THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM OF STUDIES IN ENGLISH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN NEW BRUNSWICK

by John Francis Leonard

Thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa through the School of Psychology and Education as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Ottawa, Canada, 1956
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis was prepared under the guidance of Reverend Raymond Shevenell, Director of the School of Psychology and Education of the Faculty of Arts, for whose constant assistance the author is exceedingly grateful.

Acknowledgement should also be made to the many educators of the Province of New Brunswick who have contributed by their writings in making the educational system of the Province of New Brunswick known to others.

Gratitude is also here expressed for the interest, co-operation, and indulgence of all others who have contributed in making this work possible.
The writer was born in Kouchibouguac, New Brunswick, on August 18, 1916, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Saint Thomas College, Chatham, New Brunswick, in 1940. He has been attending the School of Psychology and Education of the University of Ottawa since 1952.
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1. ABSTRACT OF The Historical Development of the Program of Studies in English Elementary Schools in New Brunswick | 104 |
INTRODUCTION

Perhaps no issue in New Brunswick during the past one hundred years has been debated so continually as that of the Program of Studies for the elementary schools. It is, therefore, surprising that so little has been written about the development of a controversy which has often inflamed the ordinary citizen as much as it has interested the sober educator and worried the politically conscious New Brunswick legislator.

The historical development of the Program of Studies in English Elementary Schools in New Brunswick has not been without direction. The Provincial Government, local school boards appointed by the ratepayers of a community to conduct their educational affairs, teachers, Royal Commission investigations, all have played an important role.

It is the purpose of this thesis to highlight the stages of development of the Program of Studies for the Province of New Brunswick from early times to the turn of the twentieth century and to interpret this development in the light of educational and historical events.

The term Program of Studies herein discussed is a number of courses organized into learning units. Parenthetically this could be interpreted as the history of the
exclusion or inclusion of the various common branches of study into the school experiences over the years at the elementary school level.

To date, it is known to the writer that the following studies comprise the entire coverage afforded the topic through to the turn of the twentieth century:

J. H. Fitch, *A Century of Educational Progress in New Brunswick, 1800–1900*;

An unpublished thesis, *A History of the School System in New Brunswick throughout the Nineteenth Century*; and

Katharine F. C. MacNaughton's *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick 1784–1900*.

Research into the manuscript school reports in Journals of Education, School Acts, books and documents contained in many of the Schools and Archives in New Brunswick and elsewhere has enabled the author to give a more comprehensive flow of ideas and changes than would have been possible if the material used had been confined to the obvious printed sources.

Throughout this study, it will be noted that reference is frequently made to "school inspectors' reports". Obviously it would be impractical to attempt detailed quotations, with corresponding footnote references, because the statements offered are comprehensive conclusions drawn from many reports studied. All may be found in the *Annual Reports of the Superintendent of Schools in New Brunswick*.
INTRODUCTION

appended to the Journals of the House of Assembly of the provincial legislature.

It is the author's wish that the present work will make some contribution to one aspect of educational history in the Province of New Brunswick.

Chapter I treats of the struggle to keep education alive in a province fighting for existence, together with the heroic endeavours of the various Societies of the Propagation of the Gospel.

Chapter II treats of more centralized educational ideas with the establishment of a Normal School for the training of teachers, the classification of teachers into three classes, the labour and contribution of Marshall D'Avray towards centralization of education in New Brunswick and the climax of this endeavour in the Free School Act of 1871.

Chapter III treats of the hectic period both politically and educationally, the experiments with text books to establish a uniformity of texts through the Province, the many inspectors' reports urging cleanliness and health both on the part of the teachers and the pupils, as well as in the school.

Chapter IV treats of later legislation, of the Common School Act of 1871, its repercussions and effects. By this Act uniformity of taxation, texts and teacher-qualifications, was to be established.
Chapter V describes conditions at the turn of the century. New ideas and legislation had taken place in other countries, and educators were seeking new ideas and methods as a cure for long-existing ills. Physical Training and Vocational Education were undergoing experiment and meeting with satisfaction, and they were being more and more demanded, thus replacing the monotony of the "three R's" with a more practical education.
CHAPTER I

THE EARLY YEARS OF EDUCATION IN N.W. BRUNSWICK

The history of the Program of Studies in New Brunswick has paralleled that of the other maritime provinces. Any study of the development of such a program must set its limits within the framework of recorded history as it pertains to the growth of education within the geographical area comprising the province as it is now constituted. As a consequence, the preliminary work to be presented will be largely of a historical nature, and will consist principally of recording such details as are available on the state of education in general in the colony of New Brunswick, prior to the arrival of Marshall D'Avray and the establishment of the first centralized teacher-training institution.

Prior to 1784, the effort to establish colonies was so great, and took such toll of all energies, that little formal education is recorded. Only a very few English settlements around Saint John and in the Sackville area were notable, and the rest of the colony was populated chiefly by French-speaking settlers, few in number, and by the Indian tribes.

After the treaty of Paris in 1763 a few of the settlers living around these two settlements felt the obligation to promote the education of their children. They had
themselves benefitted by early education in their respective mother countries, and they were not insensible to the lack of opportunity being provided for learning in their new homes.

Many of the schools established during this period were in private residences and were in operation only a few months of the year. In some other schools, the teachers were discharged soldiers, many of whom knew little more than the students they were expected to teach. The curriculum provided, while heavily weighted with subjects of a military application, was scarcely adequate for even the rudimentary principles. Moreover, the moral qualities of some of the teachers were, to say the least, questionable in many cases.

In 1783, the vanguard of that group, which our history has recorded as the United Empire Loyalists, began their infiltration into the new colony in the vicinity of Fredericton. In the lands they had left, notably in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and in the Green Mountain areas of upper New York and Vermont, the education of the children was already a first principle of communal living.\(^1\) Just as it would be unwise to overlook the importance of this educational system in the birth of the American Revolution itself, so would it be unwise to assume that, in

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1 Adam Short and Arthur G. Doughty, Canada and Its Provinces, Glasgow, Brook and Company, Vol.14, 1913, p.546.
leaving behind the republican ideas which were severing the new colonies from the Old World, the settlers were leaving all of their hard-won privileges and institutions. The education of their children, undivided by the ingrained barriers of generations of European class-distinctions, was a prime obligation to which they clung.

It is well to remember here that at this period Harvard University lost nearly all her leading men — more than two hundred of her graduates were counted among the Loyalists.

The Royal Commission of 1784 which created the new Province of New Brunswick, established certain provincial offices, and the list of first appointees to these offices provides interesting information on the calibre of men who chose to remain loyal to the Crown. Johnathan Odell, private secretary to Sir Guy Carleton at New York, was the first Provincial Secretary. George Duncan Ludlow, a judge prior to the Revolution and a colonel of a Loyalist Regiment, was Chief Justice. James Putman, attorney-general of Massachusetts, and reputedly one of the most able of American lawyers, was appointed puisne judge, and his colleagues were Isaac Allen and Joshua Upham, both colonels of Loyalist forces in the Revolutionary War. 2

We have already noted the state of education prior to the influx of the Loyalists in 1783. Suddenly, to the

early and intermittent pressure from the settlers in the Saint John and Sackville areas was added the weight of opinion and the influence of the educated colonists who had left their homes and farms to work out for themselves their new ideas of colonization under the protection of the Crown. Their efforts culminated in 1800 with the establishment of King's College, at Fredericton. Today, this same institution still flourishes under the name of the University of New Brunswick. A grant of $100 a year was set aside for its support, and crown lands in the vicinity of Fredericton were allocated as an endowment. The section to follow will give, in greater detail, the program of studies to be undertaken by students attending these newly established schools.

1. The First Loyalist Schools

As early as 1787, an account given in Jack's History of the City and County of St. John, gives an idea of what citizens expected to find in the courses being offered to their children, at least in private schools. The poster, or handbill, reads:

William Green will open an English School for the education of Youth on Monday, 20th April, at his home, Brittain Street, near Captain Elmis. There will be taught the following branches of literature in the most approved order, from the best authors used in the principal Academies of Great Britain and Ireland, namely:

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<td>Reading, per quarter</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>Reading, with English Grammar and proper accent</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>10</td>
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Geometry, Surveying, Navigation, Dialling and the other parts of Mathematics, according to Agreement, Also the use and projection of Maps and charts, after a natural easy and concise method, without burden to the memory. Those parents that will give him a preference in the tutorage of their children may depend on the strictest attention being paid to their natural genius and their moral abilities.\(^3\)

Such private tutoring establishments were not uncommon, but little is known of their enrolment. It would seem obvious, however, that only a very small percentage of the school-age children of New Brunswick would be so tutored.

The political structure of the new colony provided for the subdivision of counties into parishes, and in 1802 the New Brunswick Government made a small provision for parish schools where Reading, Writing and Arithmetic were to be taught,\(^4\) but there was no unity of system until the establishment by the Church of England of the Madras School System, which in the year 1814 sent out five hundred school books for the schools of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.

In 1805, the First Grammar School was established in Saint John, and in 1816 an act was passed by the provincial legislature authorizing a grammar school for each county of the province. The program of studies embraced English Grammar, Latin and Greek, Orthography, and the use

\(^3\) D. R. Jack, History of the City and County of Saint John, Saint John, N.B., MacMillan, 1883, p.82.

of globes, and Mathematics. The excellent influence of these schools was widely felt throughout the province. A report of W. O. Raymond, appearing in *New Brunswick Schools of Olden Times* gives a good picture of what was being taught:

School having been opened, there followed next the reciting of the Church Catechism. The Catechism being ended the morning session proceeded with reading, writing and spelling. The afternoon was devoted principally to Arithmetic or ciphering as it was then called.

Before 1800, schools in New Brunswick were under the auspices of The Society of Propagation of the Gospel, an Anglican-sponsored organization. There were such schools at Carleton, St. Andrew's and Mougerville. Teachers came from England and according to Royal Instruction, they had to be licensed by the Lord Bishop of London. This requirement explains the weight attached to the study of religion in these schools. In 1829 it was made illegal for a clergyman in charge of a congregation to teach in a Grammar School.

According to the Governor's Royal Instruction of 1784, no one was to keep school in New Brunswick without a license from the Governor. The Governor recognized the licenses authorized by the Lord Bishop of London, and the general effect of these measures was to approve the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as the medium of education. As the meager information available on this subject shows,

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more emphasis was placed on the religious than the secular aspect of the teaching. The prospective appointee was required to present certificates attesting his zeal for the Christian religion, his affection to the present Governor, and his conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England. The ability to teach the catechism of that Church was of prime importance. The teaching of reading and arithmetic were of secondary importance. In fact, in the Standing Orders of the Society, we find that

Children were to be taught reading in order that they might be able to read the Scriptures and other pious books. Masters were to teach their pupils to read the Church catechism, to memorise it, and to understand it by the help of expositions sent over by the Society.

In 1820, the Madras School Board was incorporated into New Brunswick. These schools were very inexpensive and proved superior to the other schools. Religion, reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic or ciphering were taught, along with the History of England, Rome, Greece, Uses of the Globes, and Geography.

In these early years, children of wealthy parents were sent to England to be educated. Only a few parents could afford to send their children abroad, as did Edward Winslow in the case of his eldest son, in 1784. To send

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them to the United States was to expose them to the risk of "republican contamination". Some parents taught their children at home, others lacked both time and ability, yet most desired education for their children.

2. The First School Act, 1816.

One of the most significant pieces of legislation, education-wise, was passed in 1816, containing the germ of the idea of a free school system. It not only provided for the appointment of town or parish school trustees, but gave them the power to assess the local citizenry for a sum not less than £30, and not greater than £90 per annum. This provision was repealed in 1818 because it was considered too dangerous a prerogative for certain citizens to exercise over others, and because certain citizens without children in attendance at the schools refused to pay!

By the same Act, however, County Grammar Schools were established. Each Grammar School was given a board of three trustees. The legislature gave a grant of £100, upon assurance that the inhabitants had provided a building and hired a teacher. They were also obliged to meet this figure of £100 by raising a similar amount. Payment of the provincial grant was contingent on this latter factor being available for the support of the schools. The studies prescribed were

more advanced than those in the older county schools. They included English Grammar, Latin, Greek, Orthography, the Use of Globes, and Practical Mathematics.

No official program of studies was set out for these schools, because none was to be had. However, from the texts that were chosen at this time, and in subsequent years, it would appear that these Grammar Schools corresponded roughly in scope with the present-day Continuation Schools of Ontario.

The legislators and those seeking to establish some agreed form of text, i.e. the Vice-President of King's College and the Head Master of the Grammar School at Fredericton who appear to have acted in an advisory capacity, were more than a little wary of anything that might undermine the influence of things English. One Edwin Jacobs, reporting to Sir John Harvey, writes:

There was little, if anything, in any of the publications calculated to answer His Excellency's avowed purpose of conveying to the youthful mind English impressions of men and things.

He also went on to say that even the British and Foreign School Society would be found "very much in the hands of those who look with no particular reverence on the institutions of the Church and State of England".¹⁰

One fairly descriptive list of books to be used in the schools of Parrtown (Saint John), then the capital of

At that time, Latin was taught as English and French are today. The pupils also read selected passages from approved English authors with a view to "acquiring a just pronunciation and natural elocution".

On February 20, 1839, the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Harvey, tabled samples of a supply of books which he had ordered from England, in the House of Assembly. Reporting on the event, the Journal of the day's proceedings includes the following:

The elementary publications of the "Sunday School Union" consisting of spelling books, class books, and outlines of English Grammar and Arithmetic appear to be simple abstracts and unobjectionable to any denomination of Christians, also very cheap. Of the four other spelling books, Vyse's, Fenning's, Blair's and Mavor's, we consider the last decidedly the best.

Sir John Harvey suggested further that

It might tend as well to the promotion of the interests of education and the general diffusion of useful knowledge.

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if a certain number of the most approved of these books were to be imported at the public expense and placed in charge of individuals at the principal towns and ports of the Province for the purpose of being retailed at their wholesale prime cost, thereby bringing within reach of the poorest individual the advantages of supplying himself with useful books upon terms more reasonable than they could be procured anywhere out of England.

Whether or not anything was done to implement this suggestion cannot be ascertained from any documents available to this writer.

It is evident from the sparse records available covering this period that the text-book situation was of very great concern to those charged with the administration of the existing schools. Prior to 1837, the administration of Education in the province was rudimentary. There were few qualified teachers, and fewer recognized texts. In denominational schools, the Bible was the single agreed-upon text. There were no superintendents, no inspectors, and no central educational authority. Small grants of money were made by the Government to parishes for the maintenance of schools and teachers' salaries.

During the years of the open rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada, in 1837, and in the immediately following years, the question of the trend towards "republicanism" in the schools was of no small importance. The loyalty of the New Brunswick citizens was unquestioned, but in 1841 we find

that Colebrooke, the new Lieutenant-Governor, was outspoken in his opposition to the method of selecting texts for use in the schools.

In many schools there are no books, and in some the selection of books is objectionable. The American school books which are used contain matter calculated to prejudice the children against the institutions of their country.13

An act of 1837 had provided for the appointment of County Boards of Education. The Board consisted of three persons chosen by the Governor in Council. The sole purpose of these boards was to examine candidates for a teacher's license. They had no authority to grant licenses, but simply reported on the candidate's suitability to the issuing authority, the Lieutenant Governor.

This enactment in itself was a long step on the road to improving the situation in the educational field. As McNaughton says, "It was designed to prevent undesirables from entering the teaching profession and to introduce a degree of uniformity into the licensing of teachers".14

In 1841, A. Reade, reporting to the House of Assembly, refers to the inferior quality of school books throughout the Province. He makes a further reference to the fact that

13 Colebrooke to Stanley, New Brunswick CO 188, Vol.9, October 29, 1841, Dispatch #73, in the National Archives, no page number.

14 K.F.C.McNaughton, The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick 1784-1900, the University of New Brunswick Historical Studies No.1, Fredericton, 1947, p.98.
many of the books were American in origin, due to the proximity of the American border, and the relative ease with which they could be procured.

Environment played a paramount part in the considerable disinterest in the school question at this stage. In MacNaughton's study we find the following discouraging picture of one of the schools of the period:

In one school, in operation for six months, there were no pens, ink, paper, slates, pencils or desks. Benches were the only furniture, and they were four to six inches too high. In another school, inspected November 18, there were fifteen broken panes of glass ... another (was held in) the kitchen of a private dwelling ... A number of teachers could not dictate words for spelling without hesitation. Many knew neither names nor uses of punctuation marks. Some did not teach Arithmetic, and many who did were very deficient. Several could not make up the average attendance of their school. The number of those who claimed to give instruction in English grammar, geography, bookkeeping and mathematics was great in proportion to the number actually capable of teaching those subjects. One teacher did not know the difference between a vowel and a consonant. A number of female teachers were reported as better qualified to teach needlework than any other branch, being incapable of teaching spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic. In a number of schools, the teacher engaged personally in knitting.16

Reports emanating from Saint John in 1842 would indicate that the situation had improved little:

Reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, and geography are taught. No religion. The children bring their own books. In reports from all over the province these children are in dire need of books, except in the New Testament, scarcely a class is formed, and for these they are indebted to the Bible Societies.16

15 MacNaughton, op.cit., p.98.

This same report (for the County of Saint John) continues:

... the schools have not been inspected quarterly, as recommended, but half-yearly. The system, generally the Common Parish Schools System of England, varies in method under the different teachers. 17

In all counties, annual reports reiterated the same fundamental lacks.

Most teachers incompetent ... great variety of textbooks ... Reading, writing, and arithmetic taught in all; English Grammar and Geography in some; orthography, mercantile arithmetic and its branches taught in a few; needlework taught to girls. In a few instances, Geometry, Algebra, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mensuration, and Navigation. Each school has its own set of books which at the change of each master are liable to be objected to, and others substituted if the master has sufficient influence with the parents to affect this. Each scholar brings his own books which are selected by the parents, so that there is no possibility of forming classes and too frequently the texts selected are of an inferior character, or one in which a better substitute might be found. Another great obstacle is the fact that the teachers are hired for such a short time. As was already stated, no religion was taught in many of the schools, due to the difference of beliefs of parents, and thus the task of religious instruction on the part of the teacher was made almost impossible. Attendance, other than at harvesting and planting time is good ... school is taught for only six months because of farming which is the only means of livelihood. 18

Many similar reports from various local school authorities in the counties of New Brunswick could be quoted here. It is, however, sufficient to say that through all of them there ran at least two similar complaints, the lack of

17 A. Reade, ibid., pp.lxvii-lxxxii.
suitable text books, and the deplorable absence of uniformity on the part of the teachers themselves whether in subject matter or in manner of presentation. The school systems varied greatly, sometimes within the same county. In one section of Northumberland County, the school system was similar to the Parochial Schools in England, while in Newcastle, still in the same county, the Scottish Common School System was in force. 19

Clearly, no encouragement was given the children to enter, to persevere, and to progress in school. Despite such conditions, we find a report compiled by Wm. F. O'Dell, in March of 1843, indicating that New Brunswick had at that time a total of 14,856 pupils enrolled and in average daily attendance at 526 schools throughout the province. Of this total, 8,313 were male students, and 6,543 were female.

Gradually, the demand for schools exerted by those who read the reports, which were issued increasingly, made its impression. One report to the Governor-General, on 14 September, 1842, reads:

... a uniform system of teaching, a proper set of school books, along with the Bibles and Testaments are indispensable. The difficulty of introducing any uniform or efficient system of teaching in Common or Parochial Schools has been so fully experienced elsewhere that it has necessarily led to the introduction of the Normal or Training School for Teachers ... the above-mentioned system is in

full operation in England, and has been successfully introduced in the West Indies. Hence it follows that the same consequences would follow in this Province if the establishment of such were fostered by Legislation.  

With this in mind, the Governor-General then proposed the establishment of a central training school, by getting well-trained teachers from England to form such a school at Fredericton. Once this school was established and operating "an agreement could be reached where in a short space of time all the Provincial Schools would be put on a uniform and efficient footing".  

Correspondence between one W.M.G. Colebrooke and Earl Gray reveals that the position of master of this embryo training school was offered to one Marshal D'Avray, who apparently felt some serious misgivings about accepting a lower social position as Teacher of a Training School. The proposed salary of £200 per annum he felt to be too small, and he insisted on a grant of £300 to defray his expenses.  

He came to New Brunswick from Mauritius in 1847, and the first serious attempts to reorganize the educational system of the province were launched. 

The efforts of the man who has been termed the founder of the New Brunswick school system, Marshal D'Avray, will be considered in greater detail in the following chapter. Under his energetic leadership, the cause of  

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20 O'Dell, *ibid.*, appendix, p. lxxxv. 
21 Ibid., p. lxxxv. 
22 W.M.G. Colebrooke, New Brunswick, *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1846, Appendix #1, (enclosure #1, Fredericton, June 11, 1847) pp 54-56.
education and what might well be termed the beginnings of standardization of the school system was advanced. New Brunswick borrowed ideas, doctrines, texts and teachers from everywhere. All were forced into the narrow confines of the modest provincial budget and a still more modest idea of progress.

It should be recalled that many of the tax-paying citizens had emigrated as children from the United States rather than be exposed to the risk of "republican contamination". As a confederation, Canada itself did not yet exist, and as a colony, New Brunswick was still too deeply involved in carving out a livelihood from the stubborn coasts and forests of the province to waste time in retrospect. Everywhere the move was to secure education for all children, regardless of their birth or station, and to evolve a plan of education that would enable parents to look with confidence on the school system to be chosen. Whether the causes of this movement were of spontaneous local origin, or whether the trend was part of a world-wide stirring of restless minds that was shortly to erupt in the Industrial Revolution is not relevant to this study. It is significant, however, that the trend was strong and the demand for clear action was being answered in New Brunswick with the establishment of the first Provincial Board of Education, by legislative enactment of 1846.
As seen in the last chapter, the development of education in the province of New Brunswick was irregular and undirected. Not until 1846 did the settlers and the few school inspectors manage to exert sufficient pressure to have the legislature provide certain minimum requirements in the way of schools.

The educational reformers looked to Canada West (Ontario and Quebec of today), and found a three-fold support to the splendid system of education there in force: a non-political permanent official as its executive head; the assessment principle for the support of schools in operation and on a voluntary basis at that; and a system of teacher-training well established.

In Upper Canada, the rebellion of 1837, Lord Durham's report, and the Act of Union of 1841, had cleared the way for a non-sectarian system of state education. Egerton Ryerson was made the first superintendent in 1844. Having visited other countries and studied the best features of the existing systems in New York, Massachusetts, Ireland and Germany, Ryerson proceeded to reconstruct the provincial
system, but without sacrificing provincial individuality. Everywhere he inspired enthusiasm for education and aroused a willingness to pay for it.¹

The situation in the Maritime Provinces was far different. New Brunswick resembled Nova Scotia more than any other part of the country. In size, the two were nearly equal. Their economic history was similar, as was their outlook. In Nova Scotia, as in New Brunswick, the Anglican church had attempted to control education, and the ruling classes favoured the English system of private schools for the well-to-do, although they also gave some assistance to schools for the poor. In the hostility of the citizenry toward compulsory assessment for free schools, and in the hesitancy of the legislature of Nova Scotia to provide for adequate teacher-training, we find a curious parallel to the course of popular education in New Brunswick.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the province realized that the initial effort must be made at the teacher-training and school administration level, and as detailed in the preceding chapter, the first education act, passed in 1846, became law on 1 January, 1847.

¹ The First Provincial Board of Education Act, 1847.

The first provincial Board of Education was created by this Act. For a while it existed in name only. Membership

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consisted of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Executive Council, and the Secretary. No Chief Superintendent of Education, nor any equivalent official, was appointed, but at least the Act had established the form of a provincial educational body to which additions could be made.

Under the provisions of the act, teachers would be classified in three groups. The classification was limited by knowledge, rather than by teaching ability. An indication of the curriculum of the time is found in the responsibilities of the various classes of teachers.

Third-class teachers had to teach spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic. Women teachers were required to teach needlework in addition to these four subjects. Second-class teachers covered the subjects of their third-class brethren, but added grammar, geography, and bookkeeping; and first-class teachers included natural philosophy, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, mensuration, land surveying, and navigation as well. The omission of history is apparent, and gives ground for some conjecture as to whether the subject was dropped because of the impossibility of agreeing upon a text or was never even considered! The emphasis on land surveying and navigation in the course of studies to be taught by the more advanced teachers is further evidence of the relative importance of lumbering and shipping in the economy of the province at that period.

In 1852, both male and female teachers of the second and third classes were called upon to teach a limited program of studies, but male teachers of the first class were required to teach book-keeping, geometry, land surveying, algebra, navigation and mensuration. At this point, trigonometry and natural philosophy had been dropped from the program of studies. This meant that country areas would have teaching or instruction in advance of the primary grades' "three R's". Unfortunately, in practice advanced work was often carried on, leaving the pupils of elementary grades to suffer from lack of instruction. In this respect the one-room school of New Brunswick suffered from the same defects that were already apparent in Scotland and in Nova Scotia.  

The popularity of the third-class teacher, who was qualified to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, was a predominant feature at that time. The salary they demanded was a mere pittance. There seems to be a good deal of justification for the statement heard then as well as now, that the people of the province did not properly appreciate the duties of a teacher. The teacher who applied for a position offering his services for the lowest salary, without any reference as to character, intelligence, or qualification for actual teaching, was the one most likely to be hired.

3 Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Maritime Provinces since Confederation, Chapter 8, p. 133.
In 1861, John Bennett reported to the Legislature on the state of the schools, as follows:

Parents forget that to the teacher belongs the noble task of exciting in the minds of their children a taste for the beauties of nature, and of raising their mental perceptions from natural objects ... it is the part of a faithful teacher to lead them to new springs of intellectual enjoyment from which they may drink more and more copiously through eternity; and that he is sure to give their minds a bias which will greatly influence their conduct in the transactions of this life, and their destiny in the world to come.  

The necessity of providing more adequate instructors by providing more adequate instruction to those whom it proposed to install as teachers in the schools was recognized. One result of the Department of Education Act in 1847 was the provision of a teacher-training institute.

2. The First Normal School

Under provisions of the Act, the Board of Education was required to provide a Normal School and immediate provision had to be made for a building to house the School, for a master, and for books. A house for the master, and a school house were erected on the site of the old stone gaol in Fredericton. As already indicated, Marshall D'Avray was appointed the first master. Grey, who recommended D'Avray to Lieutenant-Governor Colebrooke, referred to him as

Director of a Normal School in Mauritius, when actually he never held any such position.

The impact of D'Avray on the educational system of New Brunswick would be hard to over-estimate. He was a European, and held views on education far in advance of his time.

On the occasion of the opening of the Normal School, February 10, 1848, in Fredericton, D'Avray's speech stressed the importance of proper teaching. Because it set out in considerable detail the course and extent to which he thought they should be taught, this speech is quoted here in considerable detail:

This then will be the chief object and the principle (sic) aim of the Training Schools; to qualify the teachers upon their return to the scene of their labours to introduce into their Schools such a system of Elementary instruction as may best forward the advancement of their pupils, so that though they may teach but little, they shall teach that little, well.

The greater part of them will, from the locality of their schools, have only such pupils as cannot devote any very long period to the prosecution of their studies; and it is therefore, imperatively necessary that the system adopted be the best calculated to impart really useful knowledge to them during the short time that they will remain under tuition. By really useful knowledge, I mean that sort of instruction which will be of daily service to them through life in their present sphere, and which at the same time may serve as a stepping stone to the acquirement of further instruction, whenever their inclination prompts them, or their circumstances enable them to seek it.

In order to effect this, I would recommend the teachers to confine themselves to imparting the following branches only, - viz: Reading, Orthography,
Arithmetic, Writing, Grammar, and Geography. I would have the pupils read fluently and well, and with perfect intonation and due emphasis as should prove they understand what they read. I would have them so perfect in Orthography, as to be able to write from dictation without any error, either in spelling or in punctuation.

In Arithmetic, I should wish them to understand most thoroughly the first four Rules: to be able to work without difficulty, hesitation, or mistake, any question in proportion or in Practice; to make out Bills of Parcels; and to solve, mentally, any short sum that might be proposed to them.

Their writing I would have exceedingly neat, clear, and bold; and their knowledge of Grammar such as to enable them to speak and write correctly.

In Geography, I would limit their instruction to a general acquaintance with a figure of the Earth; with the position of the various countries, and with the names and positions of the Principal Islands, Seas, Rivers, etc., and I would for this purpose like them to be daily drilled before the Map, so that every boy should, as it were, carry the Map of the World in his mind's eye, and be able in an instant to reply correctly to any question that might be put to him; and this is, for the present, the full amount of the instruction which I am anxious to see thoroughly possessed by every member of the community.

It would be difficult to find a more explicit and concise definition of the aims of a Teacher's Training School, and at the same time a better description of the curriculum proposed for the elementary schools to which the newly-trained teachers would be assigned.

Evidently there was some feeling prevalent at the time that the programme suggested was too reminiscent of that of the lower classes in England, because D'Avray hastened to correct this impression:

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5 Marshall D'Avray, Lecture delivered at opening of the Normal School, Fredericton, February 10, 1848, in the Library of the University of New Brunswick, p.5.
Many theorists in Education may, perhaps, be disposed to think that I have adopted too narrow a scale, and that it would be easy to effect far more than this; but when we consider the actual state of Education at this time, and the actual position of the greater part of the inhabitants of most countries, I think that we shall have affected (sic) a great deal if we can successfully accomplish the little I have proposed. How far are we from obtaining any such general results in the Mother Country? Let a laboring man in England be asked a very simple question in Arithmetic — the very simplest of Grammar or Geography — he will reply that he does not understand you. How few among them can read their Bibles or can scrawl their names! How few of those who can write, know anything of orthography! And shall we be thought to have affected too little, if we succeed in raising the inhabitants of this Province as far above them in intellectual acquirements of England as they are superior to them in social position? I think not.

In his second speech, delivered in 1850, D'Avray described educational institutions in England, and on the continent of Europe, particularly referring to the industrial school and model farm founded by De Fallenburg, at Hofwyl, six miles from Berne in Switzerland. The chief characteristic of this school was the combination of industry with instruction. He thought that New Brunswick, then a young colony, might benefit from examples found abroad. He proposed that an Agricultural College be established to which might be attached a model farm, fully equipped for the advancement of agriculture in the Province. Workshops were also recommended. Arithmetic would include lessons on keeping farm accounts, surveying fields, and measuring timber, hay and other voluminous substances. Lectures in Botany, Agricultural Chemistry,
Mechanics, Anatomy, care of animals, should supplement the school subjects of Reading, Writing, Geography, History and Composition. It was felt that in the long-term view, the emphasis on the agrarian economy of New Brunswick could help to make the province less dependent upon the United States for the necessities of life and help to bring it to the forefront among the Colonies.

D'Avray also said he would conduct a training school for teachers where Parish School teachers would attend for six months, taking part both in exercises in school and in occupations on the Model Farm and Workshop. This could be considered as the first serious attempt in New Brunswick to establish manual training classes in schools or a vocational school in the province. Algebra and Navigation were not in great demand for these relatively isolated communities. Up to this time, the two subjects had been on the program of studies for elementary schools. Any student requiring instruction in them would have had to attend a Grammar or Collegiate School. D'Avray did not, however, propose any substitute for them, unless carpentry and agriculture were to be considered as replacements.

In addressing the teachers of the province, D'Avray said that some portion of the blame could be laid upon them for the many evils complained of in connection with the parish schools. They were urged to form a Teachers' Association in order to elevate the standing of their profession and to become efficient instructors.
Inspectors of schools would prove a tremendous advantage. It would serve as a stimulus to the negligent and an incentive to increased exertion on the part of the zealous, as a check to the unqualified pretender, the dissolute and the bad. It would establish a connection between teachers and Board of Education and it would effectually secure the public against the mis-application of the money intended for common schools.  

Whether D'Avray's speeches were very effective or not is not too clearly discernible. However, it is known that they were both published at the request of the people themselves.

The new School Act of 1852 contained none of the specific recommendations made by D'Avray save assessment for schools and inspections, both of which had been urged as early as 1805.

3. The Influence of Normal Schools and Inspectorates

There can be little quarrel with D'Avray's purpose in proposing inspection of the schools as outlined in the quotation above.

To a student of the development of a programme of studies, the annual reports furnished by the inspectors give the only accurate and comprehensive record of what was actually taught in the schools from one session to another. Channelled as they were through the Board of Education to the Legislative Assembly of the Province, the inspectors'  

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reports provided a clear, province-wide picture of what was lacking in some districts and provided in others. One result was a sharply increased awareness on the part of the legislators of the deficiencies in the existing system of education. It is perhaps not too much to credit the impetus to educational legislation in the province to the impact of these recurring reports in the legislative assembly.

In 1854, the Hon. J.H.Gray, the Hon. James Brown, and the Hon. J.H.Saunders from New Brunswick, together with Egerton Ryerson, educator from Upper Canada, and J. W. Dawson from Nova Scotia, not only investigated the usefulness of King's College as an educational institution, but they also stressed the principle that all children had the right to be educated and that the duty rested with the parents and others to see to it that all contributed. 8

The Report of the Investigators referred to the Normal and Model Schools and said they (the schools) were not wholly successful, because of lack of finances and equipment.

The parish schools really served as the college for nine-tenths of the people, and "... to dispose of these schools, to neglect them, or to make or keep the parish school house the poorest and most comfortless place in the parish, is clearly impolite and unwise". 9


9 MacNaughton, op.cit., p.152
In comparison, the report of the investigators pointed to the West (Ontario) where the people had resolved that the elementary school house for elementary education should be no less convenient and complete than those for classical and scientific education.  

From 1852, the reports of superintendents or inspectors furnished information concerning schools and programs of studies.

In 1853, Superintendent Porter showed that only one-third of the children of the province of New Brunswick between the ages of six and sixteen years actually attended the parish schools. There were one hundred and seven schools made of logs. The National books were still approved by the Board of Education, together with Lennie's English Grammar and Pennock's Catechism of the History of England and America. As yet, there were no maps or geographies for the teaching of New Brunswick geography.

In the inspectors' reports of 1855 from the various parts of the province, Albert Steeves, from Albert County reports that the schools are well supplied with books, chiefly those published by the National Board, Ireland. Morse's Geography was generally used. Its introduction into the schools was attributed to the people's own wishes.

Edwin J. Jacob of Carleton reported that the educational conditions had improved in his inspectorate. The

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11 Ibid., 1853, appendix, pp 101-103.
usual books were used apart from the introduction of the Works of History and Geography, illustrated by maps.

The remaining inspectors' reports cover school conditions only, mostly dissatisfaction over poorly qualified teachers and lack of text books and equipment. This complaint was repeated over and over in the following years.

A demand for a suitable history of the province of New Brunswick was made to the Board of Education. The first remedy came from Dr. Robb of King's College, who proposed to write a small history for the use of parish schools, in the history, geography and industrial resources of New Brunswick.12

Between the years 1855 and 1858, the Superintendent of Education and the inspectors continued to express their opinion that no real improvement could be made until the policy of taxation was provincially adopted.

The development of teacher training was proceeding meanwhile under the spirited direction of D'Avray. In his report of 1854, he stated that the poor man's son did not need education to parallel that of the rich man's son, but he would be content with the mere fundamentals. He pointed out at the same time the success enjoyed by France and Prussia in similar matters. Primary schools only served those limited both in means and time.13

12 MacNaughton, op. cit., p.162.
Soon after D'Avray's advocating of a restricted program of studies, his adversary, John Gregory, accused him of reducing the programme to a minimum whereby the youth of the province would receive nothing more than Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, and Geography.  

... when D'Avray reduced the course at Normal School to less than was required by Her Majesty's Ministers for emancipated negroes of the West Indies, all were struck dumb with amazement at D'Avray's bold pretensions.

This limited programme might suffice for the more isolated parish schools, but it was held by many to be a grave injustice to the schools in the cities and towns.

In 1857 D'Avray reported that because of the economic situation in the province, trade and commerce should be given more attention, and education from the vocational standpoint must be emphasized. In the light of this statement, New Brunswick must have schools where they would be instructed in the above-mentioned branches best suited for their station in life.

In 1850, a fire at Fredericton destroyed the Normal School. The Saint John Normal School, which had been founded in 1848, had as head master Edmund Hillyer Duval, and it remained as the only training school in New Brunswick from 1850 to 1867.

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15 MacNaughton, op. cit., p.130
This Normal School used the Lancasterian Monotorial System, even though the system was obsolete elsewhere. Duval had served as an inspector in England and as principal of a school in Bristol. He maintained that adoption of this system in his school would exercise judgement rather than memory, thus teaching children to think. 17

Evidently, a Training School existed in Chatham, because it was to be discontinued in 1870. It is believed to have been in operation only two years. Since it was the custom to examine teachers in the various branches of learning and to list text books studied, it can be assumed since there were no definite authorized texts, the teachers must have used the same texts in their schools. These consisted of Payson, Dunton, and Scribner's copy books, and their method of analysis, as well as that of Maulhauser. Certainly, the first of these books was in use as early as 1864. Sangster's National Arithmetic, Campbell's Geography, and Collier's British History were the favored texts in their fields.

Different methods of teaching were explained, and subjects in which they might respectively be most successfully employed, were enumerated. Certain general principles, common to all successful methods, were laid down and illustrated by details of their application to the teaching of the alphabet, reading, grammar, geography, arithmetic, and all subjects of instruction commonly taught in elementary schools.

17 Saint John Public Library, Old Times in Saint John, 1845 Scrapbook, R 971, p.538.
It was also stated as a general principle that the time devoted to the teaching of any branch of knowledge should be in proportion to its importance and difficulty. With that principle as a guide, it was recommended that in common schools no more than four nor less than three hours a day should be set apart for the teaching of English, reading, orthography, geography, and grammar, nor less than one hour for arithmetic and forty minutes to one hour for writing.

It was also recommended that if a very small portion of the school was studying mathematics and classics, these subjects should be taught either before assembling the ordinary pupils or after their dismissal. This is the first indication of an organized time table in the schools. The use of school registers was explained and examined, but there is no clear indication of their use prior to 1878.

Apart from an increase in the superintendent's salary, the School Act of 1858 did little to lighten the burden. Roman Catholic children were permitted to read the Douay version of the Bible in school. It is well to note here that Irish immigration had added greatly to the Catholic school population of New Brunswick, and the school question later became a denominational one.

While the situation was anything but bright, it was far from hopeless. The counties were gradually becoming incorporated. This in itself was a prerequisite of any

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improvement in the system of education. Without municipal organization, any school system standardized with that of its fellow communities was impossible. No additional legislation on behalf of the parish schools was attempted after 1858, and no fundamental changes were made in the school system for the ensuing thirteen years.

At least a promising start had been made. With the institution of a normal school and teachers' training institution, some effort at uniformity in a program of studies was being projected, if not fully attained. The difficulties in the way of carrying out all of Marshall D'Avray's ambitious plans were many. Not the least of these was the condition of the schools, and the apathy of the parents.

The status of education, giving subjects taught and the manner of their teaching during this period, will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

The interval between the Common Schools Act of 1858 and the Free School Act of 1871 was not without interest. The province had been divided into four inspectorates by an act of parliament in 1852. This division, though small, was a stepping-stone towards centralization and the passing of the Free School Act of 1871. The quarterly visit to the schools demanded by the Act produced much by way of criticism and condemnation that led ultimately to the changes introduced by an awakened legislature.
CHAPTER III

SCHOOLS IN NEW BRUNSWICK PRIOR TO 1871:
CONDITION AND INSTRUCTION

The decade between 1860 and 1870 was one of educational impoverishment with respect to programs of studies, text books, finances, and educational legislation. At this time larger issues faced the new province. Railways, industry, Maritime Union, and Confederation, were engaging the attention of the lawmakers.

What attention the people of New Brunswick did give to education was focussed upon the state of education in their own province as compared with that of education in other provinces of the newly formed Confederation. The British North America Act, the instrument of union, had declared education a provincial responsibility. Looking afield, the New Brunswick citizen found that progress made in Ontario and Nova Scotia was a source of inspiration. In Ontario, although the Education Act of 1850 had left the matter of assessment to the choice of the electors, Egerton Ryerson's propaganda and the growth of an educational consciousness had led to an adoption of the compulsory financial assessment principle on a scale unknown in New Brunswick. By the time the Education Act of 1871 was proclaimed, this principle was accepted here without opposition.¹ In Nova

Scotia, Charles Tupper had gained the favour of H.G. Archibald, opposition leader, in 1864, and a Free School Act had passed without serious opposition. In England, the sixties were marked by considerable educational activity. The Newcastle Commission of 1861, the Clarendon Commission on Secondary Schools in the same year, the Tauntion Enquiry of 1864, and the Endowed School Act of 1869, had all led to the Education Act of 1870. The main feature of this act, apart from closer supervision, was the provision for tax-supported, non-sectarian schools.

The growth of what may be described as an educational consciousness in New Brunswick during this period may then be ascribed to a world-wide movement towards better schools and a more equitable means of providing for their support. This movement culminated in New Brunswick, as in many other locales at approximately the same time, in the Free School Act of 1870. Before dealing with that event, a report on the condition of the schools and the quality of instruction being made available at the time, will be presented in the following pages. It should once again be borne in mind that detailed quotations from inspectors' reports will be the exception rather than the rule, to avoid burdening the reader with a mass of data referring him to voluminous statements all containing the same complaint. The reports described are appended to the Journals of the House of Assembly (the reports of proceedings of the New Brunswick legislative
bodies) and are available in the Dominion Public Archives in Ottawa.

1. The Condition of the Schools

In New Brunswick, the picture was not too attractive. Many irregularities existed. In some instances contracts stated that teachers should have Friday and Saturday off. Parents were indifferent toward school, not so much because of poverty (because the economic situation of New Brunswick at this time was quite prosperous), but because of the lack of an organized school system, a prescribed set of school books, and the lack of properly qualified teachers. Erroneous ideas existed concerning assessment. Some people believed that compulsory assessment meant no aid from the government.

The reports of the inspectors continually informed the Board of Education of the poor condition of schools, of the dearth of proper equipment for necessary teaching, and of a poor calibre of teachers.

The condition of the schoolhouses was the saddest of all. The appearance of many was disgraceful. They were usually the shabbiest and smallest buildings in the settlement. After making a complete tour of his inspectorate, Inspector Morrison reported for the counties of Queens, Charlotte and Saint John, that he found thirteen new schools occupied for the first time, yet his report continued:
... A great many more remained utterly unfit for occupation for ... it does seem strange that people ... possessing great material wealth, will continue to expose the health of their little ones to injury by sending them to sit all day in such places, breathing impure air, and in winter exposed to sudden and violent changes of temperature. In nearly all of these schools the benches are narrow and without backs, while they are so high the children's feet cannot rest upon the floor."

Little was done to alleviate the conditions described despite the reports stating that the conditions were detrimental to the health of the children. From 1861 onwards, new schools being built were to have their windows open from the top.

In 1870, two hundred and seventy-nine school houses were not the property of the district. Many of these were unsuitable and inferior.

In 1860 we find that a large portion of schools were without globes and suitable apparatus. Only a few had maps and blackboards. In some school districts, the school was built beside the road in some lonesome and dreary place without regard for playgrounds or for the happiness of the pupils.

Edmund Hillyer Duval, reporting to the Governor General in comparing progress of the year 1868 to the past years stated that in 1851 nearly all teachers were unqualified, which added to the already existing evils. Blackboards maps and other school apparatus were looked upon as useless and questionable novelties and in many places were entirely

unknown. By 1868, he reported, "... three-quarters of our schools have blackboards. Wall maps are gradually being introduced, parish libraries now dot the province..." The improvement was noteworthy.

In 1868, the qualification of teachers still left much to be desired. While the advantages of having teachers trained at the normal schools were becoming apparent, in Sunbury County, the difference between trained and untrained teachers was not noticeable due to the fact that most trained teachers had tried for first class licenses in twelve weeks. They were forced by the strict limitations on their time to devote little time to planning their own work for schools or to practice supervised teaching. Instead, they spent an undue proportion of their time preparing for the examinations for the licenses.

Even with the reported progress of school equipment, better qualified teachers and in a few instances of suitable text books, the greatest retarding factor to progress was the irregular or even non-attendance of pupils, together with the want of sufficient remuneration to retain the services of the most efficient teachers.

In discussing the difficulties, it was noted that far too many were brought about by the apathy of parents.

The leading difficulty was the irregular and often non-attendance of pupils, want of punctuality, tardy, and often non-payment of school fees, want of

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books... The teacher must travel from house to house for his living... All these will not be remedied until the principle of assessment is adopted for the support of schools.  

All attempts to develop a standard program of studies were met with the instant necessity to overcome all of these difficulties simultaneously. The curriculum, such as it was, varied from district to district, and the following paragraphs give a sketchy picture of what was actually being taught throughout the province.

2. Subjects of Instruction

Any discussion of the subjects making up the program of studies of any school system would impinge upon a study of the texts used as well as of the methods of instruction. In New Brunswick, the texts were distinguished for their complete lack of uniformity. The 7th Annual Report of the Chief Superintendent of Schools for New Brunswick, issued in 1859, quotes the following from the report of Inspector Duval for the counties of Kings, Albert, and Westmorland:

There is need yet for further action of the Board of Education to secure a greater uniformity of Books used in our Schools. Those of the Irish Board have been recommended; they are very excellent (sic) and are the cheapest School Books used in this Province;

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4 E.E. Freeze, New Brunswick, School Inspectors Reports, Appendix 4, 1868, p. 31.

but still in many places antiquated Readers and Spelling Books continue in use. The most common reason assigned by the Teachers is, that they are best acquainted with those books, having received their instruction from them in their youthful days.

Many were the complaints that adequate supplies of books were not available, thereby retarding the pupils in their studies. Pupils were found in the "third and fourth book of lessons" who should have been in the second grade.

Complete sets of authorized text books had been discarded and other works introduced either from a presumed inconvenience in obtaining a supply, or because, in the judgement of the teacher, an improvement had been effected. The Board of Education, meanwhile, was giving some thought to a better selection of school texts. In 1861, Worcester's series of English Dictionaries had been authorized by the Board for use in schools, and arrangements were made with the publishers for supplying them through book-sellers on very advantageous terms, teachers being allowed 25% upon the retail price.

These dictionaries are recommended for use in schools of a British province on account of their general adherence to the standard of English orthography, innovations in which detract so much from the value of such a work as Webster's. It is hoped that this series will meet a want long felt by many teachers.6

Many school teachers had to rely on text books and the value of the school work was influenced by the character

of the text books employed. The Report of the Chief Superintendent of Education in 1868 indicated that the cause of education had been influenced adversely by the problems and disturbances of the times. As Inspector Morrison wrote:

If the Government should become the purchaser of a series of school-books, nearly 50% of the cost of them would be saved to the people, without the ultimate expenditure of any of the public money.

Referring to the United States, he continued:

The New York publishers furnish text-books to the states which adopt the uniform system, at a price in some cases less than one half of the retail price. The following are a few of them with the "uniform" price as well as the retail price reduced to our currency:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text Book</th>
<th>Cost to State</th>
<th>Retail Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wilson's First Reader</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson's Second Reader</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson's Third Reader</td>
<td>.31</td>
<td>.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson's Fourth Reader</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilson's Fifth Reader</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>1.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intellectual Arithmetic</td>
<td>.20</td>
<td>.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harper's Copy Books</td>
<td>1.07/ez</td>
<td>1.60/ez</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harkness Latin Grammar</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If the American publishers are willing to make so great a reduction from their retail prices, in order to secure a large sale, our publishers can and will do the same thing.7

The insufficient supply of books is the subject of at least as many complaints as the lack of uniformity. There are several causes given for this insufficiency, ranging from poverty and indifference on the part of parents, to an inadequate supply of text books for the neighborhood in the hands of the agents.

Again, Inspector Morrison reporting to Governor-General Bennett, stressed the seriousness of the situation in respect to text books:

In the same school I sometimes find as many as five or six different series of copy books, besides the ever varying system of the teacher, and two or three sets of readers. Whatever may be said of the diversity of Reading Books, certainly only one series of Copy Books ought to be allowed in public schools, and teachers of English Schools ought not to set copies. If Macmillan's series alone were allowed, the penmanship in our schools would exhibit a better appearance.

This report is significant in that it outlines clearly the need for an authorized text to be established on a province-wide basis by a central authority. The texts in use were in many cases ill-adapted for the purposes intended. However, progress in reading was being consistently reported to the Department, with much approval being given to the newly adopted concert method.

The Board of Education commented that if all authorized texts were used, in nearly all schools, it would benefit pupils and their parents in that the latter would save money.

Efforts were made to remedy methods in teaching arithmetic, grammar and geography. Teaching aids were on the increase. In 1862, the Chief Superintendent of Education reported that 553 schools were provided with blackboards; an increase of 39 over a period of six months. This was given a great deal of credit for improving the method of instruction.

8 Ibid., pp 26-27.
The uses to which the blackboard may be applied are commensurate with the whole range of school instruction. ... from the teaching of the alphabet upwards, it is of great value in the hands of those who know how to use it ... for the purpose of teaching arithmetic, geography, grammar, by facilitating the laying down and elucidation of the general principles of these sciences to classes in promiscuous schools like ours, the assistance of the blackboard is almost indispensable.

It would appear from the comment quoted that little more was necessary to complete success than a good blackboard and a piece of chalk! It was felt that greater use of the blackboard could be had and less individual work assigned, with the result that many defects would disappear. Teachers either did not know the advantages of the blackboard, or they did not know how to use it, for in too many schools it was seldom used. In other cases, efforts were made to remedy methods in teaching arithmetic, grammar, and geography, facilitated in some instances by the teacher buying maps and blackboards at their own expense.

Some details of the state of instruction in the various topics emerges from a study of the numerous reports on school inspections carried out during this period, and in lesser detail on the state of the physical facilities available to the teachers. These will be presented in as concise a fashion as is possible from the meagre information available to support the bald statements of fact which make up the inspectors' reports.

School Libraries:— In 1861, John Bennett reported on the importance of school libraries. He evidently felt that once they were well stocked, children would learn to read. Twenty-five new libraries had been formed, with a total of 1677 volumes, an increase over the preceding year (1860) of 731 volumes.

These libraries embrace popular works in the various departments of human knowledge, and, amongst others, no inconsiderable number relating to the science and practice of agriculture. The circumstances affords a cheering prospect that the time is not far distant when the farmer will be brought through these agencies to study more closely than heretofore the mysteries of his occupation, and that the result of all will be improved cultivation of both mind and soil.10

History:— History was taught in one hundred and twenty-five schools. The text book most commonly employed was the History of England, and was used for the practice of English reading. These reading lessons constituted nearly all the instruction given in history, with few exceptions.

Munroe's History of New Brunswick was recommended by the Board of Education as a book of reference for the more advanced classes in the schools, and also suitable for school libraries because the arrangement of the text did not well adapt it for classroom use. It was felt to be of good service to pupils and others wishing to acquire a knowledge of the early settlement and condition of the Province.

Reading:— Reading was found to be quite fluent. In some schools, it was too fluent. The pupils read too fast,

paid no attention to natural or conventional pauses; some read so low as to be almost inaudible, while others reached the other extreme and destroyed all modulation. Teachers contented themselves with simply hearing classes read, and devoted no time to the explanation of the subjects. This was considered to be due to the fact that no questioning took place on the lesson when reading or immediately afterwards.

It was found that too little attention was paid to the manner in which children began to learn to read. They were permitted to go through lesson after lesson without once being stopped to realize or interpret the meaning. Books were closed and pupils expected to spell the longest words, no value being placed on smaller important words. As Bennett wrote in 1860:

The inevitable result of this system is that persons so taught are able to spell detached words of six or seven syllables while they cannot spell words of three letters when combined into sentences. This the pupils might readily be taught to do were they required to perform exercises in writing from dictation.11

Inspector Freeze of York, Carleton, and Victoria Counties, reporting on his findings in various schools within his inspectorate places the blame on the alphabet presenting an obstacle to too many teachers.12

11 Ibid., pp 6-16.
It is safe to presume here that the alphabet was on the prescribed program of studies and was required to be taught in elementary schools. However, before the child had learned his letters, "he had acquired a monotonous droning sound that often goes, unnoticed by the teacher, along with the pupil through all his succeeding lessons". It was thought that with a slight effort on the part of the teacher, it might be made to disappear.

Reading exercises were well performed in many schools, but a want of correct pronunciation, absence of inflection, and a whining, dronish tone, was too observable, partly due to the teacher, partly to lack of proper texts and a non-existing uniform program of studies.

Inspector Wood, of Kent, Westmorland, Gloucester, and Restigouche counties, referred to the more prominent defects in the mode of teaching certain branches:

Reading is too rapid and indistinct, with little attention to pause, emphasis, or inflection. The method adopted to remedy the above was to let the pupils read after the teacher, provided the latter is competently trained, with a subdued but firm and distinct voice, by clauses, not words, pausing only when necessary.

Edmund Hillyer Duval reported similar defects. Some reading was too monotonous, other cases showed a careless performance. Teachers were advised to adopt a strictly natural style of reading, modulating the voice as the nature of the subject would require.

14 Ibid., p.36
The reading books adopted for the National Schools of Ireland were in use in many schools of the province. Unfortunately, they were in no way oriented to the background entity that was New Brunswick. No reason was apparent for their continued use, as many reports of their inapplicability are evident. Too many teachers and pupils could not offer suitable interpretation to relate the texts actually studied to the background of the country in which they were in use.

Inspector Morrison reported that one school in Northumberland county was visited, kept by a second-class teacher. A group of children were called up to read in the second book of lessons. They were told to read the 23rd lesson, section 3, which had been read and explained before the arrival of the Inspector. The preceding lesson contained the words "the country where you children live is called Ireland". The twenty-third lesson contained the sentences "Both halves (of the earth) contain many countries. We live in the East Half ... in Europe". The teacher was asked to examine the class and show the method pursued in teaching. The lesson was read and the usual explanations were given, but all on the assumption that the children lived in Ireland. The teacher dismissed the class with the error uncorrected, and upon further examination it was found that the children actually believed they lived in Ireland.²⁵

In 1867, Morrison made a number of recommendations to the Board of Education to remedy at one stroke a number of existing evils. The authorized readers at that time were disregarded by the Inspectors both in respect of arrangement, tone, orthography, and content, while others contained inflammatory articles, calculated to stir up animosity where peace ought to prevail. It was thought that these evils could be easily remedied if the Board of Education would adopt readers that should deal with natural science, should breathe a broad catholic spirit, and should try to obliterate as much as possible the sharp lines of class, creed and nationality.

Inspector Freeze reported that in almost every school the Bible was read either by teacher, or by pupil, or by both, as a religious exercise. (As already stated, this exercise was held in the earliest schools of the province, and continues to the present day, either as a religious exercise or as a reading exercise, or both.)

Spelling:—The same inspector found that spelling was taught very imperfectly in many of the schools. Too little attention was paid to the division of words into syllables. The practice of selecting only the larger words for spelling exercise was too common. One result was that "classes were found capable of spelling all long words, but unable to distinguish such words as 'one', 'of', 'were', 'there', etc.". The remedy proposed was to spell every
thing that is read, and to practice and put a good deal more emphasis on the exercise of writing to dictation.\textsuperscript{16}

Sullivan's \textit{Spelling Book Superseded} had been supplied to some schools after considerable persuasion on teacher and parents by the inspectors: as Morrison reported:

\begin{quote}
I beg to draw the attention of the Board of Education to the importance of supplying each teacher with a programme of the subjects in which the several reading classes are to be examined, specifying the minimum of knowledge expected from each ...

Improvement in the other sciences as spelling where definition and derivation of words were more carefully attended to, should also be noted ...

... In close harmony to reading is the science of spelling. Slate writing is highly recommended as leading to success in this important branch. ... A word sometimes carried quite round a class, each pupil giving the letter wrongly and without any reference to the syllables of which the word is composed. Ask for the syllables, attempt to simplify the process in this way and one is not understood. The advantages of syllabating may be clearly seen in such words as the following "Ne-ces-sa-ry", "Wed-nes-day"; "Feb-ru-a-ry". If a pupil requires help, let him first be taught to pronounce distinctly the syllables and to repeat them, if necessary. When the syllables are mastered, then will the spelling be easy and easily remembered.\textsuperscript{17}
\end{quote}

Apparently without such devices the pupils would begin the first of the above words omitting the important syllables.

It was recommended that spelling should begin at the same time as the pupil began to learn to read.

Writing:-- Writing attained a high degree of perfection in some schools. These, however, represented a small proportion of the whole.

\begin{flushright}
17 \textit{Ibid.}
\end{flushright}
The common method of teaching this branch is for the teacher to prepare the copy-book by writing a line across the top of the page, and then setting the pupil to imitate it ... in many instances, as far as regards calligraphy and orthography, nothing could be more unfortunate than success. 18

In too many cases, the pupils were supplied with inferior writing materials, frequently supplied because they were cheaper. The desks were ill suited for the purpose being either too high or too low, too inclined, or perfectly flat. In some places there were no desks at all, or as a substitute, the bench upon which the child sat. Another extremely poor effect was due to the frequency with which teachers were changed. One term the pupil might be imitating the writing of a female teacher, and the next term, a male hand.

To remedy this defect, it was strongly urged upon the Department that proper copy books, (complete and uniform sets of printed lines from which the children might copy, rather than those written by the different teachers) should be supplied to the schools through the book agents.

Writing was then chiefly a process of imitation, and few could excel in penmanship. Payson, Dunton, or Scribners' copy books were highly recommended to the Board of Education, and by 1862 the texts were in use, and an improvement in both spelling and writing had been noted.

In 1864, Morrison stated that the only objection to Payson and Dunton's series of writing copy books was the high price per copy. It was producing satisfactory results, and the recommendation was made that some arrangement should be arrived at with the publishers to make the copies available for seven instead of the prevailing ten cents.

English Grammar:— In the annual reports of the inspectors, little comment is found on the teaching of Grammar as a subject in itself. Much of the pertinent comment also applied to reading, and as the latter subject provided the principal source of instruction in "English", the defects were outlined in relation to the more widespread topic of "reading". Formal "grammar" appears to have been well taught in about half of the schools, and less well in the others.

Arithmetic:— While taught in only a few schools as a science, it was well taught in many schools as an art in which proficiency was attained by constant and stimulating practice. It appears to have been the principal study at the time, and took precedence over other subjects. Its instruction was by no means perfect, however. Errors analogous to those committed by teachers while attempting to impart knowledge of reading and spelling were still more fatal when the teaching of arithmetic was reported. Mental calculation could have been one of the most enlivening exercises of the school, and from either ignorance
or "indolence" on the part of the teachers, the subject was largely neglected. In any case, Inspector Freeze commented that children of ability were cheated out of education by inefficient teachers and an inefficient program of studies. He commented further that occasionally a teacher would be found who imparted to his pupils a thorough knowledge of notation and numeration, and lead them to primary and fundamental rules. This would seem to be an isolated instance rather than the general rule. In summing up all these evils, the inspector recommended mental arithmetic, but there is no place on the scanty program of studies available to a research student at the present time that bears any evidence of this recommendation being implemented.

Sangster's *National Arithmetic on the Decimal System of Computation* (for use in the Elementary Schools) was sanctioned by the Board of Education. It had been in use for some time in Upper Canada, and the opinion of competent judges was that it was quite favorable to meet the needs of more advanced pupils in the elementary schools. The ensuing reports of inspectors noted the improvement of all pupils because of a "new primary arithmetic adapted to decimal currency". Mental arithmetic was being regarded as ordinary work.

Geography:— Geography was nominally taught in some schools, and in a few with some degree of success. The means and appliances for teaching it so as to render the
study interesting and instructive were very scanty. Only one school was provided with globes which were seldom used, and only twenty-five schools were supplied with maps by 1859. The method used was not too attractive to the pupils and drew the following comment from the inspector:

Instead of commencing by giving the pupils the idea of distance and space, which, in this study, is as essential as a correct notion of time in the study of history, and of making them comprehend the principles on which it is found, by observations in their own neighborhood, the lessons prescribed usually consist of the dry details of political geography which without note or comment are irksome and tedious in the extreme.  

Inspector Bennett then stressed the extreme need for a well-executed map of New Brunswick suspended in every schoolroom.

In 1864, Lovell's Atlas Geography received the sanction of the Board of Education. It was to replace the text Geography published by Morse, which was highly objectionable and unauthorized, but in wide use in the provincial schools. In authorizing the use of Lovell's Geography, a recommendation was made that a page be inserted relating to the geography of the province of New Brunswick, the subject matter to be furnished by the Board of Education.

Agriculture:— In his report concerning new text books in 1860, John Bennett wrote:

The propriety of introducing agricultural instruction into the schools has lately been under the consideration of the Board of Education; and I

trust that ere long a work on this subject will be added to our authorized set of school-books. I may also add that an arithmetic suited to the decimal system of computation has been prepared and will shortly be published.

The most important addition to the list of textbooks was Professor Johnson's *Catechism of Agricultural Chemistry and Geology*. Some five thousand copies had been reprinted from the forty-first English edition at a greatly reduced cost. In general, there were few authorized changes in textbooks, but the trend favoured modern texts.

In one of his reports, John Bennett made reference to that period of trial to the agricultural interests in England which had coincided with the advent of industrialization. At that time, the application of the knowledge derived by a study of agricultural chemistry was one of the principal means of bringing that country through the trial with great confidence. He went on to say that if such knowledge was necessary to improve the poor or renovate the exhausted lands of other countries, "it is no more than ordinary prudence on our part to employ the same means in order to preserve the virgin freshness of our soil".

New Brunswick, in common with England, had to compete with the grain producing regions of Canada and the

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21 Ibid., report of 1862, pp 14-15.
United States and at a disadvantage, as compared with England in proportion to their greater proximity to this country.

A number of teachers were already studying agriculture at the training school as it formed part of the regular course of instruction. Special agricultural schools with model farms were too expensive to be well adapted to the circumstances, but it was hoped that a mutual co-operation would exist between teacher and farmer. This could also mean that a mutual understanding concerning the question of assessment would be developed over the years.

Chief Superintendent Bennett appeared before the Board of Agriculture and made some suggestions relative to the encouragement of agricultural education in parish schools. He suggested the appropriation of a small grant by the Board to provide chemical apparatus in Grammar Schools and to encourage parish schools in obtaining libraries. Samuel L. Peters, delegate from Queen's County, urged the appropriation by the Board of a grant for such purposes. He was strongly in favour of Agricultural Education.

3. The Need for Reform

The remedy for the existing evils was in the hands of the government. To it the people looked for an improved and enlightened program of studies within a well-balanced
school system. Whatever the requirements might have been, it was felt that these requirements, in some form, would be met only with the funds available from direct assessment and their benefits would be disseminated only to the people at large in a system of "Free schools".

This assessment principle was already in operation in Upper Canada, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Maine. It was the consensus that should direct assessment not be immediately adopted, assessment for building and furnishing school-houses should be enforced without delay. The annual report to the legislature in 1869 made this clear.

Local disputes, of a serious nature, were constantly arising from the voluntary assessment principle, from the want of a disinterested arbiter to establish the boundaries of school districts, to select sites for school houses, and to draw up and enforce some consistent plan in the manner in which teachers would be employed. As matters stood at this date, a minority of the proprietors employed the teachers in such fashion that the majority were left to either take measures to discharge the teacher, or to bear the insult and suffer the inconvenience until the end of the term. It was hoped that all of these difficulties would be removed with the passing of a new school act. While its provisions were still unknown, it was hoped that one provision would be that all schools would be free, and that
they would be so organized as to put an end to wranglings, to prevent local feuds, and that further provisions would affirm the principle of assessment first mentioned in 1852. Only when these hindrances were removed, and the program of studies was established by the central authority of the Board of Education, could it be hoped that New Brunswick would be educationally on a par with the other provinces of Canada.

Details of the act will be presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER IV
LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY SCHOOL LEGISLATION

The pressure of almost a century of effort to improve the school system of the province resulted in the passing of the first legislation in the province designed to provide free education to all of the children resident therein. With the passing of the Common Schools Act in 1871, the dream of many a teacher, educator, and parent, seemed near immediate realization.

1. The Common Schools Act

The Common Schools Act, passed by the Legislative Assembly in 1871, came into effect on January 1, 1872.
The object of this enactment was the establishment, throughout New Brunswick, of a well-equipped system of Free Public Schools, in which instruction would be open to children of poor and rich alike; the quality of the instruction would be adequate for all; and the general character of the instruction would be non-sectarian and provincial -- like the legislature establishing the system and the government administering it. ¹

Doctor John Bennett, Chief Superintendent of the Board of Education, had arranged to have the province divided into school districts. A certain portion was allotted to the Chief Superintendent, and the remainder of the province was allocated to the four inspectors Duval, Morrison, Freeze, and Wood. These inspectors were to lay the boundaries for each inspectorate, a necessity to fulfill the aim of the new school act, and to establish unity in the program of studies.

The regulations needed to implement this legislation were presented to the Board of Education by Theodore Rand, Superintendent of Education at that time. These vital regulations involved the application of the principles of the Common Schools Act to the entire administration of the system of free schools which that legislation had been designed to establish, equip, and to control.

... It was felt to be a matter of greatest importance that these regulations should be in accord with the soundest principles of school economy, in order that the System of Free Schools might in all its parts co-operate in securing in a high degree the end in view -- the education of all the people.\(^2\)

The numerous regulations dealt with such subjects as apparatus, text books, school buildings, furniture, premises, qualifications of teachers and the mode of their classification; the conduct and government of all grades of schools, miscellaneous and graded -- Common, Superior and Grammar -- as well as the

Provincial Training and Model Schools; local administration, general inspection and supervision, and special aid to poor districts.

While copies of the School Act were being distributed to various parts of the Province, provisions were being made for an accurate and complete system of school registration as the basis for the appropriation of the County Fund, from which, under the legislation, the funds to the schools would be made available by the province.

Section 41, sub-sections 1, 2, 3, and 4, of the Act of 1871, dealt with the whole subject of school buildings, furniture, premises, and ventilation. Meetings were held with the Board of Trustees of Fredericton, Saint John, Portland, and Woodstock. All four places were ill prepared to meet the requirements of the Act. In none of them was there a single school owned by the parish school trustees. Nearly every town in the province was equally devoid of school property. The school rooms occupied by teacher and pupils were poorly equipped, improperly ventilated, and poorly furnished.

Section 29 had received special attention in the draft stages. This provided by statute for the classification of the school-going children of populous districts into an ascending series of grades according to the attainments of the children. Nova Scotia, in its school establishment law, had provided for such classification, and the New Brunswick system had been based in large part on that system. It had
been amplified to include some of the additional features of the classification system in use in the schools of Ontario. One advantage to the province of New Brunswick in adapting the Nova Scotia system of classification lay in the use of paper and stereotyped forms for registration of the schools which had been prepared for use in Nova Scotia.

School accommodation and classification of pupils became the primary concern of the school authorities. In order to assist local authorities in providing suitable accommodation, plans for the construction and furnishing of school houses were prepared to be distributed throughout the province. Drawn up by J.T.C. McKean, an architect of Saint John, the plans were approved by the Board of Education, lithographed, and published in book form. A supply of the booklets was made available, without cost, through the inspectors. Many districts throughout the province deferred erection of new school buildings until these plans were procurable from the Department of Education. Subsequent reports from the inspectors reported that a good number were built. York County alone built about thirty.

Prior to January 1, 1872, there were five inspectors to supervise and administer the teaching in the province. Now the Board of Education appointed an inspector of schools for each of the fourteen counties of the province. In 1874, Madawaska, which had formed part of Victoria County, became

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a separate county, and an additional inspector was employed to administer that district. Each inspector was authorized to procure whatever assistance might be necessary to enable him to carry out the requirements of the Act. Many difficulties and obstructions had been encountered. The Common Schools Act had met with some opposition throughout the province. Appeals had been made to the courts, and injunctions had delayed the satisfactory operation of the law, yet the work of establishing schools made some progress where the Act was accepted. In his report, Rand stated "the public mind has, as never before, been aroused to thought and discussion on the subject of education". 4

Much of the opposition to the establishment of the free schools came from the predominantly Catholic-populated counties of Victoria, Gloucester, Kent and Northumberland. The 20th regulation under the Common Schools Act was the target for the principal opposition. Catholics claimed that the regulation violated their rights to separate schools. The reply from Superintendent Rand, in essence, denied their claims on the grounds that the regulation was designed to preserve "every school alike accessible to the children of all parties, classes and creeds; as was understood by the object of the Act". ("the general character non-sectarian and national"). 5 By this interpretation,

5 Ibid., p.xv.
the principal education authorities saw to it that there would be no Catholic program of studies, and certainly no religion taught, although it had been the foremost subject on the program of studies until that time.

In most districts of the four counties mentioned above, the opposition to the Act and the Regulations had prevented the establishment of schools except such as some inhabitants thought they could support without Government aid. Some of these were closed, the parents complaining that they had too much to pay, and the teachers that they received too little. In other instances, many people refused to pay either county or district assessment. This assessment had been established on a voluntary basis in 1852, but, under the new Act, it was obligatory.

Kent County was particularly hard pressed, for Inspector Thomas V. Wood wrote:

In my report of 1873, I referred to the non-payment of county rates in several parishes, and consequently the want of funds to meet Trustees' School Warrants. But then there was room to hope that the Legislature when convened, would provide for the collection of those rates and by that means enable Trustees to meet liabilities incurred.

Again, in 1875, he reported:

The difficulties complained of in my last two annual reports, as existing in Kent County, are still impeding our educational progress, and the lapse of another year has but increased those difficulties. Trustees have incurred liabilities, in reliance upon a share in the County Fund, provided by the Statute;

but drafts drawn upon that fund in favour of Trustees remain unpaid, because in several parishes ordinary means have proved insufficient to secure the collection of County Rates... Had the government, years ago provided the means of enforcing the levying of County rates in support of the Act which they did not shrink from carrying through the legislature, the school law would have been generally accepted in this County and the schools opened accordingly. Hence, at this date, December 10th, the unpaid claims upon Kent County School Fund amount to about $13,000, and chiefly on this account, one-third of the schools open during the summer term are now closed.  

In the other counties, where considerable opposition to Free Schools was felt, the financial condition was somewhat brighter. Many rate payers in Gloucester, Northumberland, and other opposing counties, finding that they now must contribute to the support of free schools, had wisely concluded to secure for their own children, a share of the benefits which these schools afforded. By 1879, opposition to the Common Schools Act was dying out, and parents were sending their children to free schools, or were, in many cases, establishing schools for their children where religion would continue to have an important place on the program of studies, but in all other subjects, the provincial program would be followed.

2. Developments in the Program of Studies particularly in urban schools

By the Act of 1871, provision was made for apportioning certain provincial grants of funds, to be known as the

7 Thomas W. Wood, Reports of the Inspectors of Schools, County of Kent, 1874, appendix B, p.18, and 1875, appendix B, p.22.
Provincial Aid, to the various school districts, in accordance with certain conditions laid down by regulation.

One such regulation provided that five years after inception of the Act, Provincial Aid to teachers would be apportioned in part according to the class of license held by the teacher, and in part according to the results of an examination conducted by an inspector. This scheme, known as the ranking system, was postponed until 1878. Before it could be enforced, a uniform program of studies for all the common schools was necessary.

Section 6, sub-section 5, of the Common Schools Act empowered the Board of Education to prescribe text-books and apparatus for the use of schools.

A uniform series of really good text books is one of the greatest boons that can be conferred upon the schools of any country. Once this is secured it promotes economy, since the members of a family may use the same books for many years.8

The wide variation in school texts within the same school has already received detailed attention in the preceding chapter, so it seems unnecessary to amplify the existing situation when this legislation was enforced. Teachers had the privilege of changing the text books in any school. Bearing in mind that uniformity of texts would render classification easy, and would promote order and system in school work, provincial authorities hastened to withdraw this privilege.

Four factors influenced the Board of Education in selection of texts: trustworthiness of subject-matter, clarity and naturalness of method, attractive appearance, and reasonable cost. Where all of the above qualities were unattainable, preference was given to subject-matter and method.

The greatest difficulty appears to have been in securing adequate Readers. The requirements laid down by the Board of Education in 1872 called for a series of Readers "prepared in accordance with sound principles of didactics and specially adapted to meet the requirements of a system of public education". 9

A new series of readers, the primer with wall sheets, were published in the old country, and the series selected was to be completed during the same year. These were the "Royal Readers". Their quality was highly commended at that time by certain educators, including: T. Morrison, Rector of the Free Church Normal School in Glasgow, Scotland; A. Montgomery, Principal of the Ladies College, also in Glasgow; and H. C. Robinson, Canon of York, England, and one of the Commissioners of the English Endowed Schools. One detailed comment is typical. Thomas Harrison, of the University of New Brunswick, wrote:

The true touchstone of the value of a text book is its effect upon the learners. With this in view, I have watched the progress of several children from the

beginning of the School Primer onwards. I bear willing witness to the rapidity and thoroughness of their advancement and also of their eager interest and manifest pleasure in learning to read. I wish to express my sense of the great good you have done by the improvement effected in this department alone.  

Natural History had been given much attention by the Board of Education. In an effort to foster the habit of careful observation of natural objects, drawings of plants and animals were prescribed for use in the schools. A double advantage was anticipated from this prescription in serving as time savers, and in motivating interesting lessons in plant and animal life. The Board stipulated that "any such aids introduced into the school room shall be true to nature in every particular, and that an obvious method shall determine both their character and extent".  

Industrial Drawing was a topic of discussion and correspondence. It was recommended that the Board of Education examine the development of the plans then in progress in the schools of Massachusetts, under the supervision of Walter Smith, State Director of Art Education. It was made a subject of study in all the schools of Fredericton in 1874, and almost immediately thereafter in all the schools of Saint John. Through the Normal Schools, this branch of education rapidly found a place in the schools of more important districts of the province, and in November, 1879,  

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10 T.H. Rand, *ibid.*,  
the Board of Education provided that the elements of industrial drawing and design should form a constituent part of the course of instruction in all the schools of the province. Professor Walter Smith was invited to Fredericton to develop a course of instruction for teachers-in-training.

The Board arranged for the publication of a History of Canada, where the history of each province was to be treated according to its relative importance. The study of history was to begin with fourth year pupils. Thompson's History of England was prescribed as a text-book for those who had mastered the History of Canada and the Outlines of British History contained in the Fourth and Fifth Readers. Texts of history were so arranged as to ensure considerable study of history in both rural and urban schools.

Arrangements had been made to improve the binding of text-books on general geography without increasing the retail price. By 1875 steps had been taken to provide a brief Introduction to General Geography, designed for use both in graded schools and in those schools where Geography had never formed a subject of study. It was recommended that where proper apparatus was not available, a rough black globe and chalk, with map drawings on blackboard, slate and paper, would enable the teacher to render geographical instruction interesting and profitable.12

In 1876, Wormell's *Modern Plane Geometry*, revised under the direction of the Board, was prescribed as a textbook in place of Chambers' *Euclid*.

A text of natural philosophy received much consideration by the Board, and it was thought possible that a simple text of the elements of physics for use in all schools might shortly be prescribed. An agricultural class-book for use of schools in farming districts of the province had been given careful scrutiny, prior to the close of 1876.

In 1877 the subject of Health, its attainment, its maintenance, and certain preventive measures, was added to the "required" list. Classification of the schools on an annual basis was mandatory, and the existing course of instruction, prescribed by the Board of Education on the approval of the Educational Institute, made certain provisions regarding essential teaching which included the subject of lessons on "pure air, sunlight, good water, wholesome food, cleanly and temperate habits". Dr. Richardson's *Temperance Lesson Book*, and Smith's *Manual of Health*, were prescribed as lesson-aids for teachers. Moreover, in the instructions

13 The Educational Institute was a professional training school offering a review of the common branches and methods of teaching in a four to six-week course. It was founded in 1874 by Superintendent Rand.

issued to inspectors, they were specially requested to give "due prominence to the requirements of the Course respecting familiar lessons on Health, Morals, and Manners, and the practice of proper physical exercises; and where such instruction has not been properly given, they are directed to emphasise its importance and give helpful suggestions to the Teacher". 15

Incidentally, instruction in temperance was required by many school boards in Great Britain and in the United States, and was added elsewhere in Canada at this same time.

The provision of texts was not allowed to remain static. In 1884, the Board of Education prescribed as texts the Modern School Geography and Atlas published by the Canada Publishing Company, Archer's Short History of Canada, published by Messrs J. and A. Macmillan of Saint John, and Hamblin Smith's Geometry, replacing Calkin's Geography of the World, Archer's History of Canada, and Wormell's Modern Geometry. Classes beginning any of these subjects were ordered to use the newly prescribed texts, but classes which had already made some progress in them might, with the concurrence of the Trustees, continue to use the older editions. 16

In the report of the Chief Superintendent of Schools for 1886, we find that M.S. Hall's Elementary Arithmetic had replaced Mulholland's, and Macmillan's series of copy

15 Ibid., 1881, p.xxxix.
books had replaced those of Payson, Dunton, and Scribner. The arithmetic, besides affording a knowledge of elementary rules with their practical application, supplied a long-felt need by providing for instruction in business forms, and in the computation of areas of plane surfaces. These subjects had usually been reserved for advanced text-books, and as a consequence a very large proportion of the pupils left school with no knowledge of them, to their subsequent disadvantage.

The Macmillan series of copy books was based on principles similar to those governing methods in other branches of elementary instruction, though they had not previously been applied to writing. As the wording of the report shows

> The series is designed to teach a bolder, firmer and more legible hand than Payson, Dunton, and Scribners'.

Nor were the texts designed for the teachers themselves forgotten. In 1886, the Board added the following to the list of texts for the training schools: Blaikie's *Sound Bodies for our Boys and Girls*, Fitch's *Lectures on Teaching*, Payne's *Science and Art of Education*, Browning's *Educational Theories*, and Compayne's *History of Pedagogy*. A manual designed to cover the Natural Science part of the course of instruction was at this time in preparation. According to the Inspectors' reports, this subject was most

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neglected in schools due in part to lack of text books, in part to imperfect knowledge of the subject on the part of teachers, and in part to a lack of accurate information.

A text book on *Elementary Natural History*, by Professor L. W. Bailey of the Provincial University, was prescribed and was in use in the schools of the province as early as 1887. According to the superintendent's annual report, "It treats of minerals, plants, and animals, with special reference to those of our own province, and is designed as a text book for pupils in Standard IV in ungraded schools and for pupils in advance of Standard V in Graded Schools".  

Several maps, especially Ruddiman Johnston and Company's *Political Map of the Dominion*, and *Map of Geographical Terms*, were available. The *Map of Geographical Terms* was used in all rural schools and in primary grades in cities and towns. This map of the Dominion was found to be much cheaper and much better suited for the use of the rural schools than the map of Canada printed by the Canada Publishing Company. Loggie's *Map of New Brunswick*, published by Macmillan, was also authorized.

The first eighteen years of Common Schools had brought minor changes, in developing a more rounded program of studies, but as in any new system of wide application, there were deficiencies to be supplied, emphases to be

shifted in order to provide a more balanced program, and newer techniques and applications to be tested. The answer lay in a revision of the legislation for Common Schools.

3. The General Revision

In 1889, the Board of Education approved a new program of studies, to take effect on July 1st.

The framers of the original Common Schools Act had assumed that the function of a public school was to prepare the youth of the country to discharge the duties of future manhood, and that this preparation should include the physical, intellectual, and moral training of the child so that the goals of health, intelligence and character might be achieved. The revision left these original principles undisturbed.

The schools of the province were in two broad classifications, graded and ungraded. The urban schools were generally graded and those in rural areas largely ungraded. One of the main changes in the legislation affected these ungraded schools. In previous years, Standards III and IV had covered a period of one and one-half years each. They were now modified to cover three Standards, each of one year. Henceforward, the ungraded schools would have five standards instead of four. The provision was made to permit more exact classification of studies than had been attained. In

19 New Brunswick, Board of Education, Course of Instruction, 1889, p.2.
ungraded schools, in the event of pupils taking the more advanced subjects after completing the prescribed course of instruction, and if the five standards were taught and the enrolled number of pupils reached fifty or more, the employment of a classroom assistant was obligatory.

The study of industrial drawing had undoubtedly produced good results, though they fell short of what had been expected originally. The course failed to exercise in any efficient degree the powers which drawing was supposed to cultivate. These defects were remedied in the amended course. The new drawing series, Prang's Shorter Course in Form Study and Drawing, comprised five books with an additional book in preparation dealing with Geometrical Drawings. This course began in Standard III and was completed in Standard VIII in graded schools, one book covering a year's work. In ungraded schools, the subject was first taken up in Standard II, but the instruction for the first year was limited to the principles and exercises contained in the first book. It embraced two books in each of the next two years with simple geometrical exercises taught orally during the latter year. The same detailed proficiency could not be expected from ungraded as from graded schools. It was, however, thought that it would be of more service to have a general knowledge of an elementary subject as a whole, than a minute acquaintance with parts that did not embrace the essential principles. The Shorter Course in Form Study
and Drawing provided for the training of the hand as well as the eye. It provided for the examination of objects both by sight and touch, for making and modelling them before representing or drawing them. It included practice in making objects from paper or pasteboard, by cutting, folding and clipping, and of modelling them from clay introduced into schools, without disturbing their organic character or general aim. An avowed aim of the course was to develop the ability to make working drawings, to draw pictures from the actual object and to design and draw arrangements for decorations.20

The requirements under the heading of Useful Knowledge, had, in most of the standards, been simplified and made more definite. The use of Bailey's *Natural History* as a text book was begun in Standard VI of the graded schools, and in Standard IV in ungraded schools. The preliminary instruction was given orally in the underlying grades as indicated in the course. Lessons in natural history whether given orally or with text-books were of very little value, either in acquisition of knowledge or educative results; hence the course enjoined the use of specimens.21

The course in Mathematics was modified in some important aspects. Instruction in arithmetic, not including numbers in primary grades, had been limited to principles

contained in the *Elementary Text-Book*, except that instruction was to be given orally to pupils in Standard VIII on the square root and its applications. Considerable attention was now to be given to business arithmetic, commercial forms, and to the practical applications of rules. With respect to Geometry, it had been assumed that geometrical conceptions had been gained through exercises in Form Study and Drawing, before the subject of Geometry itself was formally studied. Under the new course, the pupil was introduced earlier to the logical demonstration of propositions. A small, but very important, addition was made to the requirement in Algebra for Standard VIII. Easy equations and problems were to be taken up.22

The requirements in Latin were to be reduced, because few teachers found it possible to complete the allotment previously prescribed.23

Lesson sheets prescribed for use in connection with the First Reader afforded the teacher an opportunity of drilling the classes on sentences, phrases, words in any order, and thus secured their recognition whenever taught. This represented a great improvement over the earlier periods where the reading text was the Bible, or some other supplied text.24

Geography was amended to provide more clear requirements in respect to map drawing. General, and not detailed geography, was asked for, and more attention was to be given to physical features and less to topography. Some previous omissions were rectified.\(^{25}\)

The Revised Course of Study provided for specific instruction on temperance, and lessons on the human system. Lessons on the human system and how to take care of it were introduced from the outset, and continued through the first six standards. These lessons were to lead the pupil up to an intelligent study of Palmer's *Temperance Teaching of Science*, which was to begin in Standard VI. Oral instruction on the effects of alcohol on the human body were to begin in Standard IV.\(^{26}\)

In ungraded schools, formal lessons in Health were not prescribed for pupils of the first three standards, but teachers were required to give instruction to the classes on the conditions of health as specified by the course of instruction.\(^{27}\)

Increased attention was being given to the subject of English composition. Under the revised course of studies, in both higher and lower standards, revised lessons, based on the principle that "the correct use of language is acquired from practice", were being given. Letter writing, careful


\(^{26}\) *Ibid.*, pp.xxxiv-xxv

\(^{27}\) *Ibid.*, p.xxxiv
oral correction of wrong forms of speech used by pupils, the repetition of substance of the reading lessons, principles of construction, synthesis of sentences, and the structure of paragraphs, etc., all were receiving attention. Because composition was a practical subject, the number of students enrolling for it increased. One limitation that teachers experienced was the examination of written exercises. In Standard VIII of graded schools, and Standard V in ungraded schools, Dalgleish's Introductory Text was in use. Prior lessons were given orally.

Subjects once considered a requirement for all students were now being made optional. For example, sewing, which had been a vital part of the curriculum for all female students was now made optional. Plain sewing, the making of useful articles requiring simple stitches and short seams, mending, patching, and darning, knitting, but no fancy work of any kind during school hours, were taught to those students desiring such instruction.

A start had been made on the road to providing for more equalized standards in education on a province-wide basis. The program of studies laid down in 1889 was the first attempt to regulate the subjects of instruction in anything but the broadest outlines. For the first time in their history, New Brunswick schools were given details of what subjects should be taught, from a uniform series of text books that would be the same in Fredericton and in
Saint John, in the best-equipped and the most remote schools of the province alike.

The next decade provided further changes, and some of these are detailed in the following chapter, together with an appreciation of the state of education in some detail at the turn of the century, as seen by the men whose duty it was to inspect the schools themselves.
CHAPTER V

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

As we have seen, elementary schools in New Brunswick were in the earliest stages of centralization as far as directed duties were concerned at the opening of the last decade of the nineteenth century. At that time, Froebel's theories and the kindergärten methods of primary instruction were dividing honours with the Pestalozzian principles of education in the United States,¹ and the influence of these methods of teaching had reached the new province.

The idea of kindergärten schools for children of pre-school age had begun to attract attention as early as 1881, and we find a reference to it in the Annual Report of the Chief Superintendent of Schools for that year.² In 1892, Superintendent Inch strongly recommended the establishment of a kindergärten department in connection with the Normal School, but the plan was abandoned due to overcrowding.

¹ E.H. Reisner, Nationalism and Education Since 1789, New York, 1936, p.461.

of the building at that time. By 1898, two kindergartens had been opened at Saint John, one in Fredericton and one in Moncton. Campbellton seems to have had a kindergarten department since 1899. All of these pre-school classes seem to have been privately maintained.

Kindergarten methods characterized the work in many schools and in all grades, but there was also much adherence to merely text book work and too little reference to things. One subject taught on the principles of the kindergarten naturally led to the application of similar principles to the teaching of other subjects, and were regarded as a help in bringing about the time when methods of instruction in all schools would be adapted to the intelligence and mental growth of the pupils. Form study and drawing as recommended in the 1889 revision of the course of studies was credited with a hastening effect in the adoption of these methods.

As a survey of the high school curriculum is outside the scope of this study, no attempt will be made here to make other than passing reference to the high schools of the province, except as their existence influenced or altered the studies prescribed for the elementary schools.

The question of a common set of High School Entrance examinations, or departmental external examinations, had received the attention of the legislature, because in 1896

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we find a regulation of the Board respecting these grading tests:

For the purpose of determining what pupils shall be enrolled in Grammar or High Schools, pupils at the beginning of the second term in each school year, Entrance Examinations shall be held simultaneously within the last two weeks of the Term ending June 30th at each Grammar School of the province and certain named High Schools throughout the province.

Examination papers for these examinations were prepared and forwarded to the various schools from the Board of Education in Fredericton. 4

1. Further Revisions to the Course of Study

A further revision of the Course of Study, approved by the Board of Education, was ordered into effect in August, 1894. It did not differ materially from the former course, but it included an authorized course of study for the high schools which were at that time operating on an experimental basis throughout the province.

Under the course prescribed in 1889, an allotment of time for the several subjects embraced in the Primary School Course of Instruction had been suggested to teachers as generally applicable. The time required for opening exercises, roll-call, and physical exercises, was to be deducted proportionately from that assigned to the individual subjects.

Suggested Timetable for Study

- Course of Instruction, 1889 -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>60 per cent</th>
<th>Natural History</th>
<th>40 per cent</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reading and Spelling</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>Numbers or</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Composition</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
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<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>Geography</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form</td>
<td></td>
<td>Minerals</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Plant Life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>Animal Life</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Print-script</td>
<td></td>
<td>Temperance Teaching</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Useful Knowledge</td>
<td>2%</td>
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<td>60%</td>
<td>Colour</td>
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This timetable was to receive further implementation if the teachers adhered to the General Directions supplied with the new Course of Study. It recommended that recitations, dialogues, songs, reading of oral essays, etc., be substituted on Friday afternoons in order to awaken and cultivate a taste for wholesome reading. Physical exercises were to be given at least once during each session. Lessons were to be given orally on Temperance, and the general conditions of Health, including the necessity for pure air, sunlight, pure water, wholesome food, cleanliness, regular habits, clothing, the effects of narcotics and intoxicants.

It was further recommended that singing be practiced at the opening of the school session, and at occasional intervals throughout the day.

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5 -----------, Board of Education, New Brunswick, Course of Instruction, 1889, p.2.
The pupil was required to spell every word in his reading lessons and common words of similar difficulty used in his conversation. Printing or writing words should be required in the lower grades, and transcription and dictation in the higher grades. Pupils must be enabled to understand clearly the meaning of the passage to be read, in order to read it with proper tone and expression. Faults of posture, manner, tone, enunciation, etc., must be constantly noted and corrected. In order to obtain clear enunciation, word-building from the phonic elements was to be practiced occasionally in all grades. Certain passages, suitable to the grade, were to be selected and memorized occasionally for recitation.

In lessons on nature, the pupils were encouraged to observe, examine and classify for themselves the more important natural objects to be found in the vicinity of the school. Collections of plants, minerals, etc., were to be encouraged, and the pupils were to be urged to note and describe in their own language, natural phenomena coming under their observation.

In addition to the exercises found in the prescribed drawing books, pupils were to be required to illustrate with pencil or crayon, the objects studied in Nature lessons. Clay modelling, needlework, knitting, and wood-work might be introduced as time and circumstances warranted.
Several subjects of the course prescribed were to be taught orally, without a text-book for the children. This was especially true in the case of the nature study lessons.

In 1895, the Board authorized the introduction of a manual for teachers, indicating the scope and character of the lessons to be given in each grade, and the best methods of teaching them. Prepared by John Brittain of the Normal School, this book received the approval of a number of prominent educators, including the distinguished scientist Sir William Dawson, who is generally credited with laying the cornerstone of the teaching of science at McGill University, and who had at one time been chief superintendent of schools of Nova Scotia.

2. The State of Education in the Province

By 1898, teachers were devoting a great deal of attention to the teaching of elementary arithmetic, penmanship, English composition, reading, spelling, history, and geography. Acquisition of the rudiments of these subjects was considered the principal object of the common school. Results were fairly satisfactory, especially in arithmetic and penmanship. It was estimated that those who carried out the directions in the circular on penmanship issued by the Department of Education had effected an improvement of fifty per cent in handwriting. Considerable improvement
in History and Geography was evident. The geography text was considered too deficient in maps, but this had been somewhat offset by the acquisition of maps by the Board, and their general provision to the schools. Pressure to change the geography text had already begun to be felt.

The importance of physical training was becoming well-recognized. Most schools by this date included some form of physical training in their programmes. They gave the pupils a chance to change positions or occupations for a brief time during each session. From this widespread interest grew the suggestion that there should be a systematic course of physical exercise adapted to the different grades, and calculated to maintain and promote the health of all the pupils. A physical instructor was needed to carry out such a programme, and an offer from a private citizen in one county to provide the services of a trained instructor was accepted by the Saint John Public School Board for one year.

The course of instruction laid down for the teachers was felt to be sufficiently broad and extensive to provide a sound basic education for the children attending the elementary schools. Progress was better in some fields than others. As might be expected, some regions of the province fared better than others. In the following paragraphs, some extracts from the reports of the regional inspectors are presented for the comments they make on the
state of primary education throughout the province.

Reporting from Dookton, New Brunswick, in 1899, George W. Mersereau wrote:

Some teachers seem careless about following the course of instruction, or they purposely work their pupils in one grade and present them in another—thus meriting and receiving, in my report of their work—"Classification—Poor". They do not seem to realize that when a school is poorly classified the work must necessarily be inferior. As already noticed, weak and inexperienced teachers complain that the course is overloaded. Undoubtedly, there is plenty of work to tax their skill and resource, but trained teachers should not find it an impossible task to find profitable employment for all the pupils while allotting to each subject the amount of time its importance demands.

In some districts the pupils are not supplied with the necessary text books and the teachers say they have in vain repeatedly requested the Trustees to supply this deficiency, when the parents fail in their duty. It is impossible for the pupils to make satisfactory progress when they have neither Reading Books no Slates of their own, and I have unfortunately found too many in that condition during the year. In all cases the Trustees have promised to see these things supplied so that there is hope for an improvement in this respect.6

Again, we find from the counties of York, Sunbury, and Queens, a report from Hedley V.B. Bridges:

The great majority of teachers, I believe, are trying faithfully to carry out the course of study as laid down. There are frequent complaints from the teachers in ungraded schools that too much work is demanded of them—more than ought reasonably to be expected of them, and that there is no time for thoroughness when the irregularity of attendance is taken into consideration. In many isolated districts, to see that pupils are properly provided with prescribed text-books engages much of the teacher's attention.

The teaching of current topics during the last month of the year received a wonderful impetus. A map of South Africa might be observed in all school houses, and the keenest interest was shown by even the youngest pupils.

In 1900, W. S. Carter commented in detail on the various subjects under instruction, and some interesting comments are appended to his terse notation.

Reading is better taught in graded schools than in ungraded, because the teachers in Graded Schools do not try to cover too much ground and therefore, can be more thorough. In the country, the parent quite often gauges the teacher by the rapidity with which the child advances from one book to another.

Writing.— Vertical system adopted replacing slanting system — more satisfactory.

Arithmetic. — Not sufficient oral and mental work; too much text and slate work.

History.— Depends on teacher and varies. Not adequate or suitable texts.

Grammar and Composition.— Not enough oral comp. (sic) Letter writing (mechanics) good — form — sometimes.

Spelling.— Marked improvement attributed to re-introduction of spelling books.

Geography.— Popular and satisfactorily done.

Natural Science.— Not looked upon as important in country. Not much better in graded schools.

Geometry and Algebra.— Geometry dropped until Grade IX. Recommended that Algebra likewise be dropped. More attention could be devoted to English and Commercial Ed. (sic).

Music.— Very far behind because little or no attention is given to it.

Recommendations.— That systematic instruction in music be provided for pupils up to the High Schools;

That modern business training be given the pupils of the High Schools and perhaps those of Grade VIII.

That the advisability of providing free school material such as pencils, paper, pens, etc., be explored.  

During this same year, a report on the status of school libraries was published. During the fiscal year, 894 volumes were purchased at a cost of $356.75, of which the province paid $118.90. The total increase in book volume was 15,007, between 1891 and 1900. Although the province contributed approximately one-third of the funds to purchase books for the school libraries, evidently some districts were not carrying out the regulations respecting their reports to the Department. In the annual report for 1900 we find the following:

Comparatively few teachers or school officials have made the annual report to the Chief Superintendent required by Regulation 34 and Appendix 1, as to the Library Statistics. No district having a school library will, hereafter, receive an additional bonus until a satisfactory report shall have been made, showing the number and condition of the books on hand, in accordance with instructions given on pages 12 and 122 of the Manual.  

The first vocational training took the form of instruction in manual training. Steps were taken in 1900 to initiate courses in this subject, when a grant from Sir William McDonald, of McGill University, was allocated to equip one centre of every province of the Dominion to meet

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the expenses of qualifying teachers for the new course, and to maintain the schools for three years. Patterned after the system in Sweden where manual training for schools originated, the provincial institute was first named the Sloyd School, after the Swedish terminology, and was located at Fredericton, near the Normal School. From the earliest days of the course, the provincial government offered a special grant to certified teachers giving instruction in manual training, and undertook to pay 20% of the necessary equipment for manual training in any schools.\(^{10}\)

These provisions of the School Act of 1900 were further amended in 1902 by passage of legislation designed to emphasize the need for such vocational training by paying one-half of the cost of equipment for manual training, providing $50 yearly to any certificated teacher giving instruction in manual training in addition to his regular work, and $200 yearly to any teacher devoting his full time to manual training instruction. Travelling expenses for teachers attending a training school for manual training were to be reimbursed from provincial funds.

Further provisions of this amending act granted increases of $200 yearly to school inspectors, raising their salaries to $1400 per year.

Expropriation of one acre of land for school houses, instead of the previous 40 square rods was authorized.

Extension of the courses in manual training to the elementary schools is evident in the report of the Chief Superintendent for the year 1900:

On April 10, 1900, a manual training school was opened at Fredericton to the boys of Grades 6, 7, and 8 of the City Schools, and to the young men of the normal school; the equipment for the work being provided by the MacDonald Training Fund.

The legislative achievement of the last decade of the nineteenth century did little more than bring the schools of the province in line with the changed conditions beginning to make their appearance across the world. The close of the South African War and the end of the Victorian era were perhaps of no immediate impact at the time. As in all events, their importance is apparent only in the perspective of history. It is significant, however, to note that the course of education in New Brunswick spanned an era of industrialization and social change bearing a curious parallel to the events of the years 1901-1902. Urbanization and industrialization had progressed in the province. The changing social patterns and the consequent needs of the growing population had shifted from the purely agrarian economy of a country struggling to carve itself out of a wilderness of unsettled land. The province now was one of a group of like-minded areas banded together under the terms of Confederation for an integrated economy without the trade

11 James Hannay, Synoptic Report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick, for the Session of 1902, in the Gazette, p.156.
barriers of internationalism. New Brunswick soldiers had served with their fellow Canadians in South Africa, and were now returning to bring their wider horizons back to the towns and villages they had left. While there undoubtedly were some deficiencies in individual schools, the program of studies laid down by the provincial department of education was fundamentally sound. Even today, a school program is in all likelihood apt to be based on the same topics as the arithmetic, reading, writing, spelling, geography, history, composition, grammar, hygiene, and the appropriate vocational topic of manual training or needlework, found in the program of studies of New Brunswick schools in 1902.
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

When our forefathers came to New Brunswick in early pioneer days, one of the first institutions that they set up after establishing their primitive homes, was a school. They possessed a strong desire that their children should have what they termed an education. This, in those days, consisted almost wholly of the three "R's". Schools were established in areas that later became school districts. The development of the program of studies of New Brunswick through the hundred years was a gradual development from decentralization to centralization. It began to take shape when the first provision made by law for the establishment of schools was issued in the Royal Instructions to the first Governor of New Brunswick, Colonel Thomas Carleton. An attempt has been made to highlight and interpret the stages of development of the program of studies through the hundred years in the light of historical and educational events.

Although Governor Carleton repeatedly urged the assembly to provide for a system of public education, it was not until the year 1802 that the first New Brunswick Education Act was passed. This Act marks the crude beginning of a Public School System in New Brunswick. Nevertheless, before and subsequent to this date, private agencies played
an important role in providing educational opportunities. Among these were the National Society for Education which adopted what was then known as the Madras System; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel under the supervision of the Bishop of London; and various Roman Catholic schools.

In 1805 an act was passed superseding the first Education Act passed in 1802. The new act made provision for the establishing of a Grammar School in Saint John. The directors were empowered to admit any member as free scholars. The program of studies embraced English Grammar, Latin and Greek, Orthography, the use of globes, and Mathematics. However, in 1816 a general act was passed to establish Grammar Schools in the remaining counties and to encourage the establishment of schools in the province. The General Sessions of each county were to appoint three trustees from each town or parish. Spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic were to be taught in all schools. The maximum amount of provincial aid to be received by the trustees of any school was $20 per year.

During the next thirty years details of a program of studies were meagre. Several acts were passed pertaining to schools but all related to increases in school grants rather than program of studies. Teachers were scarce and frequently not qualified. They received little remuneration in cash for their labours and quite often had to "board
around". Few men of ability and education would subject themselves to such conditions and consequently the qualifications of teachers were not of a high order.

The Legislature appointed a Committee or Board of Inspectors to visit all the schools in the province for the purpose of ascertaining their condition. The report laid before the Assembly stated that a large majority of the schools were inefficient, many of the teachers incompetent, some because of illiteracy, some because of inability to enforce discipline, some through lack of energy, and many for want of the faculty to communicate instruction; that books and apparatus were defective and without uniformity; that school-houses were small and insufferably hot in summer, open to the winds and frost in winter, and finally that there was no proper control or supervision of trustees or teachers.

To remedy the state of education as presented in the report, a very important school act was passed in 1847. By this act a provincial Board of Education was established. A training and model school for teachers was authorized at Fredericton. Teachers were to be classified into three classes according to their attainments and to receive Provincial Government grants in proportion to their classification. The Board of Education was also empowered to select and prescribe suitable text books.
The provisions thus made for a central authority, the establishment of a Normal School, the training and classification of teachers, marked an epoch in school history in the province. Between 1802 and 1847, twelve school acts and amendments to school acts had been passed by the New Brunswick legislature, yet little progress had been made. There was no uniformity as to qualification of teachers, no program of studies, and no supervision worth considering. The Grammar Schools in the county towns, a few schools under the patronage of the Church of England, and a few Roman Catholic Schools in the principal centers were the only educational institutions in the province which professed to impart anything more than the commonest elementary training.

Upon the arrival of Marshall D'Avray in 1847, and on the occasion of his speech at the opening of the Normal School in 1848, he stressed the need of proper teaching, proper and well-trained teachers, also the importance of Reading, Orthography, Arithmetic, Writing, Grammar and Geography, thus laying down the fundamentals of a then balanced program of studies.

In 1852 the Legislature passed amending legislation providing for the appointment by the Governor-in-Council of a Chief Superintendent who should be a member of the Board of Education, and its Secretary.
In 1858, the Parish School Act was passed and remained on the statute books for fourteen years. It did little to lighten the difficulties. Not a single county, municipality, nor parish had, during all these years, supported its schools by assessment as permitted by the Act, and only here and there had a district done so. Enrolment remained nearly the same year after year and from the reports of superintendents and inspectors it was evident that unless New Brunswick established a system of free education, supported by direct assessment, masses of her population must grow up in ignorance whilst a few would receive that degree and quality of training necessary to place them on something like an equal footing with those living in the other provinces and neighbouring states which had established a free school system.

At length the failure of the voluntary assessment principle and the continued apathy of the people in many parts of the Province in regard to their duty of supplementing by local effort the liberal allowances made by the province for the support of schools, led the Government to see the necessity of a more stringent educational measure.

In the session of 1871, the leader of the government, Hon. George E. King, introduced legislation which passed into law and became known as the Common Schools Act of 1871. By this act all the property of the Province of New Brunswick was made subject to assessment for the support
of non-sectarian schools, which were free to every child of the province.

The Common Schools Act gave power to the Board of Education to prescribe text-books and apparatus for schools. After much selecting, deliberating, and experimenting, a program of studies was outlines and drawn up in 1879, but was later replaced by a new program which permitted a more exact classification of studies than had hitherto been attained.

The ideal educational plan was held, at that time, to be one to supply a knowledge of the "three R's" to the rank and file. Such a service was provided through the local schools, situated within walking reach of all children; all supported by general taxation of the people and free to the pupils of the several districts, parishes and counties.

By the time the twentieth century opened, the English elementary schools of New Brunswick had progressed from disorganization to an educational system administered by a central authority, offering a program of studies evolved through years of experimentation to meet the basic needs of the growing population of the province.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Gives a brief description of the legal and administrative framework of the educational systems of the ten Provinces of Canada. Especially useful in its brief educational history of early times in New Brunswick.

COLEBROOKE to Stanley, "letter" of October 29, 1841, in Canadian Archives, CO 188, Vol.9, Dispatch 73.
Letter from Governor Colebrooke to Lord Stanley of England, describing condition of education in New Brunswick. Its principal recommendation was that competent persons be secured in England to be sent to New Brunswick to aid in teaching, and to extend the incipient program of studies by the addition of new ideas.

D'AVRAY, Marshall, "Lecture delivered at opening of Model and Training Schools", Fredericton, University of New Brunswick Archives, February 12, 1848, 30 p.
Speech given to the teachers of New Brunswick stressing the thorough teaching of the common branches of learning. Of particular interest in that it sets out in detail the proposed program of studies and the manner in which it should be taught.

------, Lecture at Temperance Hall, Fredericton, January 22, 1850, University of New Brunswick Archives, 25 p.
This second lecture gave a description of educational institutions in Europe, with emphasis on the industrial and Model Farm at Hofwyl, Switzerland. It proposed that a similar institution be established in New Brunswick. Consulted for historical background.

Describes political and educational conditions of New Brunswick. Provided particularly helpful background of educational history of the province.
A brief History of the School System in New Brunswick throughout the nineteenth century. Was particularly valuable in the study of early educational history.

Gives a brief description of New Brunswick history politically, economically, and educationally.

A brief history of the City of Saint John. Deals with educational conditions existing in early private schools of the province, together with subject matter taught. This book was particularly valuable in the study of early education offered in New Brunswick.

A concise survey of the background of education in New Brunswick based upon a wide use of educational data. Consulted as needed for educational legislation and historical background.

Treats of early struggle for survival of education among people in a new province. It is of particular interest in that it gives a descriptive list of books which were used in schools in Parrtown.

This act superseded all other acts, secularized schools and consequently the program of studies. Was of use in that it gave a definite ruling on state of schools and the program of studies.

---------, Course of Instruction for the Province of New Brunswick 1889, in Harkness High School Archives, Newcastle, N.B.
Gives the detailed list of text-books used in standards for both rural and urban districts in New Brunswick. Basic material for this thesis.
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These reports provided additional source material to form the basis of this thesis.

Gives a concise description of early schools in New Brunswick and is of particular interest in outlining a moderate program of studies.

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A description of educational trends in Ontario, treating the Education Act of 1850, and the advances made in education under Egerton Ryerson. Useful in making comparisons between the two provinces in respect to educational legislation.

Gives an appreciative account of the work of Ontario's leading educator. Of particular aid in comparing early educational legislation.


"Olden Times in St.John", 1845, scrapbook, R.971 in Saint John Public Library, (no author), (no number) (no volume) p 1-560. A collection of miscellaneous data, some of which are of educational interest. The scrapbook was of particular help to the writer in determining the type of education found in school.
ABSTRACT OF
THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROGRAM
OF STUDIES IN ENGLISH ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS
IN NEW BRUNSWICK

The growth of the program of studies in the English elementary schools of the Province of New Brun­swick is one highlight in a development from early colonial days to the educational status of the province at the turn of the century.

This thesis examines the program of studies under the light of School Acts, Reports of Inspectors and Super­intendents, Royal Commission Reports, and all similar reports that play an important role in its development. Conclusions are reached through an analysis of these basic sources, the legislative enactments, and the interpretation given them by administering authorities.

The study is presented in five chapters, the first of which treats of the poverty of existing education and the struggle of the Loyalists and other inhabitants to keep learning alive.

Chapter two treats of greater trends towards centralization, culminating in the Common Schools Act of 1858. The heroic and untiring work of Marshall D'Avray, whose contribution led a province from educational poverty to one in advance of its times is discussed in some detail.
Chapter three treats of a more complex historical and educational period between 1859 and 1870. Teachers were generally poorly qualified, but in the decade under discussion a good deal of improvement was effected. The physical condition of the schools endangered the health of the pupils. Experiments with textbooks to establish a uniformity of texts throughout the province took time and patience.

Chapter four deals with the effects of the Free School Act of 1871: the introduction of non-sectarian schools with its subsequent opposition from the Roman Catholic population; a more uniform system of taxation to support the schools; the prescription of texts; and the requirements for teacher-qualification.

In Chapter five the introduction of new methods of teaching and the revisions to directed studies necessitated by almost a decade of experience are presented and discussed.

In summary, the seeds of the program of studies were sown in Loyalist times and in early home education. Germination was slow, and the young shoot broke ground in 1859 with the passing of the Common Schools Act. First branchings of the plant came with the legislation of 1871 providing for free schools, and with the publication of the first program of studies in 1878. Subsequent revisions became necessary, and by the opening of the twentieth century the young seedling of 1846 had grown to a sturdy plant.