

EARLY EDUCATION IN
LUNENBURG COUNTY

A thesis written in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts.

Roberta E. Sarty,
St. Mary's University,
School of Education,
April 30, 1960.

© Copyright

PREFACE

In this study I propose to give an historical outline of early educational conditions in Lunenburg County. After describing the efforts of the first teachers, missionaries sponsored by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, I shall give attention to those interesting and colorful personages, known as itinerant teachers. From the passing of the first Nova Scotia Education Act in 1766, I shall show the growth and significant changes which took place in the educational life of the county until 1900. I wish to place the emphasis on the attitudes of the citizens towards education, specific problems in Lunenburg County, general conditions under which some of the outstanding teachers worked, and the kind of instruction given. To make this study, I am indebted for information to the works of Bingay, DesBrisay, Akins, Murdoch and to important reports and documents preserved at the Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| PREFACE | iii |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Chapter | |
| I. BRITISH PERIOD (1713-1753) | 6 |
| II. WORK OF SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN LUNENBURG | 13 |
| III. THE ITINERANT TEACHER | 23 |
| IV. EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION (1800-1864) . . | 29 |
| V. EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN LUNENBURG COUNTY (1800-1864) | 42 |
| VI. FREE SCHOOLS IN LUNENBURG COUNTY (1864-1900) | 55 |
| CONCLUSION | 81 |
| APPENDIX | 82 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 84 |

INTRODUCTION

NOVA SCOTIA DURING THE FRENCH PERIOD (1604-1713)

The Micmacs were the only inhabitants of Acadia until the first real attempt at colonization was made under the patent to the Sieur de Monts issued by Henry IV of France on November 8, 1603. Two ships, carrying a party of one hundred twenty emigrants with supplies, set sail from Havre de Grace, France on March 7, 1604.¹ Leaving behind them the high, rocky bluff known as Cap de la Hève, they sighted, a month later, a similar headland on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, which they named La Hève. Continuing westward in their exploration of the coast, they entered the Bay of Fundy and on Douchet's Island, at the mouth of the St. Croix River, DeMonts decided to plant a colony. During the first winter the colony suffered many hardships, so it was moved to Port Royal in 1605, an epoch in Canadian history. As there wasn't a single

¹James Bingay, History of Canada (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1949), p. 61.

European settlement in North America except the old Spanish town of St. Augustine, Florida, Port Royal was the first permanent settlement made by white people within Canada.²

When DeMont's trading charter was revoked, Port Royal was abandoned and the colonists sailed for France. It was not until 1610 that the French returned to find that the Indians had left the buildings at Port Royal undisturbed. A new source of trouble came from the English colony of Jamestown, Virginia, founded in 1607, when Captain Argall in an armed vessel sailed to Port Royal, burned the buildings and destroyed the crops. This blow was the beginning of England's struggle with France for supremacy in America.³

In 1621, Sir William Alexander obtained from King James I a grant of Acadia including Cape Breton and all the country north to the St. Lawrence. No actual settlement was made until 1629 when four vessels arrived at Port Royal. The life of this colony was short-lived. On July 10, 1631, King Charles,

²Will R. Bird and Prof. D. C. Harvey, Historic Nova Scotia (Halifax: Government of Nova Scotia), p. 10.

³Ibid., p. 13.

wishing to secure the favor of the French monarch, gave orders to Sir William Alexander to remove the colony. Two unsuccessful attempts by the British were also made to form a settlement on Cape Breton Island. "The project of Sir William Alexander, therefore, was a complete failure, though it imprinted the name of Nova Scotia on the map of America for all time."⁴

The task of expelling the Scots and making Acadia a French colony again was given to Isaac de Razilly. In 1632, he came to Acadia as an agent of the Company of New France with three hundred settlers, including Seigneur d'Aulnay Charnisay, a name closely linked with Acadian history. After taking possession of Port Royal, de Razilly went to LaHève and planted his colony. "Following the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye in 1632, France determined to establish permanent settlements in Acadia. Isaac de Razilly was appointed Lieutenant-Governor. Here he built a fort and established the capital of the colony."⁵ Three members of the Capuchin order, sent by Cardinal

⁴D. C. Harvey, Colonization of Canada (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1936), p. 21.

⁵Words written on cairn erected on site by Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in Nova Scotia, 1929.

Richelieu, came with Isaac de Razilly. "These missionaries established the first school known to exist in Nova Scotia at LaHève."⁶ This school at LaHève, Lunenburg County, also has the distinction of being the first school in all of Canada.

No early history of education in Nova Scotia would be complete without at least a brief sketch of its condition during the French occupation. It was the duty and privilege of the church to control and administer education. Its main object was the conversion of the Indians, while teaching the Acadian children was a secondary matter. There are few references in the Jesuit Relations to schools or teaching, but it is noted in the reports that the school at LaHève existed for some eighteen months until Charnisay moved the settlers to Port Royal. Here Charnisay built a church and school in 1645.⁷ There were schools in Acadia from this date to the beginning of British rule.

⁶Patrick Wilfred Thibeau, "Education in N. S. Before 1811" (unpublished Doctoral thesis, Catholic University of America, 1922), p. 17.

⁷Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions, ed. Adam Shortt and A. G. Doughty (22 vols.; Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914), XIII, 47.

As one might expect in a pioneer country of isolated settlements, infested by savages, and almost devoid of roads, schools were few in number and more or less on the basis of private tutoring, assisted at times by the French Government. In 1671 the population of all Acadia was four hundred forty-one, in 1686, eight hundred fifty-one people. At the turn of the century, the five principal settlements of Port Royal, Minas, Beaubassin, LaHève and Pubnico had a total population of one thousand, two hundred sixty-eight. Most of the population were peasants. The ideal of education for the masses was "to learn. . .to do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call me." (English Church Catechism) The native home of the Acadians made no great provision for education so the lack of it in their new home caused little concern. It is clear that regularly organized establishments for the purpose of teaching were few in number and were chiefly for the benefit of children of officers and others of the gentle class. The slogan, "Schools for All", was not to be heard until more than a century later.

CHAPTER I

BRITISH PERIOD (1713-1753)

The cession of Nova Scotia to Great Britain, by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, ended the French régime. With the exception of a small military school at Louisbourg, which received a grant of fifteen hundred livres from the King of France, education during the French period was entirely controlled by the Church, the only motive being a religious one.

Early educational effort under British rule was characterized by both a religious and a political influence. The British Government desired to establish Protestant settlers in the province to counterbalance the French population, reported by Colonel Samuel Vetch to the Lords of Trade, November 24, 1714, to be about twenty-five hundred.¹ The Protestant settlements would also provide protection from the existing Acadian ones. It was thought that the provision of a church and a school would be an attraction

¹James Bingay, Public Education in Nova Scotia (Kingston: The Jackson Press, 1919).

to prospective settlers. Thus, it is obvious that the government's interest in education was primarily a political one. To fill the need, the government invited the co-operation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701, under the auspices of the state Church of England. Although the Society sent out both missionaries and school masters, its main purpose was a religious one—to evangelize the inhabitants of the British colonies. To the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, however, is given the credit for fostering education prior to the passage of the first Education Act in 1766.

According to a census of 1737, the total British population was about two hundred fifty-three. Since sixty was the maximum number of English children of school age, the need for schools was not very serious. From 1729 to 1738, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel assisted in supporting at Annapolis a school-master, Rev. Richard Watts, the earliest school-master in all Nova Scotia of whom we have any knowledge.²

Nearly twenty years before the founding of Halifax in 1749, it is learned from a report of the

²Ibid.

Lords of Trade to the Privy Council, dated December 4, 1729, that the government proposed the following recommendation. In the first settling of every township, land should be set aside for the maintenance of a minister, a church, and a grammar school.³ Action was finally taken in 1749 when, in connection with the proposed founding of Halifax and other settlements, the Lords of Trade and Plantations addressed the following letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel on April 6:

His Majesty having given directions that a number of persons should be sent to the Province of Nova Scotia, in North America, I am directed by my Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, to desire you will acquaint the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that it is proposed to settle the said persons in six townships and that a particular spot will be set apart in each of them for building a Church, and 400 A. of land adjacent thereto granted in perpetuity free from the payment of any Quit Rent, to a minister and his successors, and 200 in like manner to a schoolmaster. Their Lordships therefore recommended to this Society to name a minister and schoolmaster for such of the said townships, hoping that they will give such encouragement to them as the Society shall think proper, until their land can be so far cultivated as to afford a sufficient support.

I am further to acquaint you that each schoolmaster who shall be sent with the persons who are to form this first settlement will have a grant of 100 A. of land in perpetuity to them and their heirs, as also 30 A. over and above their

³Canada, Canadian Archives Report (1894), p. 71.

quotas, for every person of which their families shall consist; that they will likewise be subsisted during their passage, and for twelve months after their arrival, and furnished with arms, ammunition, and materials for husbandry, building their houses, etc., in like manner as the other settlers.⁴

When the letter was received, the Society decided to send six schoolmasters, besides the missionaries. Thus, the first attempt at an organized system of education in Nova Scotia under British rule was directed by a purely religious organization similar to the system under the French régime, the only difference being in the political motive of the government.

Founding of Lunenburg, June 7, 1753

Lunenburg, one of the counties situated on the south shore of Nova Scotia, was first called "Merliguesche" or "Malegash". The whole coast along by Lunenburg was called "Malliggeak" by the Indians. The Indian word means "milky bay", probably because of the appearance of the coast during a storm. When Colonel Edward Cornwallis called at Merliguesche on his way to Halifax in June, 1749, he found a few French families living there. At a meeting of His Majesty's Council,

⁴Ibid., 1905, p. 32.

August 23, 1750, Malegash was named as a suitable place for a new settlement. On the 16th of October, 1752, Governor Hopson wrote to the Lords of Trade that "Merleguish, by Margaret's Bay, was a place to which it was intended to send settlers."⁵

Since there was little immigration from Great Britain at that time and attempts to attract New England immigrants failed, the British Government decided to attract Protestant settlers from Germany, France, and Switzerland. Recruiting pamphlets headed Historical and Geographical description of Nova Scotia were printed in Leipsic and Frankfurt. Many from the Palatinate and other states of the Upper Rhineland, Montbeliard, and Switzerland applied. It is recorded that settlers also came from Lüneburg, Hanover, and Brunswick. DesBrisay records that one hundred thirty persons embarked at Rotterdam and arrived at Halifax in the ship, Ann, in 1750. Between 1750 and 1753 about twenty-three hundred others were brought to Halifax by the Pearl, Gale, Sally, Betty, Murdock and other ships.

⁵M. B. DesBrisay, History of the County of Lunenburg, (2d. ed. rev.; Toronto: William Briggs, Halifax: S. F. Huestis, 1895), p. 21.

On May 28, 1753, one thousand, four hundred fifty-three people, plus one hundred fifty-eight soldiers, embarked at Halifax in fourteen transports and the sloop, York, to be taken to Merliguesche. A commission to Colonel Lawrence directed him "to settle a township by the name of Lunenburg lying on the harbor of Merligash, in this Province."⁶ Available evidence shows that there might be some connection in the choice of the name by Governor Hopson from the title of the King of England whose ancient German title was "Duke of Braunschweig (Brunswick)-Lueneburg." In the History of the County of Lunenburg, however, DesBrisay records, "Lunenburg was named from Lünenburg in Germany, whence many of the original settlers came."⁷ They are said to have arrived at Merliguesche on June 7, 1753. Owing to a brook which emptied into the harbor and to their desire to perpetuate the name of the Captain under whose safe conduct they had come thither, they called the spot where they stepped from the boat "Rous's Brook." This, then, was the beginning of Lunenburg, stated by Haliburton to be, next to Halifax, "the

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid.

oldest settlement formed by the English Government in Nova Scotia." The landing of the settlers at Rous's Brook was the starting point in the British settlement of the county, called, as was the town whose foundations were then laid, Lunenburg, the first Canadian community of German ancestry.

CHAPTER II

WORK OF SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL AT LUNENBURG

During the first half century of British rule in Nova Scotia there was little done in the way of education because of the few children and the few settlements. Practically the only demand for school teachers during the first decade after the founding of Halifax, 1749, was from itself and from Lunenburg. Jean Baptiste Moreau, formerly a Roman Catholic priest, listed as "Gent and Schoolmaster" on the passenger list, came out with the founders of Halifax. Shortly afterward he returned to England to be ordained by the Church of England and was appointed a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Along with his wife and four servants, he returned to Halifax where he ministered in three languages. In 1753 he went to Lunenburg where he remained until his death in 1770, as missionary and schoolmaster to the French population.¹ Governor Hopson commended him as

¹Canada: Canadian Archives Report (1894), p. 216.

"an example in the several duties of piety, charity and humanity."²

Rev. Jean Baptiste Moreau was assisted in his teaching duties by W. Bailly, an Anglican minister who established an English school in Lunenburg. In October 1754, Rev. Moreau assured the Society that W. Bailly, "the schoolmaster to the French children behaves worthily and takes great pains in his office."³ The curriculum of the school appears to have been of the most elementary kind, consisting only of reading, writing and church catechism.⁴ It was probably based on the conception held in England of the amount and kind of education which it was desirable for the lower classes to have. In a letter to the Society dated Lunenburgh [sic], October 1, 1755, Rev. Moreau wrote: "Mr. Bailly, the Society's schoolmaster under him, behaves well, and is very useful in the several Capacities of Clerk and School-master."⁵

²DesBrisay, loc. cit., p. 81.

³Extracts from The Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts from the Year 1711 to 1779. N. S. Historical Society—Akins Collection.

⁴Bingay, loc. cit.

⁵Moreau to Society, loc. cit., p. 43.

The task of the pioneer school teacher was not easy. Fear of the Indians is mentioned as a reason for small attendance at classes. The number of Mr. Bailly's scholars was lessened occasionally by the continual apprehension of the cruelty of the Indians. There was also opposition to Mr. Bailly's school from the German settlers. As early as October 1, 1753, Murdoch says the people of Lunenburg, mostly German-speaking Lutherans, began to be uneasy at having neither a church nor a clergyman, except the Swiss, who have a French missionary. "A petition from German settlers at Lunenburg for a minister, German or English, and for an English school-master was received in the House of Assembly, December 27, 1759."⁶

In the minutes of the Council dated at Halifax, August 7, 1761, it is recorded that "Rev. Robert Vincent be appointed to minister at Lunenburg. Salary, seventy pounds, and twenty pounds per annum as school-master there."⁷ At this time the number of children under twelve amounted to five hundred sixty-one.⁸

⁶DesBrisay, loc. cit., p. 53.

⁷DesBrisay, loc. cit., p. 82.

⁸Report of S. P. G., Oct. 27, 1762.

The following January, Chief Justice Belcher informed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of the action of the Council, but added that the amount allowed was not enough. He asked that Rev. Vincent be appointed the Society's missionary and schoolmaster.⁹ This done, Rev. Robert Vincent started his work the same spring.

The story of Rev. Vincent at Lunenburg is one of the most interesting among the records of these early teachers because it illustrates in a vivid way two questions which have caused a great amount of trouble in the history of education—the questions of religion and of language. Troubles began at once for Rev. Vincent. Early the following year he applied for an allowance for an assistant school-master "as the Germans are unwilling to have an English education for their children if it is to cost them anything."¹⁰ At his request for the services of a German-speaking schoolmaster, the Society sent Neumann.¹¹

The number of children under the age of twelve in 1763 totalled five hundred ninety-six. It is

⁹Canada: Canadian Archives Report (1894), p. 231.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 239.

¹¹Ibid., p. 262.

recorded that the Germans "willingly send their children to school to learn English in which they make a good progress."¹² This may or may not be true because from another source it is learned that the concession to have a German-speaking schoolmaster didn't appease the Germans.¹³ In a letter from Rev. Moreau to the Society in 1765 he said, "the Germans propose to build a place for public worship and are more adverse to the services of the Church of England than formerly."¹⁴ The Council of Halifax seems to have decided Vincent had failed because they withdrew his allowance without notice in 1764.¹⁵ He struggled on through the winter, supporting himself from the meagre allowance from the Society. He attended to his own duties as clergyman and supervised those of the schoolmaster Neumann in the midst of an alien and hostile people, in a pioneer settlement, surrounded by miles of forests on three sides and the open sea before. In such circumstances, news of his death is

¹²Report of S. P. G., 1763.

¹³Canada: Canadian Archives Report (1894), p. 264.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 259.

not surprising. In October, 1765, Moreau reported to the Society that for six months Rev. Vincent was unfit for duty. He left for London on September 17 but only reached Halifax, where he died on October 11. In his letter to the Society, Rev. John Breynton recorded the dead missionary's virtues and his failures. "It would be injustice to him not to assure you, that while his health permitted, no one showed more zeal and assiduity in his functions, and I am of opinion that his persevering in his duty even beyond his strength, has shortened his days."¹⁶ That's the English side of the story.

In the words of Andreas Jung, a chronicler among the original settlers, is recorded the German version.

Because we could no longer endure to see the pitiful condition of our children, growing up as they are in ignorance, we determined to wait no longer upon our superiors. We accordingly made the necessary arrangements among ourselves, without governmental aid, and finally succeeded in securing the services of a German school teacher in the year 1760. He had a large number of children to instruct, and everything was going well with the school; but here, to our sorrow, trouble was occasioned and hindrances were laid in our way by those who should have given us aid. At this time Rev. Robert Vincent came into our settlement as an English missionary. The services

¹⁶Thomas Beamish Akins, A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in the British North America Provinces (Halifax, N. S.; 1819), p. 19.

were conducted by him in the English language. He took our German school-master under his patronage and control, paying him a salary of £5 per annum.

All this was no better than it had been heretofore with respect to our church affairs, and in respect to our school quite different intentions soon became manifest. The German language was entirely abolished from our school, and the order was issued that those who would not study the English language would not be allowed to attend the school. (Our schoolmaster himself was not able to speak or understand the English language, and was obliged to study hard from day to day to gain a little knowledge of the lessons he professed to teach.) Through this the school was broken up.

Because the parents could not understand the English language, they wanted their children to be first instructed in German, that they might teach them the principles of their most holy religion, after which they were satisfied to have them learn English.

When Mr. Vincent saw that the school was broken up and the consequences not what he anticipated, he allowed that English instruction should be confined to the forenoons, and the afternoons devoted to German. This he did in hope of resuscitating the school. But the condition was attached that whoever would not send their children to the English school should not send them to the German. The plan would have been a good one, but the confidence of the people in him and the school was gone.¹⁷

The foregoing story illustrates the interweaving of the religious difficulty with the linguistic question. As previously mentioned the British Government wanted immigration of Protestant German settlers from the Palatinate and elsewhere to offset the

¹⁷D. Luther Roth, Acadie and the Acadians (3d. ed.; Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1890), p. 245.

indigenous Roman Catholic Acadian population. These settlers were expected to become good British subjects. Jung's chronicle shows a people determined to preserve their language, religion, customs—to found a Little Germany on the shores of the New World. The joke was on the government who, having rid themselves of the alien French, had become burdened with a more stubborn race of people. The situation might have worsened had the number of Germans not been small in comparison with the rapidly increasing influx of British settlers.

After Vincent's death the demand of the Germans for a Lutheran minister was met by the appointment of Rev. Paulus Bryzelius in 1767. He instructed the children in Church of England doctrines. Jung recorded that "he was only masquerading as a Lutheran minister;"¹⁸ however, the people were much pleased and satisfied with his behavior and preaching. After his death in 1772, the government decided to revert to its original policy. In a letter to the Secretary of State, the Governor-in-Chief, Lord William Campbell, said that he "will ascertain if another missionary at Lunenburg can speak and perform Divine service in

¹⁸Ibid., p. 270.

English. It would be an advantage were the differences destroyed in the settlement by all speaking English."¹⁹

In 1770 the number of children under twelve was six hundred eighty-four. On the death of Rev. Moreau, Rev. Peter de la Roche, a native of Geneva, became the new missionary to the French.²⁰ In 1773 he prevailed upon his people to establish a school for the French, and to make a yearly allowance to the master of forty bushels of grain and twenty-four cords of wood. "In compliance with his request the Society have sent some books, in each language, for the use of the English and French schools at Lunenburgh [sic]."²¹ The schoolmaster, George Frederick Bailly, born in Franche Comte, came to the county as a teacher and lay reader to the French. One of his books has written in it, "Maitre d'Ecole et Clerk de l'Eglise Française de Lunenburg." He taught school for the French at North-West Range, Lunenburg County. In 1775 Rev. Peter de la Roche was appointed missionary to the French, German and English at Lunenburg.²² The Society for the

¹⁹Canadian Archives Report, op. cit., p. 309.

²⁰Report of S. P. G., 1770.

²¹Ibid., 1773, p. 19.

²²Ibid., 1775.

Propagation of the Gospel discontinued its mission at Lunenburg in 1774. A policy of laissez-faire followed. Time and the overwhelming numerical superiority of the English-speaking inhabitants of the province accomplished what force or trickery could not.

CHAPTER III

THE ITINERANT TEACHER

After the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, Nova Scotia experienced an influx of British settlers. New settlements began, as at Pictou in 1773.¹ The coming of the Loyalists also greatly increased the British population. Since most of the newcomers had had some education either in the English provinces or in their homeland, the effect of this large influx of people upon the history of education in Nova Scotia was immediate. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the only legally authorized educational organization, redoubled its efforts. Free-lance schools, as commercial enterprises, were established by private individuals. The new settlers "brought with them to Nova Scotia a desire for the education of their children, and thus presented a field for the itinerant school-master."²

¹Bingay, History of Canada, p. 199.

²Bingay, Public Education in Nova Scotia, p. 6.

The itinerant schoolmasters, chiefly disbanded soldiers, wandered from settlement to settlement, and from house to house, instructing children for a small fee. Many of the new settlers were opposed to the proselytizing character of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel so they either patronized the private schools, set up in the larger centres, or grouped together to hire some individual, usually a wandering stranger, to teach their offspring.

It is well known that many of these itinerating teachers were intellectually and morally unfitted.

"These pedagogues," says Dr. Saunders, "were often very ill-fitted to teach but they were not an unmixed evil to the communities where they came. They often drank but they boarded round and made the firesides lively, and they kept the desire for education alive."³

The Clockmaker gives a vivid picture of one of these schoolmasters at a small unlicensed house on the south shore between Chester and Halifax. He entered,

carrying a small bundle in his hand, tied up in a dirty silk pocket-handkerchief. He was dressed in an old suit of rusty black, much the worse for wear. His face bore the marks of intemperance, and he appeared much fatigued with his journey, which he had performed alone and on foot. . . . "That's one o' their schoolmasters," said Mr. Slick; "and it's no wonder the Bluenoses are such

³Dr. A. W. H. Eaton, History of Kings County (Salem, Mass.: 1910), p. 101.

'cute chaps when they got such masters as that to teach the young. . . .He's an Englishman, and, I guess, has seen better days; but he is ruined by drink now."⁴

The First Education Act in Nova Scotia (1766)

Certain things began to alarm the champions of the church in the Council: itinerant schoolmasters, professing no particular religion; the great increase in the number of local schools, unrecognized by the government and independent of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and the founding of private schools in Halifax and elsewhere. On Saturday, June 28, 1766, "the Council [almost solidly represented by the Church of England] sent down a Bill entitled an Act concerning schools and Schoolmasters, which being read and taken into consideration was agreed to."⁵ This was the first instance of the government taking any active interest in the cause of education.

The Education Act of 1766 granted four hundred acres of land to each township for the support of a school. It forbade the establishment of secondary

⁴Thomas Chandler Haliburton, The Clockmaker (3 vols.; London: Richard Bentley, 1843), II, p. 257.

⁵Nova Scotia, Journals of the House of Assembly, June 28, 1766.

schools in any part of the province by persons uncertified by either the local clergy or justices of the peace, both of which were usually Church of England. It required all teachers to be licensed by the government and provided penalties for the infringement of the Act. All Catholics were forbidden to set up schools under penalty of a £10 fine and a three months' imprisonment term. The general effect was "clearly to support the Church of England as against other denominations, whether Protestants or Roman Catholics, in her control of education."⁶

Although the Act limited the means of instruction and the institution of schools, the status of the school was improved and ecclesiastical control was maintained.

Education Act (1780)

On October 23, 1780, a motion was made in the Assembly that "the House do take into Consideration the establishing of a public school in such Part of the Province as shall be thought most fit and proper."⁷ In due time "a Bill for raising £1500 by a Lottery for

⁶Bingay, Public Education in Nova Scotia, p. 25.

⁷N. S., Journals of the Assembly, Oct. 23, 1780.

defraying the Expense of Building the said School-House"⁸ was passed. The master was to be paid a salary not more than £100. When the number of students exceeded forty, £50 additional would be granted for an assistant. The Act provided that the school should be located in Halifax and that a Board of Trustees of five, appointed by the Governor, should administer the funds and supervise the institution. This action marked the beginning of financial support by the government.

Education Act (1794)

This Act provided for the annual support of the Halifax Grammar School and for the general support of schools in other parts of the province. The money was to be obtained by an additional duty on wine imported into Halifax and into one county from another.⁹ The Act accomplished two things: (1) It encouraged the establishment of schools in a county; (2) it encouraged the consumption of wine. Although it provided for a permanent source of revenue, it was

⁸N. S., Statutes of Nova Scotia, Oct. 26, 1780, c. 3.

⁹N. S., Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1794, c. 15.

obvious that any governmental financial support depended upon the drinking habits of the people.

The establishment of the Halifax Grammar School and the Windsor Academy added a stimulus to educational activity throughout the province. Continued Loyalist immigration and settlement gave an additional impulse to the need for a uniform system of education. These were among the forces which contributed towards the awakening of Nova Scotia to the need of a systematic provision for the instruction of its youth.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL LEGISLATION (1800-1864)

Education Act (1808)

On December 12, 1807, a bill entitled an "Act for Encouraging the Establishment of Schools Throughout the Province"¹ was introduced to the Assembly, passed on January 1, 1808, and approved by Council four days later.² Although it became known as a "Forgotten School Act,"³ it was a forerunner of compulsory assessment for the support of schools and the foundation upon which the structure of the Common School Act of 1811 rested. Up to this time the Government had given its approval to the establishment of common schools, but never any financial assistance. Henceforth, it pledged itself to a bounty system. In

¹Provincial Archives Nova Scotia, MSS, Statutes of N. S., XLVIII, Geo. III, 1808, c. 8.

²N. S., Journals of Assembly, Dec. 12, 1807, Jan. 1 and 5, 1808.

³D. C. Harvey, "The Forgotten School Act," Journal of Education, Vol. V, No. 2 (March, 1934), p. 239.

districts where there were fifty families, the bounty would be £20 for each £50 raised locally and in that proportion up to the maximum amount of £150 to be raised by assessment only. Tuition to all pupils attending the schools so established would be free—the first attempt to establish free schools in Nova Scotia.

Education Act (1811)

The Act of 1808 had scarcely begun to bear fruit when the Act of 1811, practically a continuation and revision of the former act, was passed. The Education Act of 1811 marked an epoch in the history of education in Nova Scotia because it provided for the establishing of schools throughout the province. This Act acknowledged the right and necessity of every person to be educated. It recognized three forms of local revenue: assessment, subscription, and bequest. Money raised by both assessment and subscription was not to exceed £200 and the government grant was to be £25 for each £50 raised up to £200. Freeholders or inhabitants with forty shillings income per year could vote, subscribe or raise money for the establishment and support of a school in each settlement of thirty families where the

children would be taught orthography, reading, writing, and arithmetic.⁴ Money could be raised to erect and maintain a school house. Each district was to appoint six of its most respected citizens, from which three were to be chosen for a Board of Trustees. The duties of this Board were: to engage teachers, fix salaries, cause children to attend school regularly, visit and inspect the school twice a year, and inquire into the conduct and proficiency of the teacher, who could be removed if found negligent or of questionable character.

The Act had a number of defects: (1) Only freeholders or those who owned property to forty shillings could vote at district meetings; (2) It only applied to districts which had thirty families; (3) When the money was raised by subscription, only the children of those parents who contributed would receive instruction; (4) It was not compulsory even for the larger settlements to establish schools for "it shall and may be lawful. . .to have such schools."⁵

⁴N. S., Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1811, c. 8.

⁵John E. Crockett, "Origin and Establishment of Free Schools in Nova Scotia" (unpublished Master's thesis, Dept. of History, Dalhousie University, 1940), p. 14.

Nevertheless, the Act of 1811 for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province of Nova Scotia has long been looked upon with reverence as the corner stone of our educational system.

Grammar School Act (1811)

This Act to establish Grammar Schools in several counties and districts of this province empowered the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to appoint Trustees and Directors for establishing Grammar Schools in various places. The Trustees were to procure sites for school buildings, accept donations for their erection, and procure a master and a duly qualified and licensed assistant, if the number of scholars exceeded thirty. The Treasury granted £150 to each of the ten counties or districts for the payment of the teachers (£100 to the master and £50 to the assistant). The pupils were to be taught English Grammar, Latin, Greek, Orthography, use of Globes and practical branches of Mathematics.⁶

Twelve Grammar Schools were organized under the Act of 1811. Many of them had difficulty in procuring and keeping the number of qualified pupils up to the minimum required by the Act. Since the total number

⁶ N. S., Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1811, c. 9.

of pupils was only one hundred twenty-six, a committee of the Council in 1820 recommended that the number of Grammar Schools should be lessened in the interests of both efficiency and economy. Probably influenced by the committee's report, the government allowed the Act of 1811 to expire, without renewal, in 1825. "In the meantime, we must recognize that it was due largely to the scholarship, zeal, and economic necessities of Presbyterian and Anglican clergymen that the grammar schools of Nova Scotia were kept alive from 1811 to 1825."⁷

The bounty system in education succeeded in helping the more prosperous elements of the townships to educate their own children. No responsibility was taken for the children of poorer neighbours who could not raise enough locally to share in the bounty. The Council wanted a new system "that would afford reasonable assistance to poor persons to enable them to teach their children reading, writing and arithmetic, but they would not assent to any bill that provided for the education of the children of the rich

⁷D. C. Harvey, "The Grammar Schools of Nova Scotia, 1811-1825," Journal of Education, Vol. V, No. 1 (January, 1934), p. 94.

and the poor indiscriminately at the public expense."⁸

By 1825, the growth of population, the slowness of many sections to take advantage of the Act of 1811, and the heavy drain on the Treasury for support of those schools which were established, resulted in a general discussion on the subject of education in the House of Assembly. The Assembly was convinced a change of policy was necessary. A committee was appointed to consider the subject of schools and suggest a line of future policy.

The report of the committee, presented to the House on March 7, 1825, was very valuable because it contained the first definite statistics of school population, as well as important recommendations. Five thousand, five hundred fourteen children attended English schools for instruction at an expense of £10,000 annually. At least four thousand, three hundred seventy-seven did not attend school, either from lack of schools or parents' poverty. The number of schools in operation was two hundred seventeen;

⁸Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, a documentary study of early educational policy, published as part of the educational extension work of the Archives under a grant of the Canadian Committee of the Carnegie Corporation (Halifax: 1937), Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 5.

two hundred ten additional schools were needed.

The second part of the report recommended:

(1) The complete abolition of the bounty system and the adoption of a new system which ought to be general throughout the province; (2) Instruction should be compulsory in every place and should not be gratuitous because what costs nothing is usually valued lightly; (3) This instruction could not be supported from the Provincial Treasury but ought to be maintained by the people themselves from funds raised by a general and equal assessment on the whole population according to each man's ability to pay.⁹ The committee concluded that the present establishment of English schools was "altogether defective and totally unequal to the demand for tuition."¹⁰ Very likely the tortuous history of school legislation in Nova Scotia between 1825 and 1865 resulted from the failure of the Legislature to implement the report of this committee.

Education Act (1826)

The main clauses of this Act were: (1) Justices

⁹N. S., Journals of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia, Mar. 1, 1825.

¹⁰P. A. N. S. Bulletin, loc. cit., p. 47.

of the Peace were required to lay off and sub-divide the whole inhabited parts of their respective counties or districts into school districts. Each district was to be of such a size that the school house would be a reasonable distance from the homes of the pupils—the origin of our present school sections.

(2) It provided for a Board of School Commissioners of three members to be appointed by the Government. This Board, intermediate between Trustees and Justices of the Peace, would examine and license teachers, thus replacing the Justices of the Peace and the local clergy.

(3) Three Trustees would be nominated by the rate-payers.

(4) Poor sections were to be attached to the nearest similar district.

(5) The minimum teacher's salary was fixed at £50.

(6) The Annual Provincial Grant of £2500 was divided among the eleven counties and districts, £180 to each.

Education Act (1841)

A Central Board of Education of five members, appointed by the Governor, on the advice of the Executive Council, was established to take the place

of the Secretary of the Province. The Board was to have a salaried clerk—the origin of the office of the Superintendent of Education. The various Boards and Trustees would report annually to this Central Board. Other clauses were:

- (1) The Trustees were to fix the duration of holidays.
- (2) The number of licensed teachers in each district was limited to one male and one female.
- (3) The curriculum consisted of Mathematics, Algebra, Geography, English Grammar, History and Composition.
- (4) The Provincial Grant was raised to £6000.
- (5) Regarding the bilingual question, the Act stated that any school, where the instruction was given in French, Gaelic, or German, would be entitled to a proportion of the public money similar to any school where the instruction was in the English language.¹¹

Education Act (1845)

(1) The Provincial Grant was raised from £6000 to £11,170, to be divided according to the population. The Commissioners were authorized to expend no more than one-quarter of the county or district grant for

¹¹ N. S., Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1841, c. 43.

the establishment or support of stationary, permanent, itinerant or occasional schools among the poor, colored or Indian population.

(2) The sum of £50 was given to the Commissioners of each district to expend on books and stationery, one-half to be sold at cost to the pupils and one-half to be given free to the needy ones.¹²

Education Act (1850)

(1) The first Provincial Superintendent of Education, Mr. J. W. Dawson, was appointed. His duties were: (a) to encourage the formation of Teachers' Institutes; (b) to supply destitute districts with sufficient teachers; (c) to establish an efficient and uniform system of instruction; (d) to make a semi-annual report to the Legislature on the state of education in the province.

(2) £600 a year was granted for books, maps, etc.

(3) £500 was to be used for school libraries.

(4) Agriculture, chemistry and modern languages were added to the curriculum of the Grammar Schools.

(5) The rate-payers were allowed to elect their three Trustees without reference to the Board of School

¹²Statutes of N. S., 1845, c. 25.

Commissioners.¹³

State of Education in Nova Scotia (1800-1864)

It may be asked whether among all His Majesty's colonies there is one of the extent and population of Nova Scotia, so provided with Colleges, Academies, County Grammar Seminaries, and the more humble, but not the less useful, schools for the children in the villages and new settlements. . . . In Nova Scotia every man possesses the means if he chooses to employ them, of giving his children the rudiments of education.¹⁴

Nevertheless, only forty-four schools were in operation in 1827. In the following year, however, the two hundred four schools which were established gave instruction to six thousand, six hundred thirty-nine pupils.

Education in the elementary branches is more generally to be attained throughout Nova Scotia than might be expected in so young a country. It is only in the most remote and scattered settlements that schools in some shape do not exist. . . . There is by no means a feeling of indifference prevalent on this head; the settlers are generally anxious that their children should be instructed; and I have found several schools in temporary operation, where the number and means of the settlement did not admit of its coming within the scope of the provincial grant. . . . These efforts, insignificant as they may appear, I regard with greater attention than the academical placards of the capital; for it is into the habits, the

¹³Ibid., 1850, c. 39.

¹⁴T. C. Haliburton, A General Description of Nova Scotia (Halifax: 1823), p. 162.

feelings, the intellectual cultivation of its peasantry, that we must look for the character of the country.¹⁵

It is noteworthy to observe that in 1834 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel withdrew from the educational field in Nova Scotia, transferring its masters to the government and discontinuing its allowance to them.¹⁶ This withdrawal may be said to mark the close of ecclesiastical control of education in the province.

From their very beginning all the county academies manifested sectarian or religious differences. Each competed with the others for Government recognition in the form of increased grants. At first a few were favored, but by 1841 the claims of nearly every denomination of Christians were recognized and sums of money drawn from the Treasury of the Province for their peculiar benefit. In so doing, the Government had committed itself to a dual policy of support for education, secular and sectarian. Various denominations were reluctant to

¹⁵Capt. W. Moorsom, Letters from Nova Scotia (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), p. 140.

¹⁶T. B. Akins, A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in the British North American Provinces (Halifax: 1849), p. 60.

have their allowance discontinued. Strong supporters of various sects in the Legislature defended the principle of sectarian support in order to secure help for their own cause. It was apparent denominationalism might lead to the neglect of the secular side of education.¹⁷

How did the schoolmaster of this period fare? The following gives a vivid, if not a complimentary, account of the schoolmaster.

A Country Schoolmaster of Nova Scotia!!
 Poor wretch!! Look at him with his pale face, wrinkled forehead, bald almost to his crown, . . . his weak eyes glimmering feebly through his rusty spectacles, . . . his nether lip continually hanging down, as if in sympathy with his own misery, . . . his bloodless complexion. . . Poor devil! . . . And then to have an income made up of weekly two pences. . . to which may be added, if it pleases the Trustees, some £5 per annum from the Provincial Chest, to be ill-clothed, ill-lodged, and, in the end, die of dyspepsy, be buried and forgotten. . . Who that can pack mackerel at two shillings a day. . . would be a Nova Scotia Schoolmaster?¹⁸

¹⁷N. S., Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1836, c. 76 and c. 22.

¹⁸The Sun, January 14, 1850.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS IN LUNENBURG COUNTY (1800-1864)

The last Grammar School organized in Nova Scotia during 1811 was that at Lunenburg.¹ It opened on December 2 with Rev. Thomas Shreve as its master. He received his salary until December 2, 1812, when the school was closed for five years, partly due to poor attendance and partly due to a lack of qualified teachers.

The school was re-opened on July 14, 1817, by Mr. Edmund Hickey. On January 7, 1818, he was appointed master and teacher of twelve scholars, ages ten to eighteen, to whom he taught Latin, Greek, French, English, and arithmetic. After teaching for six months, he tried to draw a portion of his salary. His request was rejected because six months had not elapsed since his appointment as master.² The

¹D. C. Harvey, "The Grammar Schools of Nova Scotia, 1811-1825," Journal of Education, January, 1934, pp. 94-100.

²MSS Assembly Petitions (1816-1830). The

petition was referred to the Committee of Supply, which granted him £50. In 1822, the Trustees reported a class of sixteen boys, fifteen of whom studied Latin. After Mr. Hickey resigned in July, 1823, he was succeeded by Charles Morris, who served until March 28, 1825. Mr. John H. Riches acted as his assistant.

At this time other schools were opened in Lunenburg County: East and West Chester in 1811; Upper LaHave in 1816; Chester town in 1819; New Dublin, 1817; Mahone Bay, Sherbrooke, Pleasant River and Tancook Island in 1820. The calibre of the teachers presented a serious problem. Many of them were discharged soldiers and natives of Ireland and Scotland who had come to a new land as adventurers. They were forced to turn their hands to whatever offered bread, board, drink and lodging. Dr. Harvey called them "rovers by nature and by nurture."³ None of the schools mentioned above were regularly kept, and in 1822 no school in Lunenburg County drew the Provincial allowance.

petition, dated March 7, 1818, was signed at Lunenburg by Roger Aitken, Ferdinand Conrad, William Rudolf, John Creighton, and John Oxner.

³D. C. Harvey, "English Schools in Nova Scotia, 1811-1825," Journal of Education, May, 1934, p. 478.

Judge DesBrisay, in his History of the County of Lunenburg, reported that in 1815 the people used to walk from the country outside Bridgewater to Lunenburg to attend church.

There were no churches nearer home, and no school buildings. The children were instructed by itinerant teachers in private houses.⁴

Mrs. Calvin Wheelock taught in the unfinished Union Church, the first place of worship in Bridgewater, and this is said to have been the first school in Bridgewater. The scholars were seated at one end of the room. As a large portion of the room was without proper flooring, the boys used to set traps in which they occasionally caught some of the squirrels that were about the premises.⁵

Mrs. Margaret Hawbolt, of Chester, began assisting her father in his night school when she was only sixteen years old. Later she established a day school, besides continuing a night school for those who could not attend by day. Married men and women were among her scholars, so the idea of adult education and night schools is not a new one. Judge

⁴M. B. DesBrisay, History of the County of Lunenburg, p. 193.

⁵Ibid., p. 201.

DesBrisay recorded that she became so much attached to her work that she was determined to continue it as long as God gave her health and strength. Carrying out her intention, she was able to say at the close of her life that she had taught in Chester for more than sixty years.

Another faithful teacher in Lunenburg County during this period was George Turner, who taught in the first English school opened at North-West Range, near Lunenburg. After teaching at Upper LaHave, Marriott's Cove and other places around the county, he commenced a school on December 26, 1826, at Chester in a private residence, since no public school had been built. Later he taught in the public school which was opened in 1834 in Chester. Mr. Turner taught at Maitland and at Tancook until in 1845 he went to Sherbrooke (now New Ross). Here he kept a common school and a Sunday school, for which he received a grant from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was a faithful teacher in the county for forty-five years.

John Thomas, a Haligonian, who taught at Chester, Blandford, Windsor Road, Beech Hill, and Gold River, served a term of almost half a century as a teacher

in Lunenburg County. The following account is a description of his early days.

I have in some sections for food, in poor families where I boarded, nothing but Indian meal, without milk or sweetening. In other families, fish and potatoes, and mangel tops for my dinner; slept on hay and straw beds on the floor, where mice, fleas and bugs could be felt all hours of the night. I have frequently found one, two, and three mice crushed to death lying under me—the straw not even put in a sack, and my covering old clothing. I suffered all this, so great was my wish to give instruction to the poor and rising generation. Yea, many families of poor children have I educated and never received one farthing.⁶

In the Commissioners' Report for the County of Lunenburg, dated at Lunenburg, May 12, 1824, it was reported that this county was placed "in a situation distinct and different from that of any other part of the Province."⁷ It must be remembered that the townships and some parts of the County of Lunenburg were peopled by descendants of emigrants from Germany in 1753. These settlers kept their language, customs, and the peculiarities of their native country. The rising generation wanted an alteration in their way of living for economic reasons because they felt excluded

⁶Ibid., p. 401.

⁷Archives Bulletin, Vol. I, Commissioners' Report for the County of Lunenburg, dated May 12, 1824 and signed by Edward James, John Oxner and John Heckman.

from many of the important privileges which belonged to them. They reported that such schools as they had were struggling against great financial odds and needed encouragement from the government. The Committee thought the remedy could be found in the "general diffusion of English education and instruction."⁸

The committee reported that the only school truly established in the county was the Grammar School at Lunenburg. After the Provincial Grant ceased, three schools were "kept by deserving females" in the town of Lunenburg. At Mahone Bay, instruction was given by Mr. William Turner, who earned a precarious living since the Provincial Allowance was discontinued. Schools were kept at Sherbrooke, Chester and at Petite Riviere, where from twenty to twenty-five children usually attended. Some children were kept home either from disinclination of their parents, from inability on the part of their parents to clothe them and, or, to make compensation to the schoolmaster. The emoluments of the masters depended upon the number of scholars and their pay varied from five to ten

⁸ibid.

shillings per quarter. Sometimes they were paid in money and other times in provisions or clothing. The Committee also reported that at Gold River, North-West Range, Upper LaHave, New Dublin, and New Germany, there was no school and the settlers were too poor to support a teacher.⁹

In 1827, the Committee of Schools for the County petitioned the Assembly for assistance to build a public school house from public funds, "to which the town of Lunenburg every year largely contributed."¹⁰ One hundred thirty pounds had already been raised by subscription, and to this amount the Committee of Supply granted £100. The following year a similar petition was sent to seek assistance for the newly erected school. One hundred pounds was granted again.¹¹

Another petition dated at Chester, February 22, 1828, reported that Western Shore was a much neglected and extremely poor section. Of sixty children who

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰MSS Assembly Petition, dated March 28, 1827, signed by Rudolf and Cochran.

¹¹Ibid., March 3, 1828, signed by Cochran, Rudolf, Oxner, Zwickler, Creighton, and Ernst.

came when the school was opened, "not more than six could read and upwards of forty entirely unacquainted with the letters of the Alphabet."¹² The parents were extremely anxious to have their children educated, but the room was much too small. When Rev. James Shreve used it for church services, some of the congregation had to remain outside. The petitioners wished to erect a new building which would serve adequately for a school and a church. The petition requested a sum as "you shall think fit for the purpose aforesaid or otherwise several children in the settlement must remain in their former ignorance as only three or four can read at all."¹³ Twenty-five pounds was granted to this request.

Similar requests from other sections were made. Tancook Island sought assistance to build a school. The inhabitants, who were in slender circumstances, had already subscribed £28 and had obtained a licensed teacher. From Indian Point came a petition for assistance from twenty-three poor families whose fifty children were "capable of learning and very much in

¹²Ibid., February 22, 1828, signed at Chester by Henry Swinhamer and others of Western Shore.

¹³Ibid.

want of that desirable attainment for which they feel a desire and a hunger but have no opportunity because they have no school house.¹⁴

A petition from the town of Lunenburg, dated January 20, 1836, contained the following report:

Sound instruction is afforded in all the higher branches of English Education in addition to those more commonly taught. The institution is productive of eminent benefit to this community. Of the seventy-three children taught, twenty-three of them received free instruction. To the request for aid to increase the usefulness of the school and to extend to the youth of the place still greater advantage, a grant of £50 was made.

To further enhance the general description of educational conditions in the County during this period, this extract from an Assembly petition, dated at Bridgewater, January 4, 1837 is given.

Aware that no person of talent and unblemished moral character would be induced to accept the situation of Teacher under the present degrading system of going the rounds of the District for board, they thought it requisite, in furtherance of their object, and to remedy that evil, to build a School House, sufficiently large to accommodate a Master and his family and the children of the District with a school room.

The schoolmaster, who depended upon the hospitality of the parents for his board and the

¹⁴Ibid., dated February, 1832, at Indian Point, Lunenburg County.

reward of his services, often fared badly because he was exposed to both plenty and poverty, according to the circumstances of his hosts.

In 1838 the Lunenburg Academy opened to all creeds and classes, irrespective of their religion. First it gave only elementary instruction, but later the Legislature was petitioned for aid to raise it to the status of an academy, since parents were subjected to the expense and the inconvenience of sending their children to other parts of the province. No assistance was given until 1839, when the government granted £50 to the Lunenburg Academy.¹⁵ Rev. James S. Cochran, who had previously taught in Lunenburg for a number of years, became the master until another suitably qualified teacher could be obtained. Difficulties soon beset the institution because Rev. Cochran was openly accused of using the Provincial allowance to build up his own church, and of devoting too much of his time to clerical duties. It was also charged that the Anglicans (one-quarter of the population) assumed more than their share of the administration of the school. The controversy forced

¹⁵John E. Crockett, "Origin and Establishment of Free Schools in Nova Scotia," p. 70.

a tedious investigation by the Legislature with the intention of ending the bitter feeling that generally prevailed. A bill to make improvements was drawn up in 1840 and passed. Henceforth every denomination of Christians, resident in Lunenburg, was assured of a fair share in the management, because the Board of Trustees was to consist of three clergymen and two laymen. No regulation was to have effect until it was finally approved by the Governor.¹⁶

In 1840, £100 was granted for the Academy's support and in 1841 an additional £35 was awarded. In the school return of November 30, 1840, it was reported that there were seventy-four scholars. Mr. W. B. Lawson, an able and experienced teacher, was in charge of the English Department, where instruction was also given in geography, book-keeping, use of globes, mensuration of solids and squares, conic sections, trigonometry, plane geometry, land surveying, navigation, and natural philosophy. The classical department under Rev. James Cochran instructed ten pupils.

This is to certify that the classics. . .are to the best of my knowledge and belief, taught in

¹⁶Ibid., p. 71.

the Academy and combined grammar and common school in the Town of Lunenburg, of which I am one of the Trustees.¹⁷

Before concluding this chapter on the state of education in Lunenburg County during the first half of the nineteenth century, two other petitions to the House of Assembly should be mentioned. A petition from Chester, dated February 17, 1857, contained the complaint that the increased number of schools had reduced the amounts granted to several teachers. The sum granted was now too small and unless it was increased, the petitioners believed the schools could not be properly supported. They reported they would be unable to secure the services of competent teachers unless their request for an increase in the grant was favorably received.

A petition from Bridgewater, dated February 17, 1857, requested permission to sell the present dilapidated school and use the proceeds for the purchase of a new site. The Journal of Education of February, 1860, reported that a new school of two departments was erected in Bridgewater. Four hundred thirty pounds was raised by taxation. To raise this sum by

¹⁷PANS Lunenburg School Papers, Letter written by M. V. Creighton dated at Lunenburg, Nov. 30, 1841.

taxation must have caused some difficulty because in the same publication this statement appeared. "We have often heard it said that there is not perhaps a county in the Province where the subject of taxation is so obnoxious as Lunenburg."¹⁸

¹⁸N. S., Journal of Education and Agriculture, Vol. II, No. 8 (February, 1860), p. 122.

CHAPTER VI

FREE SCHOOLS IN LUNENBURG COUNTY (1864-1900)

The "Free Schools" Act of 1864 stated that every county town of one hundred twenty-five to two hundred school children was obliged to provide two departments, the preparatory school and the high school. A town which had two hundred pupils was required to provide three departments: the preparatory, the elementary, and the Academy to teach mathematics, Latin, Greek, French, natural philosophy, science, along with the higher branches of English education. The Academy was free to all students within the county. "All common schools shall be free to all the children residing in the section in which they are established."¹ It is this clause which has given to the Act of 1864 its popular name and fame. With the passage of the Compulsory Assessment Bill in 1865, assessment was finally made compulsory and the universal establish-

¹N. S., Statutes of Nova Scotia, Free School Bill of 1864, sec. 29.

ment of free schools under one system was made possible.

On October 25, 1864, a meeting of the rateable inhabitants of the town of Lunenburg was held for the purpose of determining whether an Academy should be established in the town. The result of this meeting was the decision to build a County Academy. The first trustees appointed were: Hon. John Creighton, James D. Eisenhower, Stephen Finck, Joseph W. Lockhart, William W. Zwicker. While the new school was being constructed, classes were held in the Old Temperance Hall. The frame of the new school was erected in 1865 but the building was not completed until 1866. The new, one storey building (50' x 90' with an L50' square) of four classrooms, which cost \$12,000, accommodated over two hundred pupils.

Reports of Lunenburg County Schools (1865-1875)
—Inspector W. M. B. Lawson

October 31, 1866

The first Inspector of Schools for Lunenburg County was Mr. W. M. B. Lawson, formerly a Lunenburg teacher. In his first report to the Superintendent of Education he stated: "Our educational prospects in

this County were in a state of hopeful progression."² In the County there were three school districts, namely, Lunenburg, New Dublin and Chester. There were two school terms, a winter term from November 1 to May 1, and a summer term from May 1 to November 1. During the year 1865 to 1866 there was an increase of fourteen schools in the summer term and an increase of six hundred forty-five pupils over the winter attendance. This increase is noted as an unusual occurrence in the summer term in this county. From October, 1865, to October, 1866, the number of schools increased by twenty-four while the number of pupils increased by over one thousand. This was an excellent indication of the favor shown the Act of 1865 in Lunenburg County. The teacher scarcity was the only detriment in having every habitable school house in the county in operation. Four poor sections were without school houses. Although the new Bridgewater school was a fine looking building of two departments, reflecting credit upon its Trustees and the residents, it was too small to meet the needs of the section.

²W. M. B. Lawson, Inspector's Annual Report to Supt. of Education, Nova Scotia Education Reports (Oct. 31, 1866), p. 58.

"The extreme backwardness of the season, the failure of their crops, together with their poverty,"³ prevented the people in one or two sections of the Chester District from building new schools.

October 31, 1867

Although the schools provided free instruction, ignorance blinded the minds of some parents and children were kept home. Mr. Lawson recommended compulsory attendance of all pupils between the ages of six and fifteen. The increase in the number of schools and the number of pupils was proof of the progress in the county. Continued failure of the fisheries, shortness of crops, and the scarcity of licensed teachers had an injurious effect on the schools. Of the seven new schools built during the year, one was constructed in a poor section

through the persevering exertions of an individual whose children since grown up. . .but knowing and deploring the educational destitution around him, made no slight sacrifice of his means to give to them what he could never obtain for his own—the ever blessed advantage of a Free School.⁴

In the District of Lunenburg, five sections had no school house due to the "tightness of the times".

³Ibid., p. 59.

⁴Ibid., Oct. 31, 1867, p. 46.

Four poor sections, where some parents were careless and only lukewarm on the subject of education, were without school houses in New Dublin. Two Chester sections were so destitute that they had no school house. They were so wretchedly poor as to have great difficulty in procuring the means of subsistence—a great drawback to the prosperity of education. This report concluded with the thought that, generally speaking, the foundation of a good and sound system of education was laid in the county.

October 31, 1868

Despite the failure of crops and of the fisheries, with the resultant general depression, which operated adversely on the prosperity of schools in many parts of the County, progress and improvement were evident. Four years before the schools were miserably deficient in almost every comfort and convenience. Some were nearly falling down, never half-finished, unpainted, not even white-washed, and standing in all the ugliness of dirty deformity—a disgrace to the County and a shame to the sections which tolerated them. Now the schools were neat, clean and tidy-looking, suitably furnished with everything conducive to comfort and

convenience. Also, the very decided hostility to the School Law, which prevailed at first, had almost entirely subsided. The Lunenburg Academy had added a new room to accommodate a fifth department. This institution was doing good work and educationally speaking, it was in a healthy condition. Mr. Lawson considered it a handsome and commodious building and a credit to the community. One criticism made by the inspector was that not enough attention was paid to good reading in the county schools. In teaching this subject, the teachers, in many sections of the County, where the German language predominated, had a difficult task to perform, one which required much time and patience.

October 31, 1869 .

Once again Mr. Lawson reported that irregularity of attendance was a terrible impediment to the healthy progress of many schools. Also, the migratory nature of the teachers sadly retarded the progress of the schools. He advocated that every teacher should be trained according to a uniform system so that a change of teacher would not cause such an upset.

Among the Assembly petitions was a letter dated January, 1869, in which the petitioners stated that a

large number of school houses had been closed and the county was much vexed with the operation of the Compulsory Assessment Act. In many poor sections where there were no school houses or where the people were too poor to support a teacher, the residents were taxed and the money spent in other sections where the people were wealthier and thus able to build schools and support teachers.

Thus the poor are robbed for the benefit of the rich. The only honest and just method of remedying this evil in the opinion of your petitioners is to make each separate school section support its own school by individual subscription.⁵

October 31, 1870

The two districts of Lunenburg and New Dublin were united, thus necessitating the renumbering of different sections. Lunenburg County now had one hundred twenty-seven sections which contained poor people, few in numbers, and scattered over a large area. Six sections had no school. To build and maintain a school often caused great difficulty and yet the people made every effort to have school for at least part of the year. Irregularity of attendance

⁵MSS Assembly Petition signed at Hebb's Settlement, Lunenburg County by ratepayers, January, 1869.

continued to persist, the average attendance being only about 57% of the number of registered pupils. Also, the progress of many schools was still impeded by too frequent change of teachers.

Although there was an improvement in reading, "it appears to be almost impossible to teach a child to pronounce many common English words correctly in the localities where the German language is principally the mother tongue."⁶ "v" is persistently converted into "w", the "th" into "d", and "d" into "t", also the "p" into "b". It was very difficult to correct these pronunciation defects. Vocal music, although not scientifically taught, was practised in most schools. Reading, writing, arithmetic, and the geography of Nova Scotia received the most attention.

October 31, 1871

Many parents, who had large families and should have wanted a permanent school, still showed carelessness and apathy towards education. Others who were unable to obtain the advantage of an education, seemed willing to bequeath the same disadvantage to their children.

⁶M. W. B. Lawson, Report of Oct. 31, 1870, p. 68.

The average attendance during the winter term was only 59.4%. Inspector Lawson recommended some stringent legislative enactment which would compel a fuller and more regular attendance in all the schools. The Board of School Commissioners for the District of Lunenburg and New Dublin passed a resolution at their semi-annual meeting in November in reference to the necessity of some legislative measures being taken towards the enforcing of a more regular attendance.

The Lunenburg Academy under the capable management of Mr. Edward H. Owen was doing excellent work. "The first, second, and third departments of this Institution are models of good order, good discipline and progress, reflecting the highest credit upon Mr. Owen, as Principal and upon his subordinates, as careful, competent, and successful teachers."⁷

The very limited supply of books retarded the progress of education, interfered with the proper classification of pupils and irritated the teachers. Progress was evident in the construction of twenty new schools. The school houses in this county generally presented as creditable an appearance as

⁷M. W. B. Lawson, Report of Oct. 31, 1871, p. 63.

those of any other county in Nova Scotia. The report concluded with this statement:

On the whole, however, we have every reason to be thankful to an overruling Providence, for the vast improvement which has been made in education in this county since 1864, and to pray that the same success may still attend us in the future, until the County of Lunenburg may be as far in the van, as ever she has been in the rear, in educational progress.⁸

October 31, 1872

The former prejudices which existed against the free school system were fast disappearing. Public opinion seemed to be strongly pointed in the wished-for direction. There were now one hundred twenty-one sections in the county. Of the six sections on islands, only three of them had school houses. Four mainland sections had no school houses due to the sparsity of inhabitants, who were situated so far apart and were too poor to maintain a school. Some sections had no school because of the negligence of the trustees in delaying too long to look for a teacher. In a few cases the maintenance of a school was voted down. Some of the parents of large families neglected to attend the annual meeting so the fate of

⁸Ibid., p. 64.

the school was in the hands of a few who, brought up in ignorance themselves, were fearful of having to pay a small sectional tax. These people watched every opportunity to enable them to shut the school house and keep the rising generation in perpetual ignorance.

Some teachers were devoted, intelligent, and thorough although they were confronted with many great discouragements, not the least of which was the unpardonable ingratitude of so many parents. Another great discouragement, which had a mischievous effect upon the inefficiency of the schools, was the low rate of salaries. Lack of suitable apparatus caused discouragement on the part of the teachers who attempted to do efficient work. Irregularity of attendance was another discouraging factor. Despite these hindrances, there was a continuous and steady improvement in the educational progress of Lunenburg County.

Reports for 1873-1875

Three hundred thirty children were deprived of the means of education during the school year ending October 31, 1873, due to twenty-two vacant sections, nine of which had no school house. The following year

there were forty-four vacant school sections and approximately eight hundred children received no instruction during the winter term. The inspector's report for 1875 was a more favorable one. During the winter term the number of schools increased by ten and it was apparent that a much greater interest was taken in education. The section of Conquerall could be cited as an exception because here they blew up their nearly-finished new school house with a keg of gunpowder. The old school had been wrecked during the previous term. Thus, one of the wealthiest sections on the LaHave River had been rendered destitute of a school house and there was no prospect of recovering. Very few shanty type schools remained. However, too often the inside was fitted only for Sunday service and the comfort of the school was sacrificed to the accommodation of a meeting house. The children's feet dangled in the air and they had no support for their backs.

Reports of Lunenburg County Schools (1876-1880)
—Inspector G. W. Hiltz

In 1876, seventy-five per cent of the one hundred thirty-two school sections in Lunenburg County

were in operation. Eight schools, situated on islands, were open only during the winter term. Most of the schools in the District of Lunenburg and New Dublin, especially the French ones, were neat and commodious and creditable to the different sections. In the District of Chester, however, scarcely a school was well adapted for use. Many of them were old, small and totally dilapidated. The demand for text books exceeded the supply.

During the following three years, the financial depression which descended upon the greater portion of the county, unfavorably affected the schools because it hindered the building program. Despite the "hardness of the times," six new school houses were erected. The prevalence of diphtheria and other epidemics in these years decreased the school attendance. Also, a growing feeling of indifference, on the part of the parents with respect to their children's education, often caused attendance at school to be postponed to a more convenient season. It was hoped, however, that "in a few years it may reasonably be expected that every child in the county may be in a position to put himself in possession of

his unquestionable birthright—a sound common school education."⁹

Report of Lunenburg County Schools (1880-1890)
—Inspector Thomas R. Pattillo

In his first report as Inspector of Schools for Lunenburg County, Mr. Pattillo commented that many of the schools failed in the thoroughness of their work and the practical application of rules and principles to matters of everyday life. Irregular attendance was the most serious drawback to the successful working of the educational system. Of six thousand, two hundred thirteen registered pupils, the average daily attendance was only two thousand, five hundred thirty-seven. Of the Lunenburg Academy, he reported, "It is to be regretted, however, that the parents do not more fully appreciate this school in their midst, and continue their children in it sufficiently long to complete the full course of study."¹⁰

During the year 1880, Lunenburg County had one hundred thirty-four sections with one hundred ten

⁹Inspector G. W. Hiltz, Report of Oct. 31, 1879, p. 42.

¹⁰Inspector T. R. Pattillo, Report of Oct. 31, 1880, p. 14.

schools in operation. Nine of these schools were on islands, one of them eight miles from the mainland. "I had a narrow escape from foundering in my boat in Chester Bay when returning from my last visit to the most distant one."¹¹ The most gratifying feature was the fact that schools were opened for the first time under the present law in eight of the sections. Some trustees still were indifferent and incompetent. A scarcity of teachers prevented some sections from having schools. Many teachers had done excellent work but

a few are attempting to teach who have certainly missed their calling. Those would confer relief on myself and benefit on the cause of education by devoting themselves to domestic duties.¹²

Generally, the schools were in a much more prosperous condition than formerly. A better description of work and a greater quantity has been performed than previously. Many primary rooms were too crowded and in charge of untrained teachers—a result of the prevalent idea that anyone can teach children. Due to a reduction of from six to twenty-five percent in salaries, many of the best teachers

¹¹Ibid., p. 13.

¹²Ibid., Oct. 31, 1881, p. 15.

were driven out of the profession and replaced by those who had neither tact nor experience but had that important qualification wanted by many trustees—to work for nothing and board themselves.

The decrease in attendance during the following year was attributed to the unusually boisterous weather and the prevalence of measles, whooping cough, and diphtheria. Twenty sections had no school. Lunenburg Academy needed more pupils to fill the classes in the higher grades. The school also required more accommodation for the primary departments, since the rooms were over-crowded and many school-age children were shut out. Permissive licenses were issued to fill the demand for teachers, too many of whom "think the teacher's work ceases with the closing of the school-house door, consequently they meet their classes with less knowledge of the lesson than those to whom they assigned them."¹³ The growing interest of the parents in educational work was encouraging. This interest was evident in the efforts made for increased and improved accommodation, the organization of hitherto indifferent sections, and

¹³Ibid., Oct. 31, 1882, p. 16.

the erection of a number of school houses. In his visits around the county, Mr. Pattillo experienced many hazards. "The weather and roads last winter and spring were so bad and the latter often unsafe for myself and my horse, I was prevented reaching a few of the schools."¹⁴

During the year 1883 the town of Lunenburg built a school at Newtown to accommodate the younger children and thus alleviate the overcrowding in the Academy. The demand for teachers continued to exceed the supply. More teachers were leaving than were preparing for the profession because of the small salaries. Copies of the Course of Study set up in 1881 were supplied to the schools during the winter term.

The first act of the legislature to provide directly for compulsory attendance was passed in 1883. The compulsory school attendance ages were from seven to twelve years. Mr. Pattillo reported that this act was overlooked in several sections at their annual meeting. Some sections even failed to hold their annual meeting because the trustees were fishermen who were away from home most of the time.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 18.

In 1884, of the one hundred thirty-seven school sections, one hundred thirty-two operated in the winter with 54.8% attendance while one hundred twenty-seven sections operated in the summer with 57.7% attendance. The attendance was more irregular in many of the shore and county schools because the pupils were needed at home to work in the fields, catch and cure fish, or pick berries. During the summer term when fish and berries were very plentiful, some schools were deserted. The "Act for Better Attendance at School" was overlooked by at least one-third of the sections at their annual meeting. The town of Lunenburg was the only large section that accepted it. In April, Principal Owen of the Lunenburg Academy was forced to resign because of ill health. Mr. M. I. Tuttle finished the term and was then replaced by Mr. H. H. MacIntosh, "the right man in the right place."¹⁵

In Inspector Pattillo's report of October, 1885, he stated that the number of schools in operation and the attendance exceeded the report of any previous year. During the summer term of 1870, thirty-six

¹⁵Ibid., Oct. 1884.

per cent of the schools were on the poor list as compared with ten per cent in 1885. The following table shows the progress made over the fifteen year period.

TABLE 1

PROGRESS IN LUNENBURG COUNTY SCHOOLS 1870-1885

| Year | Winter Term | | | Summer Term | | |
|------|-------------|---------------|--------|-------------|---------------|--------|
| | Schools | Poor Sections | Pupils | Schools | Poor Sections | Pupils |
| 1870 | 83 | 36 | 4135 | 83 | 30 | 3699 |
| 1875 | 108 | 26 | 5136 | 109 | 20 | 4367 |
| 1880 | 112 | 14 | 5153 | 107 | 10 | 4198 |
| 1885 | 139 | 19 | 5933 | 129 | 14 | 5245 |

Progress was also noticeable in the enlarged number and the improved condition of the school houses, outbuildings and the premises. The "Act for Better Attendance" had not been operative in all sections because the trustees refused to take the responsibility of enforcing the penalties because they feared it would cause strife in their small settlements and thus do more harm than good. The following year, however, the compulsory attendance question found more supporters at the annual meetings.

In 1887 only two sections were without a school. The attendance at school was reduced by prevalence of diphtheria and measles. Extensive repairs were made to many schools; new furniture and apparatus were supplied; the school rooms were renovated. An unfavorable report came from Gold River where a disagreement existed between the Commissioner of Schools for the District of Chester and the trustees over the choice of a site for a new school. The present building was totally inadequate to the section needs. The following year the school houses at Conquerall Bank and Petite Riviere were enlarged to accommodate a primary department. The Bridgewater school, under Mr. Huggins, was working well. The "penny-wise and pound-foolish policy" of the Mahone Bay school section was destroying the efficiency and retarding the work of each of the departments.

Arbor Day was profitably observed in an increased number of sections. Ornamental trees were planted and the grounds levelled and beautified. In his final report (October, 1889), Mr. Pattillo commented that during his inspectorate seventy-one schools had been erected, fifty-four enlarged or repaired, and the number of pupils enrolled had

increased by two thousand. "The instruction given has been at once fuller and more thorough, and the teacher a more distinct power for good, not only in informing the mind but in elevating the moral character."¹⁶

Report of Lunenburg County Schools (1890-1900)
—Inspector H. H. MacIntosh

From Inspector MacIntosh's first report it is learned that Gold River was the only section without a school during the year ending October, 1890. A new school was opened at Gully on May 1, 1890, by five ratepayers who finished and furnished a very commodious and comfortable school house for nineteen registered pupils. Lunenburg Academy, with its twelve departments and six hundred eight pupils, had a very successful year. Its attendance had been the largest in the history of the school. Many miscellaneous schools were in a very backward and unsatisfactory condition for various reasons: lack of interest by parents and trustees, resulting in irregular attendance; neglected preparation of home work; want of school apparatus. Lack of professional training was also most severely felt among the country schools,

¹⁶Ibid., Oct. 1889, p. 57.

where only about twenty per cent of the teachers had Normal School Diplomas. The constant change of teachers in these same schools retarded progress most of all.

The following year, 1891, found three sections without a school—Gold River, Forties, and New Cumberland. The attendance percentage decreased because of the prevalence of the grippe and the mumps. A frequent complaint of ratepayers who have no children at school was that they were taxed to provide a school for children who did not attend. At three new schools, the attendance was most satisfactory, indicating that they prized the long-denied privilege which had cost them much exertion to obtain.

I am pleased to be able to report that diligent and faithful work has characterized the teachers of this district during the past year.¹⁷

Some of the encouraging features were: less frequent change of teachers, more oral instruction, less textbook memorization, enquiries as to the best method of teaching certain subjects, and more interest by teachers on attendance at the Normal School. Only one teacher out of eight possessed a Normal School

¹⁷H. H. MacIntosh, Report of Oct. 31, 1891,
p. 60.

Diploma and they were mostly employed in graded schools. Thus, the need of trained teachers was most severe in the country sections.

The new Course of Study had two beneficial results—it had systematized the work of the school and rendered the work of inspection easier and more satisfactory. Reading, writing and arithmetic took up a large part of the school time. The Lunenburg Academy, under Principal Burgess McKittrick, did excellent work. More high school pupils came from the country sections. Bridgewater, with its capable, energetic principal and good staff, was a progressive school.

In 1892 the Gold River difficulty was settled and, after an interval of four years, over one hundred pupils were back at school. A sign of improvement was that more Normal School trained teachers were employed during 1892 than previously. Teachers strongly favored the annual term and it was thought the one term system would lessen the frequent changes of teachers. April 30, 1892, was the date on which the termination of the school year changed from October 31 to July 31. The year 1893 was the transition term, consisting necessarily of only the nine

months from November 1, 1892, to July 31, 1893. The law provided for a shorter term for sections which were unable to maintain a school throughout the whole year. Better work was done since the term was unbroken.

In the Inspector's Report for the Year ending July 31, 1894, it was reported for the first time that every settlement in Lunenburg County had its public school and each of the one hundred forty-six sections was organized and active. A scarcity of teachers resulted from the increase in the number of schools, and from the fact that more teachers were attending the Normal School.

After an existence of nearly thirty years, the Lunenburg Academy was destroyed by fire on September 28, 1893. The sum of \$25,000 was voted for a new building which was to be one of the largest public school buildings in the province. From the annual report of the Superintendent of Education for the year ending July 31, 1894, Judge DesBrisay quoted:

"Lunenburg has already commenced to lay the foundations of a building for its academy and common schools, which will be an ornament to the town and a credit to the Province."¹⁸

¹⁸DesBrisay, op. cit., p. 397.

The new County Academy occupies the most commanding site in the town [Gallows Hill], and no finer view can be had in the Province than that afforded from the roof of this building. It is a large, handsome, and commodious structure, 125 feet in length and 100 feet in breadth. . . . There are twelve large school rooms, each with separate cloak rooms for boys and girls, a well arranged laboratory, a library, and a large assembly hall capable of seating at least four hundred. The whole building is beautifully finished in hard wood. This, with the handsome wooden ceilings, renders each room most attractive Four towers adorn the building, in one of which is placed a 650 pound bell. It is the most conveniently arranged and best finished school building in the Province, and marks well the enterprise and progress of the town of Lunenburg.¹⁹

In its size and situation, and in all its appointments, it is one of the best-equipped institutions of the kind in Nova Scotia.²⁰

With respect to heating, ventilation, laboratory and other accommodations, it will compare favorably with the best modern school buildings of the same size and character on the continent. Its site is also superior, effectively improving the appearance of the town from every point of view, as the whole reflects credit on the citizens of Lunenburg. It has already produced the usual effect of increasing the attendance in the public schools, and is soon likely to require an enlargement of the Academic staff.²¹

Several permissive licenses were granted because of the scarcity of teachers. Twenty-six per cent of

¹⁹H. H. MacIntosh, Report of July 31, 1895, p. 58.

²⁰DesBrisay, loc. cit.

²¹A. H. MacKay, Report of Supt. of Education (July 31, 1896), p. XLVI.

the schools were rated good, twenty-three per cent poor, and the remainder fair. "We cannot have good schools without good teachers."²²

In 1895, of the one hundred fifteen sections that voted on the Compulsory Attendance Act, sixty-six adopted it. The following year there was a noticeable increase in the number of pupils registered and the day's attendance, especially in the sections which had adopted the Act. The influence of the constantly increasing number of Normal School trained teachers was evident. More and better teaching was done. Arbor Day was very generally observed. Many well-kept school grounds and homelike school rooms owed their existence to Arbor Day. The inspector's report for the year 1900 could be summarized by saying that successful and encouraging progress continued in the schools of Lunenburg County.

²²H. H. MacIntosh, loc. cit., p. 59.

CONCLUSION

Since the first settlers landed in 1753, Lunenburg County has witnessed great changes in the education of its children. Much praise is due to the teachers of the past for their untiring services. The citizens should honor their achievement, utilize it as a basis for future progress, without excluding the possibility of "the best is yet to be." Naturally, as the state of society changes, there must be a revamping and reconditioning of the educational system. It is essential to retain what is of value from the past and yet be farsighted enough to make the fundamental readjustments and changes necessary so that the schools of Lunenburg County will be of maximum service to the community. Looking back is often retrograde, but when it is done so as to stiffen the resolve to challenge the future, the experience can be both stimulating and helpful.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

EDUCATIONAL GROWTH IN LUNENBURG COUNTY (1866-1900)

| Year | Sections | Winter Term | | Summer Term | |
|---------|----------|-------------|--------|-------------|--------|
| | | Schools | Pupils | Schools | Pupils |
| 1866... | 109 | 51 | 2416 | 65 | 3061 |
| 1867... | 109 | 72 | 3788 | 87 | 4228 |
| 1868... | 117 | 74 | 4055 | 81 | 3710 |
| 1869... | 122 | 80 | 4241 | 90 | 4161 |
| 1870... | 127 | 83 | 4431 | 84 | 3821 |
| 1871... | 121 | 88 | 4357 | 81 | 3823 |
| 1872... | 121 | 76 | 3934 | 84 | 4043 |
| 1873... | 125 | 89 | 4415 | 89 | 4296 |
| 1874... | 125 | 87 | 4305 | 98 | 4227 |
| 1875... | 127 | 109 | 5416 | 113 | 4325 |
| 1876... | 132 | 100 | 4975 | 98 | 4422 |
| 1877... | 132 | 97 | 5012 | 104 | 4531 |
| 1878... | 135 | 112 | 5114 | 98 | 4139 |
| 1879... | 135 | 114 | 5333 | 110 | 4675 |
| 1880... | 135 | 110 | 5211 | 99 | 4302 |
| 1881... | 134 | 112 | 5164 | 99 | 4198 |
| 1882... | 135 | 120 | 5307 | 111 | 4567 |
| 1883... | 137 | 125 | 5630 | 123 | 5047 |
| 1884... | 137 | 132 | 5766 | 127 | 5101 |
| 1885... | 137 | 139 | 5933 | 129 | 5245 |
| 1886... | 135 | 140 | 6085 | 132 | 5368 |
| 1887... | 135 | 146 | 6090 | 132 | 5380 |
| 1888... | 135 | 150 | 6220 | 140 | 5650 |
| 1889... | 142 | 146 | 6028 | 137 | 5488 |
| 1890... | 142 | 153 | 6106 | 150 | 5798 |
| 1891... | 143 | 156 | 6197 | 152 | 5755 |
| 1892... | 145 | 161 | 6364 | 155 | 5837 |

TABLE 1—Continued

| Year | Sections | Schools | Pupils |
|-----------|----------|---------|--------|
| 1893..... | 143 | 171 | 7312 |
| 1894..... | 146 | 171 | 7552 |
| 1895..... | 146 | 167 | 7434 |
| 1896..... | 147 | 167 | 7592 |
| 1897..... | 147 | 173 | 7510 |
| 1898..... | 147 | 171 | 7465 |
| 1899..... | 147 | 177 | 7612 |
| 1900..... | 147 | 180 | 7573 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Manuscript:

Acts of Assembly (1758-1867).

Assembly Petitions. Nine folders on education (1816-1897).

Lunenburg Academy Papers (1841, 1845-1849).

P. A. N. S. School Papers including reports, documents, accounts, receipts, etc. (1811-1865).

Printed:

Canada, Canadian Archives Report (1887, 1888, 1894, 1899).

Extracts from The Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts from the Year 1711 to 1779. N. S. Historical Society, Akins Collection.

Newspaper: The Sun (1850-1851).

Nova Scotia, Archives Bulletin. Vols. I and II. A documentary study of early educational policy. Halifax: 1937.

Nova Scotia, Education Reports (1866-1900).

Nova Scotia, Journal of Education (1851-1900).

Nova Scotia, Statutes of Nova Scotia to 1867.

Articles:

Harvey, D. C. "A Forgotten School Act," Journal of Education (March, 1934), pp. 239-244.

_____. "Educational Experiments, 1825-1832," Journal of Education (January, 1935), pp. 22-29.

_____. "English Schools in Nova Scotia, 1811-1825," Journal of Education (May, 1934), pp. 468-479.

_____. "Letters of Our First Superintendent," Journal of Education (January, 1936), pp. 56-62.

_____. "More Letters of Our First Superintendent," Journal of Education (September, 1936), pp. 549-565.

_____. "The Grammar Schools in Nova Scotia, 1811-1825," Journal of Education (January, 1934), pp. 94-100.

Sarty, Roberta. "The Founding of Lunenburg," Lunenburg's Bicentennial printed in 1953 for Lunenburg's 200th Anniversary.

Theses:

Crockett, John E. "Origin and Establishment of Free Schools in Nova Scotia." Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, Dalhousie University, 1940.

Logan, E. D. "Educational Achievements in Nova Scotia, 1840-1865." Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of History, Dalhousie University, 1936.

Thibeau, Patrick Wilfred. "Education in Nova Scotia Before 1811." Unpublished Doctoral thesis, Catholic University of America, 1922.

BOOKS

- Akins, Thomas Beamish. A Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Church of England in the British North American Provinces. Halifax: 1849.
- Bingay, James. History of Canada. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1949.
- _____. Public Education in Nova Scotia. Kingston: The Jackson Press, 1919.
- Bird, Will R., and Harvey, D. C. Historic Nova Scotia. Halifax: Government of Nova Scotia, n. d.
- Campbell, Duncan. Nova Scotia. Montreal: John Lovell, 1873.
- DesBrisay, M. B. History of the County of Lunenburg. 2d ed. revised. Toronto: William Briggs, 1895.
- Doughty, A. G., and Shortt, Adam (eds.). Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions. 22 vols. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co., 1914.
- Eaton, A. W. H. History of Kings County. Salem, Mass: The Salem Press Company, 1910.
- Haliburton, Thomas Chandler. An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia. 2 vols. Halifax: 1829.
- _____. The Clockmaker. 3 vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1843.
- Harvey, D. C. Colonization of Canada. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Co. Ltd., 1936.
- Moorson, Capt. W. Letters from Nova Scotia. London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830.

- Murdoch, Beamish. A History of Nova Scotia.
3 vols. Halifax, N. S.: James Barnes,
1865-1867.
- Richard, Edouard. Acadia—Missing Links of a
Lost Chapter. 2 vols. New York: Home
Book Company, 1895.
- Roth, D. Luther. Acadie and the Acadians. 3d.
ed. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication
Society, 1890.