

PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION OF CATHOLICS
IN THE CITY OF HALIFAX 1819-1900

A Thesis written in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

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INTRODUCTION

The Halifax system of public schools, which is almost a century old, attracts much interest because of its unique arrangement. In this system, which gives satisfaction to both Protestants and Catholics, the latter group have been afforded certain privileges which give them the equivalent of separate schools. "The Halifax System", as it is popularly known, was initiated by provincial statute and perpetuated by the Halifax Board of School Commissioners.

The purpose of this thesis is to study the Catholic schools of the city from their origin to the beginning of the free schools. We shall place particular importance upon the special circumstances surrounding the establishment of the free schools and the necessity of the Catholic schools to be made an integral part of the system. Following this, we will examine the period from 1865 to 1900 in which the System was strengthened and staunchly defended by the School Board. The full extent of this thesis will be from 1786 to 1900. By this latter date all the significant developments with regard to the Catholic schools had taken place. The Board's resolution of 1876 governing the appointment of Catholic teachers, and its policy on the matter of building schools had been formulated

and decided.

To study the Catholic schools during this time the researcher used all the resources possible. Whenever available, first-class sources such as minutes, laws, petitions, letters and reports were used. An extensive use was made of the Halifax newspapers, both secular and religious, which were keenly interested in matters educational, especially from 1860-1900. These newspapers gave reports of School Board meetings, studied current educational legislation, and often printed in full special school reports or letters to the School Board. A special secondary source was the thesis "The Evolution of Catholic Public Schools in Nova Scotia", written by Sister Francis Xavier Walsh, S.C.H., for Boston College Graduate School. In this thesis, a study of the change of the Catholic schools of the province to public and free schools was made. Sister includes an outline of the Catholic schools of Halifax. In contrast the present researcher gives a detailed study of these schools from 1819-1900. To understand the special arrangement that exists in the School Board today, a detailed study of this type is required, especially for the difficult times of the 1870's. This thesis attempted to collect all the relevant information about the Catholic schools of Halifax up to 1900. Most of the information was obtained from the Public Archives of Nova Scotia and the Halifax School Board Office.

CHAPTER I

EARLY HALIFAX CATHOLIC PUBLIC EDUCATION 1802-65

Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, was founded on June 21, 1749. It was established as a base for the British army and navy who were going to initiate a concerted effort to push the French out of Canada. It was also begun as a Protestant colony in Nova Scotia to counteract the substantial French Catholic population in the province. But even by 1767, there was a large Catholic population. In that year the Halifax area had 3,022 people, but about one-fifth of these were Roman Catholic, consisting almost entirely of Irish and Acadian stock.¹

The Catholics were oppressed from the beginning by the penal laws of the province. In the first Assembly (1759) a law was passed which made the Catholics ineligible to own land and another law forbade any "papish priest" to remain in the province. All these laws were reflections of the penal laws against the Catholics of England, Ireland, and Scotland, which had been in effect

¹D. Allison, LL.D., "Notes on Census of 1767", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. VII, 1891, p. 60.

for at least a century.¹

Education was not excluded from the restrictions placed upon the Nova Scotian Catholics. In 1766, a school law was passed which in fact made the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.F.P.), an institution in close connection with the Church of England, the lawful guardian of all education in the province and put the following limitation to Catholic education:

No person shall presume to enter upon the said office of schoolmaster until he shall have taken the oaths appointed to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribed the declaration openly in some of His Majesty's courts, or as shall be directed by the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or Commander-in-Chief for the time being, and if any papish recusant, papist, or person professing the papish religion, shall be so presumptuous as to set up any school within the Province, and be detected therein, such offender shall, for every such offense, suffer three months imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and shall pay a fine to the King of ten pounds, and if any one shall refuse to take the said oaths and subscribe the declarations, he shall be deemed and taken to be a papish recusant for the purposes so before mentioned.²

Although the Catholics were legally not able to have a priest or teacher and not able to own any land,

¹Rev. Angus Anthony Johnston, Litt.D., A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia, Vol. 1, 1611-1827 (Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Press, 1960), pp. 77-79.

²Nova Scotia Laws, Statutes at Large, c 7, section I, 1766.

still circumstances gave them some encouragement. In 1760, Abbé Maillard, the famous Micmac converter and missionary, arrived in Halifax and under government control ministered to the Irish and Indians in and around Halifax. He celebrated the first Mass in Halifax at the present corner of Tobin and Barrington Streets in a barn belonging to John Murphy.¹ Abbé Maillard died in 1762, and in 1768 Father Bailly took his place under the same conditions, to minister to the Indians and keep them subdued.²

To this date no advances had been made in the education of the Catholics in Halifax. Still, there had been provision for education of Catholics in other parts of the province much before 1760. In 1633, there had been the first school in Nova Scotia at La Have, until it was transferred to Port Royal in 1636. The Notre Dame Sisters also had opened Catholic schools at Louisburg in 1733.³ In Halifax itself, the first educational institution was the Orphan School opened in 1752 under the direction of Rev. John Breynton,⁴ and in 1750 a school had been established by the Society for the

¹Johnston, op. cit., p. 72.

²Ibid., p. 92.

³Patrick Wilfred Thibeau, "Education in Nova Scotia Before 1811" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1922), p. 17.

⁴Ibid., p. 42.

Propagation of the Gospel.¹ Private schools were also opened very early in the history of Halifax. In the first issue of the Halifax Gazette of March 23, 1752, we see an advertisement for private instruction by Messrs. Leigh and Wragg. There followed many advertisements in the Halifax newspapers providing for the educational needs of the children of the capital of the province.²

The Irish Catholics of Halifax were certainly not content with their status. In 1781, an appeal was made to the government to revoke the oppressive laws of 1758 and 1766. An act of 1783 was passed which repealed the clauses regarding the owning of lands and public worship. This bill was finally ratified by the king in 1784.³ Immediately, the Catholics began to build their chapel. This, the first Catholic church in Halifax, was built a little west of the present Cathedral and faced on Grafton Street.⁴ It was later enlarged in 1810. It was called St. Peter's Chapel and remained the Catholic Church for about forty years. Father Mathurin Bourg celebrated the first Mass in a regular church in the city.

¹Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (W.J. Gage and Company Limited: Toronto, 1957), p. 61.

²Thibeau, op. cit., p. 66.

³Johnston, op. cit., pp. 104-105. (These pages give a good summary of Halifax Catholics efforts to repeal the penal laws.)

⁴Cornelius O'Brien, D.D., Memoirs of Bishop Burke (Ottawa: Thoburn and Co., 1894), p. 60.

In 1785 a presbytery was constructed on the southeast corner of St. Peter's Chapel grounds.¹ This building was later to have significance in the early educational progress of the Catholics of St. Peter's Church.

Reassured by the repeal of the restrictions against their religion, trustees of the congregation then addressed the following petition concerning education to the Assembly:

To His Excellency John Parr, Captain, General
and Governor-in-Chief in and over
His Majesty's Province of Nova Scotia

and

To the Honorable, His Majesty's Council and
House of Representatives, for said Province

The Memorial of John Murphy, John Mallowny,
John Stealing, Edmund Phelon and Mark Mullen,
Trustees of the Roman Catholic Congregation
in behalf of the said congregation

Humbly Represent,

That the greatest number of said congregation are poor and unable to bear the expense, attending the education of their youth. That a school under the inspection of their clergy, wherein their children will be taught their moral duties gratis, will be of the greatest advantage to them. That as His Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects, enjoy their liberty through all parts of the British Empire your Memorialists hope it will not be denied to them.

That their minister and church is as much as they are able to support (the present incumbent, considering their distress, serves them gratis.) That their conduct hitherto, has been and they hope ever will be such as not to

¹Ibid.

merit their being stigmatized by any Penal restriction that may injure their freedom of conscience.

Your Memorialists therefore Humbly pray a repeal of such laws, which they believe were never levelled at any of his Majesty's Natural Born Subjects.

John Mallowny
John Murphy
Ed Phelon
John Stealing
Mark Mullen

Halifax 13th, June 1786¹

Thus, in the third school act of the legislature in 1786 Catholic educational emancipation was achieved. The only restriction in the passing of the act of 1786 regarding Catholic education was that Catholic schools could not accept Protestant youths under fourteen years of age into their schools.²

The educational cause of the Halifax Catholics remained dormant from 1786 until the arrival of Father Edmund Burke in 1801. Possibly some arrangements may have been made for the children to receive religious instruction, since now a glebe house existed where they might congregate. Father Burke was an Irishman who was born in 1753. He took his education in Paris and in 1781 was ordained and served in Kildare, Ireland. In 1786

¹Manuscript Documents Province of Nova Scotia, House of Assembly 1758-1787, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Vol. 301, Document 83.

²Nova Scotia Laws, Statutes at Large, Caput. 1, 1786.

he came to Canada and taught at the Seminary of Quebec until 1791. From 1791 to 1794 Father Burke was pastor of parishes across the river from the city of Quebec, and from 1794 till his arrival in Halifax he served as a missionary in the regions of Canada north and west of the Great Lakes. With this wide background of experience Father Burke arrived in Halifax in May, 1801.¹

Father Burke's primary educational difficulty was the need of a college for the purpose of educating priests for his flock. Such an idea was formed in his mind shortly after his arrival in Halifax.² But still the basic education for the Catholic children of the city must also have been important to him for on March 1, 1802, he addressed a petition to the Assembly which can only be construed as a plea to establish a common school for his education-impooverished children. This petition reads in part:

That the situation of the Youth under his care, Scotch, Irish, and Acadian in many parts of the Province totally destitute of the means of obtaining the information necessary for the common purpose of Life, is distressful in the Extreme; that from the facility with which the uninformed imbibes Principles subversive of Order and inimical of Government the consequences, which must result from such a state of Ignorance, if permitted to continue, and its inseparable attendants, Idleness, Drunkenness and other vices not to be named, are truly alarming;

¹Johnston, op. cit., pp. 180-181.

²O'Brien, op. cit., p. 81.

that the Roman Catholics robbed of the means and desirous of giving their children an Education suitable to their intended pursuits, are under the necessity of sending them either to other countries where the Languages and Laws are different from ours, or to the United States, where principles inimical to our Constitutions are taught.¹

Father Burke was stubbornly blocked by the Anglican bishop in Halifax to establish a school from 1802 to 1805, but finally he had permission to start such a school only to be thwarted again by the lack of teachers. (A thorough explanation of Father Burke's early difficulties to begin his school is to be found in the dissertation of Sister Francis Xavier Walsh, S.C.H.)² Undaunted by these rebuffs, Father Burke built a fine school in 1802, but in 1805 rented it out to one of his parishoners, Lawrence Doyle, because he still could obtain no teachers for his college or school.³ In his search for teachers in Ireland, United States and Quebec he had sought the help of the Jesuits and others. In one letter to the Bishop of Quebec, Denaut, in 1802, we see he tried to obtain two Grey Sisters. This also did not bring any results.

¹Burke to Parr, March 1, 1802, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Vol. 303, Document 33.

²Sister Francis Xavier Walsh, S.C.H. "The Evolution of Catholic Public Schools in Nova Scotia" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Boston College Graduate School, 1958, pp. 24-28.

³Q'Brien, op. cit., p. 86.

In other parts of the Maritimes, greater improvements had been made in the Catholic education of the young. Since Cape Breton from 1784 to 1820 was not a part of the province of Nova Scotia, it therefore was not under the severe penal laws of that province. It was also not under the ire and domain of the Anglican bishop in Halifax. In 1801, we see the establishment of the first Catholic school since the French rule on the island of Cape Breton by Father Champion at Cheticamp.¹ The missionary-monk Father Vincent de Paul Merle, O.C.R., who had ministered near Halifax at Chez-zetcook for three years (1815-1818), also had a school at Tracadie in 1821.²

The Catholic children of Halifax during this time attended schools of other religions if their parents were able to send them. Father Burke told his Bishop in Quebec that the Catholic children attending these non-Catholic schools were wasting their time and were learning nothing. Phillips also states that:

it was quite common for the Roman Catholics to attend the same school as Protestants, and this is true both of the Church of England National School and of the non-denominational Lancastrian Schools. At the Halifax National School over 150 Roman Catholic children have been in attendance before 1821.³

¹Johnston, op. cit., p. 186.

²Ibid., p. 373.

³Phillips, op. cit., p. 123.

In 1815, Father Burke on his visit to Rome reported to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda the state of the Church in Nova Scotia. He said that the district possessed no schools, religious, or sisters. Also he himself had the personal care of the Halifax Catholics who numbered 1,000, not counting the merchants, travellers, and the many soldiers.¹ The children came every day for catechism instruction, and we may well imagine that reading and writing were also taught in these classes.² Catholics who wanted to receive a good Catholic education sometimes went abroad. We see an example of this in 1815 when four daughters of Halifax Catholics travelled on the same boat with Father Burke to Ireland.³

Finally in 1819, Father Burke provided for the education of the younger ones of his flock by starting a school in his glebe house. This first school was only for boys and the teaching was done by seminarians. The seminary had been begun by Bishop Burke the previous year and the Bishop taught the young men himself. In the next year (1820) a school under the patronage of the ladies society of the church was begun for the girls. The teachers of the girls' school were paid by the ladies'

¹Johnston, op. cit., p. 348.

²St. Mary's Parish Bulletin, Halifax, Nova Scotia, February 2, 1958.

³O'Brien, op. cit., p. 106.

society.¹ The girls were taught in the old presbytery which had been built in 1785. This building had been moved to a new site and fitted up as a school house.²

The final result of Father Burke's visit to Rome came in 1818 when he was consecrated Bishop of Zion and First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia by Bishop Plessis in Quebec. For many years previous to this he had thought this to be the most practical method of church government for Nova Scotia. In 1820 he was able to say with pride that he had nearly all of his Catholic children away from the Methodists.³ This had been an objective of his since a decree had been sent out from Rome which emphasized the dangers to faith of the Methodist schools.⁴

The pioneer of Catholic education in Halifax was to reign as Vicar Apostolic for only two years. In 1820 Bishop Burke after his long career in the service of the Church died on November 29. On December 2, 1820, the Acadian Recorder printed a very fitting memorial and obituary to the first Halifax bishop. In his will, the learned doctor made financial provision for his schools

¹Ibid., p. 118.

²Occasional's Letter (Mullane), December 4, 1920, Province House Legislative Library, Halifax Nova Scotia. (The local historian, Mullane, published his Occasional's Letters in the Acadian Recorder. They are in a scrapbook in the Legislative Library.)

³O'Brien, op. cit., p. 117.

⁴Phillips, op. cit., p. 311.

which now contained one hundred and ninety-three girls, and about one hundred boys.¹

The Catholic schools continuance had to a certain extent been assured by the help of Bishop Burke. But they were to meet many difficulties and have many changes in the very first years. By 1820 Michael McSweeney seems to have assumed control of the Male Catholic School of St. Peter's Chapel. He was therefore under the direction of the trustees and warden of the Church. A Mr. McDougal replaced Mr. McSweeney in 1821.² A Mrs. McSweeney, who had received instruction from the master of the National School, was the teacher of the Catholic Female School from 1820.³ Under this arrangement the trustees petitioned for financial aid in 1821. They received two hundred pounds to support the school for that year.⁴ After 1821, a grant of one hundred pounds per year to the Catholic Schools became an accepted practise and seems to have gone unbroken, except for the year 1825, until 1850 and the establishing of the Halifax Board of School Commissioners.⁵ No grants seem to have

¹O'Brien, op. cit., p. 118.

²Warrant of the Trustees of a School at Halifax, Halifax City School Papers 1808-1845, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, February 6, 1821.

³Phillips, op. cit., p. 119.

⁴Nova Scotia, Journals Assembly 1820-1826, February 28, 1821.

⁵Provincial Treasurer's Accounts 1820-1846, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Vol. 400.

been given to any common schools in 1825.

The Catholic Schools (Male and Female) received aid from the province but the administration of the school was still entirely under the trustees of the Church. We have given the location of the boys' school and the following, written by the local historian, George Mullane, gives us the location of the girls' school:

I have enjoyed, recently, a conversation with an aged citizen (Thomas Granville) now in his 94th year, and among other things he told me that where the Sisters' convent now stands, on Barrington Street, there was in the early years a vegetable garden for the use of the resident priest. Upon this site afterwards there was built a small double cottage. In one end there resided a Mrs. McSweeney who kept a school for young children. Doyle's father, who lived nearby, owned three donkeys, who it seems had free access to the street, and who were great favorites with the children that attended the dame's school.¹

The schools had financial difficulties at the very beginning. In 1823, the trustees Michael Tobin, Lawrence Doyle, and James Tobin in their petition of February 23 to the Assembly reported that schools had 200 to 300 free scholars of both sexes and that the schools are under the direction of Reverend John Carroll. But the children are very poor and little is

¹George Mullane, "A Sketch of Lawrence O'Connor Doyle", Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. XVII, 1913, p. 160.

received from the parents.¹ Therefore, the grant of one hundred pounds from the province per year was a substantial part of the finances supporting the school. In 1826, immediately following the year during which no aid had been given to common schools, the Halifax Catholic schools were on the point of closing. But the renewal of the grant in 1826 and also the reimbursement of another one hundred nineteen pounds to Rev. Messrs. Carroll and Dunphy to pay debts incurred during the previous year kept the schools going.² The Church also gave aid through the wardens because in 1829 two hundred fifty pounds was divided between the old chapel and the female school.³

During this time Catholics also attended private schools which were not under the direction of the Church, but were recommended by the Catholic wardens. Advertisements in 1834 and 1835 point out that a Mr. Finn taught both boys and girls in J. Irwin's house opposite St. Paul's Church. Mr. Finn had been examined by a committee of the wardens and electors of the Catholic Church who

¹Petition of Superintendants of the Public School of St. Peter's Chapel, February 28, 1823, Halifax City School Papers 1808-1845, Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax. Father Carroll was one of the first priests ordained in Halifax by Bishop Burke. He took over the care of the Halifax Catholics after the death of Bishop Burke for about seven years.

²Nova Scotia, Journals Assembly 1820-1826, March 30, 1826.

³Wardens' Minute Book, December 27, 1829, Archdiocesan Archives, Chancery Office, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

unanimously agreed to patronize his school."¹

It has also been stated that from 1823-1827 the Catholics kept a school in the north end of the city and that because of the lack of government support and the poverty of the children it was forced to close.² No reference was given for this information and this researcher was not able to find any evidence for such a school. There is no evidence that a Catholic school existed in that part of the city before 1843.

The schools of St. Peter's Chapel continued and progressed in the number of attending scholars. In 1834, the wardens of the Church were troubled by the condition of the schools and by an increase in the number of Catholic children going to non-Catholic schools. An investigation was demanded and a committee was formed with Michael Tobin and Lawrence O'Connor Doyle as members. One of the recommendations of this committee was to ask Rev. Mr. Dollard to take over the superintendance of the school for one hundred pounds per year.³ This was Rev. William Dollard who was later to become the first Bishop of Fredericton.⁴ He refused the position offered by the

¹Occasional's Letters, June 29, 1918, Province House Legislative Library, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

²John S. Crockett, "Origin and Establishment of Free Schools in Nova Scotia" (unpublished Master's dissertation, Dalhousie University, 1940), p. 77.

³Wardens' Minute Book, June 24, 1834, Archdiocesan Archives.

⁴Johnston, op. cit., p. 402.

trustees. The wardens and electors therefore were forced themselves to improve the state of the schools. In January, 1835 at a meeting of the wardens, the following resolution was passed:

Resolved that a quarterly examination of the Catholic Schools, in Halifax be held in the presence of the Parish Priest, the Wardens and Electors, who shall at the same time inquire into the progress of the Pupils, the capabilities of the Parents to pay, and all other matters connected with the said establishment, and that all proceedings be entered and kept in a book to be procured for that purpose and that the Parish Priest and Wardens be requested to adopt such preliminary measures and may realize the same.¹

From about this time on the Church seems to have taken a much closer interest in its schools and their progress, but the schools were still taught by laymen. The girls' school was conducted by Mrs. McSweeney, and in 1828 James Fitzgerald was appointed the boys' schoolmaster.² These were the same teachers in 1835 and the attendance was 227 boys and 210 females. From January 13, 1833, by an announcement of the wardens of the Church, the parish was to be known by the same name. The attendance continued to increase and in 1836 the boys' school had 287

¹Wardens' Minute Book, January 13, 1835, Archdiocesan Archives.

²Report of Schools of City of Halifax, Halifax City School Papers 1846-1886, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, December 31, 1850.

children with the parents supplying a little over thirty pounds for their tuition. But not all the Catholic children could be accommodated in these schools, a situation lamented by Father Laughnan, the pastor, to Bishop Fraser in 1838.¹ There were other limitations to the Catholic schools. They could only supply the rudiments of reading, writing and arithmetic, and those who desired further education had to attend non-Catholic schools.²

In the beginning of the 1840's great strides were made in the education of the Halifax Catholics. A new school building was constructed on Barrington Street for the common school, and St. Mary's Seminary (later St. Mary's University) opened its doors. The former was built by the trustees of St. Mary's Church as the common school for the boys and girls. It was built with the subscriptions of the parishoners of St. Mary's Church.³ It was a one story building built on the north side of the property facing Barrington Street. The students do not seem to have entered the building before March, 1841. In the meantime the boys' school was moved to Mr. Flynn's building near the Artillery Barracks which was located in the Grand Parade.⁴ Previous to this date, the girls' school

¹Wardens' Minute Book, April 10, 1838, Archdiocesan Archives.

²Ibid., July 8, 1838.

³Acadian Recorder, Halifax, Nova Scotia, August 8, 1840.

⁴Wardens' Minute Book, July 13, 1840, Archdiocesan Archives.

had been maintained in a small building facing on Barrington Street. The latter was razed when the new school was built. The boys' school, as has been already noted, was in the glebe house. The classroom in the glebe house was needed for church purposes.

St. Mary's Seminary was opened on August 24, 1840.¹ The building was erected on Grafton Street on the site of the present St. Mary's Girls' School. The purpose of the college was to give higher education for men who were aspiring to become priests and also as a preparation for those who wanted to enter professional life.² Teachers were brought from Europe to staff the college and Father R. B. O'Brien was the first principal. The foundation of this College seemed justified by the census of 1841 which showed a permanent Catholic population in Halifax of 6,932 Catholics, plus 751 service personnel of the same faith.

In 1842, Halifax which had been without a bishop residing in the city since the death of Bishop Burke in 1820, received its new episcopal leader, Bishop Walsh. During these intervening years Halifax had been under the guidance of Bishop Fraser in Antigonish. The Irishmen of

¹Occasional's Letters, May 14, 1921, Province House Legislative Library, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

²The original constitution of St. Mary's is to be found on pages 101-102 of the Wardens' Minute Book, Archdiocesan Archives.

Halifax were happy to see again another of their countrymen as bishop. One of the first acts of the new Bishop was to disband the wardens of St. Mary's Parish and to administer the temporal affairs of the Church himself.¹ He purchased a building in 1843 for the children of the north end of the city. This was the beginning of St. Patrick's School under Church control. There had been schools for Catholic boys and girls in this end of the city since about 1838, but successive teachers had to retire because of the poverty of the parents.² In March 1843 Bishop Walsh opened a school building under Trinity Church (Garrison Chapel) and appointed a schoolmaster. One condition was that the teacher had to accept twenty children of poor families as free scholars. The schoolmaster was to pay no rent, but he was to resign whenever the Bishop so desired.³

St. Mary's schools continued to prosper during this time. The teachers were still Mrs. McSweeney and James Fitzgerald. The attendance and the financial situation of the boys' school from 1838 to 1844 were the following:

¹The Minute Book which is a valuable source of information about the early schools is almost barren of information about the schools from 1842 to 1850.

²Petition of Right Rev. Dr. Walsh, 1842, Halifax School Papers 1808-1845, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

³Wardens' Minute Book, p. 124, Archdiocesan Archives.

1838		154 <u>41</u> 195	poor children paid for tuition
	33 lbs.-4 s.-1½ d.		tuition paid by parents
	<u>50 lbs.</u>		Provincial Grant
	<u>83 lbs.-4 s.-1½ d.</u>		
1839		213 <u>56</u> 269	poor children paid for tuition
	36 lbs.-15s.-0 d.		tuition paid by parents
	<u>50 lbs.</u>		Provincial Grant
	<u>86 lbs.-15s.-0 d.</u>		
1840		181 <u>84</u> 265	poor children paid for tuition
	52 lbs.-9 s.-4½ d.		tuition paid by parents
	<u>50 lbs.</u>		Provincial Grant
	<u>102 lbs.-9 s.-4½ d.</u>		
1841	Incomplete		
1842	Not Available		
1843	54 lbs.-11s.-4½ d.		tuition paid by parents
	<u>50 lbs.</u>		Provincial Grant
	<u>104 lbs.-11s.-4½ d.</u>		
1844		177 <u>64</u> 241	poor children paid for tuition ¹

¹Petitions of 1841, 1843, 1844, Halifax School Papers 1808-1845, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

Although the Catholics of Halifax were making a serious effort to educate their children, still these figures were far from excellent, because the number of boys in the city under the age of fourteen according to the census of 1841 was 1,366.¹

The St. Patrick's Schools, Boys' and Girls', were continued without interruption from 1843. But the Catholics, because they were a substantial part of the population in that section of the city, demanded a portion of the provincial education grant. In 1846, a petition was put forth for a grant to support the master and mistress of St. Patrick's Schools. The fact was noted that various schools in the city whose attendance together did not equal St. Patrick's were receiving grants.² The Catholics under Bishop Walsh continued to press for aid to St. Patrick's schools. In 1848 in a letter to the Honorable George R. Young, the Bishop said that a recent census was taken of Wards five and six and it was found that there were 1,275 Catholics.³ Financial assistance was needed for St. Patrick's and also a school was desired for Dutchtown of which he said: "To this school (Dutchtown) as well as that of St. Patrick's, children of every denomination would be welcome and I should take care that their

¹Wardens' Minute Book, March 12, 1841, Archdiocesan Archives.

²The Cross, Halifax, Nova Scotia, April 4, 1846.

³Ibid., June 20, 1849.

religious opinion would not be interfered with in the slightest degree." He also expressed the desire to open a school in the North West Arm district.¹ The Bishop was expressing hopes which would take over twenty-five years to realize. It was not before 1875 that a school was established for the Catholics in this district. Again in 1849, Bishop Walsh sought assistance for St. Patrick's Schools and an increased grant for St. Mary's. He entrusted the petition to Honorable Edward Kenny.²

The Halifax Catholics in May, 1849 received two of the religious orders who were to establish an educational tradition in the city. The first were the Sisters of Charity who came on the invitation and plea of Bishop Walsh. On May 11, 1849, four sisters arrived from New York under their supervisor Sister Mary Basilia McCann.³ They were settled in a convent on Barrington Street, the former school built in 1840-1841. The sisters immediately took over the care of the education of the girls of St. Mary's. About a week later on May 19, 1849, Bishop Walsh was pleased to welcome the Sisters of the Sacred Heart under Mother Frances Peacock, Superior of the Foundation. The first nuns resided at Brookside, a dwelling belonging

¹Bishop William Walsh to Honorable George R. Young, Halifax City School Papers 1846-1886, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, February 27, 1848.

²The Cross, February 17, 1849.

³Sister Maura, The Sisters of Charity Halifax (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1956), p. 2.

to the Dwyer family standing at the corner of Spring Garden Road and South Park Streets.¹ It has been determined that the nuns gave free classes in a building on the Summer Street side of the property as early as April, 1851. These classes were conducted by both seculars and members of the community.²

In 1850 "An Act for the Encouragement of Education" passed on March 28, set up the first Board of School Commissioners for the city of Halifax. Previous to this there had existed a board which was responsible for the whole county of Halifax. The Board first met on May 13, 1850 in the Province Building and consisted of the following gentlemen:

Venerable Archdeacon Willis
 Very Rev. Mr. Connolly, Vicar General
 Rev. Dr. Crawley
 Rev. Mr. Forrester
 A. MacKinlay
 Wm. Annand
 J. W. Ritchie
 J. S. Thompson
 John Naylor

The first concern of the Board was to assess the educational institutions of the city, and to disperse the grant of 700 pounds per year among the schools. The first report made on June 12, 1850 by Rev. Mr. Forrester (later

¹Louise Callan, A.M., Ph.D., Religious of the Sacred Heart, The Sacred Heart in North America (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1937), p. 422.

²Walsh, op. cit., p. 61. (Sister refers to information obtained from the Lettres Annuelles 1849-64 of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Halifax.)

to be Provincial Superintendent of Education, 1856) and Mr. John S. Thompson, distinguished two types of schools: public, "those whose affairs are superintended by Trustees and those of denominational character and from which, generally applications may be expected for grants of money from sums voted by the Legislature"; private, "those carried on by individual adventure, without supervision by Trustees or any controlling second party and whose expenses are defrayed by fees only." As a result of the visitations by the committee, the schools were considered for grants according to the following list:

Acadian (Male)
 National (Male and Female)
 Sisters of Charity
 St. Mary's (Male)
 African
 Three-Mile
 St. John's
 St. George's (Male)
 Methodist
 Infant
 St. George's (Female)
 St. Patrick's
 Acadian (Female)

The sisters at St. Mary's had 400 students on their register and their school was described as the "large day school... [which] caused much admiration by its extreme order and neatness, its general arrangements and apparent growth in knowledge, industry and good moral habits."¹

¹Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners, Halifax, June 12, 1850, Public Archives of Nova Scotia. Hereafter cited as School Board Minutes.

St. Mary's boys' school directed by Mr. Fitzgerald was soon to be moved to a new building on Grafton Street, the Harmonic Hall, and accommodated 113 students. St. Patrick's under the direction of Mr. Daly accommodated 180 students.¹ Mr. Daly's school "had the appearance of good order" and consisted chiefly of the children of the poorer classes.² It was supported on the basis of a graduated system of fees and the committee thought this a good method in place of school assessment.³

St. Mary's Boys' School had been originated as a monitorial school,⁴ and in 1851 still listed monitors. The subjects taught in the school included Roman Catholic Doctrine, Geography, Grammar, Bookkeeping, Trigonometry and Navigation. St. Mary's Girls' School had two assistants besides the mistress. Similar subjects were taught to the girls in addition to Vocal Music, Needlework, History, and Composition. Mr. Daly had two assistants who were possibly members of his family. Grammar, Geography, Algebra, and Euclid were the chief subjects on the curriculum.⁵

¹Mr. Daly was the teacher of this school from 1849. Also, he must have had an assistant for the girls because the attendance of 180 must necessarily include the girls of the school. Bishop Walsh had appointed a mistress for the girls when he opened the school in 1843.

²School Board Minutes, June 12, 1850, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

³*Ibid.*

⁴Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁵Report of December 31, 1850, Halifax City School Papers 1846-1886, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

As a result of the investigations of the Board in 1850, the St. Mary's schools received one hundred twenty-five pounds (Mr. Fitzgerald fifty pounds, Sisters of Charity seventy-five pounds) an overall increase of twenty-five pounds. Mr. Daly received forty pounds for the year. This was the first grant to any St. Patrick's school.¹ Mr. Daly's family also helped to conduct his classes.² The Board also showed that although 2,000 city children were now receiving the benefits of education, perhaps 3,000 still were without school education.³

Under the Act of 1850 the School Board controlled the Halifax grant. It also organized public examinations for the entire city. But the Board had no authority in the appointing of teachers. Hence, the schools were not completely under the Board, and the governing bodies or trustees were the main managers of the schools. Since the government grant was not large enough, the students were still required to pay fees for their education. These were the main principles by which the Halifax schools were governed for fifteen years.

The Catholic schools were represented on the Board by Rev. Dr. Connolly, Vicar General, and later by Rev. Mr. Michael Hannan. Dr. Connolly was to remain on the Board

¹School Board Minutes, August 7, 1850, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

²Ibid., October 3, 1851.

³Ibid., June 12, 1850.

for only a short time before his appointment as Bishop of St. John in 1852. He was to return to Halifax as Archbishop and become a leading figure in the establishment of the free schools in Halifax.

During the period 1850-52 St. Mary's Boys' School was criticized by the Board for the state of the classes. The school had recently been moved to the Harmonic Hall on Grafton Street. Such criticism was not surprising because the city schools were generally not in a very fit order. The county inspector Mr. Randall told the Board that he "had found with a few exceptions, the schools in a very untidy and some in a filthy condition and without proper arrangement or accommodation as regards seats." St. Mary's Girls' School was an exception as it was found in a neat orderly condition.¹ The latter had been conducted by the Sisters of Charity since 1849.² This same school was even given favorable comments in the Protestant press (Presbyterian Witness) as quoted by The Halifax Catholic (Catholic newspaper of 1854-1855.)³ The third Catholic common school in the city, the Convent Free School, did not share the provincial grant until 1865, and was never

¹Ibid., February 15, 1854.

²The Sisters from September 1855 maintained besides St. Mary's Girls another school, "A 'select school' for children who could afford to pay a substantial tuition". Maura, op. cit., p. 7.

³The Halifax Catholic, April 1, 1854.

inspected by the Board until then.

In 1854, Mr. James Fitzgerald, the master of St. Mary's Boys' School resigned. He had been operating the school since 1828. Mr. English, who had operated a private school under the provincial grant in the city, replaced him. He was assisted by a Mr. Heape.¹ This was made known to the Catholics of Halifax in an advertisement in The Halifax Catholic on September 22, 1855 in which the new masters promised to pay particular attention "to the moral and religious training".

Mr. Daly at St. Patrick's with the help of his family had been teaching both boys and girls in St. Patrick's church basement. In 1856 the school had ninety-five boys and fifty-five girls. During the spring of 1857 the Sisters of Charity took over the education of the girls and started their work in St. Patrick's Parish which has continued for over a century. Dr. Hannan informed the Board that the Sisters had begun their girls' school in the church basement on August 6, 1857. It was a difficult beginning. Sister Mary Rose MacAleer and two novices walked daily from St. Mary's convent, to Brunswick Street. During the summer a convent was fitted up on Barrington Street. The sisters' school received a separate grant from Mr. Daly of twenty-five pounds. Soon after their arrival

¹School Board Minutes, November 10, 1854, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

the sisters opened a "select school" in the north end also.¹

From about 1857 to 1864 there were no significant changes in the Halifax Catholic Schools. But the Board, from about 1852 had been recommending to the government that the most practical method of educating the children in Halifax was by free schools and therefore some form of assessment was required. The Board had constantly complained of the poor percentage of children attending city schools. In 1863 there were 5,591 children between five and fifteen years and only 2,438 were attending schools.² Free schools supported by assessment was the only answer. By 1864 the provincial government was ready to enact such legislation. The Catholics of Halifax prepared themselves by building a new school house for St. Mary's and inviting the De La Salle Christian Brothers to teach their children.

¹Maura, op. cit., pp. 141-142.

²School Board Minutes, May 19, 1863, Public Archives of Nova Scotia. This figure of 2,438 children attending schools includes about 600 attending private schools.

CHAPTER II

HALIFAX FREE SCHOOLS AND THE CATHOLICS

In the early 1860's the government of Nova Scotia was attempting to organize a free school system. The Catholics of the province were generally in favor of separate schools. They even wanted each denomination of the province to operate its own training or normal school.¹ The Conservative government in 1864, with Dr. Charles Tupper as Provincial Secretary, finally made a beginning to set up a free school system. By the law of this year an increase of twenty-five percent in the grant was given to those districts which raised their own amounts by assessment. This act also allowed those districts which did not collect their determined amounts to collect the difference by assessment.² Still the law did not include unpopular compulsory assessment. There also had been no attempt to comply with the wishes of the Catholics.

This act resulted in no organizational change in the school system of the city of Halifax. The schools of

¹The Evening Express, Halifax, Nova Scotia, January 13, 1864.

²Nova Scotia Laws, Revised Statutes, 3rd Series, c. 58, 1864.

the city received their ordinary grants. The St. Mary's Schools, Male and Female and the St. Patrick's, Male and Female, all received provincial grants. Also private schools operated by Messrs. MacDonnell and Keleher, who had a good number of Catholic students attending, participated in the grant to the extent of forty dollars per school.¹

In the Superintendent's Educational Report of 1864, Mr. T. H. Rand advocated many changes in the School Act of 1864. The most significant was the imposing of compulsory assessment for the support of the common schools. In his report, Rand said in reference to Halifax that,

The present law (1864) is not adapted to the City of Halifax, either in its provisions for school sections, or in its mode of support. Having comprehended the bearing and effect of these provisions, if applied to the city, I felt unwilling to assume the responsibility of enforcing them, since it would involve a minute subdivision of the city, wholly unsuited to its peculiarities, and most disastrous to the future and permanent interests of its schools.²

Mr. Rand said that no effort had been made to force the City to prescribe to the Act of 1864 because it was

¹School Board Minutes, November 1, 1864, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

²Educational Report, Appendix 9, Journal of Assembly Nova Scotia 1865, p. 12.

extremely difficult for the city to follow the taxation regulations.

Finally, Mr. Rand suggested for Halifax:

I would propose the following arrangement as a special provision in a new Act: Each ward to be a School Section; each School Section to secure a Board of Trustees in the same manner as all other sections; each Board of Trustees to discharge the same duties as all other Board of Trustees, and in the same manner, expecting in the levying of assessment. The several Board of Trustees should together form a Halifax School Committee electing annually a President and a Secretary; and this Committee should be empowered to levy the necessary expenditures upon the rate payers of the whole city. The Assessments should be collected in each Ward by the Secretary to the Board of Trustees, the results of the collection reported to the School Committee, and the amount apportioned to the Board of Trustees according to the requirements of the several sections.¹

These suggestions were being directed by the fact that in Halifax some special circumstances existed. The Catholics and the Protestant denominations had their own school buildings in the city and these were the only buildings available for education purposes if a Free School Law was enacted. One of the schools, operated by the Catholic Church, St. Mary's, had been one of the four city schools qualifying under the Act of 1811.² St. Mary's

¹Ibid., pp. 12-13.

²D. C. Harvey, "English Schools in Nova Scotia, 1811-1825", Journal of Education, 1933-34, Vol. 2, p. 473.

had been receiving a grant from the provincial government since 1821, St. Patrick's since 1850, and the third school, Convent Free School, was to receive its first grant in 1865.¹ These schools were a substantial part of the schools of the city because they accommodated 1,050 pupils out of the 1,960 pupils attending schools at this time.² The new St. Mary's School, which was described as the finest school building in Nova Scotia, was to be completed in the late part of 1865 and could handle 700 pupils. Without these schools any Halifax free school system would certainly have been incomplete and would have demanded a tremendous initial financial outlay.

Rand's report, the need of the Catholic schools to any school system, and the relationship that existed between Dr. Tupper and Archbishop Connolly helped to develop the special clauses for the City of Halifax in the School Act of 1865. The Catholic Archbishop, who was really in favour of separate schools for the whole province, was assured by Tupper that in Halifax the equivalent would be established under this Act.

The Nova Scotian Free School Act was presented to the Assembly in the early part of 1865. Chapter twenty-nine of "An Act for the Better Encouragement of Education"

¹School Board Minutes, November 6, 1865, Archives of Nova Scotia.

²Ibid., September 25, 1865.

included section forty-nine for the City of Halifax.

Halifax, in contrast to Rand's report, was proposed as one section and there was to be one Board of School Commissioners of twelve members, two from each ward. All these commissioners were to be appointed by the governor-in-council. The Board was given the power to request of the City Council the amounts beyond the provincial grant to support and maintain their schools. The essential part of this Halifax section rested in the power given to the Board by clause three, which read as follows:

Board of School Commissioners are authorized to cooperate with the governing body of any city school, on such terms as to the Board shall seem right and proper, so that the benefits of such school may be as general as circumstances will permit; and in such cases the Board may make allowances to such schools out of the funds under their control as shall be deemed just and equitable. But no public funds shall be granted in support of any school unless the same be a free school.¹

This third clause of the Halifax section of the act was to provoke the most discussion in the Assembly. By the authority of this clause, the School Board was able to work with the existing city schools and to accept them into the public school system if they agreed to be free schools. The Board was also given the right to arrange conditions with the governing bodies which were mutually

¹Nova Scotia Laws, Statutes at Large, Chapter 29, section 49, subsection 3, 1865.

acceptable. This would be of particular advantage to the Anglicans and Roman Catholics who were well established in the educational picture of the city.¹

During the debate in the Assembly on April 7, 1865, Mr. Blanchard, the member from Inverness, said:

... he observed further that power was given to the trustees to combine with the trustees of schools now in existence, and to manage such schools jointly; the effect of this would be, he said, that such schools as St. Luke's in one ward, and St. Mary's in the next, would be maintained as denominational schools. If the government wished to give denominational schools to Halifax let it be so expressed. He also took exception to the provision that the erection of school houses be made a charge upon the whole city, he said that this might cost as large a sum as ten thousand pounds.²

He was answered by Mr. Shannon, a member for Halifax, and on the executive council of the Province:

... said that the introduction of the law to the city was an experiment, and a delicate one, and he thought it would be well to commence in the way mentioned in the bill. He did not see any reason why the present buildings could not be made use of, and he thought the pressure of public opinion would be too strong to allow such an

¹Clause ten of this Halifax section also allowed the parents to choose the schools they wanted their children to attend, and they were not forced to go to the school of the ward.

²Debates and Proceedings of the House of Assembly During the Second Session of the Twenty-third Parliament of the Province of Nova Scotia 1864-1865, p. 201. Hereafter known as the Assembly Debates.

expenditure for school houses as had been mentioned.¹

The day before the passing of the Free School Act, on April 11, 1865, another assault was made upon the third clause of the Halifax section. Mr. Blanchard of Inverness, who was speaking on behalf of the Halifax City Council, the major opponent to the whole Halifax section of the Act because it had not been properly advised on the special legislation, said that he wanted the whole Halifax section (number forty-nine) rescinded because it is "arbitrary to the principle of compulsory assessment and is inapplicable to the circumstances of the city of Halifax".² Mr. Blanchard continued:

... but the necessary consequences of the passage of these clauses would be the establishment of separate schools in the City of Halifax. There were two denominations prepared to come in and take advantage of these clauses in the bill, the Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics - and there were no other denominations in a position to do so. He did not wish to make any invidious remarks in reference to these two denominations. It was greatly to their credit that they had erected handsome school houses, but that was no reason why they should come in and monopolize the public monies to the exclusion of other bodies.

... he (Shannon) talks about St. Luke's,

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 220. The Halifax members, Tobin, Pryor and Shannon, were in agreement with the legislation and thought a fair trial should be given to the experiment.

and the Roman Catholics handing over their school houses over to the Council of Public Instruction. Does anybody believe that the Dean and Chapter of St. Luke's would hand over their handsome school, without retaining the power to control the school? or that the Roman Catholics would hand over theirs without retaining the appointment of the teachers? He thought not. If they were going to have separate schools, let them say so at once; but don't let it be done in such an underhand way.¹

In defense of the government's legislation, the Hon. Atty. Genl., W. A. Henry said:

... that the clauses relating to the city of Halifax were totally inapplicable to thinly settled districts. The principle might be carried out in the more populous districts, where the different denominations had school houses of their own.²

Finally, on April 12, 1865, the Free School Act of Nova Scotia was passed and became law on May 2nd. The Halifax section remained intact.

On May 1, the following note appeared in a Halifax paper:

The action of the Legislative Council in reference to the clause of the School Bill, affecting the City, is likely to produce much trouble, and give a great deal of dissatisfaction.³

Despite the passing of the Act the Halifax City Council refused to assess to support the schools. The Council re-

¹Ibid.

²Ibid., p. 221.

³The Evening Express, May 1, 1865.

fused to cooperate with the School Board until January, 1867 when it was forced by the Provincial Government to comply to the assessment regulation.¹ This stalling by the Council postponed any immediate school-building program.

On October 16, 1865, Rev. Messrs. Patrick Power and Alexander McIssac presented themselves before the School Board in response to a notice of the Board concerning the establishment of public schools in Halifax. The Catholic representatives informed the Board that they wished the three schools, St. Mary's, St. Patrick's, and Convent to be made entirely free,

... on condition that an allowance such as is given to other First and Second Class teachers be granted - and 2 First and 2 Second Class Female Teachers in the new school house on Barrington Street known as St. Mary's School and 2 First Class and 1 Second Class Female teachers and 1 First Class and 1 Second Class Male teachers at St. Patrick's Church School and also that an allowance such as is given in other schools in the City be granted to 1 Second Class Female teacher and an assistant to the free school in connection with the Convent (Sacred Heart).²

The stipulations were agreed to and on October 19, 1865, the teachers were named to the schools by the Board.

¹Walsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-57. (These pages explain the manner in which the School Board carried on during this period.)

²Minutes of the Board of School Commissioners of the City of Halifax, I, October 16, 1865, Office of School Commissioners, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Hereafter cited as School Board Minutes.

Finally, on November 1, 1865, the schools were made free schools and this was advertised in the newspapers. From this time these schools were no longer Catholic schools under the control of the Catholic Church, but as phrased by Senator L. G. Power were "Halifax Public Schools Attended by Catholic Children".¹

We have seen the forces which helped to form the so called "Halifax System". But still one personality, whose effect upon the establishment of this System is very hard to determine because of lack of correspondence before 1865, is Archbishop Connolly. Sissons, the authority of church and state in Canadian education, explains his importance thus:

Now this system (Halifax) was largely the achievement of the arch-diplomatist, Thomas C. [sic] Connolly, who became Archbishop of Halifax in 1859. His predecessor, Archbishop Walsh, who had presided over Catholic interests during the difficult years following Howe's mission as a recruiting agent in the United States, had been in poor health died in 1858. Connolly was a much more effective leader. The compromise which his sagacity and wit, hospitality combined to effect persists in Halifax today.²

¹The Evening Mail, February 11, 1899. This newspaper article written by a member of the School Board summarizes the Board's reports from 1866 to 1897 concerning the information about the "Catholic Schools". It also includes a few of the writer's observations and facts about the location of these schools. Mr. Power later became speaker of the Canadian Senate.

²C. B. Sissons, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959), pp. 332-333.

The first Board of Commissioners for the free schools was appointed in September, 1865. The older veterans of the Board included Andrew MacKinlay and Rev. Dr. Hannan. The following were the members of this Board:

Andrew Uniacke
 Rev. Mr. Hannan, D.D.
 Rev. William Bullock
 Matthew W. Ritchie
 Stephen Tobin
 Andrew MacKinlay
 Dr. D. McN. Parker
 Patrick Power
 Philip Thompson
 W. P. West
 W. H. Keating
 James Flinn¹.

The next period of the Halifax City schools, the first thirty-five years as public schools, was most significant. From 1865 to 1900 there were discussed the important issues of erection of school buildings and the appointing of teachers, and the permanent decisions and regulations were to be made by the School Board itself. The rulings were to have special significance for the Catholic teachers and students. Also, the School System was to grow in enrollment, accommodations, and expenditures.

¹Minutes of Executive Council 1860-67, September 11, 1865, p. 211, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

CHAPTER III
HALIFAX COMMON SCHOOLS ATTENDED
BY CATHOLICS 1865-1900

From November 1, 1865, St. Mary's, Male and Female, Barrington Street, St. Patrick's Male and Female, Brunswick Street, and the Convent Free School for Females on Spring Garden Road were free schools in the City of Halifax and were attended mainly by Catholic students. Also, classes conducted by Messrs. D. Keleher and M. McDonnell for Catholic students were accepted as a part of the school system.

The subject of appointing teachers to the schools was later discussed. Following the discussion, this resolution, moved by Mr. M. H. Richey, and seconded by Dr. D. Parker was passed:

Resolved, that in all arrangements to be made with the governing bodies of the existing city schools with whom this Board may desire to co-operate, the following terms shall be observed - The teachers appointed to such schools by the Governing Bodies shall be subject to the approval of this Board and no such appointment shall be made without such approval first had. The teachers shall be subject to all such tests and controls of the Commissioners as are provided in the law in this province relating to public schools and be subject to dismissal by the Commissioners for such

cause as may in their judgement require it.¹

By this resolution, the governing bodies of the schools not completely under the control of the Board² could nominate teachers to their schools, but these teachers could only be appointed to the schools by the Board itself.

The following were the first teachers in the "Catholic schools", and their classification and salaries are shown in Table I.

TABLE I
CLASSIFICATION AND SALARIES OF ORIGINAL TEACHERS*

SCHOOL	TEACHERS	CLASS	SALARIES
St. Mary's	Bro. Bartholomew	1	\$ 600.00
	Bro. Narcissus	1	600.00
	Bro. Paul	2	400.00
	Bro. Maurinus	2	400.00
	Sr. Mary Clare	1	400.00
	Mary J. Crimmina	1	400.00
	Mary F. Eustace	2	240.00
	Mary C. Norman	2	240.00
St. Patrick's	Mr. W. Walsh	1	600.00
	Mr. G. O'Connor	2	400.00
	Sr. Martin Regis	1	400.00
	Sr. Helena Howlet	1	400.00
	Sr. Mary Gabriel	2	240.00
Convent Free	Madame Kenney	2	240.00
	Miss C. Hartigan	Assistant	120.00
Colonial School	Mr. D. Keleher	2	400.00
	Mr. M. McDonnell	2	400.00

*School Board Minutes, I, November 1, 1865.

¹Ibid.

²St. Mary's, St. Patrick's and the Convent Free Schools are described in this manner in the Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax 1866, p. 22. Hereafter cited as School Board Annual Report.

In January of 1866, an address was given before the School Board by the Provincial Superintendent, T. H. Rand, in which he proposed a program which would be required to supply adequate education for all the children of the city. In his address, the Superintendent commented on the good cooperation existing between the School Board and the managers of the different schools. His main remarks centered around the building requirements of the Board. To accommodate the estimated 5,096 students in the city, there was a need for twelve buildings and ninety-one schoolrooms. The Superintendent congratulated Archbishop Connolly on his fine building on Barrington Street. He said that the city's school-building program should be proceeding in a similar manner.¹

The educational building program advocated by Rand was not immediately started because of the financial difficulties of the School Board. But still the opening of the free schools had the salutary effect of increasing the public school population to 2,263 pupils by October, 1866.² During these difficult times Archbishop Connolly promised to donate the use of the school house on Barrington Street rent free for 1866. This was done on the conditions that it was not to be considered a precedent,

¹School Board Annual Report 1866, pp. 5-16.

²Ibid., p. 27.

and that no rent was to be paid to any other institution.¹

In his report of October 31, 1866, the Inspector of Schools for Halifax County recommended that further school accommodation be provided for the north end of the city in the vicinity of Russell Street. Two religious denominations had recently considered churches for this area. St. Joseph's parish was to be organized in 1867 and Rev. Mr. Uniacke had already erected a church on Russell Street. But Inspector Parsons recommended a very large school for 500 students which would serve the Richmond district, and also relieve the overflow from St. George's and St. Patrick's Schools.² The school accommodation for the north end of the city was provided by combined resources. The School Board built the Richmond School in 1867. In the same year, Archbishop Connolly offered to build a school in the Russell Street district. After discussion with the Board, an agreement was reached by which the Archbishop would buy the land and construct the building. The building would be rented to the School Board at the rate of six percent of the cost of approximately \$6,200.³ The school was completed early in 1868, could accommodate about 200 pupils, and became known as Russell Street School.

¹School Board Minutes, I, December 13, 1865.

²Ibid., November 12, 1866.

³Ibid., May 6, November 8, 1867.

This policy of the Catholics to provide their own schools and rent them to the School Board was an expression of their desire to provide enough school buildings for the children of Halifax, especially the children of their own faith. No other religious group was to provide new school facilities after 1865, nor were they to keep in such close contact with the Board as did the Catholics through their Archbishops. This method of providing school accommodation for the Catholics was to continue until the 1890's.

The next serious school-building problem was the St. Patrick's school. This school had been operated from St. Patrick's church basement since the 1850's and was completely inadequate. Certain improvements were promised when the Christian Brothers planned to come to teach there in the fall of 1867.¹ But these repairs were not made until early in the next year.² The girls' school was also having difficulties because it was stated:

The other portion of the basement of the church used as a school room for girls, still labors under the serious disadvantage of having three departments in one overcrowded room.³

Archbishop Connolly was eager to correct this situation. In 1867, Rev. Dr. Hannan informed the Board

¹Ibid., August 12, 1867.

²School Board Annual Report 1869, p. 19.

³Ibid.

that,

His Grace the Archbishop was willing to enter into negotiations with the Board for the erection of a school house on St. Patrick's Church property fronting on Lockman Street on similar terms to those now agreed on for the erection of the ¹ school house at the foot of Russell St.

The Board met with His Grace, but no further mention was made of this matter in the School Minutes for a few years. The proposition which the Archbishop offered was not recorded in the Minutes. During this time, St. Patrick's Schools were considered very well managed. In 1868, St. Patrick's Boys' had the exceptional attendance of over ninety percent of the registered number of pupils. The Brothers had organized a system of seating the boys according to their attendance. Also, a system of merits and demerits were kept, and prizes were distributed periodically according to meritorious marks.² Finally, in 1871 the School Board initiated some action to improve St. Patrick's. Just previous to this, the Halifax Inspector, Mr. Parsons, described St. Patrick's as crowded, damp and unhealthy, something the commissioners knew by visits to the school. A committee of the board was formed and after finding the cost of a lot too expensive, they decided to accept the offer of the Archbishop, which had

¹School Board Minutes, I, August 12, 1867.

²Report of Inspector, School Board Minutes, I, May 10, 1868, p. 196.

been repeated since 1867. The Archbishop proposed to build a ten department building. The Board would have to pay legal interest, keep the school in good repair, and pay the insurance. The Archbishop further demanded a lease of twenty-one years duration. He added that the church basement was needed for church affairs.¹

During these times the separate school question was still being heatedly debated in the province. Halifax City felt the effect of these discussions in connection with the building of St. Patrick's School on Lockman Street.² After the Archbishop's offer had been accepted in principle, a motion was made by Rev. Messrs. Gray and Bullock to have the School Board obtain the money to build the new St. Patrick's School from the city. This resolution was defeated by the Board.³ At the same meeting a letter from Rev. Mr. Bullock, as Anglican Dean of Halifax, was read in which he criticized the desire of the Board to continue dealing with the governing bodies of the city schools. Mr. Bullock did not want the Board to allow the Catholics to build their own schools. He also offered to build a school house in the Inglis Street district with the same arrangements as given to the Catholics. In part, Dean Bullock said:

¹Ibid., III, April 3, 1871.

²Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

³School Board Minutes, III, April 17, 1871.

I cannot understand the permission given to the School Commissioners of Halifax, to treat with the governing bodies of the City schools then in existence, as intended to perpetuate and extend the system of Independent and Denominational Schools, much less that it should be applied to one class of Christians to the exclusion of all the rest; but, if a different interpretation of the law be adopted by a majority of the Board, then, I must claim for the members of the Church of England the equal and common right of Protestants; and if the proposal of the Archbishop now under the consideration of the Board be entertained, I am prepared to test its expediency by urging a similar proposal upon the same terms.¹

A similar offer was made for the Presbyterians by Rev. George Grant, Moderator of St. Matthew's Church. Finally, the offer of Archbishop Connolly was accepted at the rate of six percent interest per year. This original resolution was passed by a vote of eight to three.² No further offers were made by the protestant churches.

Such improvements as the new St. Patrick's school-house were needed for the public schools of Halifax. During the early period of the Halifax public schools, the Board was being seriously criticized because of improper accommodation, incompetent teachers, and the conduct of the children on the street. A good number of the city's

¹Presbyterian Witness, Halifax, Nova Scotia, May 6, 1871.

²The results of this vote were: For: Hannan, L. G. Power, Walsh, Story, Flinn, McCulloch, Mahoney, Cronan; Against: Bullock, Gray, Thomson.

children were going to private schools.¹ St. Patrick's new school opened on April 8, 1872, and had 786 pupils by October of the same year.²

In 1869, the Convent of the Sacred Heart started to construct a new building on Summer Street. This was to replace the old reconverted barn which had been used since March, 1865. This school for "poor children" was operated besides the nuns' own institution. After discussion with the School Board a lease was arranged for the new school.³ In 1878 this school was to be known as the Summer Street School.

The separate school issue continued to hold a prominent spot in the assembly debates and in the newspapers during the early 1870's. The Catholics of Nova Scotia still desired the establishment of separate schools in their province and Archbishop Connolly, although not pressing the point too strongly, considered this the fair method of public education as evidenced in a letter to Dr. Tupper "... but if the separate School Bill came up, you know well at what side both the priests and myself would be forced to be at for the time being".⁴ In 1874, all the Catholic archbishops and bishops of the Maritime Provinces

¹School Board Minutes, III, January 16, 1871.

²Ibid., April 24, 1872.

³Ibid., October 24, 1870.

⁴Connolly to Tupper, March 28, 1871, Tupper's Letters, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

made it known publicly in a letter that separate schools were the answer to the Canadian educational set-up where nearly fifty percent of the people were Catholics.¹ This letter had followed closely after the provincial election in New Brunswick where the party supporting the separate schools had been soundly defeated.

In the City of Halifax there was organized a group in 1873 "interested in the improvement of the public schools of the city". It was called the Halifax School Association and was presided over by a former mayor of the city, and an ex-commissioner of the School Board, M. H. Ritchey. In a list of fourteen charges, the School Board was accused of extravagance, of hiring incompetent teachers as well as of neglect in starting a high school. Besides these charges, there were listed five complaints showing that the Association considered there was partiality being shown to the Catholics by the School Board. These charges were:

(10) Several schools, supported by the city, enjoy special religious privileges and are for all practical purposes Roman Catholic institutions. Similar privileges have not been accorded to any Protestant body, though application has been made for them.

(11) The appointment of teachers to one class of schools is, it is well understood, absolutely in the hands of the authorities

¹The Evening Express, January 13, 1874.

of the Roman Catholic Church, and, as if that were not enough, at the same time the Chairman of the Committee for appointing teachers to the only schools available for Protestant pupils, is the Roman Catholic Vicar General.

(12) Three-fifths in number of the first-class male teachers in Halifax at present receiving salaries of \$500 and upwards each, and which, under the resolutions of the Board, are to be increased by forty dollars annually until they reach seven hundred dollars, are found in the schools especially designed for Roman Catholic pupils, although one-third more pupils are registered as in attendance at the other schools.

(13) In some of the schools thus liberally provided for from the public funds, in furtherance of the views of a favored denomination, books other than those prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction for use in the schools of this Province are used, and the children are sedulously sought to be confirmed in attachment to the Roman Catholic Church, whilst, at the same time, no provision is made in the other schools for distinctively religious instruction, and even the reading of the Holy Scriptures is not required.

(14) While no Protestants can be introduced as teachers into some of our public schools, Roman Catholics are eligible to all the schools indiscriminately, and are actually appointed.¹

The eleventh charge was directed at Rev. Dr. Hannan,

¹The Christian Messenger, Halifax, Nova Scotia,
June 3, 1874.

and a short time later Dr. Hannan resigned his position on the School Board after about twenty-two years as a valuable member.¹ Dr. Hannan had served on the Board for the first time in 1853.²

In the Annual Report for 1874, the Chairman opened his message thus:

The school year which ended on the thirty-first of October, 1874, was in some respect one of the most trying and most remarkable in the educational annals of Halifax, and, if dealt with as the importance of the subject deserves, would swell our usually modest annual report to a goodly volume.³

In the report, the board answered very carefully and fully the charges made against it by the Halifax School Association. This included also a reply to the charges concerning partiality towards Roman Catholics.

The Board said emphatically that these charges were not true, but that a better explanation was needed than just a denial. The so-called Roman Catholic schools were not violating the law. The teachers of such schools were inspected just like any others under the control of the Board. The thirteenth charge of the Halifax School Association had been directed against the use of certain

¹Ibid., July 15, 1874.

²Minutes of Executive Council 1851-1860, December, 1853, p. 128, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

³School Board Annual Report 1874, p. 9.

books, not religious, by the Christian Brothers. These were not prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction, but, this was only a trifling matter and had been corrected.¹

The so-called Roman Catholic schools, St. Mary's, St. Patrick's and the Convent Free school have been satisfactory and comparable to any common schools in the province. Protestant children attend these schools and the Board have not yet received any complaint concerning anything improper being done. Also, no religious practises have been carried on during school hours. It is just natural that the great majority of the children in these schools are Catholic, because as it happens also in different parts of the province where there are two large religious groups a school for each is set up. Therefore, in Halifax we have schools which are attended mainly by Protestants and also those attended mainly by Catholics.²

The last charge of the School Association was that Protestants could only be appointed to certain schools while Catholics could be appointed to all. The Board said they are not in the habit of making inquiry into the religion of applicants for teaching. But although this charge is literally true, still it is calculated to mislead. Two teachers who are Catholics have been appointed to schools

¹Ibid., p. 11.

²Ibid.

where the majority of the children are Protestants: Miss Teresa Ryan, a protegee of Dean Bullock and Miss. Torrey had both been appointed to Morris Street School, but they were excellent teachers and gave complete satisfaction to the school authorities.¹ Thus, the Board answered publicly the charges made against it by the School Association.

The Board also expressed the great loss in the resignation of Dr. Hannan. In connection with this event, the Board said:

By the resignation of the Very Rev. Dr. Hannan, in June last, the board lost the member who could, perhaps, be least spared. His long experience, his thorough acquaintance with the working of our educational system, and his unflagging interest in all the city schools, render it impossible to fill his place; and the teachers, to all of whom, without distinction of creed, he was a true friend and trusty counsellor, witnessed his departure with feelings to which the very affectionate and laudatory address which they presented him, only give fitting expression.²

In 1875, some changes were made in the appointing of the School Board Commissioners. The essential change was that the length of office of a commissioner was extended to three years and there could be no re-appointment until one year had elapsed from the end of the previous term. This rule was highly questioned since

¹Ibid., p. 12.

²Ibid., p. 5.

experienced people were required on the Board. The legislation also reduced the number of commissioners from thirteen to twelve and provided for the election of a chairman and vice-chairman. Finally, by this law, clergymen were no longer able to be members of the Board.¹ In the Assembly, this last clause was carefully debated. It had been suggested by the Halifax School Association. During the debate the following was expressed by Dr. Farrell:

... it would be remembered that at the beginning of the agitation on this subject it had been made a ground of complaint by the School Association that clergymen of two denominations, the Catholic and Episcopal churches, were on the Board while other denominations were unrepresented.²

The School Association had been rebuffed in their demands late in 1874 just before the Assembly was prorogued. In 1875, the Association wanted all the Halifax School Board members to be elected by the people at large. They also wanted repressed the whole section of the School Act of 1865 referring to Halifax.³ The assembly refused to grant these requests.

Late in 1874, after a petition from the people in

¹Nova Scotia Laws, Laws of 1874-1878, Chapter 32, Subsection 1, Laws of 1875.

²Assembly Debates 1875, p. 184.

³The Christian Messenger, December 9, 1874.

the Dutch Village area was received, a school was started in the Archbishop's building in that district. In the agreement the School Board would pay the teacher, and the Archbishop offered to rent the building for a nominal fee. It is interesting to note that the Archbishop in a letter from the Board's Secretary was requested to appoint a teacher.¹ This small school was to continue until 1909 when its successor, Oxford Street School, was established.

In April, 1876 the St. Mary's and St. Patrick's schools suffered a severe setback. At a special meeting of the School Board Archbishop Connolly reported that the Christian Brothers had resigned from the city schools.² The provincial of the order from Montreal was in the city and he ordered the Brothers to leave. They obeyed immediately since they were under his authority. The loss of the Brothers caused severe hardships for the "Catholic schools". They had been teaching in the city for about ten years and had won the affection and good will of the boys. By means of this association they had become a tremendous force for good among them. The boys had been induced to curtail the use of tobacco and intoxicating drinks by the efforts of the Brothers. As regards the

¹Letter of J. R. Willis to Archbishop Connolly, Willis Family Papers, Public Archives of Nova Scotia, April 12, 1875.

²School Board Minutes, V, April 3, 1876.

work in the classroom, they had continually been commended on their attendance record and discipline. In 1874, the Rev. George B. Dodwell, an Anglican minister, commended the Brothers on their order and arrangement in a special supervisory report that he had made for the School Board. Rev. Dodwell said, "The order and arrangement of the school (St. Patrick's) seems admirable and the pupils have the very great advantage of having devoted men of their own Church their teachers, who most conscientiously give themselves to their work..."¹ The Brothers also attracted many Protestants to their schools, but the children's parents were assured that no proselytizing was done.² The day after the Brothers were forced to go, the Archbishop himself announced the departure of the Brothers to the boys of the two schools.

The Archbishop had quickly secured teachers to make sure that classes would continue as usual. The list of teachers nominated by the Archbishop was later presented to the Board. These were substitute teachers until their permanent appointment by the Board. Commissioner Belcher during this meeting questioned if the Catholic Archbishop had any special privileges in connection with the "Catholic Schools". The secretary was directed to make a search among the records of the Board and report to the

¹School Board Annual Report 1925, p. 9.

²Halifax Citizen, February 13, 1869.

next meeting.¹ In connection with the Board's own inquiries, Archbishop Connolly was being publicly accused of interfering with the management of the schools and the Acadian Recorder reported that:

... at the now famous public meeting a reverend gentleman got off an insinuation that recent events had demonstrated that there is one sect, which, though not actually represented at the Board, yet intermeddled with and controlled school matters, as much as if he were a member.²

The Archbishop in a letter answering these charges said that he had never "... directly or indirectly appointed a teacher in anyone of the said schools".³ He explained that all the time that Dr. Hannan had been a member of the Board he had never remembered being consulted on any such subject. The Acadian Recorder, presenting their own view on the matter, stated that they thought the Archbishop had done everything to help the Board and had not tried to undermine it as had been insinuated. Also, the Farrell educational rider of 1875 by which clergymen could no longer be Board members had awakened no jealousy in his heart.⁴

In the School Board's investigations concerning the rights of Archbishop Connolly to nominate teachers, the secretary's report was not considered complete, so a

¹School Board Minutes, V, April 12, 1876.

²Acadian Recorder, April 24, 1876.

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

committee of Commissioners, J. Silver, J. Belcher, and J. S. D. Thompson was chosen to investigate the matter more fully. After some delays, the committee finally presented two reports, the majority report of Silver and Belcher, and a minority report of Thompson. Generally speaking, the former said that there were no records to prove that the Archbishop had any right to nominate teachers to the schools, while Thompson said that this right was retained by the governing bodies when the schools were made free in 1865 and that if it were taken away there would be a complete disorganization of the whole system. Thompson said that there were a large group of people who held that it was very important that religious and secular education be combined. These people were assured of their children having teachers of their own faith by the third clause of the Halifax section of the Act of 1865. The Catholic schools - St. Patrick's, St. Mary's, and the Convent Free - would be "incorporated with the new system without being deprived wholly of their distinctive character of the control which had formerly been exercised over them". All the events and especially the Richey-Parker resolution of November 1, 1865 seem to substantiate this claim.

Thompson seemed to intimate that something should be done to make the appointment of Catholic teachers to the above schools more secure when he said:

It has been argued that even if the right of nomination were to cease, Catholic teachers would still be appointed to these schools; but there are many objections to relying on such an assurance. The safety of these schools would then depend on the pleasure of the Board from day to day.¹

After some discussion the minority report was rejected by a vote of six to three. Then Commissioner Bremmer proposed a new resolution instead of the majority report.

The resolution consisted of five parts:

- 1) None but Roman Catholic teachers shall be appointed to or employed in the schools where the teachers are now exclusively of that denomination.
- 2) No Roman Catholic teacher shall be appointed to or employed in any other of the existing public schools than those referred to in the preceding paragraphs.
- 3) The Roman Catholic teachers shall be appointed on the recommendation of the Roman Catholic members of the Board and all other teachers upon the recommendation of the members of the Board not belonging to that denomination.
- 4) All teachers after their appointment shall be subject to the foregoing provisions and be under the control and management of the whole Board.
- 5) This scheme shall not apply to the proposed high school.²

It was passed by a vote of six to one. This resolution

¹Minority Report, School Board Minutes, V, June 14, 1876.

²Ibid., August 16, 1876.

became a permanent decision of the Board and the rule by which Catholic teachers were to be appointed. The Archbishop no longer had the right of nominating teachers, a right he had previously very seldom exercised.

In the Annual Report of 1878, a comparison with 1868 shows the growth in attendance and teachers in the schools attended by Catholic children.

TABLE II

COMPARISON OF GROWTH FROM 1868 to 1878*

1868	ATTENDANCE	TEACHERS
Colonial, boys	158	2
Convent, boys and girls	127	2
Masons' Hall, boys and girls	174	2
St. Mary's, boys and girls	633	10
St. Patrick's, boys and girls	488	7
Russell Street, boys and girls	<u>249</u>	<u>4</u>
	1829	27
1878		
Salem, boys	119	2
Convent, boys and girls	197	4
Hollis Street, boys and girls	108	2
St. Mary's, boys and girls	608	12
St. Patrick's, boys and girls	785	16
Russell Street, boys and girls	<u>288</u>	<u>4</u>
	2105	40

*School Board Annual Report 1878, p. 16.

In this interval St. Patrick's new school had been built and had already become overcrowded. The Convent School had also been opened. Salem School was the new location of the old Colonial School directed by Messrs.

Keleher and McDonnell. It was being graded into St. Patrick's, while Hollis Street was graded into St. Mary's.

Rev. Dr. Hannan was the Archbishop of Halifax from 1876-1882. During this period little difficulty arose concerning the "Catholic schools". Archbishop O'Brien, Hannan's successor, who was to keep a close watch over the educational needs of his flock, was to be often found making suggestions to the School Board. In 1886, St. Patrick's was extremely overcrowded. It was the largest school in the Maritime Provinces, with eighteen departments and 1,033 pupils.¹ In 1887, Archbishop O'Brien offered to erect a building on Brunswick Street to accommodate the girls of St. Patrick's. The school was completed in 1888 and the Archbishop received a rent of six percent on the cost of \$19,000. This closed the classrooms in the Worrall Building and on Gerrish Street and Poplar Grove.² Again in 1889, Archbishop O'Brien built a new school on Grafton Street for the girls of St. Mary's school and rented it at \$1,100 per year. It was opened in 1890.³ In the same year the class at the Catholic Orphanage was accepted as a public school after representation by the directors of the institution.⁴

By the end of 1890, all the schools to which

¹School Board Annual Report 1886, p. 25.

²School Board Minutes, VIII, August 30, 1888.

³School Board Annual Report 1889, p. 9.

⁴School Board Minutes, VIII, January 30, 1890.

Catholic teachers were appointed had been built by the Catholic Archbishops or the Nuns of the Sacred Heart. By this time the Board was renting Russell Street School, St. Mary's Boys', St. Mary's Girls', St. Patrick's Boys', St. Patrick's Girls', Summer Street, and classrooms in St. Joseph's Orphanage from the Catholic authorities. The School Board in 1892 passed a resolution which spelled the end to the building of school buildings by outside authorities. This resolution was passed in connection with the proposed renewing of the Russell Street School. It said that the Board itself should erect a building to replace the Russell Street School.¹ This demonstrated a radical change in the opinion of the Board, since less than three years before, in 1889, the Board had approached the Archbishop and asked if he could do anything to supply accommodation for the girls at St. Mary's School.² The Archbishop had built St. Mary's Girls' School with the agreement of the School Board.

Archbishop O'Brien understood this new resolution as a serious infringement upon the rights of the governing bodies, and especially upon himself, as the Catholics were the only governing bodies who still took an active participation in the public schools. In reply to this

¹Ibid., March 10, 1892.

²Ibid., July 4, 1889.

resolution the Archbishop said that he thought that the School Board was setting a course in complete variance with the tradition set by the Board for the past twenty-five years. Also, the Board was saving money by renting the buildings from the Catholics, as the rate per class of these classes was much cheaper than the rate of other classes in the city. Finally, the Archbishop said that since this new ruling was really going to break the compromise of 1865, he intended to operate the Russell Street school with or without the Board.¹

The School Board early in the next year applied to the government to obtain funds to build the new Russell Street school. But in June to prove to the Archbishop that the Board desired to take over no other functions than build the school buildings, and also that they intended to make no changes in the appointing of teachers, a special resolution was passed which said that "... the purpose of the Board is to transfer to the proposed new building, the several departments and teachers who are now, or may be at the time of removal, employed in the Russell Street Schools."²

The Board began building the new Russell Street School on a lot extending from Young to Kaye Street late

¹Letter of Archbishop O'Brien, The Halifax Herald, March 31, 1892.

²School Board Minutes, IX, June 1, 1893.

in 1893. It was to be an eight department school. The Board also informed the Archbishop that they would no longer need the old Russell Street school after March 1, 1894.¹ The new school became known as the Young Street School and was opened around the end of March, 1894.²

Prior to the completion of the new school, a special committee of the Board was asked to confer with the Archbishop in reference to the transfer of the old Russell Street School.³ As a result of this conference a special resolution was passed by the Board in which the resolution of June 1, 1893 was reiterated and the provision concerning the appointing of teachers was extended to any future appointments to the new school. Finally, it was resolved:

That the intent and meaning of the Board, in passing the said resolution, were as they are now, that the said provision was to be a continuing one, and that the Board's resolution of the 16th day of August, 1876, respecting teachers in certain city schools, should apply to the new school erected by the Board in Young and Kaye Streets as fully as it did to the original Russell Street Schools, so called, of which it is to be the successor in all respects not contrary to the educational law of the province or the rules of this Board.⁴

The main purpose of those provisions was to insure the

¹Ibid., November 30, 1893.

²Ibid., April 5, 1894.

³Ibid., February 1, 1894.

⁴Ibid., March 1, 1894.

continuance of the Halifax system of public schools and the resolution of August 16, 1876. But now the School Board intended to build all the school buildings. That meant that although the School Board owned the buildings, still in those schools in which there was a predominance of Catholic students, Catholic teachers would be appointed to the permanent positions.

Great progress and expansion had taken place by the "Catholic schools" in 1899. The following are the statistics for these schools in 1899.

TABLE III
HALIFAX PUBLIC SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY CATHOLIC CHILDREN
1899*

SCHOOLS	GRADES	TEACHERS	PUPILS REGISTERED	AVERAGE ATTEND.
Dutch Village	I-VII	2	95	69
R.C. Orphanage	I-VI	2	118	95
St. Mary's Boys ^t	I-VIII	8	396	275
St. Mary's Girls ^t	I-VIII	10	553	397
St. Patrick's Boys ^t	I-VIII & HS	11	552	388
St. Patrick's Girls ^t	I-XI	12	577	423
St. Patrick's Home	I-VII	1	85	44
Summer Street	I-VIII	5	277	192
Young Street	I-VIII	<u>11</u>	<u>730</u>	<u>535</u>
		62	3383	2418

*School Board Annual Report 1899, pp. 30-33, p. 40. The buildings in which these schools were maintained were all owned by the Catholic authorities except the Young Street School.

In contrast to this summary, there had only been 27 Catholic teachers in 1868 with 1,829 pupils registered and 1,417 attending the "Catholic schools".¹

The final addition to the Halifax Public Schools before the turn of the century as a "public school attended by Catholic children" was the St. Patrick's Boys' Home operated by the Irish Christian Brothers. Brother Aloysius was appointed the teacher with a permissive license.² Brother was appointed a permanent member of the staff about a year later.³

Thus, by 1900 a definite set of regulations had been decided upon to govern "the schools attended by Catholic children". The Board had decided that new school buildings were to be built by the city.⁴ Also, the Board had guaranteed the Catholics of the city that the schools their children attended would be always taught by Catholic teachers.

¹School Board Annual Report 1878, p. 16.

²School Board Minutes, IX, October 29, 1896.

³Ibid., October 27, 1897.

⁴An exception to this was the erection of the St. Mary's Boys' School on Grafton Street which was built by the Catholic authorities in 1904.

CHAPTER IV

HALIFAX HIGH SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY CATHOLICS TO 1900

The Halifax city public schools of the early 1870's were only common schools. There was no public high school until 1877.¹ But high school subjects had been taught for many years before that in the common schools. As in the other schools, high school matter was being taught at St. Mary's, St. Patrick's and the Convent Free before 1877. As early as 1871 philosophy, rhetoric, algebra, geometry, and book-keeping were being taught by Brother Christian at St. Mary's and at St. Patrick's classes were given in natural philosophy.²

As the number of students in the schools interested in these subjects increased, advanced classes were formed. The principal was usually the teacher of the advanced class and he set the extent of the curriculum himself. By 1876, the supervisor, Dr. Benjamin Curren, said that a high school for girls could easily

¹The high school was open to all city students and a number were accepted free if they passed a high standard in special examinations. In 1877 when the school opened, Daniel Cahill became the school's first scholar from the "Catholic schools". He was a paying student. Master Cahill came from Russell Street School.

²School Board Minutes, III, January 16, 1871.

be formed from the girls of the well instructed classes of Sister Bernard of St. Mary's, Sister Mary Michael of St. Patrick's, Miss Sterns, of Morris Street, and Madame Woods, of the Convent Free School. Sister Bernard was teaching French besides other advanced subjects.¹

In 1884 the first high school class for "Catholic Children attending Halifax public schools" was begun at St. Patrick's. This first class was only for girls and the students came from the senior girls' departments of St. Mary's, Summer Street, St. Patrick's and Russell Street Schools. The Supervisor, Alexander McKay, described this experimental class thus:

A class of advanced pupils was formed and placed under the management of Sister Bernard, a lady who was displayed more than ordinary administrative ability and teaching skill. Associated with her is Sister Dolorosa, to whom is assigned one-half of the subjects belonging to the High School Course. In order to raise the status of this High School and keep it at a high standard, the number in the senior class was limited as much as possible. But as there are seventeen girls' departments subsidiary to it, there will, before long, be a very large number of well²prepared applicants for admission.

This was the beginning of St. Patrick's Girls' High School.

¹School Board Annual Report 1876, p. 21.

²School Board Annual Report 1884, p. 29.

A further advance in public education in Nova Scotia was made in 1885 when each county of the province was enabled to maintain a free high school or academy.¹ This had been suggested earlier by the Halifax School Board.² Immediately preceeding the passing of this act, Supervisor McKay had suggested that a boys' high school be opened in connection with St. Patrick's School.³ The next year Mr. O'Hearn, the principal of St. Patrick's Boys', taught a considerable number of boys Latin, Algebra, Geometry and Chemistry.⁴ In this humble manner we have the beginning of St. Patrick's Boys' High School.

A major difficulty in the higher education of Catholics was explained in the Annual Report of 1886. The Supervisor noted that "many parents take their children from school at an early age, either from necessity or from want of an appreciation of the value of mental training."⁵ The Supervisor was referring especially to the boys of St. Patrick's and the obstacles the teachers were having in maintaining two higher classes.

In 1887, the girls of St. Patrick's became

¹Nova Scotia Laws, Statutes at Large, Chapter II, part III, 1885.

²School Board Minutes, VII, September 18, 1884.

³Ibid., October 18, 1885.

⁴School Board Annual Report 1886, p. 24.

⁵Ibid.

located on Brunswick Street. Sisters Bernard and De Chantal were then teaching the girls in the High School. The girls were given a very extensive course of Science, Mathematics, Painting, Geometry, and Algebra. Although this was the main girls high school, the Summer Street School continued to teach advanced Science and Mathematics.¹ The Supervisor congratulated the teachers at St. Patrick's Girls' High School for their successful work.² The Girls' High School was forced to limit its number of students because of lack of facilities. By 1899 in grades nine to eleven there were seventy-eight students.³ The curriculum of this school was very similar to that of the Academy. St. Patrick's Boys' High School, in comparison to the Girls', went only as far as grade nine and it had a total of twenty boys.⁴

This was only the very beginning of the "Catholic high school". The Catholics of Halifax gradually became aware of the importance of academic education and both Schools, Girls' and Boys', were to expand in grades and attendance. The final goal was to be reached in 1954 when St. Patrick's High School for both boys and girls was opened on Quinpool Road.

¹School Board Annual Report 1887, p. 32.

²School Board Annual Report 1886, p. 24; School Board Annual Report 1888, p. 15.

³School Board Annual Report 1899, p. 39.

⁴Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The first public school for Catholics was situated, as has been said, in Bishop Burke's glebe house and was opened in 1819. In the next eighty years great expansion and changes were made in the education of Catholics in the city, and the main change was to be effected in 1865 when the Catholic schools became publicly administered and maintained.

The St. Mary's schools started by Bishop Burke were the only Catholic schools until 1843 when Bishop Walsh established St. Patrick's school on Brunswick Street. The latter institution which is now about one hundred and twenty years old seems always to have had the same "rough and ready" atmosphere. In 1849, the Catholic schools received the two religious orders, the Sisters of Charity and the Nuns of the Sacred Heart, who have both labored in Halifax for more than one hundred and ten years. The Sisters of Charity started to work immediately at St. Mary's and in 1857 came to St. Patrick's. The Nuns of the Sacred Heart started a "poor school" for the children of their district as early as 1851. The Catholic schools had been subsidized to a certain degree as early as 1821, and in 1850 they

came partially under the inspection and financial aid of the Halifax School Board.

In 1865 the Free School Act of Nova Scotia was passed and by the provisions of the Halifax section the established schools could become part of the free school system on condition that they use the books required by the province and that the schools be completely free to all. The three Catholic schools of St. Mary's, St. Patrick's, and the Convent Free were made free and public after application to the School Board. In the years immediately preceding this date the Catholic authorities built their own schools. These included Russell Street in 1867, St. Patrick's in 1872, Summer Street in 1870, while the St. Mary's School had been built in 1865 to provide for the De La Salle Christian Brothers who arrived the same year.

In the period from 1871 to 1876 several attempts were made to change or completely destroy the special arrangement of the Halifax Public Schools. The Halifax School Board during this period remained staunchly loyal to its original governing managers. In 1876 a resolution to clarify the method of teacher appointments to the "Catholic schools" was made. The resolution said that only Catholic teachers would be appointed to certain schools, and that no Catholic teachers would be appointed to the other schools. This action was described as an

extension of the former method of appointing teachers to the "Catholic schools". It was no longer an unwritten agreement but "stares at us in black and white."¹ Although many were sad to see the older method put aside, which had practically speaking worked so well, there were few opponents to the new resolution. The Morning Chronicle explains the general reaction thus:

.... the late arrangement was an ill, though the majority of our citizens, we are sure, saw much good in it; but, if we may take the Presbyterian Witness as the exponent of the views of the small body of malcontents, these regard the new arrangement as worse than the old one.²

The Catholic authorities built the schools for their children up to 1892. After this date the School Board took over this important function, but assured the Catholics that no infringement would be made in the matter of appointing Catholic teachers to the schools where the majority of students were Catholics. This was the status of the "Catholic schools" in 1900. A more detailed summary of the arrangement of the Halifax City Schools is given in the following explanation of the Supervisor, Alexander McKay, which was formulated in 1913,

1. All schools of Halifax are conducted under the one local School Board, under the one local County Inspector, and the

¹The Morning Chronicle, August 17, 1876.

²Ibid., August 25, 1876.

one Supervisor, with the same textbooks and making the same returns.

2. The schools of the city are administered by one School Board, consisting of "Commissioners for Schools" as distinguished from trustees in school sections outside cities and incorporated towns.

3. The Halifax Board consists of twelve members, six of whom are appointed by the City Council and six by the Provincial Government. It appears to be as an unwritten local usage that two of each set of appointments be Catholics—at least four Catholics to eight others on the Board.

4. The electorate is about two-fifths Catholic.

5. Teachers in the schoolhouses owned by Catholics, and in the new schoolhouses erected by the School Board for Catholic children, are always nominated only by the Catholic members of the Board, but all appointments are made by the whole Board.

6. The old Catholic school buildings are rented by the Board so long as they can be kept in satisfactory condition for school purposes.

7. New schoolhouses for Catholic children have now for many years been built by the Board.

8. Catholics and others are entitled to attend the schools nearest to them, so that Catholics are thus generally found in nearly all the other schools, while many non-Catholic attend the so-called Catholic Schools.

9. In the so-called Catholic schools, the use of the robes characteristic of the Order to

which the teacher belongs, and pictures distinctly Catholic, are not prohibited.

10. In the so-called Catholics schools, no devotional exercises are allowed during school hours. These services are permitted after regular school hours or before them.

11. All these local arrangements (which do not conflict with the Education Act nor with the regulations of the Council of Public Instruction) are unwritten but distinctly understood and loyally observed by all classes of citizens, who, instead of trying to overreach each other, endeavour to establish a reputation for fairness. While, therefore, we have none of the disadvantages of a system of separate schools we have the advantage of a single public school system, with the local elasticity allowing Catholics the essential advantages of a separate system for Catholics.¹

A most important and interesting aspect of the formation of the Halifax School System is the effect of Archbishop Connolly upon Dr. Charles Tupper. It is obvious from the correspondence available after 1865 that a close relationship existed between the two on a political level. Any correspondence that might have existed before the Free School Act of 1865 which might help to explain how the Halifax System was actually organized is not now available. The Chancery Office

¹ Siissons, op. cit., pp. 333-334.

does not possess any such letters. This was the information given to the present researcher. This is also substantiated by another researcher who after visiting the Chancery office states: "All of Connolly's papers are missing from the Archives of the Archdiocese of Halifax".¹

Thus, there was established in Halifax a school system which recognized the substantial Catholic part of the population and gave to them the equivalent of separate schools. The formation and continuance of this school system was due in no small extent "to the wise spirit of tolerance which characterizes our citizens as a whole".² In the difficulties that did arise with relation to the "Catholic schools" the Archbishops, Connolly and O'Brien, always showed cooperation with the School Board as well as a strong determination to provide good accommodations for the Catholic children. The School Board, although continually being changed from 1875, proved itself to be a body interested in upholding the compromise of 1865 and determined to defend the system against outside interference.

¹Vincent F. Holden, C.S.P., The Yankee Paul Isaac Thomas Hecker (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1958), p. 495.

²The Evening Mail, February 11, 1899. (This is to be found in the conclusion of Senator Power's article.)

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