was still philanthropic and that complete satisfaction with the situation was felt.⁽⁹⁾ As late as 1856, Baron D'Avray applauded the method of teaching and suggested it would be helpful in the Parish Schools where only one teacher was forced to teach a large number of pupils.⁽¹⁰⁾

Despite the early glowing reports of achievement and popularity, the Madras Schools had their heigh day in the '20's and '30's. The Commission of 1845-1846 found them "doubtful" in their efficiency.⁽¹¹⁾ In the Superintendent's Report of 1862, four Madras Schools were mentioned of which but one, at St. Andrews, was considered good.⁽¹²⁾ By 1870 only eleven such schools remained in existence and thirty years later they were abolished.⁽¹³⁾ These schools which had in practise heralded free, non-denominational schools, at least for the needy, had been a very useful educational instrument in a country where schools were few and inefficient.

The advantages of the Madras system have been discussed. In theory they did provide for a division of labour in the school room. However, in New Brunswick

and, it is almost safe to say, in all Madras schools, the Lancaster system was only imperfectly realized. The whole scheme was for a one room class room. The noise and confusion which would arise from a teacher and one, two or three monitors all conducting classes simultaneously is easily imaginable. It detracted from the success of all lessons taught. The Madras system offered to England and New Brunswick the first scheme for teacher training. In their training schools may be seen the forerunners of Normal Schools, although, actually, it was not on the principles of these training institutions that New Brunswick based her Normal School. These schools were not well attended, and, as a result, the teachers sent to conduct the schools were not overly efficient. In addition, it was most difficult to obtain faithful and adequate monitors. Those boys chosen as such were, of necessity, the leaders and older children. They, in their turn, lost a good deal of valuable time in their own studies. This was objected to strenuously by their parents. In addition, few children can be expected to be perfect in their knowledge, and, for this natural reason, much that was imperfect was taught. This degree of inaccurate scholarship in a country where scholarship was not general was to be lamented. In addition to all these drawbacks,

the master himself was greatly hindered in his tasks as the director, because he was not sufficiently aware of individual progress. Basically a rote system of learning, it could not hope to impart the practical applications of arithmetic, for example.(14)

With the introduction of free schools and the withdrawal of the provincial grant in 1871, Madras Schools went into their final decline.(15) Having far outlived their usefulness, economic support was then taken away and their charter was abolished in 1900. Their funds were transferred to the University of New Brunswick, Rothesay Collegiate School, and Netherwood School for Girls, Rothesay.(16)

One of the most outstanding Anglican institutions in the province was the Academy in Fredericton, termed also the Fredericton Collegiate School, and the Fredericton Grammar School. Connected with the College, it was considered a preparatory school for the latter and as such was aristocratic in spirit. It was supported largely by a grant from the college funds.(17) Tuition fees were £6 per annum for the Classical Department and £4 per annum for the English School. Until 1861, when it was submitted to the inspection of the Chief Superin-

tendent, the visiting committee was composed of the College professors. Of course, being a preparatory school for the provincial college, it was stipulated that prayers in the Anglican faith open and close each day's classes. For admission, the prospective student had to read a chapter from the Bible plausibly well.⁽¹⁸⁾ In 1867 there were eighty-eight pupils in attendance, some of whom were in the attached boarding school. Two years after the Act of 1871 this school became the Public High School for the city.⁽¹⁹⁾ During its life as an Anglican preparatory school, it had seen many young men pass through its portals to become leading citizens in the province. It was, perhaps, one of the last remnants of that society which was based on the traditionally aristocratic Anglican viewpoint of the early nineteenth century.

The period under consideration was one, however, which was marked by the rising assertions of other faiths. By 1851, places of worship were conducted by fifty-nine Anglican ministers, twenty-five Roman Catholic priests, seventeen Presbyterians, thirty-three Methodists, seventy-two Baptists, and four Congregationalists. There were two bishops in addition, one for the Anglican Church,

and one for the Roman Catholic.⁽²⁰⁾ It is obvious, from these figures, that the Anglicans no longer held the majority. In matters of education as well as in those of faith, the various dissenting churches expressed their individuality.

The Baptists, the strongest of these peoples in numbers, felt that due to the essentially Anglican outlook of the Collegiate School, another school was needed in Fredericton. A Seminary, proposed by Reverend Frederick Miles, was opened in 1835.⁽²¹⁾ Under the guidance of the New Brunswick Baptist Education Society it was for many years a flourishing institution, although its early struggles for financial support were fruitless. Petitions to the House of Assembly were made annually in quest of a grant similar to ones enjoyed by the Madras Schools and the Collegiate. Annually they were passed by the House but were rejected in the Legislative Council, whose members expressed themselves as being against the support of dissenting religious institutions.⁽²²⁾ The members of the New Brunswick Baptist Education Society declared their Seminary did not teach the tenets of the Baptist faith, but was interested solely in the educational aspects.⁽²³⁾ Finally, in 1842 the Council gave way and an annual grant

of £250 was given.(24) The school had an opening enrolment of eighty boys and forty girls, many of whom boarded there. Reverend F. Miles, Mrs. Miles and their successors who conducted it were all connected with the clergy. It was in constant use until the adoption of the Free Schools Act in 1872.(25)

Among the schools of other Dissenters was the Sackville Academy which has been dealt with in Chapter V. It was a very successful and efficient institution conducted by the Methodists and largely financed by Charles Allison.

About the same time another Methodist school was in operation, the Varley School in Saint John. Opened in 1854 through the benevolence of an English resident of that city, Mark Varley, it remained until 1871 a day school. At that time it became a part of the provincial system. Previously, the Legislature granted £100 annually to its support.(26)

Although the Presbyterians were a minority group in New Brunswick, they were far from inactive. In 1786 the Presbytery of Truro, Nova Scotia, was set up. It was of the Burgher branch of the secessionist churches. The Presbytery of Pictou, formed in 1795, was of the anti-

Burgher group. The two presbyteries had united in 1817 just three years before a similar union in Scotland. In 1825 the Glasgow Colonial Society came into existence under whose guidance work in the British North American colonies advanced rapidly. The synod of Nova Scotia was formed in 1833 as a result of their work.⁽²⁷⁾ Although very active in Nova Scotia, little educational work was attempted by this sect in New Brunswick until 1861. At that time an Academy was opened in Chatham which during its short life (it closed in 1865) was highly successful.⁽²⁸⁾ Its curriculum was offered in a curious fashion. "English, reading, \$1.00 per term; English, reading, writing, and arithmetic, \$1.50 per term; English, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, composition, geography, use of globes, and history, \$2.00 per term; English, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, composition, geography, use of globes, history, mechanical drawing, mathematics, mechanics, and physical science, \$2.50 per term; English, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, composition, geography, use of globes, history, mechanical drawing, mathematics, mechanics, physical science, Latin, Greek,

and French, \$3.00 per term."⁽²⁹⁾ It was divided into three departments under the supervision of as many teachers and was thus one of the first schools to practise the graded system.⁽³⁰⁾ Fifty-three pupils were in attendance the first year.⁽³¹⁾ In 1865, one hundred and eighteen were enrolled.⁽³²⁾

Superintendent Bennett, in speaking of the Academy in 1862, said that there was apparent "good discipline, effective drilling, and thorough mental and moral training. It is not surpassed," he added, "by any Institution of the kind."⁽³³⁾ Mr. William Crocket, the inspiring principal, was evidently an excellent teacher, from Inspector Wood's appraisal of his professional techniques. "The slate exercises in arithmetic are the most expert of any I have met during the year."⁽³⁴⁾ Other praiseworthy methods were described in his annual report of 1863. The school closed in 1865. Two years later it was reopened as a Training School but was again to be short-lived as it was absorbed in the provincial Normal School.⁽³⁵⁾

Two other Presbyterian institutions were in operation at the same time, a school at St. Stephen which was described as "excellent" and the Woodstock College

under the guidance of Reverend Mr. Glass.⁽³⁶⁾ Nothing more is known about them except that they were open to the supervision of the County Inspectors.

The Roman Catholics conducted a number of schools throughout the province. In 1835 Reverend James Dunphy organized a very successful philanthropic institution in Saint John. He was at all times a keen and energetic priest, very much interested in education. The school in Saint John was expressly for the completely free education of any poor children and received, in addition to church donations and individual subscriptions, a government grant of £150.⁽³⁷⁾ The girls were instructed by a Mrs. Holmes and her daughter. "The Saint John Courier" reported that "the Senior Class exhibited specimens of their penmanship highly deserving of praise; their reading was correct, and their knowledge of arithmetic and grammar exceeded our expectations." Nearly 200 girls between the ages of five and fifteen were in attendance. The boys were instructed by John Sullivan.⁽³⁸⁾ Their attendance varied between 180 and 250. This department was considered less successful than the female division.⁽³⁹⁾ On the whole, however, it was a thriving institution and filled a great need for free education

at a time when so many were unable to provide it for their children.

Another school was later opened in Carleton on the same principle of division. An academy at St. Basil was conducted in 1862 by Mr. M'Guirk. Other institutions were in operation in Fredericton, Portland, St. Andrews, and Woodstock.⁽⁴⁰⁾ All of these received government grants. An academy at Chatham offered work on the Grammar School level. "It is destined to occupy a respectable position among our educational institutions," reported Inspector T. W. Wood. It was a very costly edifice.⁽⁴¹⁾ Still another school termed "separate" was conducted at Bathurst. It was well patronized and evidently was very efficient. The use of French and English was so taught that it was considered an excellent training school for prospective bilingual teachers. In addition the exercises in the senior department were practical in application, a quality applauded by Mr. Wood.⁽⁴²⁾

In 1865 two schools in Newcastle were merged into one and called a Separate School. The Sisters of Charity directed its two departments. Unlike the schools in the Saint John area, it was co-educational with about eighty

pupils enrolled. Another school was under the guidance of the same order in Bathurst. It was conducted in English but the majority of the students were French. Small wonder that the word "mediocre" was used to describe its efficiency.⁽⁴³⁾ In 1864, St. Mary's Female Academy was opened in Newcastle.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The Collège de Saint Joseph had likewise come into being during the period.

Thus it may be seen that there were a very goodly number of separate Catholic schools in existence in the province in 1870. In addition to this fact, the Douay version of the Bible had been permitted in the Parish Schools since 1858, although this was granted only as a dispensation, not as an Act.⁽⁴⁵⁾ These institutions did not, as may be expected, herald the advent of non-denominational schools with joy. Their opposition was not as bitter as that in other provinces but it was voiced in no uncertain terms.

E. Others

Nor were the various religious denominations the sole sources of special institutions. The Industrial

Revolution had brought the spotlight to focus on men not only as human beings but also as workers whose efficiency could be greatly increased through training, especially along scientific lines. The general swing to democracy during the nineteenth century further emphasized this need for education for all as a social and national safeguard. One such organization stressing these ideals, was the Mechanics' Institute. Springing from the Sunday Society of Birmingham (established in 1789) and the Glasgow Mechanics' Institute (organized in 1823), it became a very popular society by 1850.⁽¹⁾ Their method was instruction through lectures on various technical subjects given by men of authority in their fields.

The movement spread to New Brunswick in the early '30's and in 1839 it was incorporated by a provincial act. Groups were organized in Saint John, Chatham, Hampton, Dorchester, Woodstock, Newcastle, and other points.⁽²⁾ The purpose was expressed in a report of 1841: "In a country where collegiate learning can by no means become general and where practical instruction in Natural Philosophy and Physical Science cannot be widely extended by the ordinary operations of colleges,

any system whereby useful information is given to all classes, must be of the highest importance to the welfare and prosperity of the country. Besides an acquaintance with Philosophy and Literature the Mechanic and Artist requires a perfect acquaintance with those sciences by which alone their industry is rendered most useful.... By combining instruction with a certain kind of amusement, they afford the best relief to all working classes after their daily labour has been completed.... The exercise of the mental facilities ...enables men to discharge with zeal and fidelity all their social and moral duties and fits the mind for the practise of the important precepts of Christianity."(3)

With a membership of 560 in the second year of existence of the Saint John group, the largest in the province, it promised a brilliant future.(4) The provincial legislature paid an annual grant towards its support while contributions, donations, and membership fees of 15s per person met the remainder of its financial requirements. These funds provided a library, a reading room, a museum, and an annual course of lectures delivered by the most outstanding men in the province.(5) All topics were represented; science, education, politics, history,

and religion.⁽⁶⁾ The Institutes flourished for a time but gradually deteriorated until, in 1890, they were abandoned.⁽⁷⁾

It is doubtful that the "mechanics" for whom the society was originally designed, gained much benefit from the organization. As a social center for recreation it may have fulfilled its aim but as an educational agent it had many drawbacks. The working classes, as a rule, had little educational background. Therefore, the secondary education presented through lectures would have been almost completely ineffectual in developing the illiterate minds which it professed to improve. However, the Mechanics Institutes did effect one purpose. They added to the general social and intellectual life of the various communities where they were organized. In addition, they were significant in that they expressed the growing concern for the education of all classes of people.

In such a survey, mention must be made of the various philanthropic schools which flourished, dependent mainly on the generosity of the wealthy. The Ladies' Benevolent Society, organized by Lady Colebrooke, was instrumental in the establishment of several Infant Schools. One was

established in St. Andrews in 1839⁽⁸⁾ and another in Saint John in 1841.⁽⁹⁾ The most important one was set up in Fredericton in 1842.⁽¹⁰⁾ It received a provincial grant of £50 towards its upkeep while the one in Saint John received £25. Nothing is known of the relation of these schools to the corresponding schools in England but one may presume that Lady Colebrooke was inspired by their principles and followed their methods.⁽¹¹⁾ They evidently flourished for quite some time.

Another philanthropic institution was functioning in Saint John. It was organized by a number of ladies who, in their charitable visits throughout the city, had been shocked by the large number of children who were detained at home because they were not sufficiently clad to attend school. In the early part of the summer of 1860, these benevolent souls procured a room and gathered together a few poor children for the purpose of instruction. Each of the ladies gave a day's time to teach the children until one volunteered to take on the task completely. In that first year seventy-six names were enrolled. By means of public subscriptions, concerts, bazaars, gifts of clothing, and fees from the society thus organized in an impromptu manner, the children were

furnished not only with knowledge but with sufficient clothing. It was called the Ragged School.⁽¹²⁾ In six years its attendance more than doubled and two teachers were required.⁽¹³⁾ Although its purpose was mainly charity, it was another instance of the need for free education for all.

Two African schools were given annual grants from the government. One was in Loch Lomond and the other in Saint John. They were attended solely by negro children. Strange as it may seem, the petitions seeking assistance came directly from the negroes themselves in 1841.⁽¹⁴⁾ Thereafter, the grants were made permanent as long as the efficiency of the schools warranted them.⁽¹⁵⁾

Another group who were neglected very sorely during this period were the Indians. Only one school is reported in action. It was at Indian Village about ten miles from Fredericton and was taught by Mr. M. Neville. Mr. Neville was said to be very zealous although his school was small (about sixteen pupils). It was thriving especially in the winter, when the older members of the village swelled its ranks. The inspector's report was most favorable: "many of the little ones read very nicely, spell very well, and quite excel in writing."⁽¹⁶⁾

A Commercial School was in operation in Saint John during this period. The earliest mention of it is found in the House of Assembly records for 1852. It was a three department school divided according to the graded system. Samuel D. Miller was its principal for many years. It had facilities for about 120 pupils and was deemed "most satisfactory" by Inspector Duval in his report for 1864.⁽¹⁷⁾ Although its name implies that it was a business training school, it is safe to assume that it was not unlike any of the other graded schools which were functioning at the time.

In addition to the numerous types of elementary and secondary schools already discussed, there were quite a few private schools, i.e. schools operated by individuals expressly for the exclusive training of those boys and girls whose parents would not deign to send them to a large school frequented by all classes. In Saint John one such school was conducted by Mrs. Harriet Gale Hunt who offered to teach "Accomplishments". The term included music, painting, French, Italian, dancing and deportment.⁽¹⁸⁾ The Misses MacIntosh opened a similar school in 1843. Their course of study was stupendous. "English grammar, reading, ancient and modern history,

composition, rhetoric, philosophy, natural and moral botany, geography, astronomy, algebra, arithmetic, bookkeeping, French, Latin, drawing (six styles: artificial, rice, water, oil, oriental tinting, pencilling (2 modes)) transferring, writing (round and square), pianoforte, guitar and accordion, needlework (plain, ornamental, coloured, netting), fancy knitting, velvet and crepe embroidery, point work, Italian, German, and French fancy work, fly cages, letter racks, match boxes, water rices and aluminum work, wax fruit and flowers, bead, twist, and braid work, dancing (Victoria and Lowe's quadrilles, lancers, cotillions, and other fashionable dances)."(19) In 1852 a more conservative type of curriculum was offered by Miss Hopkins of Fredericton. It was not a large school but "it is said to be an excellent one." The elementary skills were taught with some training in Modern Languages, Music, and Drawing.(20) It is impossible to estimate the number of such schools as they are only mentioned casually in various reports.

The variety of denominational and private schools functioning during the forty years under consideration was wide. They represented the aristocratic Anglicans, the aspiring Dissenters, the philanthropic patrons of the poor, the democratic idealists, and a number of minority groups gradually becoming aware of the benefits of education. Nearly all were in receipt of provincial grants, which fact allowed their inspection by government authority. Thus, although they seemed to represent a very heterogeneous mixture, they had one common bond. The systems of organizations, the methods of teaching, the ideals expressed, all did not go unobserved by the educationalists of the day. Their schools were nearly all absorbed into the provincial system in 1871 but they were not lost as will be seen.

CHAPTER VII

TEACHERS

A. Status

The legal status of any teacher in the province was clearly stated in the Instructions to Governor Carleton in 1811. Thereby all schoolmasters from Great Britain and Ireland had to hold a license from the Lord Bishop of London, and all others one from the Governor. The latter further instructed: "In all cases where any school has been founded, instituted or appointed for the education of members of the Church of England, you are not to grant said licenses except to persons who shall first have obtained from the Bishop of Nova Scotia, or one of his Commissioners, a certificate of their being properly qualified for that purpose."⁽¹⁾ As such they existed until 1837. At that time county Boards of Education were established. It was their duty to examine persons desiring to teach. The chief topics of examination were (1) moral character, (2) literary attainments, and (3) loyal principles.⁽²⁾ However, these boards were unfit to perform such duties as they were not always composed of educated persons.

Thus, in an educational circular of 1841, we find the central authorities pleading with the ministers of each congregation to make out a certificate of morals for the candidate. Also they asked that each candidate enumerate his attainments and include a sample of his handwriting when applying for a license.⁽³⁾

The following year, 1842, those in authority declared void all the existing licenses. A teacher could only have his license renewed by a county examiner.⁽⁴⁾ However, conditions were far from conducive to a young person who might have considered entering the profession. In a report of that year, Blissfield said: "No man unless degraded will take charge of a school in a remote settlement where the inhabitants are generally poor and illiterate and amongst whom he must board and lodge alternately in part payment for his salary with no other ultimate destination than that of a 'poor country schoolmaster'".⁽⁵⁾

In many cases the teacher even failed to receive his agreed salary, part of which was paid by the district and part by the provincial government. Although set at £20 from each, such was not always his reward.⁽⁶⁾ In such instances, the teachers often applied to the House of Assembly for remuneration. In 1839 a committee

brought in a decision to refuse such remuneration to unlicensed teachers who could show no just cause why they had no license, or to those who had not made arrangements with Trustees of the School at the time of their service.(7)

In 1846, Mr. Payne said that the situation was intolerable. In some cases, trustees of a school "had been obliged to wait in the market place when an immigrant vessel arrived and ask if there were anyone qualified and willing to take charge of a school in the country."(8) At the same time another member of the House, Mr. Gilbert (Queens), said: "It was only those who were ruined, both in body and estate, who would continue in that employment. The halt, the lame and the blind -- those who were good for nothing else -- might continue to be parish schoolmasters in the country, for no one else would."(9)

Until 1833 nothing was officially recorded concerning female teachers. Naturally, they ran several private girls' schools(10) but until the latter date no legislation was made concerning them. In 1833, a distinction was drawn between male and female teachers. The former were receiving £20 annually from the government plus a similar sum from the district. By an act of that year

all women teachers were to henceforth receive £10 annually from each of the two sources.⁽¹¹⁾ Four years later (1837) further restrictions were placed on those members of the profession when the number of female teachers in a parish was limited to three.⁽¹²⁾

However, this aversion to employing women as teachers soon became dulled in the zealous campaign for a Normal School. As early as 1841 a circular was distributed asking for young women between the ages of twenty-five and forty to enter the teaching ranks.⁽¹³⁾ Even Lieutenant-Governor Colebrooke, who was so set against the practise, admitted that they would be of great assistance with children up to the age of nine.⁽¹⁴⁾ A record dated seven years later proved the situation was changing. At that time there were registered 133 female teachers and 388 males, a good one-third.⁽¹⁵⁾

In 1842, a Committee of Education was appointed to inspect the situation and proposed that teaching licenses be divided into three classes: (1) for general use in the Province, (2) for one county, (3) for a particular parish in any county. However, this was not improving the conditions of the schools nor of their staffs in any way. The great educational reformer, Mr. James

Brown, who did so much for New Brunswick schools and the University, brought in the soundest bill until then laid on the House table (1844). His proposed bill was not passed. But again a Commission was appointed to study the situation.⁽¹⁶⁾ This group revealed a shocking state of affairs in their report. As concerned teachers, they proposed higher salaries and a training school, both to be brought into operation as soon as possible. This, they hoped, would better the slough into which the educational system had slumped. A typical report came from Northumberland County. There, it was revealed, the teachers' "qualities are not the best, their ability and competency limited". To this was added a rather despairing note to the effect that they were "generally inadequate for teaching the elements of Education as required by the present state of society."⁽¹⁷⁾ What apathy existed even amongst the leaders of education!

As a result of this investigation, the Bill of 1847 was presented and made law. Thereby, the sole authority to license teachers was placed in the hands of a Board of Education. This latter was composed of the Lieutenant-Governor and his Executive Council, with a full-time Secretary having the actual administrative power. There

were three classes of licences; first and second class for a stated county, and third class for a stated parish only.⁽¹⁸⁾ The following year these licenses were made transferable, i.e. a first or second class teacher could teach in any other county and a third class teacher in any other parish. This was on condition that the said teacher stated a satisfactory reason for leaving, and also produced two certificates, one from his recent school trustees proving satisfactory management of the school, and one from the trustees of the school to which he desired to transfer. If it was a county transfer it was necessary to have a certificate from the inspector and the provincial Secretary (later the Superintendent).⁽¹⁹⁾

However, this responsibility on a central authority was too difficult to carry out immediately. Until that time when a provincial training school could be in operation, it was ordered that "school committees grant teachers a license on the presentation of: (1) a certificate of the candidates' ability to teach spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic of whole numbers, including simple interest. (2) a recommendation from the trustees of the school to be established, who are also to certify their confidence in the moral character and disposition

of the candidate, the sufficiency of the school premises, and the number of children likely to attend school. And (3) a certificate of religious and moral character from the clergyman or master of the commission to which the majority of the children in the contemplated school belong." (20)

The financial reimbursements were £30, £22 and £18 with all women teachers, third class. (21) But in 1852 a scale was set up as follows:

Males:	1st	£30	Females:	1st	£20
	2nd	£20		2nd	£18
	3rd	£18		3rd	£14

The districts were required to pay an equivalent amount to the support of their teacher. (22)

It was clear that, in spite of any amount of legislation, the situation would remain basically unchanged unless suitably trained teachers were provided to fill the requirements.

B. Teacher Training

The idea of establishing teacher training schools originated in Prussia within the first decade of the eighteenth century. For a century and a quarter it

had been spreading and rapidly gaining public interest through western Europe. France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, Ireland, Massachusetts, and England were all proud to boast of such schools in existence in their educational systems. Between 1845 and 1855 their enthusiasm kindled and ignited similar interests in New York, Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia.⁽¹⁾

This zeal for systematically trained and licensed teachers was as keenly evidenced among the people themselves as was obvious in the correspondence of those in public life. In 1841 the citizens of Saint John asked the provincial government that a grant be given towards the support of a training school for teachers. They were officially ignored.⁽²⁾ However, Colebrooke took up the challenge gladly and with boundless enthusiasm. In a letter to Lord Russell of June 21, 1841, he described the system of instruction in the parochial schools as very "insufficient". To improve this situation he wrote, "I propose the formation of a Model Schoolby competent teachers sent from England."⁽³⁾ His request was answered and an offer was forthcoming from England. In answer to the said offer he said: "A liberal offer was

made by the Colonial Church Society to establish a teacher school here at their own expense, but the offer I declined, being of opinion that such a school, if expressly established by a Religious Society, would fail in acquiring that general support from all denominations which would render it extensively useful."(4)

Although he favored teachers trained under the Madras System he admitted them to be a handicap on those grounds.(5)

As time went on his plans became more definite and he pleaded for "a Central Training School at Fredericton with the only expense for the candidates ... their Board."(6) To further facilitate the actual formation of the school, Colebrooke himself offered to pay the principal's way to Canada.(7)

All this enthusiastic campaigning on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor bore fruit in 1842 when he was able to announce, "The Committees of Her Majesty's Privy Council for Schools have instructed their Secretary to secure the services of a man and his wife who will be prepared to come out if adequate provision should be made for them."(8)

Among the many suggestions of the parent country were these:

- (1) that certificates be given only after "examination or inquiry by an Inspector ... as to character, ability, and attainments".
- (2) that a complete account be kept of the attainments of every child in Biblical Knowledge, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic.
- (3) that annual records be kept of the progress of every child.
- (4) that proper heating and ventilation systems be installed. (9)

By the Act of 1847 the provincial Board of Education was ordered to establish a Training School at Fredericton and "to require such and so many of the licensed Teachers of Schools within the province as may be deemed necessary, to attend the said Training School for the purpose of being instructed in the Art of Teaching." They considered that the term "Art of Teaching" included "a thorough knowledge of the method of conducting a Common School and especially the art of communicating the rudiments and elementary branches of Common School Education in a manner best suited to the capacities, ages, and conditions of each of the youth of the Province." Nor was this to be merely theoretical.

"No school instructor shall receive a certificate of his competency until he shall have given satisfactory evidence.... by conducting the classes of the Model School to the entire satisfaction of the Teacher of the Training School." (10)

A sum of 10s per week for ten weeks was to be offered to a licensed teacher whether his attendance at Training School was voluntary or obligatory. If the teacher was unlicensed before his course, he could receive, at the satisfactory completion of his instruction, the same sum. (11) At first there were four terms a year, each of ten (12) (and later twelve) (13) weeks duration. In 1865 this was lengthened to forty weeks. (14) But there was great deviation from the allotted schedule.

From the very beginning it was proposed that there be three classes of licensed teachers: first class to be proficient in spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, bookkeeping, natural philosophy, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, land surveying, and navigation; second class in spelling, writing, arithmetic, reading, English grammar, geography, and bookkeeping; third class in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. The grants were graduated again according to class:

first - £30; second - £22, and third - £18. All women teachers were automatically third class.⁽¹⁵⁾ This then was James Brown's bill which provided for a Board of Education, Inspectors, and a Training School for Teachers.

Immediate action was sought and the Board of Education lost no time in drawing up its qualifications for a director of the proposed school. "It is expected that he shall be capable of carrying out the system pursued under the directions of the Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council on Education; and as the whole of that system is not applicable to this Province, it is requisite that he be able to adjust it to existing circumstances under the regulations that may be instituted by the Provincial Board of Education."⁽¹⁶⁾ He was to have at his fingertips a knowledge of Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Bookkeeping, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Mensuration, Land Surveying, and Navigation! In addition to this rather extensive program, the new principal was to be "able to deliver on short notices, elucidated lectures on any selected branch of Natural Philosophy, or of investigating, in like circumstances, intricate mathematical problems."⁽¹⁷⁾ His salary was to be £200.⁽¹⁸⁾

Financially his status may be compared to a master of any successful elementary school in England at that period.(19)

The Committee in England named Joseph Marshall, Baron D'Avray, as their choice for the first Principal.(20) Their suggestion was accepted. He was, prior to his appointment, Headmaster of the Lower School, Royal College, Mauritius.(21) To him the aim of education was clear: "The aim and end of all education ought to be the preparation for the active and actual business of life."(22)

The first Training School in New Brunswick opened its doors in February, 1848, at Fredericton. It was a combination of a Model and Normal School. However, its life was short-lived, for ten days later it closed due to lack of furniture. The choice for the second experiment was a Parish School conducted by a Mr. Moore in the same city. He had twenty-five pupils and during the first month of its life the Training School had twenty-four student teachers. Another Parish School was used in May of the same year. The course seemed to last for six weeks. In the fall, D'Avray wrote: "At my recommendation and with the consent of the Trustees

of the Madras Board, the Madras School was then taken as a Model School."(23)

During the first year four classes of students were trained, a total of 102 in all. The government paid £392 to induce attendance during that time. But in spite of the apparent prosperous outlook, there were many defects. These Baron D'Avray outlined in his report:

"(1) The Parish School Act, which, limiting the period of the teachers' attendance to ten weeks, nevertheless required of them...an amount of knowledge which it as far exceeded their power to acquire as it did mine to impart in so short a period.

"(2) The Model and Training Schools should be entirely independent of each other.

"(3) There ought to be a Master for each school.

"(4) The period of attendance was far too short." He quoted the practise in England where twelve to eighteen months were not considered too much.

"(5) The ineffective state of the Schools which I have had to work with as Model Schools.

"(6) The great unfitness of the Teachers who attend.

"(7) Incompetent inspection." He urged that "however

well a teacher may discharge his duties in the Training School, there is no security for his efficiency when placed in a school of his own; there is no way of ascertaining the point but by inspection, and no way of controlling his proceedings...but by reporting his school to the Board.

"(8) The unfitness of the school houses, books, etc."(24)

The fall of '48 saw the Saint John Training School begin. It was under the principalship of Mr. Edward H. Duval.(25) Mr. Duval was of French Huguenot stock and had a long record as a school inspector and school principal in England. In 1845 he was brought to New Brunswick by the Mechanics' Institute of Saint John to take charge of the British School there. Prior to taking over his duties in the Training School in that city he attended a course in the parent school at Fredericton.(26) For his Model School he took the British School.(27) This Training School in Saint John was for many years the only one in the province. For nearly eleven years he conducted a most successful institution. At first, Mr. Duval was given authority to grant second and third class certificates only. If a pupil of his school desired a first class certificate he was obliged to take an additional four

weeks training in Fredericton.⁽²⁸⁾ However, due to the destruction of the latter school by fire in 1850, the complete task of teacher training was allotted to the Saint John School.⁽²⁹⁾

It is interesting to note how many teachers successfully took advantage of such training (i.e. were issued licenses). Three hundred and fifty-seven teachers were trained in the Saint John School prior to 1853. Of these, two hundred and eighty were men. The Fredericton School trained one hundred and two in its period of existence. Following is a table for the remaining years, 1853 - 1870:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
1853	18	66
1854	20	41
1855	25	47
1856	-	-
1857	24	60
1858	26	58
1859	63	145
1860	63	117
1861	60	130
1862	74	171
1863	55	68
1864	42	89
1865	37	69
1866	34	82

<u>Year</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	
1867	29	78	
1868	34	51	
1869	49	83	
1870	48	97	(30)

It will be noticed that there was a sharp decrease in the number of women candidates between the years 1862-1863. This can be explained by reference to regulations of the Board of Education in the latter year, which limited the number of females to twenty-five in one term.⁽³¹⁾

It was estimated in 1861 that for approximately every five who received a license, one failed.⁽³²⁾

At first, candidates were not required to have any particular educational status. They merely needed to state their desire to enter the profession and were accepted. In 1852 the first board of examiners was appointed. Its members were Mr. Duval, Dr. Patterson (Rector of the Saint John Grammar School), Mr. William Dole (Inspector for Parish Schools for Saint John), and Mr. Robert Jardine. The examination was oral and really not very discriminating.⁽³³⁾ It was not until 1865 that written examinations were held in spelling, reading, English grammar, geography, arithmetic, and penmanship.

At that time, of 194 who applied for admission, twenty-seven were rejected.(34)

Of the actual methods employed in the early years of the Training School, little has been recorded. It is known, however, that there was a Training Master (Mr. Duval) and two Assistants. The former directed all practise teaching and guidance in the Model School. The latter taught the fundamentals to the teacher-pupils. From the very first, one of these Assistants was a lady-teacher for the women, as their instruction was given in a separate school. (They made no use of the Model School but practised their methods on their own class).(35)

In 1868 a French Teacher(36) and in 1859 a Music Master were added to the staff.(37)

During the infancy of the school the curriculum had two aims: (1) to give the prospective teachers a good knowledge of the fundamentals taught in the Parish Schools; and (2) to provide them with a sufficient amount of professional training and information. In addition, a first class teacher must show that he "possesses general intelligence and ability to impart thorough instruction in some one or more of the special branches of knowledge subscribed by the law as the qualifications of first class

teachers."(38) In the short space of ten or twelve weeks this was well-nigh impossible. Baron D'Avray said, "The Parish School Act....required of them...an amount of knowledge which it as far exceeded their power to acquire as it did mine to impart in so short a period." The teachers were, with scarcely a single exception, very bad readers and very bad grammarians so far as speaking and writing were concerned. "Of geography, the greater part knew literally nothing and committing their thoughts to writing was a work of the greatest difficulty to all...."(39)

The curriculum demanded in 1859 was: Spelling, Reading, Grammar, Penmanship, Dictation, Geography, History, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration, Trigonometry, Etymology, Vocal Music, Land Surveying, Navigation and Bookkeeping. A composition per week on the theories and practise of teaching, with lectures on school management, the art of teaching, and the planning of lessons, added to the actual teaching practise, meant a full course.(40) The last lesson of each day was reserved for practise teaching and was called "The Evening Lesson." The pupils took turns in conducting it, while two of their classmates offered criticisms or praise, as the case might be.(41)

In 1863 the school was teaching all branches of both the Parish and newly established Superior Schools.

Included in a list of library books in use at the school in 1859 were found the following: Page's "Theory and Practise of Teaching"; Fowle's "Teachers Institute"; Mayhew's "Popular Education"; Holbrook's "Normal" and Stow's "Training System." These volumes were actually studied, as a brief note in the principal's report of 1859 states that Stow's Method was tried, but being found wanting, the school was returned to its original system of training. (42)

When the training schools were first opened it was the intention of the government to gradually put various local schools into operation. (43) However, the difficulties met with in the one training school in Saint John discouraged any further expansion of the system. There was one exception. In 1867 a school was established in Chatham with William Crocket, a graduate of Aberdeen College, as principal. He had been principal of the Presbyterian Academy in that town and used it as his Model School. (44) It was not very professional, as all teacher training was done outside of school hours. The academic course included history (British), English literature (Milton's

"Paradise Lost" was used principally), reading, dictation and copy-book penmanship for spelling, arithmetic, grammar, and geography (emphasizing map-drawing), with a few students taking geometry, algebra, trigonometry, and navigation.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Professional instruction was given in methods (individual, collective, and simultaneous), classification into grades, time-tables, registration, and discipline. Each week periods were set aside for the purpose of criticizing the practice teaching.⁽⁴⁶⁾ During the three years of its existence the school graduated 117 candidates.⁽⁴⁷⁾ At that time the educational Bill of 1871 was passed and all training schools were amalgamated into one, henceforth to be known as a Normal School at Fredericton.⁽⁴⁸⁾ Mr. Crocket was its first principal.

Although there were Normal Schools in operation in Nova Scotia, Massachusetts, and Ontario, and although the educationalists of New Brunswick possessed knowledge of their principles, organization, and administration, yet their own schools remained for a long time in the experimental stage.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Nor were they anxious to copy their neighbours. Indeed, in his report of 1850, following an extended tour to the United States of America and

Upper Canada, Mr. Duval found much lacking in the Normal Schools of those areas. For example, he deplored the inefficiency of the system of spending two weeks in a Model School in Massachusetts. "I could not easily bring my mind to think this time sufficient," he said. Concerning the methods employed in Ontario: "I intend to adopt any important movements that do not clash with the plans adopted in the Fredericton School."⁽⁵⁰⁾ However, all were well aware of the defects of their school. Baron D'Avray was continually advocating a longer term of attendance. In England "twelve or eighteen months is not considered too much".⁽⁵¹⁾ Mr. Duval championed the cause of pupil-supported attendance with no remuneration. "Many", he complained, "were lured by the fact that they would be paid while training. They had no intentions of ever using the skills imparted. Of those I am able to trace, who have passed through the Training School, I find that nearly one-half are following some other employment."⁽⁵²⁾

Were these three Training Schools of any benefit? Did they establish a better educated group of teachers in the province? A glance at the following chart for the years 1858-1868 will prove that the advancement made was significant.

	<u>Teachers in Province</u>	<u>Trained</u>	<u>Untrained</u>	
1858	762	313	449	
1859	818	442	381	
1860	846	520	319	
1861	834	530	304	
1862	831	554	207	
1863	789	561	228	
1864	823	580	243	
1865	826	598	228	
1866	844	612	232	
1867	844	637	229	
1868	881	655	226	(53)

Outwardly the youth of the province were the only benefactors of the new Training System. The teachers themselves, or rather, those who took advantage of the training offered, found the benefits far too few. Financially, they were no further ahead. By the Acts of 1852 and 1858, the system of grants remained static, although provision was made for the employment of more teachers in a parish. Then, too, the system of "subscribing" one's salary remained for many years.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Financially, it was unprofitable to depend that all those who promised would pay. Socially, it was degrading

for anyone to be compelled to go from house to house canvassing, pound by pound, one's salary for the coming year. In most districts the practise of "boarding around" was dying out. But those who taught in the isolated communities did well to collect even part of their pay in kind.

However, in spite of everything, there was "an increasingly large proportion of those in attendance" at the Training School "whose social position, moral and intellectual qualifications, eminently fit them to be educators of youth." (55)

C. Teachers' Institutes

The difficulties, which only actual experience can reveal to young teachers, were many, as may be imagined. Lack of sufficient scholastic attainment, too short a period of training, little classroom equipment, large classes, unco-operative parents, and those personal deficiencies which only determination and instruction can conquer, were continually baffling and discouraging them. The inspectors did what they could by suggestions and advice. But no organized period was given to such assistance, and the results were meagre due to the very

heavy programs of all the inspectors. In 1859, Henry Fisher voiced approval of the Teachers' Institutes conducted in Maine, Canada, and Nova Scotia.⁽¹⁾ Inspectors Duval and Bennett likewise expressed their approval of the scheme,⁽²⁾ and all advocated their immediate establishment. In the early months of 1859, five counties adopted the plan. Saint John, Charlotte, Queens, Kings, and Northumberland Counties organized them on the county unit with periodic meetings arranged according to the individual groups' wishes.⁽³⁾ For example, in Kings County, they held quarterly meetings. The procedure was the same in all. A paper was read on a current topic of education and discussion followed.⁽⁴⁾

Although Duval reported the Institutes as "not too thriving",⁽⁵⁾ the idea was infectious. By 1863, nine organizations were in existence. In that year the first Provincial Institute was held and was thereafter an annual affair.⁽⁶⁾ Although not largely attended (in 1864 but twenty teachers and three inspectors were on hand⁽⁶⁾), they were at least an indication that there was a sense of enlightenment among the teachers. The very fact that they came into being as voluntarily organized groups with no obligations concerning attendance, and thrived as such,

is certainly proof that interest in them was keen.

Provision of training, both from the scholastic and professional angles, a uniform system of licensing, and a graduated salary scale had been achieved. The control of the Church had been shaken off early in the century, and a system entirely free from religious influences was substituted. Hampered by the lack of well educated students beyond the elementary level, the Training Schools were able to serve only the Parish and Superior Schools. The Grammar Schools were dependent for the most part on university graduates. Nonetheless, the majority of the teachers in the province in 1870 were trained. That an awareness of the importance of their profession was growing, was evidenced by the interest shown in the organization of Teachers' Institutes in the last decade of this period. The efforts of Governor Colebrooke, Marshall D'Avray, Edmund Duval, and William Crocket had borne fruit. By 1870, teaching was nominally a profession.

D. Inspection

Prior to 1833 the trustees in each parish were instructed to inspect their schools regularly. As may be expected, such supervision was erratic and valueless. There was no change made in the acts of 1833, 1837, or 1847.⁽¹⁾ However, in 1852 a systematic scheme of inspection was laid down. Thereby, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council appointed one inspector for each county. They were instructed to visit all schools at least four times a year, and to submit a yearly report: (1) on the number of districts, parishes, schools, pupils, and teachers; (2) on the average yearly attendance of each school; (3) on the subjects taught; (4) on the condition of the school-houses and buildings; (5) on the financial status of the communities; (6) on the teachers' salaries and sundry other expenses; and (7) on the evaluation of the instruction imparted. This was considered a part-time position, each inspector being paid 7s 6d per visit.⁽²⁾ None received more than £50 per annum for their trouble.⁽³⁾ Consequently, the task was inefficiently done. For example, Mr. E. Duval, of the Training School in Saint John, was the inspector for Saint John County. His time was overburdened, and he found himself quite unable to do

justice to both positions.⁽⁴⁾ In all cases, the inspection suffered. From the reports recorded, it is obvious that the most fleeting visits were paid, and that the inspectors were really "visitors", not truly "inspectors" in the real sense of the word.

The Superintendent of Education, Baron D'Avray, was most strenuous in his objections to the existing condition. He contended that better pay would increase the efficiency of his staff. He also advocated the appointing of carefully selected, full-time inspectors. In addition, he upheld the theory that five could work in better co-ordination than fourteen (one for each county).⁽⁵⁾ As they would be directly responsible to the Chief Superintendent, he also maintained that the latter should appoint them. He would then have direct control over their activities, as well as personal contact and co-operation.⁽⁶⁾ Thus, he zealously campaigned for the Act of 1858. By that document, the number of inspectors was reduced to four. Each was to receive a salary of £250 for full-time work and was to be appointed by the Chief Superintendent of Education.⁽⁷⁾ As a result, the inspection in the Parish and Superior Schools became steadier, more efficient and certainly

more systematic. From a study of the return sheets of 1852-1870, one fact is significant. The early reports show gaps in information, caused by tardiness in Trustees' entries or by incomplete inspection. The later records, although decidedly more complex, were detailed. Moreover, the results tallied with the grand totals.

Inspector William Wilkinson, County of Northumberland, in his report to the Superintendent in 1852, complained bitterly of duties and expenses. He said, "It must also be remembered that the duties of inspection are not the only duties required of Inspectors. They are required to examine candidates for third class licenses, to examine the registers and returns of teachers, to converse with them, to reply to their letters, to distribute papers emanating from the Board of Education to them, and above all, to them is deputed the important and responsible office of endeavouring to raise our Educational State." (8)

Such aims can truly be said to have been met in the last decade of this survey. In addition to accurate returns, the individual reports reveal a keen interest in the progress and development of the schools. Mr. Duval, who was perhaps the most outstanding inspector during those years,

spent a great deal of his own time in studying and visiting the schools of the States, Nova Scotia, and Canada. All of his associates were likewise well informed on the educational tendencies of the period, and were most eager to bring about the reform of the New Brunswick schools. Their participation in the establishment of Teachers' Institutes and Libraries as aids to the efficiency of the class-room was indicative of the responsible attitude with which they considered their tasks. Through public meetings, contemporary educational policies were made known to the people, upon whose co-operation depended the future success of the local schools. The inspectors, indeed, were powerful agents in the execution of the existing school laws and in the instigation of future educational policies within the province.

CHAPTER VIII

ACT OF 1871

The period 1860-1870 was one overwrought with political, economic, and industrial disturbances. The problem of choosing Maritime Union or Confederation confronted the sea-side provinces. L. A. Wilmot and Samuel Leonard Tilley were at first adverse to political ties with the provinces beyond the St. Lawrence, but hopes for improved economical status and a recovery from the financial slump suffered in New Brunswick shortly before 1867, led them to join their forces to those of the delegates from Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Lower and Upper Canada.⁽¹⁾ The acceptance by the various provinces of the British North America Act in 1867 brought about the realization of a dream which, it is said, was nurtured by Governor Guy Carleton nearly a century before.⁽²⁾

Confederation did not remove provincial control of education. However, Section 93 of the British North America Act did express certain principles which were a protection to all minority groups in existence at the time of Confederation.

"1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudiciously affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union."

"3. Where in any province a system of separate or dissentient schools exist by law at the union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall be made to the Governor-General-in-Council from any act or decision of any Provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

"4. In case any such Provincial law as from time to time seem to the Governor-General-in-Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council on any appeal of this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial authority in that behalf, then, and, in every such case, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor-General-in-Council under this section."(3)

This clause was a significant one. Without it, and similar sub-sections throughout the act whereby the rights of minority groups were respected, it is doubtful that Confederation would have been achieved. The continual struggle against the union of Church and State had been successful. Truly representative government was accomplished.

Although previous to Confederation, New Brunswick's leaders had not been unaware of the educational reforms and legislation in the other provinces, as has been shown in their search for a model for their University,⁽⁴⁾ and for a system of financing the Parish Schools,⁽⁵⁾ they were now, more than ever, alert to the policies of the rest of Canada. Since the Act of 1858, educational legislation had been shoved into the background, but in 1868 with some of the keenest campaigners in the Liberal administration in power, the issue of free, non-denominational schools was brought before the government. The first Lieutenant-Governor after Confederation was the Liberal reformer, Lemuel Allan Wilmot. George King, Liberal, was Attorney-General of the House in 1870, and later in the same session formed a coalition with George Hatheway. Obviously this coalition was the result of a firm resolve on the part of both

parties to obtain direct taxation and free schools.⁽⁶⁾

A brief glance at preceding legislation for free schools in the other Canadian provinces is necessary at this point. In Nova Scotia a report was presented in 1835 urging the adoption of such schools financed by general assessment. The committee which framed the report quoted the success of previous ventures in New England and in Scotland. Two years later a second report was submitted adding as further proof the success of a similar plan in Prussia. However, the time was not then ripe for such a scheme in Nova Scotia, and the report was laid aside.⁽⁷⁾ Meanwhile in Upper Canada a free school law was passed in 1850 which provided for voluntary adoption of the assessment principle. This measure, which failed so miserably in New Brunswick, was highly successful in Upper Canada. Indeed, when the Act of 1871 was made law in the latter province, the compulsory assessment clause providing free schools affected only a few districts.⁽⁸⁾ In 1864 the reports of 1835 and 1837 were revived in Nova Scotia, and a system of free schools was also established there.⁽⁹⁾

Meanwhile in New Brunswick, there was keen awareness of the situation. The first attempt to introduce assess-

ment was withdrawn after two years of inactivity (1818).⁽¹⁰⁾ It was again presented by the investigating committee of the 1840's,⁽¹¹⁾ but failed to be included in the Act of 1846.⁽¹²⁾ Finally in 1852 it was written into the Bill as a voluntary measure with added government aid to those parishes adopting it.⁽¹³⁾ The same clause was in the Act of 1858 with a reduced bonus to the enterprising areas.⁽¹⁴⁾ In many cases the principle was the cause of bitter strife. Without it, however, no provision for education for all could be made. Following Confederation the Liberals took up the cry for free schools.

Mr. George King, the promoter of the Bill, guided its stormy passage before the government through these years.⁽¹⁵⁾ A son of a Saint John shipbuilder, he had been educated at the Sackville Academy, and had gone on to receive his B.A. and M.A. at Wesleyan University, Connecticut. At the age of twenty-six he was admitted to the bar and when just barely thirty became Attorney-General of the province (1870). A clever man and an ardent Liberal, he has been given credit for the Free School Act of 1871.⁽¹⁶⁾ The actual framing of the Act was done by two outstanding educationalists, Chief Superintendent Bennett and President Jacob of the University of New

Brunswick. (17)

In 1868 a Bill was published concerning the issue. (18) In defence of it, Mr. King said: "The present system is founded on centralization, which has its merits, but it does not provoke any interest in education or local responsibility. Our system has a defect because it places the local government of schools in a body of men who have no real interest in the schools of the parish." (19) Other members of the House added their approval by attempting to shame the province into realization of the great need for the adoption of the Bill. "Nova Scotia, Canada, and the United States of America have school laws and we are behind the age. It is the duty of the State to provide for the education of the youth of the country, irrespective of party or creed." (20) Egerton Ryerson and Dr. Tupper were both quoted as authorities on the **success** of similar systems in Ontario and Nova Scotia. (21)

Again, in 1870, a Bill was proposed and laid before the House, but it was withdrawn. (22) Then came the dissolving of the House and the coalition government. "It has been laid down as a principle in England, and the different provinces, that the question of education is

not, never is, and never ought to be looked upon as a party question." (23) Obviously, there was general agreement on this principle in the formation of the new government which had as its main aim the success of the Education Bill. (24)

In the debates of 1870 concerning the proposed legislation, King was most prominent. As he had at his fingertips all the necessary statistics, his arguments were sound, logical and practical. The cost of educating one pupil in 1870 was, he estimated, \$3.62, of which the government paid \$2.84. If all were to pay on the taxation basis, it would amount to but thirty-seven and a half cents per person. The blame for the lack of such cheaply gained education he laid on the shoulders of the provincial forefathers, who set up institutions which had but little self-government in them. Provincial aid was necessary, he said. But the local unit should be organized to form a steady basis for school units. As it was then, school districts were dependent upon the whim of the Parish Trustees. Assessment, as he saw it, was absolutely essential and should be made compulsory by law. The unsatisfactory results of the voluntary system were well illustrated in the

following table which he presented to the House:

<u>Between 1858-1870</u>	<u>Average No. of Schools</u>	<u>Supported by Assessment</u>
Albert County	38	1%
Carleton County	64	5%
Charlotte County	91	11%
Gloucester County	11	--
Kent County	41	1%
Kings County	96	2%
Northumberland County	58	4%
Queens County	63	1%
Restigouche County	16	2%
Sunbury County	24	1%
Victoria County	25	5%
Westmorland County	89	--
Saint John County	107	--
York County	82	4%

He was not concerned with secondary education for he said: "The State is not bound to provide for its people a greater degree of education than is necessary for its welfare and security. Primary education is all that is necessary in the ordinary affairs of life." The advisability of a central authority was essential, King stated. In no other way could the State oversee what she paid for.

The pettiness of local feelings would also be removed. In addition, the acceptance of the Bill would not diminish a single cent of the amount given for the support of education. "The State is considered competent enough to tax for military defence, why not for a system of education also to defend it?" he asked. Considering the immediate advantages arising from such a scheme, the speaker mentioned the increase in attendance, and the subsequent reduced cost of education per pupil. The gradual instigation of graded schools as a result would improve the standard of education.(25)

The plan of finance which the Bill proposed was threefold; provincial, county, and district support. In this way aid would be equalized and a good attendance could be guaranteed in each district, as the county grant was based on that principle. Comparisons were drawn between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. For the period 1859-1869 the increase in New Brunswick had been in the vicinity of 3,681 pupils. In Nova Scotia, the period immediately following their Free Schools Act of 1864 until 1869 had seen an increase of 40,000 pupils.(26)

Astounding results!

Other members added their confidence in the measures.

Mr. Lindsay referred to Scottish systems of a similar nature.⁽²⁷⁾ Mr. Bliss reported on an experiment carried out by the manager of the Albert Mines. This individual (of whom nothing further is known) taxed his miners ten cents a month for every child they sent to school. This, with the usual government grant and a company grant, had resulted in a school which possessed its own Board of Trustees, was inspected once a month, and in a year's time was highly successful.⁽²⁸⁾ Mr. Needham said, "If you want to interest the people in the education of the youth of the country, they must have some share in paying for that education and sustaining it."⁽²⁹⁾

Naturally, there were comments from the opposition. Mr. Moore (Conservative) objected to the increased number of trustees necessitated through too fine division of the parishes. It would be next to impossible, he stated, to find the required number of efficient men to act in such capacities. Of course, the utter failure of previous assessment was brought up. Some members thought the taxation would be too heavy on the districts.⁽³⁰⁾

But the chief objection came from the Roman Catholics. Whereas the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians were anxious to have a system of non-denominational schools,

the Roman Catholics were desirous of maintaining **Separate Schools**. As has been seen, they were granted a dispensation in 1858 when the Douay version of the Bible was permitted in the classrooms of the province.⁽³¹⁾ Many Roman Catholic schools were also organized which, like a large number of other sectarian schools, received government grants, but were not legally established as denominational schools within the school system.⁽³²⁾ Thus, legally, there were some parish schools which were denominational by virtue of character but not by law.⁽³⁵⁾ No separate schools were in existence in the provincial scheme in 1867. According to Section 93 of the British North America Act, the province was under no obligation to recognize the existence of any schools not meeting the requirements there set down.

Many petitions were received from the Roman Catholics requesting that allowances be made for denominational schools. Two such petitions bore the names of 2,000 persons in Saint John and 1,000 in Gloucester County. In all cases the Parish priests headed the lists. Bishop Sweeney of Saint John also added his name to a petition.⁽³⁴⁾ One Sunday morning he further expressed his disapproval of non-sectarian schools in his sermon. Referring to the

existence of American denominational schools, he argued that they had proved successful. Did not education and religion go hand in hand? He stressed the financial assistance provided by the Catholics in the support of general education throughout the years. Was this not proof of the need for continuance of the arrangement?⁽³⁵⁾

The debates for the final session in 1871 are not available. It has been said that disgraceful scenes and conduct occurred!⁽³⁶⁾ Consequently, much has been written concerning the only other representative source of public opinion, the press.⁽³⁷⁾ The "Saint John Daily Telegraph and Morning Journal" considered every aspect of the Bill attentively. They approved of it, all but the composition of the Board of Education. It was not right, they argued, that the Executive Council, a body of men not necessarily versed in educational matters and subject to political influences, should form the bulk of a committee designed to guide educational administration in the province. Instead, these nine members should be specially chosen on their merits as gentlemen, acquainted with and well informed on the theories and practises of education.⁽³⁸⁾

In reply, Mr. King stated that, as the Chief Superintendent was the only one who actually dealt with the

scholastic aspect, there was little need of considering the qualifications of the other members. They were needed simply as men of sound business abilities and judgment. He referred to the similar political composition of the Boards in England and Nova Scotia. To appoint a Board as suggested by the editor of the Telegraph would, he continued, require additional expense with no guarantee of an equivalent increase in efficiency.(39)

On the question of religion, the press was vigorous. The "Telegraph" argued that should the Protestants attempt to establish schools in the interests of Protestants, then the Catholics should surely be allowed to claim separate schools. But such was not the case. The schools were to be completely free of any religious indoctrination. Therefore, there was no need to seek separate schools.(40) Occasionally, the terms used were harsh and strong and consequently met with bitter opposition in the "Morning Freeman", a pro-Catholic sheet. The latter mockingly called the Lieutenant-Governor, "Pope" Wilmot and referred to his Council as "Methodist Cardinals". The schools proposed, it stated, would be, if not Protestant, then Godless and Infidel, a state undesirable to the Catholic population. Reference was made to the "Red Republicans of Paris, now in revolt against God and Society". They,

too, had wanted free, secular education. Would New Brunswick want the same situation to occur?⁽⁴¹⁾

Long after the Bill became law, the struggle for Separate Schools continued. Appeals were made to the Privy Council and to the Governor-General but to no avail.⁽⁴²⁾ However, such discussion does not belong to this period. Suffice it to say, that the Act of 1871 remained unchanged constitutionally. The King administration in 1875 did allow members of religious orders to be considered eligible for licenses as school teachers upon the successful writing of the required examinations. Buildings, which were the property of the Orders or Church, might be rented for school purposes by civic school boards, and religious instructions permitted to Roman Catholic children after school hours. But the Church had no control over the curriculum, standards of efficiency, and the like.⁽⁴³⁾ New Brunswick was destined to be spared the arduous difficulties which arose in other Canadian provinces over this issue.

The Act of 1871, effective as of January 1, 1872, maintained virtually the same Board of Education with the Chief Superintendent of Education and the nine

members of the Executive Council. To their ranks was added the President of the University of New Brunswick. Theodore H. Rand was appointed to the post of Chief Superintendent, on whose shoulders fell the great responsibility of putting the various clauses of the new legislation into action. A Nova Scotian by birth and education (Acadia College), he had, despite his youth (thirty-six years), had an interesting and brilliant career as an educationalist. His first post had been as an assistant master at Horton Academy, Wolfville. For a time he had held the chair of English and Classics in the Normal School at Truro. Very active in the preparation of the Free School Law of 1864 in Nova Scotia, he had been made Chief Superintendent of Education in his native province to guide the early years under the new legislation.⁽⁴⁴⁾ There could scarcely have been found a man better suited in understanding and experience to perform the same task in New Brunswick.

The Board of Education was to appoint fourteen inspectors for the province, whose primary duty was to acquaint the inhabitants with the principles of the new Act. Their number was to be decreased once the Board felt confident their task had been fully done.

The various duties of the Chief Superintendent and his Inspectors were similar to those of previous Acts, with one addition. In the event that a district did not choose its trustees, the inspector was required to do so.

Whereas the Parish Trustees had been empowered to divide their respective parishes into suitable districts, the Board of Education now took over the task. Each school district was to contain no more than fifty resident children between the ages of five and sixteen years, unless the area covered four square miles, or was a town, village, or populous locality. The inhabitants of each district, at a public meeting, were to elect three trustees, whose administrative duties were quite similar to those of previous acts. In addition, they were responsible for the raising by poll tax and assessment on real and personal property, any sum needed to meet local educational expenses. In Saint John, Fredericton, and any future incorporated town in the province there were to be seven members on the Board of Trustees. Three of these were to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and four by the City Council. Their duties were as those of other Trustees.

The mode of support for the district schools was to come from three sources: the province, the county, and the district. Each teacher received a government grant based on the class of license he held. In addition, the grant would, at the end of five years, depend on the quality of teaching as well as on the license. A certain portion of the County fund^(a) was to be distributed to the district schools. Each school employing a qualified teacher was to receive \$20.00. The balance was divided according to the ratio of the average number of pupils attending in the district to the average number of pupils attending in the whole county. It was also dependent on the length of time the school was in actual operation during the year. Any further sum necessary for the payment of a teacher, the erection and upkeep of a school building, the provision of equipment and the like, was to be raised by district taxation. If a district were considered by the Inspector to be unable to meet the monetary requirements, he could recommend it to receive special aid from the provincial and county funds as a "Poor" district.

(a) (raised by a levy of \$.30 for every inhabitant)

The Act of 1871 did not take away the legislature's right to grant support to the various denominational schools which it had been in the habit of assisting. However, shortly after the passing of the new Act, the grants were withdrawn from the Wesleyan Academy at Sackville, the Madras Schools, all Roman Catholic schools, and the Baptist Seminary in Fredericton.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The University of New Brunswick alone retained its provincial support, as it was by that time non-denominational in character.

The Training School, since 1870 known as the Normal School, was still to be under the control of the Chief Superintendent. At that time its principal was William Crocket, who had previously conducted the Chatham school. The new school was housed in the barracks on Queen Street, and it was not until 1876 that a separate and commodious building was erected.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The term of attendance was lengthened to five months by the new Act.

Besides the District Schools, Superior Schools were provided under similar arrangements, as in the Act of 1858. The Trustees of the Grammar Schools were free to unite with the District Trustees, to facilitate the administration of their schools if they so wished. Whenever

the population was sufficient, graded schools were to be encouraged. The divisions were to be known as elementary, advanced, and High School.

Concerning the controversial issue of secular versus sectarian education, a clause was included which forbade the display of any indoctrinating symbol of any society, national or otherwise, in the classroom or on the persons of the teachers or pupils. The teacher might read a portion of the scriptures out of the Common or Douay version, and recite the Lord's prayer to open or close the daily classes, but no child was to be forced to be present against the wishes of his parents. No catechisms were to be used and no interference in the religious tenets of any child was to be tolerated.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The details concerning curriculum, grade levels, text books, examinations, and the like, were left to the administration of the authorities provided. Naturally, the changes were gradual and thus form no part of this discussion.

For the first time in the history of education in New Brunswick provision was made for an all-embracing, graded system of schools. Previously, schools had been established more or less at random. Parish, superior,

grammar, and denominational branches had all offered basically the same advantages to the pupil. There were but few attempts made to pool the resources of the individual institutions. By the Act of 1871, no denominational schools were officially supported, the parish and grammar schools were given the opportunity to join forces that a graded arrangement might be effected, and all schools were made free, thus dealing a death blow to the majority of private schools. The superior schools alone retained their original status with provision made for the proper division of the age groups, if the enrolment warranted it. In nearly all cases, with the exception of the towns, the population was not sufficient to permit the advisability of such a procedure for many years.

The assessment principle, so long advocated, was at last to be given a trial. Unfortunately, it did not provide for any standard of uniformity in teachers' salaries. However, it was the only method whereby schools for all could be achieved and as such must be considered a necessary evil. The keen interest in education it was bound to develop in the communities was another point to its credit. Surely, when their

own money was involved, the individual members of a district would rouse themselves out of their apathy and enter zealously into the wise spending of it.

The reverting to the District Trustees was perhaps not a wise measure. In many areas there were very, very few from whom a Board of Trustees could be chosen who would prove to be intelligent, wise, and unbiased arbitrators. But for that matter, would the Parish Trustees have been any better qualified? It was necessary that a small unit of administration be appointed to execute the financial scheme. Therefore, the district was chosen in hopes that personal interest and participation might further the success of the new Act.

The division into school districts by the Chief Superintendent and his Board eradicated the tendencies and opportunities for private bickering which had so characterized previous legislative policies. It also was to put an end to a number of unnecessary, ill attended, and poorly financed institutions.

On the whole, the Act of 1871 promised a successful future for education. Providing as it did opportunity for every child to receive an adequate amount of instruction, it also promised a successful future for

the province. In a society supporting representative government, freedom of enterprise, and free, non-denominational schools, there could surely be hopes for prosperity and happiness in the years to come.

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- (44) Educational Circular No.6, p.56.
- (45) N. B. Jour. of House of Assembly, 1868. App.: Ed., p.42.
- (46) Ibid.
- (47) Returns of Chatham Training School 1867-1869. N.B. Journals of House of Assembly 1868-1870.
- (48) Educational Circular No.6, p.56.
- (49) J. W. Dawson to Hon. John Gray, Chairman of Com. on King's College, Dec.15,1854. N.B. Jour. of House of Assembly, 1855: App.: Ed., p.CCII.
- (50) N. B. Jour. of House of Assembly, 1850. App.: Ed., p. LXI-LXXI.
- (51) Ibid, 1849. App.: Rep. of Training and Model School, p.LXIX.
- (52) Ibid, 1853. App.: Ed., p.CXI.
- (53) Rep. of Ch. Sup. of Ed. 1865. Table p.7.
- (54) N. B. Jour. of House of Assembly 1866. App.: Ed., p.7.
- (55) Rep. of Ch. Sup. of Ed. 1867, p.39.

C.

- (1) Rep. of Ch. Sup. of Ed. 1858, p.17.
- (2) Ibid, 1858, pp. 20 and 33.
- (3) Ibid, 1859, p.11.
- (4) Ibid, 1861, p.26.
- (5) Ibid.
- (6) Ibid, 1863, p.18.
- (7) N. B. Jour. of House of Assembly 1865. App.: 5, Ed, p.29.

D.

- (1) Acts of 1823, 1833, 1837, 1847.
- (2) 15 Victoria Cap. 40.
- (3) N. B. Jour. of House of Assembly 1857. App.: Ed., Table F, p. DCXXXVIII.
- (4) Ibid, 1856. App.: Ed., p. CXIX.
- (5) Ibid, 1855. p.25.
- (6) Ibid, 1857. p.29.
- (7) 21 Victoria Cap. 9.
- (8) Rep. of Ch. Sup. of Ed., 1852, p.48.

Chapter VIII

1. Ketchum, p.80.
2. McNaughton, p. 171.
3. B. N. A. Act. Sect. 93.
4. See Ch.V p.89.
5. See Ch.VI p.177.
6. McNaughton, p.188.
7. Fletcher, pp.4-5.
8. Anderson, p.84.
9. MacKay, p.523.
10. See Ch. III, p.54.
11. See Ch. VI, pp.126 and 129.
12. See Ch. VI, p.132.
13. See Ch. VI, p.135.
14. See Ch. VI, p.152.
15. N. B. Journals of House of Assembly 1868-1871.
16. Wallace, p.210.
17. Rep. of Ch. Sub. of Ed. 1867, p.20.
18. Debates of House of Assembly, 1870, p.112.
19. Ibid, p.117.
20. Ibid, p.113 and 169.
21. Ibid, p.110 and p.174.
22. Ibid, p.179.
23. Ibid, p.112.
24. McNaughton, p.188.
25. Debates of House of Assembly 1870, pp.117-119.
26. Ibid, pp.127-128.
27. Ibid, p.170.
28. Ibid, p.174.
29. Ibid, p.178.
30. Ibid, p.168.
31. See Ch. VI, p.153.
32. See Ch. VI, pp.206-208.
33. None of the various Acts mention "separate" schools.
34. N. B. Jour. of House of Assembly 1871, p.123 and p.195.
35. St. John Daily News, Jan. 30, 1872.
36. Raymond (7), p.420.
37. McNaughton, p.189.
38. St. John Daily Telegraph and Morning Journal. Apr.17, 1871.
39. Ibid, Apr. 26, 1871.
40. Ibid, Mar.13, 1871.
41. Saint John Morning Freeman, Apr. 20, 1871.
42. Hannay (2), Vol.2, p.303.
43. LeGresley, pp.151-152.
44. Hannay (2), Vol.2, p.299.
45. Ibid (2), Vol. 2, p.300.
46. McNaughton, p. 240.
47. 39 Victoria Cap. 21.

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