

**FOR A SPACE TO TEACH: ACADIAN TEACHERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN
EASTERN NOVA SCOTIA, 1811-1864**

by

DAVID BRADLEY SWEET

submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

in the subject of

HISTORY OF EDUCATION

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

PROMOTER: PROF A.E. VAN ZYL

SEPTEMBER 2005

This work is dedicated to the memory of

Sister Yvonne LeBlanc, *s.c.h.*
(1911- 1996)

“...as is the teacher, so is the school...”

Samuel Creelman, MPP
(Nova Scotia Provincial Secretary, 1854)

Acknowledgements

I would like to make mention of a number of people and institutions who have been instrumental in their support in the preparation and writing of this thesis and without whom this work would not have been possible.

To Professor Andrew E. van Zyl of the Department of Educational Studies, University of South Africa I wish to express my heartfelt thanks for all the hours he has provided to advise and encourage me as I prepared this thesis. Professor van Zyl promoted the research and writing of this topic, which has contributed to the knowledge of early nineteenth century Acadian teachers in eastern Nova Scotia.

I would like to acknowledge the support of Dr Maurice Basque, head of the Centre d'études acadiennes and Chair d'études acadiennes at Université de Moncton for his support of this project from its inception. He has provided advice and graciously shared his vast knowledge in this area of Acadian studies.

There were many institutions that provided documentation in the preparation of this thesis, and the staffs of those libraries and archives were most helpful. I should like to mention in particular Kathleen MacKenzie Archivist Saint Francis Xavier University Archives, Bishop Raymond Lahey, Diocese of Antigonish for his permission to access the Diocesan Archives, the University of King's College Library the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, the Public Archives of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Archives of the Nova Scotia Legislature and the Archives de la Société Sainte-Croix in Pomquet.

Lastly I would like to acknowledge and thank those of my family and friends who through their time, effort and encouragement helped to make this thesis possible. Most notable among these are; Christopher Lloyd for the tranquillity of Great Dixter, Normand LeBlanc, Dale Vincent and Sister Madeleine Dagenais, p.f.s.j. for the review of the text, to Joseph Orr who believed in this project and whose encouragement has been unequalled, and finally the prayers and support of my parents Charles and Rita Sweet.

Brad Sweet
Halifax, Nova Scotia
Canada

FOR A SPACE TO TEACH: ACADIAN TEACHERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS OF EASTERN NOVA SCOTIA, 1811-1864

by

Brad Sweet

Degree: Doctor of Education (History of Education)

Subject: Acadian Public School Teachers in eastern Nova Scotia

Promoter: Professor A. E. van Zyl

Summary :

This doctoral thesis concerns the Acadian teachers in the public schools of the eastern counties of Nova Scotia between the years 1811 and 1864. The early Acadian public school teachers provided the Acadians, the French speaking population, in Nova Scotia, instruction in their own French language even under legal constraints to do otherwise. The region covered in this dissertation includes the counties found on Cape Breton Island and the counties of Antigonish and Guysborough on the mainland portion of the province between 1811 the year of adoption of the first Education Act in Nova Scotia concerning public education and concludes with the 1864 Education Act which created a homogenous unilingual school system in English.

Acadian education would progress from small groups of children taught by itinerant school masters and visiting mission priests to formal one-room school houses where numbers were sufficient. Lay teachers being found in the communities would perpetuate the French language following their own education at the few available institutions for training. The work of these Acadian public school teachers, even when legislation prohibited it, resulted in the survival of the Acadian French communities in eastern Nova Scotia.

In the preparation of this thesis, original sources were used including school reports, school commissioner reports, and colonial census records, private journals of the bishops and priests as well as those of community members. The original sources are invaluable as a record of the year to year work of the Acadian public school teachers where there are few other documentary sources remaining of their work.

While the origins of the public schools in Nova Scotia has been documented as well as Acadian schools, this is the first look at the Acadian public school teachers who worked in the various communities of eastern Nova Scotia and their backgrounds.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.0 CHAPTER 1	
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.2 MOTIVATION.....	9
1.3 PROBLEM POSTULATION	13
1.4 HYPOTHESIS.....	15
1.5 AIM OF STUDY	20
1.6 RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY	21
1.6.1 Approaches	21
<i>1.6.1.1 Chronological Approach</i>	<i>21</i>
<i>1.6.1.2 Comparative Approach.....</i>	<i>22</i>
<i>1.6.1.3 Quantitative Approach</i>	<i>23</i>
1.6.2 Research Methods.....	24
<i>1.6.2.1 Historical and Educational Research Method</i>	<i>24</i>
1.6.3 Review of Literature.....	28
<i>1.6.3.1 Primary Sources</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>1.6.3.2 Secondary Sources</i>	<i>32</i>
1.6.4 Evaluation of Source Materials.....	33
<i>1.6.4.1 External Criticism</i>	<i>33</i>
<i>1.6.4.2 Internal Criticism</i>	<i>35</i>
1.7 DELIMITATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY.....	36
1.8 CONCLUSION.....	39

2.0 CHAPTER 2 ACADIAN EDUCATION, 1604-1864	40
2.1 INTRODUCTION	40
2.1.1 Public Education and Conformism	41
2.2 ACADIAN EDUCATION UNDER FRENCH AND ENGLISH REGIMES44	
2.2.1 French Acadia 1604-1710	46
2.2.2 The Deportation and Acadian Education 1755-1763	50
2.2.3 Early teachers and private schooling in Nova Scotia.....	52
2.2.3.1 The SPG, 1727-1835.....	52
2.2.3.2 Private and Parochial Schools in the Maritime colonies.	54
2.3 ATLANTIC COLONIAL EDUCATION, 1710-1854.....	60
2.3.1 Nova Scotia, 1790-1841	61
2.3.1.1 Legalities and Establishment	62
2.3.1.2 Nova Scotia Normal School.....	68
2.3.2 Cape Breton Island, 1784-1820.....	70
2.3.2.1 Legal Parameters	71
2.3.3 New Brunswick, 1784-1864.....	72
2.3.3.1 Legal Parameters	74
2.3.3.2 New Brunswick Training School and Normal Schools	77
2.3.4 Prince Edward Island, 1769-1864.....	79
2.3.4.1 Legal Parameters	79
2.3.4.2 Prince Edward Island National School (Normal School)	84
2.3.5 Newfoundland and Labrador, 1830-1864	85
2.3.5.1 Legal Parameters	88
2.3.5.2 “French Shore” Education Parameters.....	91
2.4 UPPER CANADA (ONTARIO), 1800-1864	94
2.4.1 Legal Parameters	96
2.4.2 Public Schools and Public School Teachers	98
2.4.3 Private Schools and Collèges classiques	100
2.5 ASSINIBOIA, RUPERT’S LAND (MANITOBA), 1810-1869...	104
2.5.1 Ecclesiastical Parameters.....	107
2.5.2 Collège Saint-Boniface and St John’s College.....	109
2.6 LOWER CANADA (QUÉBEC), A CASE APART, 1791-1860.	110
2.6.1 Church and State Education, 1791-1864.....	112

2.6.2 Normal Schools and Collèges Classiques	115
2.7 CONCLUSION.....	117

3.0 CHAPTER 3 NOVA SCOTIA EDUCATION ACTS 1758 -1865	119
3.1 INTRODUCTION	119
3.2 EDUCATION ACTS FROM 1758- 1811	120
3.2.1 Act of 1758.....	122
3.2.2 Act of 1766.....	124
3.2.3 Act of 1786.....	127
3.3 EDUCATION IN CAPE BRETON COLONY, 1784-1820	129
3.4 EDUCATION ACTS 1811-1839, FROM THE ENGLISH PERIOD TO THE ROAD TO PLURALITY	129
3.4.1 Acts of 1811, The First Real Education Laws	129
3.4.1.1 <i>The Acts of 1811 and Schoolmasters</i>	134
3.4.2 Act of 1826	139
3.4.2.1 <i>The Reports of the Legislative Commission</i>	139
3.4.2.2 <i>Provisions of the 1826 Education Act</i>	141
3.4.3 Act of 1832.....	145
3.4.4 Act of 1836, Racially Based Education	148
3.4.5 Act of 1836, Sydney County.....	150
3.4.6 Act of 1838.....	151
3.4.7 Act of 1839, The Question of Land.....	153
3.5 EDUCATION ACT 1841, A SPACE TO TEACH	154
3.5.1 Central Board of Education.....	155
3.5.2 Implications for Teachers.....	156
3.5.3 The Reality in the Classroom 1841.....	158
3.5.3.1 <i>Ethnic and Linguistic Minority Recognition</i>	159
3.5.3.2 <i>Implications for a Multilingual Nova Scotia</i>	162
3.5.4 The Acts From 1841 to 1864.....	164
3.5.4.1 <i>Act of 1845</i>	166
3.5.4.2 <i>Act of 1850</i>	172
3.5.4.3 <i>Normal School Act, 1854</i>	174
3.6 EDUCATION ACT, 1864 “TUPPER’S LAW” & EDUCATION ACT, 1865	178
3.6.1 Minority Education Rights and Acadian Schools.....	179
3.6.2 Reality in the Classroom.....	182
3.7 CONCLUSION	185

4.0 CHAPTER 4

ACADIAN PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS: BACKGROUND AND EDUCATION	187
4.1 INTRODUCTION	187
4.2 BACKGROUND OF TEACHERS	192
4.2.1 Ethnic Background	193
4.3 ACADIAN TEACHERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS	195
4.3.1 Inverness County	196
4.3.1.1 Chéticamp	197
4.3.1.2 Magré (Margaree)	201
4.3.2 Richmond County	202
4.3.2.1 L'Ardoise	204
4.3.2.2 Rivière-Bourgeois	206
4.3.2.3 D'Escousse	208
4.3.2.4 Arichat	211
4.3.2.5 Arichat-Ouest	217
4.3.2.6 Petit-de-Gras	219
4.3.3 Antigonish County	219
4.3.3.1 Tracadie	221
4.3.3.2 Havre-Boucher	226
4.3.3.3 Pomquet	228
4.3.4 Guysborough County	231
4.3.5 Chezzetcook	233
4.4 PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT	236
4.4.1 Economic Employment Opportunities	238
4.4.2 Religious Vocations	240
4.4.3 Immigration	242
4.4.4 The Teachers Who Changed Schools	242
4.5 CONCLUSION	244

5.0 CHAPTER 5: PREPARING ACADIAN PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS

5.1 INTRODUCTION	245
5.2 TRAINING OF TEACHERS 1826-1865	246
5.2.1 The Church’s Role in Provision of Teachers in Public Education	246
5.2.2 Early Private (Religious) Teachers.....	253
5.2.2.1 Training Teachers With The Trappistines.....	253
5.2.2.2 Training by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal	259
5.2.3 Arichat Academy	264
5.2.3.1 Frères des Écoles chrétiennes	266
5.2.3.2 Academy Curriculum 1853-1860.....	270
5.2.3.3 Academy Curriculum 1860-1865.....	271
5.3 SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER COLLEGE-SEMINARY	277
5.4 CONCLUSION.....	282

6.0 CHAPTER 6

SYNTHESIS	283
6.1 INTRODUCTION	283
6.2 CONCLUSIONS OF THE CHAPTERS.....	283
6.3 FINAL CONCLUSIONS.....	291

BIBLIOGRAPHY	306
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	330

LIST OF MAPS

1. Map 1 4
2. Map 2 8
3. Map 344
4. Map 457
5. Map 590
6. Map 6 105

LIST OF TABLES

1. Table 1	80
------------------	----

Annexes

Annex A Letter of Lord Grey 1847	296
Annex B Nova Scotia Education Acts, 1758-1865	302
Annex C Prince Edward Island Education Acts, 1802-1861 .	303
Annex D New Brunswick Education Acts, 1784-1871	304
Annex E Newfoundland Education Acts, 1799-1867	305

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis, *For a space to teach: Acadian¹ teachers in the public schools of eastern Nova Scotia, 1811-1864*, concerns, principally, the advent of Acadian² teachers in the public schools in the eastern part of the province of Nova Scotia, Canada and their background and role in the preservation and promotion of the French language in many of the Acadian villages in this remote region. The work of these teachers in creating a small elite population in the villages and communities and the training where available to these public school teachers will be analysed between the promulgation of the Nova Scotia “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” in 1811 and that of 1864, the “Act for the encouragement of Education” (see section 3). The 1811 “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” (Nova Scotia³), allowed the creation of publicly funded grammar schools in each county of what was then Nova Scotia (the mainland portion) and the “Act for the encouragement of Education” or “Free Schools Act” of 1864 (NS 1864) was the first provision of publicly funded elementary schooling from tax assessments of all Nova Scotians (Morison 1962: 68).

¹ The Acadians were the descendants of the initial French settlers in what has become eastern Canada beginning in 1604.

² The geographic area of the eastern half of the province of Nova Scotia was chosen for this study as there has been very little research conducted concerning Acadian education history in this part of the province. Where there are fewer numbers of Acadians and they are scattered in remote villages, greater research has been prepared for the western and south western areas of the province.

³ Legislation related to education in Nova Scotia will herein after be abbreviated to NS with appropriate date of the act.

The role of the Acadian public school teachers cannot be over-estimated when considering the development of the Acadian communities in eastern Nova Scotia following the resettlement of the Acadians. After the years of deportation (1755-1763) and wandering, only a few members of the community were able to receive any formal education at all, while the priests' initial efforts were to educate a few members of the community, principally young men, who could become priests (Sweet 2000: 182). The priests were at that time the leading educated members of the society and often not Acadian or from the Maritime provinces. In many cases, the initial educational work begun by the early mission priests was carried on by members of the Acadian communities visited by the itinerant Catholic mission priests over many years (see section 4.3). These local Acadians who took on the responsibility of teaching privately were often the young men taught by the mission priests and who at times became the first public school teachers in eastern Nova Scotia following the passage of the initial education legislation after 1811. The creation of a small cadre of educated Acadians within the villages would allow the Acadians themselves to take roles of leadership in their communities, and later, to rival even the parish priest as the most educated members of the society. However, "... most educated Acadians became part of ordinary Acadian society..." (Andrew 1996: 65). A few of these became the early teachers in the public schools and thereby entrusted the following generations of Acadians with the ability to enter the professions and positions of leadership following the Acadian renaissance of the 1880s and 1890s.

While there has been debate concerning the leadership roles of the priests and the small, educated elite in the Acadian villages (Bourgeois & Basque 1984: 10, Andrew 1996: 63-64), it would be incorrect to think that there was not a degree of cooperation between the parish, or mission priest, and the new candidates for leadership in the Acadian communities, a cooperation that was essential in the early development of the public school system in the Acadian communities.

When the Acadians commenced resettling in Nova Scotia in 1764 after their deportation (1755-1763), the English speaking and mostly protestant settlers who had formed a majority population from New England and Europe, viewed the Catholic, French speaking Acadians with hostility. The laws of Nova Scotia of the day reflected this animosity. Education and non-conformist worship were severely restricted by the “Act for the establishment of religious public worship in this province” of 1758 (NS 1758) and the “Act concerning schools and school matters” (NS 1766). Except for a modicum of Acadian education, which took the form of private schooling from the local priest or itinerant teacher (Sweet 1999a: 107) who boarded with the families of the children whom they were teaching (MacNaughton 1947: 230), Acadian education was limited at best. Formal schooling was denied for all but members of the protestant Established Church between 1768 and 1786. It remained limited after 1786 until the passing of the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” of 1811 which provided some means of government support for public schools. Between 1784 and 1820, Nova Scotia was separated into two British colonies, peninsular Nova Scotia and the island of Cape Breton becoming the colonies of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton respectively (see Map 1 in section 1.1).

MAP 1 - ACADIAN VILLAGES IN EASTERN NOVA SCOTIA (COLONIES OF NOVA SCOTIA AND CAPE BRETON)⁴



During the French regime (1604-1710), and continuing under British rule from 1710 until 1763 with the Deportation⁵ of the Acadians from 1755 until 1763, the majority population of the colony

4 Map adapted from Arsenault & Garvie (1992: 116). Names translated by author.

5 The Acadian Deportation referred to as the Deportation or the “Great Disturbance” (*Grand dérangement*), saw the deportation of between 15,000 and 30,000 Acadian settlers from Acadia to the English colonies stretching from Massachusetts to South Carolina. By the end of 1755 alone there had been 7000 deported from the Bay of Fundy region. At least 2000 took refuge in the forests with the Mi’kmaq (Brown 1990: 213).

was French speaking. The British set about re-populating the colony with New England *Planters*⁶, Loyalists⁷ and Scots⁸, loyal to the British Crown. In what would be the lead-up to a final British attack on New France, a population dependable in its allegiance to the Crown and Imperial designs was strategic in achieving a stable frontier from which to embark on the conquest of the French colony (at both Louisbourg and Québec) (Anderson 2000: 112). Colonel Charles Lawrence, military governor of the colony, saw Nova Scotia as in a state of war (Moore 1987: 212) and he felt he was therefore justified in his actions to deport the French speaking population who had not taken the unconditional oath of loyalty to King George II (Anderson 2000: 113).

Although a lack of public funds for public education restricted the founding of public schools before the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1841, there were isolated cases of both private and public schools functioning and being founded under British rule in the eastern part of Nova Scotia (Sweet 1999a: 68). In Acadian communities, which had to rely on

6 The *Planters* were New England settlers offered free grants of land that was previously inhabited by the Acadians. Between 1760 and 1774 8000 Planters arrived in Nova Scotia (Bumstead 1994: 162).

7 35,000 Loyalists, Americans fleeing the Revolution of 1776, arrived in Nova Scotia between 1783 and 1784 (Brown 1990: 260).

8 The Scots began settling in Nova Scotia in large numbers following the arrival of Highland refugees at Pictou in eastern Nova Scotia in 1773, settling mainly in the Cape Breton Highlands (Bumstead 1994: 202-203).

private schooling, the erection of private schools prior to 1841 depended largely on several key figures including the local Catholic priest. The provision of teachers for any Acadian public school would depend on the teachers' ability to speak French. However, relevant factors in the hiring of a public school teacher would include the level of homogeneity of the community regarding linguistic, cultural and denomination factors. In some cases the Acadians were initially the dominant culture but were eventually dominated by the newer English speaking settlers who joined their communities and introduced the sweeping use of English into all aspects of the village society (see sections 4.3.2.4 and 4.3.3).

After the first decade of the nineteenth century some of the Acadian communities had non-Francophone residents who were opposed to French Catholic education even on a private level in their community. The minority population of English speaking Protestants would come to dominate the educational scenario in a few of the villages and attempt to impose an instruction through the medium of English on the population (Wagg 1986: 159-167).

This dissertation will focus on Acadian public school teachers who were trained and hired to provide schooling under the Acts of 1811 to 1864⁹ (and to an extent Cape Breton as this colony

⁹ The Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia passed acts relating to Education in 1758, 1766, 1768, 1786, 1811, 1826, 1828, 1832, 1841 and 1864 before the colony came under the Constitution Act 1867 which delegated education exclusively to the provinces of Canada (UK 1867: 91).

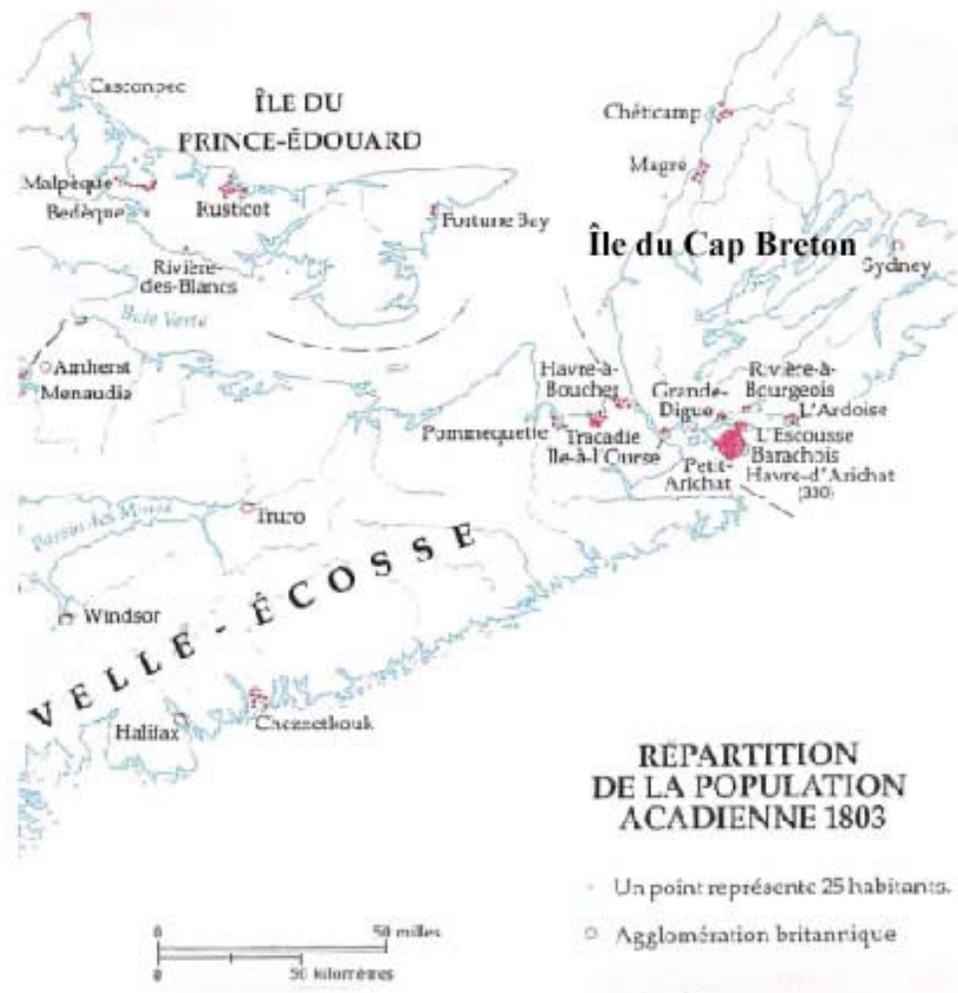
was part of Nova Scotia before 1784 and after 1820¹⁰). The period of Brad Sweet's (1999a) study (1792 to 1840) was a period in Nova Scotia when education in French, whether primary or secondary, was not a priority for the government. It was during the last decade of the eighteenth century that Acadians began to demand priests (Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec¹¹ :7 CM¹²) that could privately teach their French speaking children as an interest was aroused in schooling. The first French priests sent to the mission parishes of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island, arrived in 1792 at Arichat, Cape Breton (Sweet 2000:176). To the governments of the day, loyal French priests would control the distrusted Acadian population (Ross 1992: 74) and work with the Mi'kmaq community (see section 1.1) (AAQ V: 100) who were the first inhabitants of what are today the Maritime provinces (Cazaux 1992: 28) and who the English were unable to convert to Anglicanism. After the enactment of the 1811 "Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province" (see section 3.4.1), Acadian instruction changed. This thesis will determine whether the public school teachers constituted a lay leadership in the Acadian communities alongside that of the priests. Moreover, it will focus on the extent of the Acadian public school teachers' work in the private and public schools, taking into account information obtained from Acadian public school records.

10 With an influx of Loyalist refugees north of the Bay of Fundy on the St John River and in Cape Breton Island, the colony of Nova Scotia was divided to create New Brunswick and Cape Breton in 1784. The latter colony suffered through inept administrations with no popular assemblies for the following 36 years until London allowed Nova Scotia to re-annex the island in 1820 (MacNutt 1965: 97, 182).

¹¹ Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec referred to as AAQ.

¹² A petition was sent from the parishioners of Baie Sainte-Marie in 1790 to Father James Jones, the Vicar Apostolic in the region, Archives de l'Archidiocèse de Québec (AAQ, 312 CN, N-É. I:23 15 September 1790) .

MAP 2 - ACADIAN POPULATION IN EASTERN NOVA SCOTIA, 1803¹³



13 Map obtained from *Atlas national du Canada*, Ottawa, Energy Mines and Resources, 1985 [<http://atlas.gc.ca/>].

French speaking public school teachers provided fundamental schooling in the re-established Acadian communities (see Map 2 in section 1.1) from 1811 onwards in eastern Nova Scotia. Due to the initial instruction of the first Acadian public school teachers, a small population of educated Acadians were to become the leaders of the Acadian community in the roles of priests and teachers. This public education conducted by Acadian school teachers will be studied in order to have a better understanding of minority French education in Nova Scotia with its incumbent struggles to have teachers and books in the French language.

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR RESEARCH

The decision to undertake research for this dissertation was based on the realization that there has been little research of pre-twentieth century Acadian teachers in the public school system of Nova Scotia. Though some mention has been made of the schools and teachers found in Acadian communities by authors of Acadian history and Acadian education history including most recently Sally Ross' work *Les écoles acadiennes en Nouvelle-Écosse, 1758-2000*¹⁴ there has been relatively little work completed on the characteristics of the Acadian public school teachers and the legal confines in which they functioned. To better understand the rationale behind the current problems (Landry & Allard 2000) of assimilation and language/cultural loss facing Acadian education and Acadian communities in Nova Scotia and other regions with

¹⁴ "*Acadian Schools in Nova Scotia, 1758-2000*" (TR), author's translation of the title.

Acadian minorities (see sections 2.2 to 2.6), the early work of public school educators needs to be examined.

Previous research by Sweet (1999a) led to the discovery of earlier private instruction carried on by the *réfractaire*¹⁵ priests who had fled France during the French Revolution and had settled among the Acadians of eastern Nova Scotia since 1792. Sweet's (1999a) dissertation, entitled *Réfractaire and mission priests in post-deportation Acadian education in eastern Nova Scotia, 1792-1840*, illustrated basic instruction, attempts at founding schools and encouraging education among the Acadians. While the chief motivation of the priests in providing education was the search for suitable seminarians who could eventually replace them to continue and further Acadian education (Sweet 2000) there has not been research into the Acadian public school teachers who followed the priests in the schools which some of the priests founded. The mission priests were some of the most well educated people in British North America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Boudreau 1989, Sweet 2000) and provided an education to a number of Acadians that the other ethnic groups in Nova Scotia did not have (Rawlyk & Hafter 1970: 9). They managed to establish private schools in spite of the antagonism toward the Catholic and French-speaking population. Members of the Acadian community benefited from this early instruction and in turn became educators (see section 4.3) in Acadian villages (Ross 2001: 17).

¹⁵ Name given to the priests who had fled France during the French Revolution after the imposition of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, 1790. Thirty thousand priests fled France, 10,000 to England and of these 50 came to British North America. Five of these fifty came to Nova Scotia (Thériault 1990: 89-121).

To date little has been written concerning the preparation of school instructors of these public school teachers who did not have an opportunity to attend teacher training at the Nova Scotia Normal School¹⁶ due to language and religion. A study of the basic training these men and women received before commencing their careers outside of the Normal School is necessary since there must have been some preparation for the job of public school teacher. Some of the early teachers would have been taught by the *réfractaires* priests (Ross 2001: 18) while others by the subsequent generation of lay people, thereby passing on the original teaching of the *réfractaires* priests (Sweet 1999a: 101). This study will also analyse the outcomes of the work of the Acadian public school teachers and whether their actions resulted in long-term implications for teaching in Nova Scotia.

An analysis will be made revealing differences in the teaching goals between the French speaking Acadian teachers and the English speaking teachers in the Acadian public schools both of whom taught in Acadian public schools during the early years (pre-1864) when there were few teachers to place in the Acadian schools. Conflicts in these goals and curriculum of the two linguistic groups in communities like Arichat (see section 4.3.2.4), would have a profound affect on the survival of the French language in many of these small villages. In maintaining the schools as French language institutions at this early period of the nineteenth century, Acadian teachers were confronted with the political climate mentioned in the previous section.

16 It should be mentioned that though the Normal School was founded in 1854 in Truro, the admission to this institution rested in part on a proven ability in the English language and it was dominated by Baptists and Presbyterians (Ross 2001: 40).

In addition to this hostility to French language instruction, the clergy of the Vicariate Apostolic (later Diocese) of Halifax, and subsequently also the Diocese of Arichat/Antigonish¹⁷, feared the Acadian French and catholic majority within the local Church in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island and sought to prevent the advancement of Acadian education and prospects in the larger society to ensure the supremacy of the English language (Sweet 1999a). Their fear was not just within the confines of religion but also related to the public schools as demonstrated in the forced withdrawal of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes*¹⁸ from Arichat Academy in 1866 (see section 5.2.3) after having taught there successfully since 1860 (Pichette 1980: 148). Though the school was conducted in both French and English the presence of the French language was enough to warrant an absence of support from the local hierarchy that preferred an English only school (Ross 2001: 48)¹⁹. Again, little has been researched concerning the role the Acadian public school teachers played in developing French education in this environment. Research focussing on Acadian politics and culture of the first half of the nineteenth century, and to an extent the Acadian schools in the province in the later half of the nineteenth century, has been conducted²⁰, but the Acadian public teachers involved in the education process at this early stage of educational advancement for the re-emergent Acadian community in Nova Scotia has largely

17 In 1817, Nova Scotia was created a Vicariate Apostolic (Voisine 1989: 57), separating the mainland of Nova Scotia (at that time a separate province from Cape Breton) from the Diocese of Québec. The Vicariate Apostolic was dominated by the Irish and Scottish Catholics as was the Diocese of Arichat that was created from the Vicariate of Nova Scotia in 1844 (Johnston 1971: 213). The Diocese of Arichat was seated in the predominantly French region of Île Madame. The anti-Acadian elements forced the removal of the diocesan seat from Arichat to Antigonish, a Scottish settled region on the mainland of the province near Pomquet (Boudreau, É 1974: 108-119).

18 The Christian Brothers at Arichat will be discussed in more depth in chapters 2 and 4.

19 Though the school continued with French speaking public school teachers the position of the French language was greatly weakened after the departure of the Christian Brothers (Ross 2001: 48).

20 See Ross (1992), Ross (2001) and Daigle (1993).

been ignored. This research will focus on the implementation of the education acts in Nova Scotia from 1811 until 1864 and their composition as well as their implications on French language public school teaching. Additionally there will be a focus on the students who were taught and the Acadian public teachers who eventually filled the places of public school teachers in local schools, which will hopefully contribute towards a fuller understanding of Acadian education in the first half of the nineteenth century.

1.3 PROBLEM POSTULATION

This dissertation focuses on the introduction of French speaking Acadian teachers in the provincial²¹ school system in the eastern counties of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton. The development of an environment both politically and scholastically where these teachers could be trained and its effect on pupils will be discussed and analysed. This thesis will seek to answer the following main research problem: Did the introduction of French speaking Acadian teachers into the public school system in eastern Nova Scotia following the first public school legislation of the provincial House of Assembly in 1811, retard the decline of the French language in Acadian villages that were faced with an English dominated education system or were they in

21 The provinces referred to here are Nova Scotia (mainland) and Cape Breton Island which were separate colonies for the first nine years of the period undertaken in this dissertation. Due to the relatively short period that Cape Breton was a separate colony (1784-1820), and the ineffectual government it had during those years, that colony is not mentioned in the title. Cape Breton's re-integration into Nova Scotia marked the advancement of education through the Education Acts of Nova Scotia that had been passed since separation in 1784. The terms colony and province are used interchangeably in this dissertation.

fact too late to stop the changing linguistic demographics? Other questions to be considered in this dissertation are:

1. Who were the public school teachers in Acadian communities? Were there any connections between the public school teachers and the children taught by the early mission priests?
2. How were early issues and problems (i.e. fear of the English majority and the British government that had deported them) perpetuated in Acadian private and public education?
3. How did the Education Acts (1811-1864) affect the Acadian communities, especially the Act of 1841 that permitted French as a medium of instruction?
4. Did the Acadian public school teachers conform to the provincial education acts or did deviation allow for the preservation of the French language?
5. Did conflict arise in the public schools of Acadian villages from language differences and if so was it resolved and how was consensus reached? What was the language of instruction?
6. Was there political and religious co-operation with ecclesiastical authorities in the communities both Catholic and Protestant in the provision of education in the first half of the nineteenth century? Did clerics continue to influence the teaching and teachers in the local schools?

7. Did the Acadian public school teachers differ in their goals from other Francophone teachers in other provinces in British North America?
8. Considering the current issues in Acadian public education in Nova Scotia (Landry & Allard 2000), did the introduction of Acadian public school teachers in eastern Nova Scotia in the nineteenth century, play a role in establishing the perception that French language schools prevented the Acadian people from taking their rightful place in Nova Scotia society?

1.4 HYPOTHESES

From a preliminary knowledge of the subject, it may be stated that the Acadian teachers provided the means of perpetuating the French language among the Acadians of eastern Nova Scotia. In an era when the education system was dominated by the English language, English speaking teachers and enforced by law (see sections 1.1, 2.3.3.1 and 3.4), these public school teachers were able to encourage the inculcation of the language and culture of the Acadian people resulting in the survival of small groups of Acadians in a province that assimilated nearly all its linguistic and cultural minorities (see section 3.6). These French speaking teachers were able to educate an elite group of Acadians able to take leadership roles within their communities (as teachers, lawyers and priests) thereby better able to defend their collective rights.

From an initial literature study some tentative answers can be put forward to the other questions posed in Section 1.3:

- 1 From school records, submitted yearly, names of many of the teachers are already known (see section 1.6.3). However, the names alone do not illustrate who the teachers were and where they came from. A more profound reading of the census and family genealogies will provide the links necessary as to the background of these teachers and what education they received before they became teachers.

- 2 Following the return of the Acadians from the Deportation of 1755-1763, the Acadian people attempted to conform as much as possible to the wishes of the colonial government to prevent a repetition of the tragic events²² of that period, even to the detriment of their linguistic survival. It was therefore expedient to continue with private education if that education was to be in French and if the Catholic Church was to continue with its influence over the schoolteachers and the communities. When public schools were established, in some cases simply turning the private schools into public institutions (see section 2.3.1.1), they were required to operate in English, as legislated by the government (see sections 3.4 and 3.6). The struggles concerning the medium of instruction at the Arichat Academy (see section 5.2.3)

22 In 1755 Governor Charles Lawrence required the deportation of all Acadians not prepared to swear an oath of allegiance to George II. In wishing to remain neutral they refused allegiance to either the King of Britain or France and were therefore deported *en masse* by ship between 1755 and 1763 to the English colonies along the American seaboard, many dying en route. Virginia, having refused the refugees sent to them, sent the Acadians to England where they remained in camps until the end of the war with France in 1763. Those that sought refuge in the forests of Nova Scotia were succoured by the Mi'kmaq. Others imprisoned at Windsor and Halifax later re-settled in the Chezzetcook area 30 km away. The return of the Acadians was only permitted from 1764 with the intervention of the Jersey traders living in Chéticamp and Arichat needing people with local fishing experience. The Acadians had wandered and then settled as far as New Brunswick, Lower Canada (Québec), Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, Îles-de-la-Madeleine, Falkland Islands, French Guyana, the Caribbean and Louisiana (Brasseaux 1991). Many chose to remain in France and settled the area of Poitiers and Belle-Île-en-Mer (Fonteneau 1996: 196 & 222).

since its founding is a case where the eventual decline of French was directly related to the triumph of the English minority in the region of Île Madame over the Acadian majority concerning the language and selection of teachers for the school (Ross 2001: 48, LeBlanc et al 1993: 546).

- 3 The school system of Nova Scotia, created with the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” of 1811 (see section 3.4.1.1) was limited in scope and affected a relatively small number of juvenile Nova Scotians since there was little provision of public funds to support the schools and teachers. However, the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” of 1811 and the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1841 in Nova Scotia would provide some financial support for schools and instructors in many Acadian communities. The 1841 Act made significant progress in recognising minority education rights, including the creation of French language schools and the legitimacy of French speaking Acadian teachers which had begun to appear in Acadian communities through the efforts of the local clergy and itinerant teachers (Sweet 1999a, Basque 1994).
- 4 The county school records supplied by the teachers before the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1841 show that the teachers digressed from the regulations that imposed the English language on school instruction (Chiasson 1962: 164) and in fact used French language books when available and used French as a medium of instruction when the

community was not mixed linguistically. This quiet disregard for the Education Acts' language requirements was often due to the linguistic ability or inability of both the teachers and the pupils (Sweet 1999a: 50).

5 Conflicts in the Nova Scotia public schools in regions populated with Acadians and other linguistic settlers were often in the context of the medium of instruction in the classroom in the years pertaining to this study (1811 to 1864), which in turn, would decide which population group received schooling in a given year since only one teacher could be hired at a time and therefore only one language could predominate. Private tuition in the language and religion of choice was often the recourse in the early years (Sweet 2000, Ross 1992).

6 It is evident from the report of the school commissioners of the eastern counties, that the churches and their ordained members continued to influence the schools, even after the colonial governments took control of education across the territory in the 1850s and 1860s. This is evidenced in the struggles over the Arichat Academy between Father Hubert Girroir and the minority English community of Île Madame and the "deal" made between the then Premier Tupper and the Archdiocese of Halifax over Catholic Separate Schools (see section 3.6.1). Many of the clerics had been privately tutoring students for many years before and after the advent of public schools and now sat on the Boards of Commission in each district (Sweet 1999a: 100, Ross 2001: 31).

- 7 Preliminary research shows that the development of linguistic minority education in provinces other than Nova Scotia was similar in that teachers of the linguistic minority came to teach in the public schools after the period of teaching in private schools run by local churches and clerics before 1841 (see chapter 2). This was the case in Nova Scotia as very few French speaking Catholics were admitted to the Nova Scotia Normal School which fulfilled the function of training public school teachers (Ross 2001: 40). Similar restrictions applied in other colonies in British North America (see sections 2.3 to 2.7).
- 8 At the inception of the public school system in Nova Scotia in 1811, the rights of linguistic minorities were not considered. This issue would be re-considered under the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1841(see section 3.5.3) which catered not just to the French but to the Gaelic, German and Mi’kmaq²³ communities as well. It was not until the Acadian villages lost their isolation in the early 20th century that a need for better English skills became a concern and the desire to fully participate in Nova Scotia society forced a realization that unless the Acadians could communicate fluently in English, they would not be able to take a full role in a society 90% Anglophone (Basque et al 1999: 45). The current issues in Acadian public education in Nova Scotia reflect this ongoing debate, namely, whether the preservation of the French language is paramount to the community where better employment would seemingly appear to be the result of an English or bilingual education. According to Landry & Allard (2000) this is not the case and completing schooling in French

23 See footnote number 28.

does not preclude Acadians from employment, rather the reverse.

1.5 AIM OF STUDY

Unlike the previous study of early education conducted by Sweet (1999a), which focussed on private schooling in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, this dissertation, while focussing on the same geographical area, looks at the Acadian public school teachers from 1811 to 1864. The aim of this dissertation is to determine whether the admission of Acadian teachers into the public school system in eastern Nova Scotia retarded the decline of the French language in Acadian villages that were faced with an English dominated education system in Nova Scotia. Other goals related to this main aim are a discussion of the legal framework that the Acadian teachers had to work with; a collation of teacher and student data referring to the origins of both the teachers and pupils in Acadian schools and the pattern of Acadian teacher migration.

The time frame for this paper is delineated by the promulgation of the Nova Scotia Education Act 1811 and the Education Act, 1864. Though this paper concentrates on the formal public schooling, some mention will be made of private tuition by the French speaking priests and nuns in the area after the Deportation (Sweet 1999a, 2000) who taught in the absence of the public system in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

1.6 RESEARCH APPROACHES AND METHODOLOGY

1.6.1 Approaches

The complexity of the Acadian historical situation as illustrated by Griffiths (1992) and Thériault (1993), necessitates the use of three approaches when discussing the Acadian public school teachers and their initial introduction to the public schools of Nova Scotia. The three approaches have been undertaken in this dissertation; chronological, comparative and elements of a quantitative approach.

1.6.1.1 Chronological Approach

Chronology is necessary to present the occurrences in a logical sequence (Garraghan 1946: 342). Since many of the social and linguistic problems for the Acadian community today²⁴ seem in direct relation to the sequence of events in nineteenth century, it is therefore deemed necessary to present the evidence in a rational, chronological order. The period in which Acadian teachers were admitted to the provincial education system was based on decisions made at a specific time which prompted the origin of this problem of whether the admission of French language Acadian public school teachers prevented the elimination of the French language from Nova Scotia (see section 1.3). By presenting the evidence in a chronological manner, the comparison with other

24 Studies by Landry and Allard and Landry and Magord reveal problems in Acadian society where there are attempts to retain a unilingual school/school system in a minority setting. Comparisons with other Atlantic provinces has illustrated similar conflicts within the Acadian societies (compare Landry & Allard 2000, Landry & Allard 1994, Landry & Magord 1992).

regions can more readily be followed. Through a sequence of similar events, from province to province, a method of identifying the factors in the stifling of the French language can be illustrated (see chapter 2).

The chronological approach was used to demonstrate the sequence of events leading to the introduction of Acadian teachers to the public schools and the ensuing abrogation of linguistic rights in the Nova Scotia schools after 1864 (see section 3.6). The use of primary sources (see section 1.6.4) from 1811 to 1864 was used to determine whether the researcher's hypotheses were in fact correct (see chapter 6).

1.6.1.2 Comparative Approach

The researcher used the comparative approach to illustrate the similarities between regions in Canada with French speaking minorities in conjunction with the chronological approach (see section 1.6.1.1). This approach allowed the author to systematically view similar events and themes and their causes over a relatively large geographical area and a better understanding of the position of the French speaking minority and its difficult relations with the English language majority with its incumbent imperial links and “victor” mentality.

1.6.1.3 Quantitative Approach

To find the answer to some of the questions posed in the problem postulation (see section 1.3), elements of a quantitative approach is utilised since government census records as well as parish registers were used to corroborate numbers of pupils, language(s) spoken and teachers present. The use of government and church records is important in the verification reconstruction of the populations in specific areas and their related characteristics. The quantitative approach has been employed elsewhere in the world for historical research (Ross 1992, 2001). According to Crowley (1988: 164-165)

...the census offers information not only on demographic patterns but also on social, economic, and ethnic characteristics... . Church records of baptisms, marriages and deaths have been the major source for historical demographers in Europe, especially in France and England. By tracing individuals through parish registers, researchers can 'reconstitute' the family process in specific communities.

Any use of a quantitative approach necessitates the analysis, categorization and interpretation of data (Robert & Bouillaguet 1997: 25-32). In the case of this dissertation, the quantitative approach will focus on the censuses and school records that illustrate Acadian pupils attending school as opposed to the numbers of children who were potential pupils in the same period (see section 3.5.3). Further, the quantitative approach will demonstrate the relation between the language of the public school teacher and the pupils attending school.

The three approaches discussed were applied to this study in an effort to reveal the sequence of

events leading to the admission of Acadian teachers to the public school system and a comparison with other regions of the country to exemplify the similarities with other Francophone minority regions in Canada with similar problems and concerns. These approaches allowed for a logical development of the thesis and organization of research.

1.6.2 Research Methods

The historical research method employed in this dissertation provides for a clear understanding of the relationship between the historical events that are analysed in the chapters that follow. Quoting John C. Almack, Garraghan (1947: 34) states that a scientific method is a mode of applying logical principles to the discovery, confirmation and elucidation of truth. The application of the historical method which does make use of logical principles incorporated into its equally logical steps should bring the discovery of the truth among the varied facts as proposed in the hypotheses (see section 1.4).

1.6.2.1 The Historical and the Historical-Educational Research Methods

According to Garraghan (1947:34) there are three parts pertaining to the historical method in research. These are: heuristics (self teaching), criticisms, and synthesis. These are incorporated by Létourneau (1988: 173-176) and Venter and Van Heerden (1989: 112), into the following, which have to be employed when engaging in historical-educational research so as to avoid a superficial inquiry:

1. A well defined and delimited subject in relation to works already existing in the field
2. A precise objective or orientation in the investigation
3. Forming the question(s) and hypotheses
4. The investigation of the problem
5. Use of primary and secondary sources
6. Evaluation of the sources through external and internal criticism
7. Interpretation of the research findings

Accordingly, the subject of this dissertation, *Acadian public school teachers in the Nova Scotia public school system from 1811 to 1864*, has been presented (see section 2.3) as well as its relation to works already in the field. There are a clear objectives and sub-objectives (see section 1.4) that will be adhered to during the presentation of the results which will provide the evidence proving or rejecting the problem formulation and hypotheses in the chapters that follow. External and internal criticism will be shown (see section 1.6.4) so as to evaluate the relevancy of the source materials. Létourneau (1988: 176-177) illustrates that a methodology must

*...répondre aux questions suivantes : comment m'y prendre, quels moyens, quelle stratégie utiliser pour vérifier l'hypothèse énoncée à l'origine de ma recherche? Quel est le meilleur moyen de faire avancer le débat dans ce domaine précis de recherche? Comment contourner les problèmes particuliers posés par l'études de mon sujet?*²⁵

25 “ ...respond to the following questions: How do we get there? What methods and what strategies to use to verify the hypothesis posed at the beginning of the research? Which is the best method of advancing the debate in the precise area of this research project? How to get around the problems posed by the subject? ” (TR). All translations of further quotations in this dissertation are of the author.

According to Wiersma (1969: 293) the methodology in historical research "...may be summarized into four essentially overlapping steps":

1. Collection of source material
2. Critical evaluation of sources
3. Synthesis of information from source materials
4. Rejection or acceptance of hypotheses, making final interpretations and drawing conclusions in terms of the information.

The steps posed by Létourneau and Wiersma above are incorporated into step 5 (use of primary sources), step 6 evaluation of sources through external and internal criticism, and step 7 (interpretation of research findings) of the historical-educational method. Throughout the writing of this thesis, the methodology is taken into consideration to ensure a logical and scientific product. Mucchielli's (1991: 93-94) advice that "[l]a qualité des résultats finaux d'une enquête repose sur la bonne mise en oeuvre de toutes les étapes de ce planning général."²⁶ was therefore continuously taken.

"When used in the context of educational research, history may be defined as...an integrated narrative or description of past events or facts, written in the spirit of critical inquiry, to find the whole truth and report it" (Wiersma 1969: 289). Tosh (1984: 54) in his work on the study of

²⁶ "The quality of the final results of an inquiry rest on a good presentation of all the stages of general planning" (TR).

history, notes that there are a variety of historical methods that seek to arrive at the presentation of historical fact, but also concludes that these can be fused together to provide the interpretations that illustrate the results that prove or reject the hypotheses.

Historians can increase or further limit their presentation of findings through a number of one of the following approaches. These approaches may fall into one of the general historical philosophies (Good & Scates 1954: 214) but these being too ambiguous, it is better to further refine these into schools of historical interpretation (Good & Scates 1954: 215). These schools, according to Good and Scates (1954: 215-216) include biographical, idealistic or spiritual, economic, geographical, sociological, scientific and pluralistic or collective psychological theories. This dissertation will fall into a collective psychological theory with elements of economic and geographic theories due to the nature of the region and history of the Acadian people.

This thesis will include a thorough collection of source material, whether government census or parish or school records, or primary or secondary sources, and a critical evaluation of these sources will be introduced before being used in this thesis. After a synthesis of the results of the sources and its rejection or acceptance, appropriate interpretations can be made for inclusion within the body of the thesis.

1.6.3 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Although there are secondary sources available for inclusion as sources for this thesis (see section 1.6.3.2), it is the primary sources (see section 1.6.3.1) that are, in fact, the most important (Brickman 1949: 93) and form the principle basis of the research undertaken in this thesis. The primary sources provide the necessary statistics as they reveal the teachers who were involved in Acadian public education and a great deal of their personal data. As Good & Scates (1954: 179) mention, the steps in processing the literature, both primary and secondary, that should be considered are: (a) The collection of data, (b) criticism of the data and (c) its presentation in a logical form.

Following the criteria laid out in section 1.6.3 a validation of the documents available, both primary and secondary, the author prepared an analysis of the contents in an attempt both to reconstruct the Acadian school environment in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, and to place the teachers and their problems into context. School Reports and parish records data were investigated in preparing the most accurate documents related to the Acadian public school teachers in the first half of the nineteenth century. The conclusions were based on a comparison of these original sources with the knowledge already found (Wiersma 1969: 6) in Acadian historical research in the field of education (Basque 1994, Ross 1997, Savoie 1980, Sweet 1999a and 2000) and against the body of Acadian history to date. Toward the final phase of the writing of the dissertation, any discrepancies, which were found, were resolved with a

fitting attention to detail in the reading and analysis. This permitted the appropriate conclusions to be established (compare Borg 1969: 188).

1.6.3.1 Primary Sources

The principal source of information concerning the Acadian teachers found in the public schools of eastern Nova Scotia is found in the Public Archives of Nova Scotia.

1. The principle documentary source for this dissertation is the annual school reports submitted by the schoolmasters in each county and district of the province of Nova Scotia from 1813, two years after the passing of the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” of 1811 which required these reports (see section 3.4). Through this rich source, a detailed analysis can be made of the teachers, their movements in the school system, their salaries and board fees (see section 4.3). With regard to the pupils, a description of their family circumstances and the nature of their education can be made (see section 3.4 and 3.5). The reports have the names of those students who obtained free education, often their ethnic background, the subjects that were taught, the books that were used and the payments that were made by parents or the government for their education (see section 4.3).
2. The reports written by the local public school teachers for the public school commissioners who sat on the school council for each county are also an important

source of information for the activities of the teachers and pupils. These local school councils, established after 1811, were made of prominent local residents which after 1830 did not exclude Catholic members (see section 2.2.3). For the most part, the membership was made of lay people with only a Protestant and Catholic cleric as ecclesiastic representatives.

3. The census records of the province of Nova Scotia and for a short period that of Cape Breton Island (1784-1820) provide a means of cross-referencing the names that appear in the school reports (see section 4.3). The census records include not just the names of the residents, but also their occupations, land and possessions. Their detailed information increases the accuracy of the study since it shows how many children were found in individual families as opposed to how many attended school, whether the family could afford the schooling for all children of school age or only certain children in a family selected for education. The census records²⁷ in eastern Nova Scotia used in this dissertation begin in 1811 though there are records for the Acadian regions of Nova Scotia dating to the 1780s (see section 4.3). The censuses therefore provide valuable information concerning both teachers and families; their origins and language as well as statistics regarding the family income and social standing. Considering how teachers moved from region to region of the province (see section 4.4), these records are also a method of tracking the employment of each teacher.

²⁷ Census taking before the *British North America Act (Constitution Act)*, 1867 was a colonial matter.

4. The Education Acts of 1811 to 1864 (see sections 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6) will be studied and discussed as these acts each had an effect on the language and economic prospects of the Acadian population. Especially important to the Acadians was the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1841 (see section 3.5.3), because it allowed public education not just in English, but also in French, German and Gaelic as well as Mik'maq²⁸. This early recognition of a multilingual and multicultural society was not to last beyond the “Act for the encouragement of Education” of 1864 (see section 3.6); however, it did give the French-speaking population an opportunity to be educated at public expense in their own language for 23 years.

5. An important source are the letters of the Catholic parish priests and protestant ministers who worked in the Acadian regions who oversaw the education carried out in the schools and districts in their areas of clerical responsibility on behalf of the government. This correspondence and the diaries of the bishops, are invaluable sources as they frequently include references to local education and in particular the introduction of public school teachers to the schools the priests were involved with.

28 In the later eighteenth century and early nineteenth century there was a rapid increase in the population of Nova Scotia (and Cape Breton) through settlements of Protestant Germans (manly former mercenary troops stationed in Nova Scotia) and from German states through the House of Hanover and Scottish settlers from the Highland Clearances. In recognition of the pressure brought to bear by these population groups and to keep the peace with the native population (Mi'kmaq Nation), the provincial government promulgated the Education Act of 1841 that recognised the right of linguistic communities to schools in their own languages (*Nova Scotia*, 1841).

While the documents relating to school reports and school commission reports appear to be a great quantity of material to analyse, it must be remembered that the Acadians in eastern Nova Scotia only occupied four small regions (Antigonish County, Guysborough County including Chezzetcook Inlet, Chéticamp and Île Madame, (see Map 1 in section 1.1) and not all of those had a fully functioning public school until after 1841. Even then, the numbers of actual pupils who attended school was limited by family circumstances. As well, a significant portion of this material has been analysed (Sweet 1999a). This will allow the undertaking of a broader perspective and incorporate additional data. In the previous work by Sweet (1999a) which focussed on the *réfractaire* and mission priests in private education, a significant amount of research pertaining to the composition of the villages and the population in the schools (which were transformed from private to public institutions) was also undertaken. Included in this research by Sweet (1999a) to a lesser degree, were the teachers and their movements within the public school system from school to school, hence the need for this thesis to provide an elaboration related specifically to the public school teachers in Acadian villages.

1.6.3.2 Secondary Sources

Existing literature has mainly been concerned with the linguistic and religious education of the majority population, the Anglicans and Baptists, in Nova Scotia. The public education of the French minority has been documented by Dr Sally Ross and Alphonse J. Deveau (1992) in their work *The Acadians of Nova Scotia: yesterday and today*, Dr Ross' recent publication *Les écoles acadiennes en Nouvelle-Écosse, 1758-2000*, and her articles “*Majorité ou minorité : le cas de*

l'île Madame" (1992) and "*Rebuilding a Society: The challenges faced by the Acadian minority in Nova Scotia during the first century after the Deportation, 1764-1867*" (1999). The research undertaken by Dr Phyllis Wagg (1997) in her doctoral thesis "*Families in transition: Richmond County, Nova Scotia, 1871-1901*", refers to Acadian education (both private and public). Dr Neil Boucher has written extensively concerning education in the Baie Sainte-Marie area of western Nova Scotia in "*The Doucets of Saint Mary's Bay: Community Leaders Amongst an Uprooted People*" (1985) and *The Development of an Acadian Village: Surette's Island, 1859-1970* (1980). Dr Maurice Basque has published an account of public school teachers in New Brunswick, *De Marc Lescarbot à l'AEFNB : Histoire de la profession enseignante acadienne au Nouveau-Brunswick* (1994). And finally, Georges Arsenault wrote about public school education for Prince Edward Island in his work *Les Acadiens de l'Île, 1720-1980* (1987). There has been some attention given to minority teaching in other works by writers such as Rev. A. A. Johnston's, *History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia* (1960, 1971) and early works such as *L'enseignement du français en Acadie (1604-1926)* by Omer Legresley (1926).

1.6.4 EVALUATION OF SOURCE MATERIALS

1.6.4.1 External Criticism

In preparing the evaluation of the materials and sources to be accepted for inclusion in this dissertation, the criticism of the texts in question must respond to a series of questions as demonstrated by Genicot (1987:25) and Venter and van Heerden (1989: 115; see section

1.6.3.2), among which are the following:

1. Is the document what it purports to be? Is it an original? Has it been altered in any way?
2. Are the documents' characteristics similar to others by the author? (Language, style, handwriting, etc.)
3. From which location does the document come from and was the author from the same area?
4. Was this the actual text published by the author or was it an internal government document?
5. Is there evidence of plagiarism or peculiar interpretations?²⁹
6. Was the author the witness or simply retelling the events as related to him?

However, “[i]l emporte de ne jamais lui faire confiance entièrement.” (Thuillier & Tulard, 1986: 83)³⁰. The researcher must remain vigilant so as not to allow data that is erroneousness to influence the analysis of the records. Garraghan (1940: 168) emphasizes the process of historical criticism which he defines as the use or application of a body of rules and principles for testing the genuineness of historical sources, restoring them as far as possible to their original form, and determining their evidential value. He goes on to define the three outstanding and most significant points of inquiry in the entire process of the critical examination of sources genuineness, integrity and credibility. The criteria enunciated in section 1.6.2.1 previously, must

29 There is always the possibility of spelling alterations in early census and school records when a government official (often an Anglophone) completed the forms on behalf of residents unable to spell their own names and those of their family members.

30 “... it is necessary to never have complete faith in the document ...” (TR)

apply to the government documents from the public school system and census records as per Genicot (1987:25). All three points of Geniot's theory are vital for the historian's purpose and in this particular study, are required according to the criteria set out in this section, that the documents are truly what they purport to be and are genuine in content. (Brickman 1949: 93, Venter & Van Heerden 1989: 115)

1.6.4.2 Internal Criticism

As in the last statement in the preceding section (1.6.4.1), and according to Garraghan (1946: 168), one of the most important critical examinations is credibility of sources, and, once established, the analysis turns to the internal criticism. Genicot is of the opinion that “[l]a critique interne, après avoir précisé ce que l'auteur a dit ou voulu dire (critique d'interprétation; hermeneutique) établit le crédit qu'il mérite (critique d'autorité)” (1987: 25)³¹. Venter & Van Heerden (1989: 115) note that there should be a criticism of the “pronouncements” in the documents themselves to ensure accuracy and credibility. And as Létourneau confirms “Le commentaire de document exige en effet du chercheur une attention et une vigilance de tous les instants, une bonne connaissance de l'origine et du contexte de production du document, et une grande capacité d'interrogation et d'imagination” (1989: 63)³². An internal criticism was therefore adhered to in the preparation of this dissertation.

31 “Internal criticism, after considering what the author said or wanted to say (internal criticism, hermeneutic) establishes the credit that it deserves (authority criticism).” (TR)

32 “The commentary of the document requires the researcher to pay particular attention and vigilance all the time, to have a good knowledge of the origins and the context of the writing of the document and a great capacity for interrogation and imagination when making the commentary.” (TR)

1.7 DELIMITATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

Previous work by Sweet concerning Acadian Education in Nova Scotia (1997, 1999a, 2000) focussed primarily on the work of the clergy in the various Acadian communities scattered throughout the colonies of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island. In this thesis, a close study will be made of the Acadian public school teachers, working in the area of eastern Nova Scotia. The physical area concerned in this study is Sydney County³³ on mainland Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island, which at the time were two separate British colonies (see Map 2 in section 1.1). The period of this investigation centres around the dates 1811 to 1864 whereas previous work conducted by Sweet focussed on 1792 to 1840. The current thesis takes as its final date 1864 which was the introduction of the “Act for the encouragement of Education” or “Free Schools Act” of 1864 (NS 1864) the first education act which enforced publicly funded education across the province and which abrogated French language public education for Acadians in Nova Scotia.

Chapter 1 focuses on the set-up of this thesis including the aspects of motivation, problem postulation, methodology, and a review of available literature and sources. This chapter will centre the reader to better understand the review of sources in subsequent chapters and conclusions derived from them.

³³ Sydney County was created in 1784 and further defined in 1822 and subsequently divided into two counties; Guysborough and Antigonish in 1863 (MacDonald 1964: 69).

Chapter 2, *Acadian Education, 1604-1864*, is an overview of Acadian education from the foundation of *Acadie* in 1604 until the Nova Scotia “Act for the encouragement of Education” of 1864. The discussion, while initially looking at the limited education found in the French colony, will focus on the instruction found after the establishment of the British colony of Nova Scotia. It will conclude by investigating the introduction of Acadian teachers to the public schools of eastern Nova Scotia. There will be some discussion on the private education found in the Acadian villages of the early nineteenth century and the penal restrictions on Catholic education in the province in order to better situate the research in the context of nineteenth century Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island. A further discussion will ensue which will create an overview of the educational situation for the Acadians in the Maritime provinces and the other colonies of British North America in roughly the same historical period.

Chapter 3, entitled *Nova Scotia Education Acts 1758-1865*, will review the Education Acts from 1758 to 1865 and how they were to impact the Acadian communities and the nascent educational endeavours and the legal parameters for public schools. Chapter 3 also deals with the creation of public schools as well as the parameters surrounding the financial establishment of the schools and School Board Commissioners and who could attend these institutions. The researcher will illustrate how these acts affected the Acadian population according to the contents of each education act passed by the Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly. The passing of the “Act for the Emancipation of Catholics” (NS 1830), is explained in the light of the governing educational laws. Reference is also made of the condition of Catholic education in the separate colony of

Cape Breton between 1784 and 1820 where the benefits of the Nova Scotia Education Act of 1786 and of 1811 were to have no legal effect on the Catholic population whether French or English speaking.

Chapter 4, *Acadian Public School Teachers: Their Background and Education*, concentrates on the Acadian teachers, their origins and educational background and the legal constraints imposed on them in their own training. Of interest in this chapter are the ethnic and geographic origins of the Acadian public school teachers. The researcher will demonstrate the socio-cultural roots of the teachers and illustrate their geographical whereabouts. The patterns of employment would later have a great effect on the students that were taught due to several factors including, the level of education of the teachers themselves and the language of origin of the teachers. It is important in this chapter to discuss the institutions to which Acadian teachers could be admitted to study due to their language and religion and what education constraints were imposed on Acadians desiring to be public school teachers.

In Chapter 5, *Preparing Acadian Public School Teachers*, is primarily concerned with where the teachers were trained and in what institutions. The dearth of establishments in the province for training of teachers provided impetus for the Acadians themselves to develop teacher training within the context of the religious, linguistic and denominational context of the day and their own financial means.

And finally, Chapter 6 will provide a conclusion to the study with a synthesis of ideas presented in the preceding chapters and the relation of the information presented to the original thesis (see section 1.4) concerning the preservation of language in Acadian communities that had a public school and Acadian public school teachers.

1.8 CONCLUSION

This initial chapter focuses on the introduction to the dissertation *For a Space to Teach: Acadian Teachers in Public Schools in Eastern Nova Scotia, 1811-1864*. This included the areas of motivation, problem postulation, methodology, and a review of available literature and sources. This chapter will have positioned the reader to better understand the review of sources in subsequent chapters and conclusions derived from them.

To date there has been a lack of material published related to the Acadian teachers in the public schools of Nova Scotia at this early point in the development of public education in the colony. The findings presented throughout the subsequent chapters should serve to advance the study of Acadian educational history in Nova Scotia. And as stated in section 1.3, this research will allow for a comprehension of the background of the issues facing the Acadians in the province and their collective future (Julien 1990, Landry & Allard 2000).

CHAPTER 2: ACADIAN EDUCATION, 1604-1864

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will focus on the historical background of teachers and public education in the British North American colonies from their foundations in 1604 to 1864, three years before Canadian Confederation³⁴. The policies and developments of this period are presented in this chapter as well as comparisons with the various colonial administrations of the first half of the nineteenth century to explore the differences and similarities between these seemingly diverse colonies (each with French speaking minorities except Lower Canada) and the Acadian settlements of eastern Nova Scotia in the first half of the nineteenth century. It is important to present this chapter to observe how the introduction of Acadian teachers retarded the decline of the French language in eastern Nova Scotia where English was the dominant language of the province and the public education system (see section 1.5) just as the provision of French language instruction in other colonies prevented the disappearance of the French language (see section 2.3.5.2).

³⁴ Throughout this thesis, the confederation of the British North American colonies will be referred to as “Confederation”, an event marked through the passage of the “British North America Act”, (UK 1867). The Confederation was initially simply the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada (Ontario and Québec) and later was adhered to by the other British colonies of North America.

In this chapter, the colonies of Newfoundland, with reference to the western shore “Port-au-Port” region (see Map 5, section 2.3.5.2), New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island (PEI), Lower Canada, Upper Canada (especially the Windsor/Detroit area) and the Ottawa River Valley (see Map 3 in section 2.1.1) will be discussed. And finally, the Assiniboia District of Rupert’s Land in the North West Territories which became the province of Manitoba in 1870 (see Map 6, section 2.5) will be analyzed for the comparative studies in the treatment of minority French populations. In this thesis, the area of eastern Nova Scotia is discussed which includes the three eastern counties of the mainland of the province and the island of Cape Breton (see Map 2, section 1.1)

2.1.1 Public Education and Conformism

In an effort to understand the nature of Acadian public education and the role Acadian teachers were to play in educating generations of Acadian villagers in public schools, the concept of public education in the context for the period 1811 to 1864 is explored in this chapter with reference to the pre-Deportation period of 1604 to 1755. The notion that within a single political territory the citizens should be given a common education through a common unilingual curriculum was considered and implemented in the early to mid-nineteenth century in British North America and other parts of the British Empire. But the role that the teachers and the schools played is important from a social and political standpoint. As Manzer (1994: 3) stated in *Public Schools and Political Ideas: Canadian Educational Policy in Historical Perspective*, public schools can be agencies of domination, and “their organization and curricula may be imposed by a dominant

social group...”. Most importantly, Manzer (1994: 4) points out that the public policy behind common schools may be “to defeat political opponents and establish or preserve elite domination of a political community...” In the case of Nova Scotia from 1811 to 1864, this policy would in fact come to affect the Acadian community and the development of Acadian education. It will be seen how this was reflected in the reality of educational practice in Nova Scotia and similar practices in neighbouring colonies.

The Acadians sought to provide a public school education to their people through the medium of the French language. To the Acadians, public education in French, where permitted by law, would prevent the outright assimilation of the French speaking population. French public instruction by French speaking public school teachers, as laid out in the various education acts of the province (see section 3.5) would allow the survival of the Acadian population, as long as instruction was in the French language (see section 3.5.3), but these same education acts could be considered a threat if English was the only language permitted (see section 3.6). The fact that the colonial government (as in many European communities) saw the public school system, as a means of linguistic and ethnic integration, was another issue based on eighteenth and nineteenth century thought concerning ethnic survival (cf Stevens 1976).

Since the foundation of the British colony of Nova Scotia in 1710 (see section 1.1), which until 1784 included all of New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton Island and peninsular Nova Scotia (see Map 3), the education of the general population was perhaps the least pressing

concern of the government of the day. Most education, if and where it existed, was either private or in the hands of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (SPG) (see section 2.2.3.1).

Before the Deportation (1755-1763), the education of Acadians was, in contrast to that of the post-Deportation situation (1810 onwards), offered by the religious orders working in Acadia, but limited to the direct involvement of the ecclesiastical communities which had the sponsorship of the French monarch. In the sections that follow, a survey of Acadian and Francophone education and the education systems in place in the various colonies from the seventeenth century will serve to reveal how the Acadian people were systematically discriminated against through the education legislation enacted in each of the Atlantic colonies. This will be compared with the slow growth of Francophone education in Upper Canada and Assiniboia; for the same period thereby establishing patterns in legislation and teacher training and practice. Lower Canada is presented to offer a comparison with a colony with a Francophone majority. Two aspects will be discussed for each colony: Legal parameters and teacher training establishments (see sections 2.3 to 2.6).

MAP 3 BRITISH NORTH AMERICA 1791³⁵



2.2 Acadian Education Under French and English Regimes

Acadian education history can be divided into two major periods, that of the French colonial regime (1604-1710) and the English regime from 1710 until the deportation of 1755-1763. Since Acadia was originally the size of the three current Maritime provinces of Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick (and for a short period Cape Breton Island), the period of education history under the French will be discussed in section 2.2.1. The early French

³⁵ Map from Canadian Institute for Historical Micro-reproductions, [<http://www.cihm.ca>]

settlements of *Acadie*, before the Deportation order of 1755, had a number of teachers and schools which were active in rudimentary education to the children for the local First Nations (Amerindians) and the children of the settlers. The schools were church sponsored and provided religious teaching as well as the fundamentals of reading and writing. The teachers were usually priests working in the various parishes established by the Catholic Church in the main settlements. This situation was to remain until the arrival of the British and their gradual occupation of Nova Scotia from 1703. “Venus de France, les premiers pédagogues assurent que cette nouvelle société en terre d’Amérique soit, par la transmission des connaissances, un prolongement de la vieille Europe”³⁶ (Basque 1994: 27). These educators were predominantly priests and religious (Casgrain 1897) though there were some lay teachers like Marc Lescarbot (Basque 1994: 28) and Jeanne Brice (Basque 1994: 29).

After 1755, the British expelled the Catholic priests and religious congregations and banned the education of Catholics with the “Act for the establishment of Religious Public Worship in this Province and for the suppression of Popery” of 1758 (see section 3.2.1). Even with the return of the Acadians from 1764 and the influx of Irish and Scottish catholic immigrants, government acts continued to limit access to education for Catholics. It wasn’t until the British “Catholic Emancipation Act” of 1830 that the limitations on the Catholic population concerning their public worship within the colony would be removed even though Nova Scotia officially abolished the

36 “... coming from France, the first teachers assured that this new society on American soil was, by the transmission of knowledge, an extension of old Europe ...” (TR)

Test Oaths³⁷ and the restrictive legislation against Catholics in 1827 (Liguori 1953: 47). Education concerns of this chapter revolve around the lack of Catholic French speaking teachers, financial support and linguistic arguments until 1864 when English would become the only permissible language of instruction in Nova Scotia and assessment (taxation of property) would pay for schools and teachers (see section 3.6). Though outside the scope of this dissertation, it was after 1865 that the affects of “Tupper’s Law”, the “Act for the better encouragement of education” of 1865 (NS 1865; see section 3.6), that English language hegemony in education and education policies and would result in difficult challenges for Acadian linguistic survival in Nova Scotia.

2.2.1 French Acadia 1604-1710

Some of the earliest teaching in North America was conducted in *Acadie* after its founding in 1604. One of the teachers was the lawyer Marc Lescarbot (Basque 1994: 28) who appeared at Port Royal, in 1606. As with most instruction until the Education Acts of Nova Scotia from 1811, the teaching focussed on the religious rather than the secular. The missionaries (LeBlanc et al. 1993: 544) under the French regime had the double mandate of "...l'évangélisation et l'instruction des autochtones et les Acadiens ³⁸" (Savoie 2004: 424). In the case of the late 18th century, education was in part to find religious vocations to eventually replace the priests and

³⁷ The Test Oaths were instituted in England during the reign of Elizabeth I to ensure that only Protestants could serve the Crown.

³⁸ "...the evangelization and the instruction of the natives and the Acadians ..." (TR)

religious of eastern Nova Scotia (Sweet 2000: 182) in order to perpetuate the Church and its work.

The teaching in *Acadie* after its foundation in 1604, was not public schooling but rather private instruction by the Jesuits and the Recollects. The latter was a branch of Franciscans of strict observance of St Francis' Rule founded in France, who began work in Port Royal in 1611 (LeBlanc et al 1993: 544). These early congregations were followed in their work in Acadia by the Capuchins, Spiritans, and Sulpicians³⁹. According to Thibeu (1922:18) the first school was established in *Acadie* at La Hève by the Capuchins in 1633, (later transferred to Port Royal in 1636). The *Seminaire de Port Royal* was considered the first school in French America and contemporary with early schools in New England and New France⁴⁰. There were originally six teachers which increased to 12 by 1643. At the seminary the Capuchins were teaching 30 Mik'maq and Abinackie pupils by 1643; and according to Thibeu (1922: 20) these were mostly students living-in although some were external students of both French and Mik'maq origin.

39 There were in fact three Sulpicians working in Acadia before the fall of the colony to the English and a further three worked in the region under British administration until the Deportation of 1755 to 1763. The Sulpicians are a society of diocesan priests founded in Paris in 1641 to put into practice the decisions of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) concerning the formation of diocesan clergy. The first foundation of the Company of Priests of St Sulpice was in Canada at Montreal 1657 (Thériault 2000). The Capuchins were founded in the 16th century as a reformed branch of the Franciscan Order seeking a return to the primitive poverty of the order. They were given charge of the missions in Acadia in 1632 (Renard 1993: 81). The Congregation of the Holy Spirit, or Spiritans, was founded in Paris in 1703 to train seminarians for the missions some of whom began arriving in French North America from 1732 onwards working most notably in Acadia and St-Pierre-Miquelon (Murphy 2003).

40 At Québec, Bishop François de Laval founded the Grand Séminaire de Québec in 1663 which is considered the founding institution of Université Laval, an institution which took the founder's name in 1852 with its Royal Charter.

According to Savoie (1996: 425), "...l'enseignement dispensé était semblable à celui disposé au XVIIe siècle ailleurs au Canada français et en France : l'écriture, la lecture latine et française, les trois premières règles de l'arithmétique et le catéchisme⁴¹". If this was indeed the case, then French America was at least as well off as the English speaking settlers in North America (Monaghan 1991). Groulx (1933: 13) remarked in his work on the history of teaching French in Canada, that it would be hard to find a place anywhere else with a population with such a high number of people capable of reading and writing. This is, however, debateable considering that there was often a serious lack of priests and teachers in the French colonies (Chaussé 1996: 83) but it has been raised by Mario Robert (2002: 22) that at least the nobles of New France (the term for all of French North America including Acadia) were able to read and write at a higher level than the rest of society in the French colonies.

In 1641 a school teacher named Jeanne Brice d'Auxerre became principal of the school for girls in Port Royal. The date of establishment of this school is unknown. As was the case with the Capuchin school for boys (the Seminary at Port Royal), Brice's school for girls was multicultural for Acadian and Mi'kmaq children; something that did not occur in either the British colonies nor the rest of New France. Both schools operated until 1652 when the priests and Madame Brice (Thibreau 1922: 18-23) were deported by the invading English. Following the return of Acadia to

41 " ...the teaching provided was similar to that elsewhere in 17th century French Canada and France: writing, reading Latin and French, the three first rules of arithmetic and the catechism ..." (TR)

France with the Treaty of Bréda in 1667, both the *Compagnie de Sainte-Sulpice*⁴² and the *Congrégation des Missions-Étrangères*⁴³ were sent to conduct the pastoral and educational work in the colony (Casgrain 1897: 31).

With the return of *Acadie* to France from 1670 until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 which gave Acadia to the British, the Acadians were taught by the priests and religious communities in the parishes (Basque 1994: 31) as well as in seminary schools. The priests of the *Compagnie de Sainte-Sulpice* of France became curés in Port Royal, Beaubassin and Chedabuctou (*Sainte-Sulpice* 1992: 7). The work of this second attempt at official ecclesiastical education finally ended with the invasion by the English and the Treaty of Utrecht, 1713. During the British period of administration from 1710 (the year Port Royal fell to the English) until 1755 (the beginning of the Deportation, the majority of the population in Nova Scotia remained French speaking Acadians and during this period, the Sulpicians served solely as parish priests.

From 1713 until 1755 there was little provision for Acadian education except through the limited work of Catholic priests who eventually withdrew to New France (Lower Canada). The English regime at Annapolis Royal distrusted the Catholic clergy and therefore limited their contact with the Acadians. However, the worst of eras for the Acadian people were the years of deportation

42 “Society of St Sulpice” (TR), a religious society of secular priests founded in Paris by Father Jean-Jacques Olier for the training of diocesan priests. This became one of the first orders to work in Acadia and New France beginning in 1657 (Renard 1993: 433).

43 “Congregation of the Foreign Missions” (TR) were a mission congregation of priests founded in Paris in the late 17th century for work in Asia and North America (Launay 2003).

and exile from 1755 to 1763. During this eight year period the amount of teaching within the Acadian community was drastically reduced to the point of a general level of illiteracy.

2.2.2 The Deportation and Acadian Education, 1755-1763

It was the Deportation that was to create the most difficult challenge yet to Acadian instruction (Ross 2001: 12). During this period Acadians would not be able to focus on schooling and had few opportunities having been scattered down the east coast of North America to the various British colonies and as far as England and France⁴⁴. Upon their return beginning from 1764 (Thériault 1993: 49) until approximately 1810, the situation was no better. In fact the Acadians had to face anti-catholic legislation enacted in 1758. The reality of the situation was that the Acadians who succumbed to the Deportation had been without formal schooling from the mid-eighteenth century having no resident priests nor school teachers with them, and unlike other ethnic groups who migrated to Nova Scotia during the eighteenth century, “...les Acadiens ne possédaient pas d’élite instruite et ne pouvaient pas faire appel à leur mère patrie pour leur fournir un clergé ou des enseignants⁴⁵” (Ross 2001: 12). It was not until the 1790s that mission priests and itinerant teachers were able to begin the work of primary education to the French

44 For further information concerning the dispersal of the Acadians see *Scattered to the Wind; Dispersal and Wanderings of the Acadians, 1755-1809* by Carl A. Brasseaux and also *Les Acadiens; Citoyens de l’Atlantique* by Jean-Marie Fonteneau.

45 “... the Acadians did not possess an educated elite and could not call on their mother country to provide clergy or teachers ...” (TR)

speaking population in mainland Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island. According to Basque (1994: 38-39):

Dans le domaine du privé, les responsables de la transmission du savoir étaient les missionnaires, les maîtres ambulants (souvent originaires de l'extérieur de la province) et certaines Acadiens plus instruits que la moyenne qui enseignaient à temps perdu à quelques enfants des voisinage...on retrouve certains maîtres ambulants à la fin du 18e et au début du 19e siècle dans quelques villages acadiens. Ce sont des hommes qui dépensaient un enseignement pendant quelque temps à un endroit donné, logeant chez l'habitant et faisant la classe dans cette même demeure⁴⁶.

The “Act concerning schools and school masters” of 1766 (see section 3.2.2) gave the Church of England’s ministers the right, along with government appointed Justices of the Peace, to grant teaching licenses to school masters in Nova Scotia’s public or “grammar” schools (Rawlyk & Hafter 1968: 6). Catholics, whether teachers or priests, were threatened with 3 months imprisonment and a £10 fine if they attempted to teach or set up schools (whether in English or

46 “...in the private sector, those responsible for the transmission of knowledge were the missionaries, the itinerant school teachers (often originating from outside the province) and certain Acadians with more knowledge than the average who taught from time to time a few neighbouring children...there were a certain number of itinerant teachers in a few Acadian villages at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. It was these men who taught for time in each village lodging with the same family whose children he was teaching in their own home...” (TR)

French) with no provision for bail⁴⁷. According to Ross (2001: 13), the Law of 1758, *An Act For The Establishment of Religious Public Worship in This Province and For the Suppressing of Popery* (see section 3.2.1), and that of 1766, *An Act Concerning Schools and School Masters* (see section 3.2.2), would have a detrimental effect on the Acadians since the first mentioned act forbade the very act of Catholic worship in Catholic Sunday Schools. In the second act the Catholic population were only allowed to teach basic literacy (Boudreau 1992: 149). Rawlyk (1970: 6) supported this position, however, in his work concerning Acadian education, he is of the opinion that the effect that these two laws had on the teaching and future of the Acadian villages and society, as a whole was minimal. Matters pertaining to this will be perused along with the subsequent legislation related to teachers and schools in this thesis (see section 3.2).

2.2.3 Early Teachers and Private Schooling

2.2.3.1 The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1727-1835

From the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, until the Deportation of 1755-1763, the only school teachers available officially to Nova Scotia Acadians were those of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* (SPG). With the passing of legislation by the Nova Scotia legislature in 1758 and 1766 (see section 3.2), the Church of England became the established church and was to take control of

47 Rawlyk (1970: 6) felt that both Le Gresley and Thibreau were wrong in their assessment of the effects this act of 1766 had on the Acadians both of whom thought the Act was catastrophic for the education of Acadians while Rawlyk felt the effects were negligible to the overall history of Acadian education history.

education in the province until 1834. This was unacceptable to the Acadians as the SPG was a Protestant missionary society and taught the principles of the Protestant faith in their schools (LeGresley 1929: 88).

According to Thibeau (1922: 36), not all the SPG teachers were ministers, but the original plan was for the teachers to be at least at the ecclesiastical level of Deacon. During the tenure of Bishop Inglis, the first Anglican Bishop of Nova Scotia from 1787 to 1816, all the clergy had part of their salaries paid for by the SPG. By the nature of this schooling the Catholic Acadians and Irish were excluded from the benefits of the only available official education since it was Protestant in nature and proselytising in purpose. The first schoolmaster, Reverend Richard Watts, arrived at Annapolis Royal in 1727 and was at the same time a missionary of the SPG. He received a salary of £10 per annum from the Society (Thibeau 1929: 36) for teaching on top of his salary of £100 (Cuthbertson 1987: 218) as a minister of the Church of England.

According to Emanau (1967: 15), only urban areas such as Halifax, Lunenburg and Annapolis Royal had a population large enough to maintain financial support for a school until 1766; and even when a school was established “[c]lasses and attendance were irregular and the SPG minutes contain only brief and scattered references about the schools”. Emanau (1967: 15) points out that there were two major growth years in the building of SPG schools in Nova Scotia one after the arrival of Loyalist refugees in Nova Scotia from 1784 (Brown 1990: 260), and the other after public funding was made available to communities following the “Act concerning schools”

of 1826. According to Emanau, there were 55 SPG schools established between 1750 and 1833 created in most of the major population centres of English speaking settlers.

The SPG paid the schoolmasters when the communities were too poor to pay for them. This meant that the "[t]he missionaries, in effect, hired and fired the schoolmasters" (Emanau 1967: 21). The missionaries therefore endorsed (or not) the bills for teaching sent to them by the teachers, thereby controlling the teachers. Of particular importance is the fact that there were SPG schools established in the two Acadian communities of Tracadie (1787) and Arichat (1830) which both had a vocal protestant Anglophone minority; the teachers for both of these schools were of course, English speaking (Emanau 1967: Annex D). The consequences of these Anglo-Protestant intrusions will be dealt with in chapter 4.

2.2.3.2 Private and Parochial Schools in the Maritime Colonies, 1803-1864

The three small colonies on the east coast of British North America, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia (see Map 4) (and for a short time 1784-1820 Cape Breton Island, see section 2.3.2), attempted to create the foundations of an English language public education system and a Normal School in each to train the public school teachers required. At the same time, during the early stages of public school development, private schools with priests and itinerant teachers continued to exist outside the norms laid down by law (see sections 2.3 and 3.4). The instruction by the priests was private and in French but served the small Acadian communities that were isolated and without an elite capable of instructing as public school

teachers at this phase in the evolution of early public schools and teachers in eastern Nova Scotia.

It was Boudreau (1961:163) who noted that even with the early education legislation of the nineteenth century (see section 3.2) “...il n’existait aucun programme scolaire officiel. Aucune compétence de la part des professeurs n’était exigée par la loi...”⁴⁸. Basque (1994: 38) confirms in *De Marc Lescarbot à l’AEFNB*⁴⁹ that private instruction was found in the Maritimes outside of the law, which would have been perceived as a necessity in many communities. Schooling in the early nineteenth century followed a “two system” approach. There were both private teachers and a slowly growing number of public schools and teachers. However, the private teachers, whether a lay person or priest was not always able to give formal lessons in a school building since the cost of constructing a school was problematic (Rawlyk & Hafter 1970: 8) but rather, the teacher would often instruct in the parish church as a substitute building (Arsenault 1987: 83, Boudreau 1992: 147). A mission priest would not have the time to dedicate to full time instruction (Sweet 2000: 189, Ross 2001: 17) due to his pastoral work but would spend a part of his time teaching the catechism and members of the parishes for first communion (compare Sweet 1999a: 48, Sweet 2000: 177, Basque 1994: 38). A number of these pupils, however, succeeded

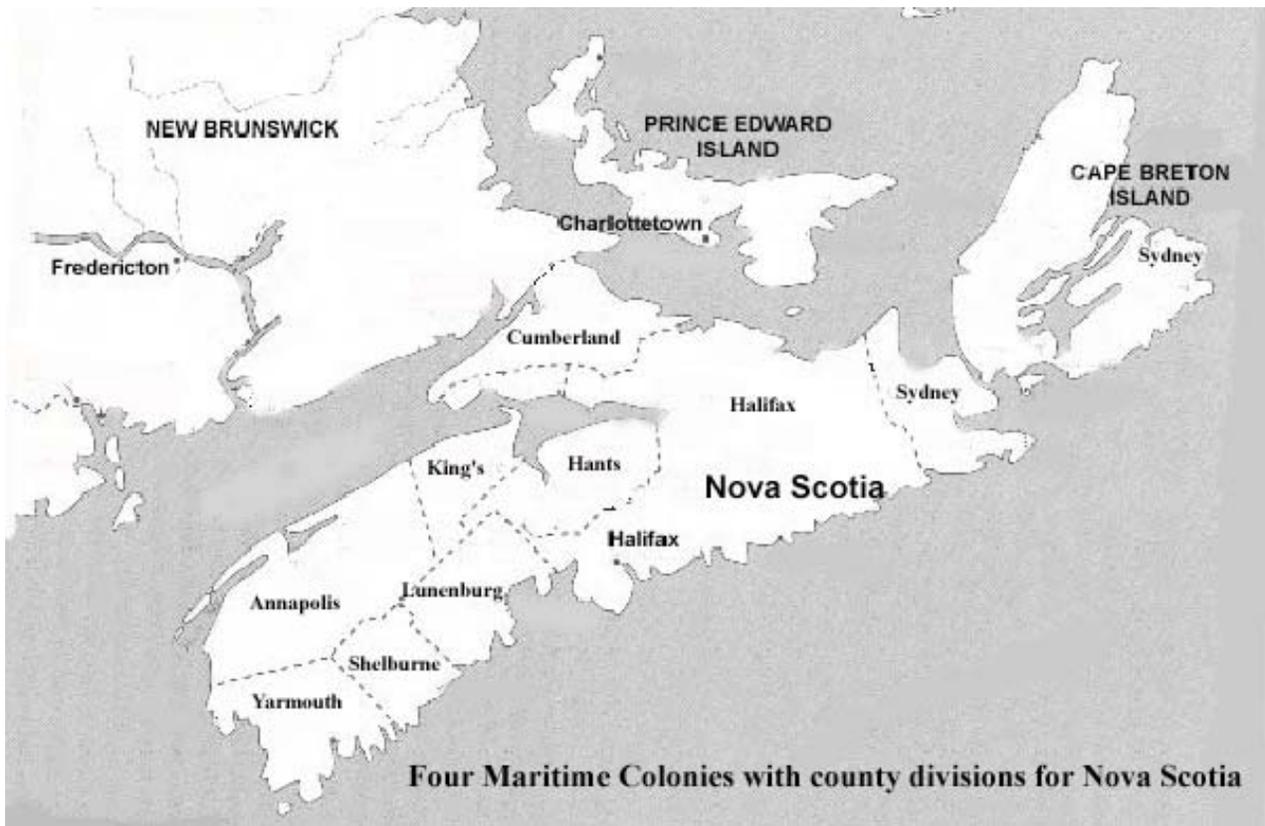
48 “...no official scholastic programme existed. No competence on the part of the teachers was expected by law...” (TR)

49 “From Marc Lescarbot to the French Language Teachers Association of New Brunswick” (TR). AEFNB is the French abbreviation for the “Association des enseignantes et enseignants francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick”.

in learning the French and Latin languages and often the rudiments of higher studies. This was as true in Canada (Upper and Lower Canada) and the Assiniboia Region of Rupert's Land (Manitoba) as it was in the Atlantic region (see section 2.4 and 2.5; see Map 4).

In a few cases the parish priests did actually succeed in founding private schools in the true sense of the word (Cuthbertson 1980: 82). Father Gabriel Champion established a school at Chéticamp as early as 1803 (AAQ, RL 3: 192), Father Hubert Girroir at West Arichat in 1863 (Boudreau 1965: 72), Father Vincent de Paul Merle at Tracadie and Pomquet in 1828 (Boudreau 1980: 152) and a former Trappist monk, Jean Béranger, established a school at Rivière-Bourgeois in 1827 (Samson 1994: 71; see Map 1 in section 1.1). These schools, however, were modest and private. It was the private schools of Cape Breton that would lay the foundation for the development of a literate elite of Acadians in the mid and late nineteenth century in this part of the colony. The work of priests as educators like Fathers François Lejamtel (Sweet 2000), Jean-Baptiste Allain (Sweet 2002a) and Gabriel Champion (Sweet 2002b) were all done without the support of the Cape Breton government in Sydney.

MAP 4 MARITIME COLONIES, 1800⁵⁰



The returning Acadian deportees were ‘fortunate’ in that the areas settled by the Acadians were far enough from English settlements that there were few complaints over the educational endeavours of the priests.

50 Map adapted from Conrad & Hiller (2001:96).

The school founded at Arichat in 1821 (Ross 1998:68) was transformed into an academy/*collège classique*⁵¹ by Father Hubert Girroir and the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes*⁵² (see section 5.2.3). A further development under the auspices of the Catholic Church was the establishment of St Francis Xavier College in 1853 as a bilingual seminary-college (see section 5.3) in this predominantly French speaking region. The college later moved to the predominantly Scottish settled area of Antigonish in 1855 and its bilingual nature was suppressed continuing to the present as a unilingual English institution. In 1856, the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame* came to teach in the Acadian schools of Arichat (see section 5.2.2.2) and the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* began teaching at the *Académie* (see section 5.2.3.1), this after an invitation to do so from Father Hubert Girroir, parish priest and ardent defender of the French language and culture of the Acadians (Boudreau 1975: 73, Pichette 1998: 144). The brothers taught 157 students during the day and 28 adults at night (LeBlanc et al 1996: 546) until they were forced to leave (see section 5.2.3.1) the Academy in 1864 (Pichette 1998: 148) by the Nova Scotia government.

As early as 1802, the Bishop of Québec, Monsignor Denaut wanted to build a *collège classique* (Stanley 1975: 121) in the Maritime region (ACELF 1977:10) and an attempt was made in this direction in 1814 in Memramcook, but was blocked the same year by the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, Thomas Carleton. This supposed fear of schooling the Acadians at more than a

51 A *collège classique* was the equivalent of a secondary school under the auspices of the Catholic Church operated by priests of a religious order in the education tradition of France serving a parish or diocese (see “Les collèges classiques de langue française en Acadie” by George F. G. Stanley, *Les cahiers*, La Société historique acadienne, 1975: VI-3, 117-137).

52 “Brothers of the Christian Schools” (TR).

primary level was to continue throughout the nineteenth century in New Brunswick (and the rest of Atlantic Canada) as evidenced by the closure of the college at Grande-Digue amidst ethnic and linguistic tensions (Basque 1994: 47). A later college founded in 1854 at Memramcook by Father François-Xavier Lafrance and resuscitated by the Holy Cross Fathers in 1864 became a success as Collège (later Université) Saint-Joseph.

Beginning in 1817 Father André Lagarde opened a school in Saint-Basile in the north west of New Brunswick for his parishioners. He found time to teach and was successful enough that a decade later four more schools were founded in the parishes of the north west that had teachers who had been instructed by Father Lagarde (Basque 1994: 42). These all operated in French and were private schools but could be funded by the public treasury since the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” of 1811 permitted Acadians to establish their own schools (see Annex D). According to Basque (1994: 401) “... à partir des années 1820, certaines communautés acadiennes commenceront à se doter de petites écoles avec des enseignants payés par les fonds publics”⁵³. Acadian names appear as teachers between 1822 and 1855 (Basque 1994: 40) in New Brunswick records. Therefore the numbers of Acadians teaching or at least able to provide some instruction was higher than that in Nova Scotia (see section 2.3). Other private instruction took place in the south east of the province by the priests in these parishes some of who were *réfractaire* priests as in Nova Scotia (see section 2.3.2).

53 “...beginning in the 1820s, certain Acadian communities began establishing small schools with teachers paid by public funds...” (TR)

Though there were no formal schools established for Acadians in Prince Edward Island before 1815, it should be noted that all priests working with the Acadians occupied some of their time in teaching, which often consisted of the rudiments of reading and writing for religious purposes but some literacy none-the-less was inculcated (Sweet 1999a: 56). In Prince Edward Island it was the parish priest who became not just the spiritual leader of the parishes but provided community leadership (Arsenault 1994:30). Following the unsuccessful attempts by Father de Calonne to open a French school in Charlottetown in 1799, Father Jean-Louis Beaubien opened a private school in Rustico in 1815. The school was built next to the church and the teacher lived in the presbytery; a second school was built in Tignish the same year (LeBlanc et al 1996: 547, Arsenault 1987: 83-85, Pineau 1967: 123). These were important first steps in creating a literate population among the Acadians of Prince Edward Island.

2.3 ATLANTIC COLONIAL EDUCATION, 1710-1864

Eastern Canada is defined by its proximity to the North Atlantic Ocean and its history has been influenced by the settlement of peoples along its coasts. The division of the territory, possessed first by the Mi'kmaq and then by the French and English, has followed the establishment of colonial regimes of the English speaking population. The Atlantic region is currently divided into Newfoundland & Labrador, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. As mentioned previously, Nova Scotia was further divided in 1784 to permit Cape Breton Island to become a colony as well, but was re-integrated into Nova Scotia in 1820 (see Map 3 in section

2.1.1). This chapter will focus on a discussion and analysis of the development of education in each of these colonies related especially to French minority involvement in education.

2.3.1 Nova Scotia 1710-1841

From 1710, and definitively with the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, mainland Nova Scotia was under British administration while Cape Breton Island remained under French control (see Map 4 in section 2.2.3.2). In Cape Breton (*Île Royale*) the French religious congregations were able to continue their work in parochial schooling and according to Johnston (1960: 30-51), the Recollects acted as priests and missionaries to the communities scattered across *Île Royale* (Johnston 1984: 24) until the fall of Louisbourg to English forces in 1758. The Brothers of Charity of the Order of St John of God operated the King's Hospital (Johnston 1984: 26) at the fortress of Louisbourg, while the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame* of Montréal educated the daughters of the officers (Johnston 1960: 31-51, Johnston 1984: 28). Following the fall of Louisbourg to the English in 1758, all priests and brothers and nuns were expelled from the colony which became an English stronghold before the fall of New France the following year.

In addition, from 1713, French priests and religious orders were banned from the mainland of what had been *Acadie* (re-baptized Nova Scotia the Latin translation of *New Scotland* in 1713). This was the beginning of a very difficult period for the Acadians of the mainland whether in religion or in education (LeBlanc et al 1993: 545). Up to this time, schooling had been the

responsibility of the ecclesiastical community, since there were no formal public schools. With the expulsion of the missionaries, only those Acadians with some knowledge of literacy would be able to pass this on to their children until such time as teachers and schools could be provided for them. With the expulsion order of Governor Lawrence in 1755, it would be a further generation before teachers would again appear among the Acadians (see section 2.3.1.1).

2.3.1.1 Legalities and establishment

The years 1790 to 1864 marked the commencement of post-deportation Acadian education in Nova Scotia and were marked by an increase in private tutoring in the first 30 years by priests exiled from France (Thériault 1990:100) as well as by diocesan priests from Lower Canada (section 2.2.3.2) and the introduction of Acadian public school teachers. This period also saw a marked increase in colonial government legislation concerning public education (see Annexes B to E). Often the small private and parochial institutions became the first public schools in the Acadian villages as funding appeared from the provincial government after the Education Act of 1841 entitled “An act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools...” (NS 1841). In some cases the Acadian children did not attend the government school simply because the public school teacher did not speak the same language (Chiasson 1961: 164). As Chiasson (1961: 163) comments, “Quant au français, on continua de l’enseigner en marge de la loi”⁵⁴ after the Free Schools Act of 1864 just as it had been before 1841. Conflicts of this nature and the results for the community will be analysed in chapters four and five, as they are critical to the historiography

54 “... as regards French, it was continued to be taught on the margins of the law...” (TR)

of minority linguistic education in Nova Scotia.

The linguistic conflict in regions such as Île Madame in Cape Breton Island (see Map 2 in section 1.1) from 1828 to the mid nineteenth century (see section 5.2.3) would have far reaching implications for the Acadians in this region and will therefore be a salient point in historiography focussing on the introduction of Acadian public school teachers with the eventual confirmation of English as the sole language of the schools in the region of Île Madame through demographics and the backing of education legislation. The article “*Majorité ou minorité: le cas de l’île Madame*” by Ross (1992), explains the changing linguistic demographics of Richmond County in the nineteenth century. In this article Ross has demonstrated the difficulty Acadians had in establishing public schools in the nineteenth century in a region with a small but dominant Jersey Island bilingual Protestant population and which through its influence changed the linguistic dominance from French to English through the control of the school teacher selection. The dominance of the Jersey Island population among the school commissioners saw to the appointment of Anglo-Protestants to positions of authority in Richmond County (PANS⁵⁵ RG14: 56-57).

It was not until the adoption of the legislation related to education under the Nova Scotia government from 1811, “An Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province...” (NS 1811) onwards, especially the 1826 “Act for encouraging schools...” (NS 1826)

⁵⁵ Public Archives of Nova Scotia referred to as PANS

and the 1841 “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools, and to alter and amend the same...” (NS 1841), that a public school system was implemented. What is not often mentioned is the “parallel” nature of school systems between 1790 and 1841, having both private schools and publicly funded schools in major centres of population. The public system in Nova Scotia was to take over all teaching activities previously supplied by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) as well as the private schooling provided by the priests of the Catholic Church up to the 1840s as well as other denominationally based private schools. This falls in line with the established practice of the Catholic Church which has historically been motivated to educate its own children (Talbot & Lemmer 2002: 109) (see section 5.2.1). This parallel system continued to develop over the years of the 1840s and 1850s in some areas of Nova Scotia, in fact, became the non-official Catholic Public Schools in Nova Scotia (MacLean 1991: 38) which were threatened in 1864 by the “Act for the encouragement of Education”. The government was prepared to allow Catholic Church influence over schools within communities that were nearly homogeneous Catholic. In 1864 Bishop MacKinnon of the Diocese of Antigonish in eastern Nova Scotia was even prepared to negotiate a settlement that would allow greater government control and intervention in the licensing of teachers so as not to forfeit the subsidies to teachers in the local schools under his jurisdiction (MacLean 1991: 39, APF vol. XI, ff. 392-393) while his coadjutor Bishop Cameron was less inclined to forfeit the rights of Catholics in the face of the secular government (MacLean 1991: 39, APF vol. XI, ff. 338-338v) and its bid for greater control over the teachers and schools in the province (see section 5.2.1).

The Acadian schools founded during the nineteenth century were small one room buildings (Chiasson 1961: 162) established through the efforts of the parents and churches in their respective communities. Most were under the influence of the churches (Savoie 1996: 426) whose priest or minister often became the first and sometimes the only instructor. The passing of education acts did not necessarily guarantee the establishment of a school in every community. And due to the bias against the French language population in the eastern rural communities and their own lack of trained teachers and literate elites “... empêchèrent l’établissement d’écoles dans ces régions...”⁵⁶ (Ross 1999: 67-68). Often due to the poverty found in Acadian villages (Plessis 1980: 175, Sweet 1999a:24) it was not possible to build and maintain a school nor would it always be possible to provide a salary for teachers since it was the parents who paid for the school teachers by public subscription before 1841. In reality this situation continued until 1864.

For many Acadians in the early years of the nineteenth century, the passing of the education acts in Nova Scotia did little to improve their position and often they were unable to hire public school teachers. As Ross illustrates in her work *Les écoles acadiennes en Nouvelle-Écosse, 1758-2000* (2001: 38), areas such as Larry’s River, Charlos Cove and Port Félix in Guysborough county, did not have a school listed in the yearly school commission reports until the end of the nineteenth century (Ross 2001: 38-39). As Ross points out, there were two probable reasons for the absence of schools in these three French speaking Catholic villages: the poverty of the families and the presence of only Anglicans on the Board of School Commissioners (Ross 2001: 38). However

56 “... prevented the establishment of Acadian schools in their regions ...” (TR)

one of the earliest records of education reveal that some amount of public school teaching was to be found in places like Chezzetcook (1828), Arichat (1821) and Tracadie (1828), and as Ross and Deveau (1992: 122) highlight, “... [s]everal elementary schools were established on Île Madame by the late 1820s although all the teachers were English-speaking... ” Therefore, a concerted effort was needed if the French-speaking Acadian population was to be educated in their own language⁵⁷ (see section 4.3). According to Ross (2001: 39):

*...on peut dire qu'à la fin des années 1840, la plupart des principales localités acadiennes possédaient une école élémentaire publique qui était fréquentée plus ou moins régulièrement par une vingtaine d'élèves en moyenne. Dans le cas de Clare, d'Argyle et de la région de Chéticamp, le maître ou la maîtresse d'école était, en général, Francophone. L'enseignement se faisait en français même si, d'après les noms des manuels indiqués dans les rapports scolaires, l'anglais était la langue officielle du système scolaire. D'habitude, on se procurait les quelques rares manuels en français par l'intermédiaire du curé de la paroisse.*⁵⁸

57 Some of the early Francophone teachers in Nova Scotia include William Edge (Guillaume Aucoin) at Tracadie, Jean Carteret, Jean Bourgeois, Urbain Cormier, Sophique Beaudin, Joséphine Thériault at Chéticamp, Bruno Béranger at Rivière-Bourgeois, and Léonie Devilleray at Chezzetcook among others (see section 4.2).

58 “...one could say that at the end of the 1840s, the majority of the principal Acadian villages had a public elementary school that was frequented more or less regularly by about 20 pupils on average. In the case of Clare, Argyle and the region of Chéticamp, the school master or school mistress was generally Francophone. Instruction was conducted in French even though, the school reports indicate English was the official language of the school though the titles of the texts used were in French. Normally the rare books in French were procured through the parish priest...”(TR)

The public schools that were founded in the Acadian areas of the province of Nova Scotia were generally established after the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools, and to alter and amend the same...” of 1841 (NS 1841) which permitted instruction in French and licensed Francophone teachers. Before this act, most Acadian schools were private. This act also changed the method of financial support to teachers and schools in the province. In the Île Madame region of Cape Breton, schools were established after 1845 in most of the small villages although some did not have a French speaking teacher (Ross 2001: 30). English became and remained the dominant language in the community of Arichat though originally it had only a minority of English speaking citizens. The establishment of the first school or ‘academy’ at Arichat in 1821 and the subsequent battles over language of instruction was to last until 1865 (Pichette 1998: 148). The Montréal based *Congrégation de Notre-Dame* of religious sisters opened two schools for girls at Île Madame; one at Arichat that operated from 1856-1901 and the other at Arichat-Ouest from 1863-1894 (Savoie 1996). As mentioned previously, the *Frère des écoles chrétiennes* operated the Arichat Academy from 1860 until 1865 in both French and English (see section 5.2.3) creating enmity between the language groups. They chose to leave the province with the enforcement of the “Free Schools Act” of 1864 which instituted an English only common school policy in Nova Scotia and required the Brothers to apply for a provincial teaching certificate (see section 5.2.3.1) which they refused to apply and be examined for, forcing their withdrawal from the province (Pichette 1998: 148). The provincial “academies” and “grammar schools” were brought under the Act of 1864 making the private academies public under the same conditions as the grammar schools (see section 3.6).

2.3.1.2 Nova Scotia Normal School

The government's commissioned *Report on Education 1848* (MacIntosh 1964:4), recommended the appointment of a Superintendent of Education to oversee the enforcement of the Nova Scotia education acts and the founding of a Normal School to train teachers and for these future graduates to acquire a provincial teaching license from the province. The results of the report were implemented with the founding of a Normal School in Truro in 1854 (MacIntosh 1964:4). To be admitted to the Normal School, the teacher nominees of the school districts/boards were limited to 1 student per every £100 of provincial grant and not more than 20 pupils were to be accepted by the principal if the nominee had never taught before. All teachers then holding licenses secured from school districts were to pass through the Normal School programme to gain a provincial rather than simply a district license.

The studies at the Normal School were not at an advanced level as they would be in later years. Instead, work at the School was all at secondary level including reading, writing, grammar (English), geography and mathematics all conducted through the medium of the English language. Towards the end of the term of several months, other subjects were added including literature, philosophy, mathematics and science. It will be noted from this list of subjects that they were rudimentary and that in its early years the Normal School was hardly more than a secondary school. "It had to re-teach many of the skills that should have been learned in the common schools" (MacIntosh 1964: 4). Teaching practice could be carried out at the Model

School attached to the Normal School founded in 1857. Attending the Nova Scotia Normal School was not, however, the only method of acquiring a teacher's license in Nova Scotia as Catholic female teachers were instructed at the convent in Tracadie (see section 5.2.2.1) and the convent in Arichat (see section 5.2.2.2). Men wanting higher studies in view to becoming teachers could attend Arichat Academy after 1853 (see section 5.2.3.2). In fact, Normal School attendance was actively discouraged by the Catholic bishop (see section 5.2.1) as the Normal School was seen as a Presbyterian college with an marked Protestant ethos and as an English language establishment was of little use to the Acadians at this time wishing to become teachers in the French schools of the province.

As demonstrated by George D. Perry (2003) in his article "'The Grand Regulator': State Schooling and the Normal School Idea in Nova Scotia, 1838-1855", the Baptist areas of the province as well as the Catholics of both British and Acadian backgrounds opposed the Normal School bill of 1851, *An act to establish a Normal School*, and 1854, *An act to amend the act to establish a Normal School*. Their arguments were that the "government already prepared teachers through its support of grammar schools and academies in each county" (Perry 2003: 78) which the local church could influence with regard to language and the hiring of teachers. Although the bill passed, it became clear that "the belief among opponents that the Normal school was, in fact, a denominational institution" (Perry 2003: 79). As such, the Acadians who might be disposed to attend the new Normal School would not since it was to be conducted in

English, and had a “perception of its Presbyterian origins and character” (Perry 2003: 79). This caused distrust among the Catholic population of Nova Scotia.

2.3.2 Cape Breton Island, 1784-1820

As mentioned previously (see section 2.3.1), Cape Breton Island was separated from Nova Scotia in 1784 (Condon 1994: 189), the same year that New Brunswick was given a separate British colonial administration (Condon 1994: 191). These colonies were created due to pressure from the newly arrived United Empire Loyalist communities arriving from the newly independent United States (see footnote 7). A separate administration from Halifax was established at Sydney after the British government was convinced to do so on the speculation that Loyalists from Québec would settle there (Condon 1994: 189). They wished to create separate colonies (see Map 3 in section 2.1.1) in order to have better control over their own affairs in a local parliament based on the democratic principals brought with them into exile (Wynn 1990: 260). As will be seen in the context of Acadian history, this separation for Cape Breton Acadians did not have the same advantages as the mainland of Nova Scotia in educational policy (see sections 3.3 and 3.4.1). In the end, Cape Breton was unable to support itself as a separate colony (Condon 1994: 190) and so was re-united with mainland Nova Scotia in 1820 though controversy remains surrounding this action.

2.3.2.1 Legal Parameters

As was the case in the other colonies separated from Nova Scotia and therefore from the Halifax elite who dominated the Nova Scotia Legislature, and in keeping with legal parliamentary tradition (see section 2.3.3.1), the new colonies inherited the education laws of Nova Scotia until such time as they enacted local regulations. In the case of Cape Breton Island, the discriminatory education which was characterized by laws against Catholics and their religion, enacted in Halifax from 1768, were to remain enforced throughout the island colony until Cape Breton was re-united with Nova Scotia in 1820. The improvements made to the education (see sections 3.2.3 and 3.4.1) and social regulations in Nova Scotia (see section 1.1) did not therefore affect Cape Breton. The “Act concerning schools and school masters” of 1766 (see section 3.2.2), prohibiting Catholic education and worship, would continue in force in Cape Breton under the Sydney government, leaving the Acadians of Chéticamp and Île Madame and the Scottish Catholics in Cape Breton without the minimal rights accorded those in Nova Scotia and the other Maritime colonies after 1784. The 1786 “Act for the relieving His Majesty’s subjects professing the Popish religion...” modified the harsher 1766 law permitting Catholic education (LeBlanc et al 1993: 546) in mainland Nova Scotia but unfortunately for the Acadians living in the colony of Cape Breton, did not affect the island colony until after the 1820 re-unification with Nova Scotia. From 1820 then, at the re-unification of the two colonies, Acadians of Cape Breton could take advantage of the more ‘liberal’ policies in the Acts of 1786 and 1811. Beginning with the “Act concerning schools” of 1826 and the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1841, Cape Breton Acadians could improve their situation with private tuition in French and,

in rare cases through public funding of a French school (Traboulosee 1962:54) as equally as Acadians in mainland Nova Scotia. Until reunification, Cape Breton Acadians would rely exclusively on private French Catholic schooling (Sweet 1999a) (see section 2.2.3.2).

2.3.3 NEW BRUNSWICK, 1784-1864

By 1783 the areas along the Bay of Fundy and along the Saint John River valley of Nova Scotia, as Nova Scotia was then constituted, saw the arrival of 15,000 American Loyalists (Brown 1990: 260). To assuage the demands of these settlers who made complaints against the perceived distant and ignorant government at Halifax, a new colony was created from the territory of Nova Scotia of all the land north of the Bay of Fundy (MacNutt 1965: 95). New Brunswick, as the new colony was called⁵⁹, chose Fredericton as its capital, but its principal city and commercial centre was to develop at Saint John on the Bay of Fundy. While the political life of the new colony might have been dominated by the Loyalists it must be remembered that the main body of Acadians returning from the Deportation of 1755-1763 had settled the eastern coast and northern interior of New Brunswick. It is this linguistic and cultural dichotomy that dominates the cultural life of New Brunswick to this day and has been the greatest influence on its educational legislation (see Annex D).

59 There was movement for the colony to be called New Ireland but the name decided on was New Brunswick to reflect the House of Brunswick, one of the noble families of the United Kingdom through its links with Hanover in Germany (Rees 2000: 2, Condon 1994: 191).

New Brunswick and Nova Scotia had a similar scholastic legal progression and developed education policies and administration along similar designs in the first half of the nineteenth century (MacNaughton 1947: 116). Both colonies created English language Normal Schools for teacher training and created superintendents for teacher and school inspections⁶⁰ in the mid 1850s. The implication for Acadians in this evolution was that all teachers would be inspected as equals with Anglophone teachers through the medium of English whether they had been able to attend a teacher training institute operated only in English or were able to teach in English. The profound detrimental effect this would have on the Acadian communities in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, in the process of reconstruction their society following the Deportation would be known only in the linguistic and social statistics of recent studies by Landry and Allard (1994: 211-236) who state that current issues surrounding the acquisition of French in Nova Scotian Acadian communities has been influenced due to a perception that to fully integrate into the dominant society of the province, the Acadian children must learn in English or at least in a bilingual environment.

2.3.3.1 Legal Parameters

The first legal framework for education in New Brunswick was promulgated as the “Parish School Act” of 1802. Until this act, the restrictive education laws inherited from Nova Scotia, which prohibited Catholic teachers and schools, when the two colonies were separated in 1784, were continued (see section 2.2). The demographics of New Brunswick were quite dissimilar to

⁶⁰ The position of superintendent was established in Nova Scotia in 1850 while that of New Brunswick in 1852 (MacNaughton 1947: 116).

those of Nova Scotia. The majority of the returning Acadians from the Deportation of 1755-1763 settled in New Brunswick rather than Nova Scotia. In Nova Scotia they were not permitted to settle as one large group (Boucher 1985: 8) but scattered about the province. In New Brunswick, where they could live in larger communities together, they established themselves along the eastern coast of the province from Memramcook to Bathurst and in the Madawaska region of the north west corner of New Brunswick. According to Rameau de Saint-Père (1889: 225) in *Une colonie féodale en Amérique: l'Acadie*⁶¹, there were 3,729 Acadians in New Brunswick in 1803. Their population would eventually encompass one third of the total population of New Brunswick today (Roy 1993: 143) and therefore had a legitimate claim to instruction in their own language. However, the discrimination against Acadian French language education would last until the end of the century.

As it was, the “Parish School Act” of 1802 gave £10 per annum to Anglo-Protestant schools *exclusively* (Savoie 1996: 427). In the 1805 “Grammar School Act” the government encouraged the construction of primary and secondary (grammar)⁶² schools (LeBlanc et al.1993: 549). It was not until the “Grammar and Common School Act” of 1816 that Acadian French schools could be funded by the public purse in New Brunswick. Parents paid a tax to the colonial government

⁶¹ “A Feudal Colony in America: Acadia” (TR).

⁶² The two types of secondary schools found throughout the Maritimes were grammar schools and academies. The latter were supposed to be the better of the two and to back the distinction, the teachers of the county schools were paid a larger grant from the colonial government (MacNaughton 1947: 59). The Academies were often private institutions requiring the payment of fees for tuition (Arichat Academy for example) which from time to time receiving grants from the government of the day, while the Grammar Schools, which were county or district schools, were paid for with public funds and “were designed... for the children of the middle classes” (MacNaughton 1947: 42). The grammar (county) schools received grants from the central government of each province but raised their funds more frequently through subscription.

equal to that amount of money given by the government towards the education of each child of the family. Due to the financial arrangements this law was very unpopular and was rescinded in 1818 (Savoie 1996: 427). The 1816 act also provided for the election of the first school councils who were charged with the administration of the public schools (LeBlanc et al. 1993: 549). In neither New Brunswick nor Nova Scotia "...was the Church of England successful in maintaining its pretensions to being the Established Church..." (Wade 1972: 32).

Until 1837, the administration of education was the responsibility of the county school commissioners. These were replaced with County Education Councils (Savoie 1996: 427) that were responsible for inspecting the schools and issuing teaching licenses (ACELF 1977: 7). Up to this point the teachers in New Brunswick did not have formal training but rather submitted to an oral examination by the County Education Councils to be judged on their spirit of loyalty to the King and government of the province, the quality of their morals, their literary culture, and their command of the English language (Savoie 1996: 444) which for many Acadians would have been limited.

Ten years later, in 1847, the New Brunswick Normal School opened in Fredericton and from that date teachers would be required to attend a ten-week course towards qualifying for a teachers' certificate to teach in New Brunswick public schools. The difficulty for the Acadian teachers was "... the Normal School made no allowance for French-speaking students ..." (Andrew 1996: 60), a situation echoed in Nova Scotia after 1854 (see sections 2.4.2 and 3.5.4.3). The Education

Act of 1847 (Parish Schools Act) replaced the County Commissioners with a provincial commission that would be responsible for teachers' permits and the choice of school textbooks. Further control by the province came with the establishment in 1852 of the first superintendent of schools (Savoie 1996: 427).

The language issue in New Brunswick education was only acknowledged in the 1858 "Schools" act. The "Schools" act of 1858 provided recognition of rights to a Catholic education in New Brunswick (Savoie 1996: 427). This came through the introduction of the Douay Version of the Bible⁶³ into the Acadian schools with the approval of the Catholic hierarchy as opposed to the English language schools using the Authorized, King James version of the Bible. This act also provided for the construction of more public schools in the language of the local community, in the case of the Acadians, therefore, French language schools and teachers and financial aid to the students of the Normal School at Fredericton, which operated in English. According to Basque (1996: 55), it was in the decades of the 1850s and 1860s that there appeared a new Acadian society in the Maritimes that took advantage of the schools that were in French language institutions with French speaking teachers and funded from the public purse, to found a new educated elite to lead the community especially in the Maritimes.

63 The Acadian Public Schools had refused to read from the Authorised (King James) translation of the Bible as it did not conform to the Vulgate as translated by St Jerome (Savoie 1996: 427).

2.3.3.2 New Brunswick Normal Schools and Training Schools

As discussed in section 2.5.1, the “Parish School Act” of 1847 made it obligatory for all teachers in New Brunswick to spend 10 weeks at the New Brunswick Normal School which was founded the following year in 1848 as the New Brunswick Training School, in Loyalist dominated Fredericton. Due to a lack of students it was closed two years later (Basque 1996: 50). Two other Training Schools for teachers were opened, one in Saint John and one in Chatham⁶⁴. The Saint John school operated from 1848 and the school in Chatham from 1860. However, both closed in 1870 with the establishment of the New Brunswick Normal School at Fredericton that same year (Basque 1996: 50). It is noted by Basque (1996: 51) that no Francophones were hired to teach at the Training School at Saint John until 1860 and none at Chatham. There were approximately 20 Acadian students at the Training School in Saint John between 1850 and 1870 though there was very little instruction through the medium of French due to the inherent bias towards the English language in the administration of the provincial government.

When the New Brunswick Normal School opened in 1870, it guarded its English language dominance despite Acadian protests against leaving the prospective Acadian teachers at a decided disadvantage. Only in 1878 were classes in French established, although, these students could only get a 3rd class teaching license⁶⁵ while those taking the English programme could get a 1st or

64 Chatham is today part of the amalgamated city of Miramichi, New Brunswick.

65 The teachers' licenses of New Brunswick were issued based on successful completion of the programme at the Normal School at Fredericton. The 3rd class license to those who had completed a basic level of reading, writing and mathematics, the 2nd class permit were the teaching of English grammar, geography and bookkeeping, the 1st class for teaching natural philosophy, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, navigation and surveying (Basque 1994: 50).

2nd class license (Savoie 1996: 445). For the Acadians, some relief in post-secondary education and preparation for teaching was created with the establishment of Collège Saint-Thomas in Memramcook in 1854. Though this college did not survive, according to Robertson (1994: 349), due to lack of financial and episcopal support, it set the stage for the establishment of the Collège Saint-Joseph also in Memramcook in 1864 that did survive and was one of the founding colleges of Université de Moncton.

2.3.4 PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1769-1864

Prince Edward Island (PEI) became a British colony in 1769 first as St John's Island (from the original name given by the French *Île Saint-Jean*) and then renamed Prince Edward Island in 1799 (Arsenault 1987: 53). As in the other Maritime Provinces, once Nova Scotia was divided into separate colonies (see Map 4 in section 2.2.3.2), it was up to each new colonial administration to make what ordinances it saw fit for the colony; in most cases this was to the detriment of the Acadian population who were then separated from each other and under the various English colonial administrations made up mostly of an elite of the local settlers (Beck 1985: 24-25).

For the Acadians, Prince Edward Island was different from the other two Maritime colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia (later along with Cape Breton briefly) in the method the British government allowed for the distribution of land which in turn was to affect the society and

development of the colony. In effect, PEI was divided into a series of small fiefdoms (Ross 2000: 14) leaving the Acadians as well as other ethnic groups such as the Scottish Highland settlers, landless. As well, the goal of the government of the day in PEI, as in the other Maritime colonies, was to anglicise the Acadians (LeBlanc et al 1993: 547, Arsenault 1987: 83).

2.3.4.1 Legal Parameters

As with Cape Breton (see section 2.3.2) Prince Edward Island inherited the discriminatory education acts of Nova Scotia from which the island was separated in 1769. The restrictive “An Act concerning Schools and school masters” of 1766 which stated that schools within the province were to be conducted in English, played a lead in how the local government would perceive the Acadians and their desire for instruction. This anti-French and anti-Catholic attitude would last a further century and as Arsenault (1987: 83) points out in *Les Acadiens de l’Île, 1720-1980*⁶⁶, the government of Prince Edward Island, like that of Nova Scotia, had the backing of the British government. This would hold true until the 1840s after the lifting of restrictions in most British colonies on Catholic education. Hyams (1990: 330) pointed out there would be no attempt to create a separate public school system for Catholics in these colonies and that the Crown would continue to exercise control over appointments according to the British Board of Trade (Hyams 1990: 330). With restrictions on Catholic education and a discriminatory bias against Acadians and their language, there was little hope of French language public schools in

⁶⁶ “The Acadians of the Island, 1720-1980” (TR).

PEI until the 1847 “Schools” Act that officially permitted French language teachers in the provincial public schools.

According to Arsenault (1987:83), it was the desire of the British government of the day to assimilate all French language groups in the colony. This was evidenced by the refusal by the Prince Edward Island government to the request by Father de Calonne, a *réfractaire*⁶⁷ priest who provided leadership to the Island Acadians, for a French medium school to be established in Charlottetown in 1799 (Arsenault 1987: 83).

It was in 1825 that the first education act was passed in PEI called simply the “Schools Act” which was preceded by the 1820 “National School (Normal School) Act”. This act provided a limited amount of funding to establish public schools in English. And in 1830 the government created the Department of Education which was made up of five members that would be responsible for the issuing of teacher licenses and provided £590 for the establishment of public schools (Arsenault 1987:85, LeBlanc et al 1993: 547). In 1831 the colonial government allotted public monies for the support of three English grammar schools and fourteen district schools. The Education Act of 1834 finally created a proper education system in the province. It created categories of teachers (1st, 2nd, 3rd class) by license for which the school had a corresponding designated class with 1st being the lowest and 3rd being the highest class (see Table 1).

⁶⁷ See section 1.2 for explanation of this term.

The social implications and influence on recruiting Acadian teachers can be understood as limited. Teachers with a lower category of teaching permit were not likely to earn enough to warrant remaining in the profession for very long. The brightest students would prefer taking a post-schooling course of studies that would instead prepare them for a profession that would garner better income. The alternative was to study in English and become a teacher for a school in English, or even to offer teaching in English in the Acadian schools by properly qualified teachers, but in reality teach mostly in French until inspected, during which the school would be operated in English. In either case, the Acadians would have to be creative in order to earn a salary similar to the Anglophones of PEI.

Table 1 TEACHING CLASSIFICATIONS IN PEI 1834⁶⁸

First Class	Second Class	Third Class
Reading (English)	As per First Class plus	As per Second Class plus
Writing (English)	Geometry	Classics
Arithmetic	Trigonometry	Higher Mathematics
	Measuring	Geography / The Globe
	Surface measurements	
	English Grammar	

68 Information obtained from Arsenault (1987: 85-86).

There was no provision for the French language either as a language of instruction or as a school subject. It was left to individual teachers in the classrooms to provide instruction to the Acadian students in French using English texts, as there were no official French language Acadian public schools in PEI. However, there were six Acadian teachers with teaching licenses at this time and over the next twenty years Acadians succeeded in having a total of seventeen French speaking teachers in the public schools in Acadian villages, with the tacit approval of the government (LeBlanc et al 1993: 547). If the case of eastern Nova Scotia was the norm, then the use of French in classrooms of public schools in Acadian villages in PEI was accepted.

It was only with the “Schools Act” of 1847 that the colonial government took a serious interest in Acadian education in PEI. The new law was promulgated to better regulate the type of teacher working in the Acadian public schools. From 1847 the teachers in Acadian public schools would have to be Catholic and would have to receive his or her teacher license from the parish priest. The priest in turn would guarantee the good moral character of the teacher as well as the candidates’ ability to teach in French and ensure that the candidate could also teach English reading and writing in the school (Arsenault 1987: 88).

In 1852, the government of Prince Edward Island adopted “An act for the encouragement of education and to raise funds for that purpose by imposing an additional assessment”, referred to

as the “Free Schools” Act⁶⁹ (PEI 1852: 13) that stipulated that all property owners in school districts would be taxed for education purposes and that students would not be liable for paying school fees. This act had the effect of doubling the student population in PEI within two years (Arsenault 1987: 87). However, the Free Schools Act of 1852, demanded that if instruction in the schools was not conducted in English, the government would pay £10 less to French speaking teachers if they taught in their mother tongue (LeBlanc et al 1963: 47). The Acadian public school teachers would be forced to leave the school system if they could not speak enough English or teach in French clandestinely (see section 4.3) as they frequently did in eastern Nova Scotia.

2.3.4.2 Prince Edward Island National School (Normal School)

The Normal School of Prince Edward Island developed at a much different pace than those of the other colonies in the region. As early as 1820 the governor proposed the erection of a college but the colony began with a simple National School (much like a grammar school) under the governor’s control in Charlottetown. This in turn became the Central Academy in 1836 and then in 1856 it was developed further as the Normal School. The Normal School (PEI 1855: 12) used English as its language of instruction and was dominated by the Protestant elite of the colony, making it difficult for Catholics and therefore Acadian prospective teachers to enter just as it was in Nova Scotia (see section 2.3.1.2). The founding of the Prince of Wales College in 1860 (PEI 1860: 17) did little to alleviate the training problem for PEI Acadians. There was provision for

69 This act promulgated the first Free School System created in the Atlantic region. The setting up of such a system of “assessment” will be discussed further in chapter 3.

Catholics, however, at St Dunstan's College, a Catholic funded institution founded by Bishop McEachern in 1831 (Groulx 1933: 20, MacDonald 1989: 54). It was an English medium college so the prospective Acadian teachers would inevitably have to either learn English to a degree commiserate with university studies or to leave the island to receive their tuition in their own language (Groulx 1993: 21), possibly at Collège Saint-Joseph in New Brunswick (see section 2.3.3.2) or one of the colleges in Lower Canada.

2.3.5 NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR, 1830-1864

Of the four British Atlantic colonies (New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island), Newfoundland had the fewest similarities with the others. Its history was markedly different than the Maritime colonies and its settlement and demographic patterns were unique. However, the settlement of Acadians and citizens of France along the west coast of the island, especially in the Port-au-Port region, requires an analysis of the treatment of this French speaking minority in a quite remote and politically charged district of the island.

The educational policies for Newfoundland were developed in the capital, St. John's. These were applicable to English settlements on the island of Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador which fell under the legislative authority of Britain and the Newfoundland Assembly⁷⁰ in the mid-nineteenth century (see Map 5 in section 2.3.5.1), but were excluded from the coastline of the

⁷⁰ Newfoundland was granted a Legislative Assembly by Britain in 1833 (Waite 1987: 346).

island of Newfoundland controlled by France (see Map 5 in section 3.2.5.1) under the terms of the treaties of Utrecht (1713), Paris (1763) and Versailles (1783). By these treaties, the French were permitted to fish in season along the west coast of Newfoundland, and dry their catch on shore (Neary 1980: 96).

By terms of the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Paris (1763), France was not to create permanent settlements anywhere other than the islands of St-Pierre and Miquelon (Neary 1980: 96). This prohibition would also originally apply to the English settlers elsewhere on the island who might attempt to live in the French “zone” (Janzen 2002: 44). “...les colons pionniers français parvinrent à s’installer sur cette côte où aux yeux des autorités françaises comme anglaises, toute personne sédentaire était considérée *persona non grata*.”⁷¹ (Landry & Magord 1992: 4). However, according to Janzen (2002: 44-45), both nations did in fact settle the coastline. French settlements developed from the 1780s all along the coast from St George’s Bay to the Bay of Islands⁷² (Thomas 1981: 2). The “French Shore” stretched from Cape John in the northeast (a region they called Petit Nord), to Cape Ray south of the Port-au-Port region (see Map 4 in section 2.3.5.2).

Acadian and French nationals settled the St George’s Bay and Port-au-Port region, illegally, during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The Acadians arrived following the deportation and

71 The French pioneer colonists who settled on the coast, were, in the eyes of the French authorities as in the eyes of the English, considered *persona non grata*.

72 Today referred to as Corner Brook.

their wanderings and the French came to live permanently, often as sailors fleeing military service in the French navy (Butler 1994: 193). While observers of the French speaking community in the Baie St-Georges region were not always flattering, the local magistrate appointed by the colonial government in St John's, James Tobin, was kinder in his views. According to Gary Butler (1994: 191), Tobin described the Acadians as hard working and having brought their cattle and looms from Cape Breton and the Magdelene Islands with them. The average family had 8-10 acres of land under cultivation, 3-4 cows, 8-10 sheep, 2-3 pigs and a horse or oxen (Butler 1994: 191). Butler goes on to state that "le rapport de Tobin trace le portrait d'un peuple industriel, attaché à la famille et apportant avec lui de quoi commencer une vie nouvelle et permanente"⁷³ (Butler 1994: 191). There were approximately 2000 settlers in the area of which the majority were Acadians. But due to the lack of legal status, there were no government services other than the magistrate James Tobin in this part of Newfoundland. It was noted by a visiting French naval captain, that the Acadians were illiterate in 1870. This would naturally be the case as the Catholic and Anglican churches, the main source of teachers and promoters of education for their members, had only been established in the south west of Newfoundland from 1850 and 1845 respectively (Butler 1994: 195). Those French communities in the northeast were rapidly assimilated following the ending of French fishing rights in 1904. The settlements at Port-au-Port were geographically isolated, and therefore escaped this assimilation (Landy & Margord 1992: 4) to a greater degree.

73 "Tobin's report traces a portrait of an industrious people attached to their families and carrying with them the commencement of a new and permanent life" (TR).

Schools were rarely found on the French Shore during the nineteenth century. Those that were, were often private and administered through the Catholic Church (Prowse 1895: 35). Although research in the region administered by France is almost non-existent (Thomas 1981: 7), there are a few traces of elementary schooling and religious and linguistic instruction provided in a select few of the French speaking communities that can be identified (see section 2.3.5.2). Currently, there is growing interest in the French Shore of Newfoundland and its history by researchers (André Magord, Olaf Janzen, Rodrigue Landry) is being undertaken at the Memorial University of Newfoundland and Université de Moncton in Canada as well as the *Institut d'Études Acadiennes et Québécoises* at the Université de Poitiers in France.

2.3.5.1 Legal Parameters

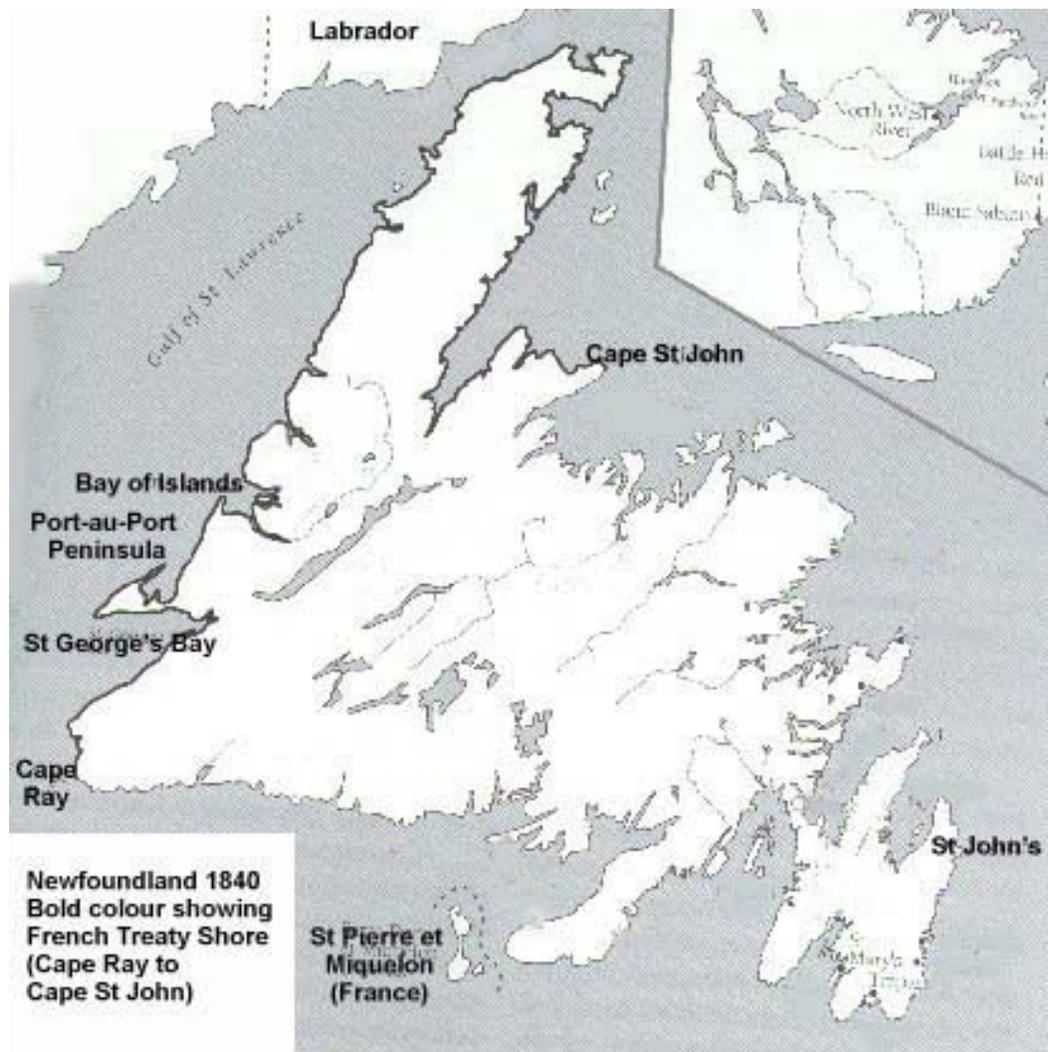
The first Newfoundland legislation related to education, the “Act for the encouragement of education in this colony” of 1836 and its subsequent amendments and laws did not apply to the “French Shore” of Newfoundland. The act stated that education would be in English and applicable to only those parts of the island of Newfoundland under the jurisdiction of the Assembly. The Anglophone and Francophone settlers of the Port-au-Port region on the west coast of the island were unable to take advantage of the laws enacted by the government in St John’s. This first education act in Newfoundland⁷⁴, “An act for the Encouragement of Education” (NF 1836) created grants to existing public schools, operated by the various Christian denominations, and education District Boards for elementary schooling (Johnson 1968: 51) in

74 See letter from Earl Grey to Sir John Harvey, Downing Street, 31 March, 1847, Annex A.

eastern Newfoundland. By 1843 (NF 1843: 8) the grants were divided into two parts with half for Protestants and half for Catholics, and this was further divided in 1852 (NF 1852: 2) into three parts to include the Methodists. It was through this means that Newfoundland education took a decided turn from educational policies followed in other colonies in its state sponsored schooling (MacNutt 1965: 168) preferring instead to subsidize the privately run parochial school boards of the denominations (McCann 1989: 184). The provisions of the “Act for the encouragement of education” of 1852 of the Newfoundland Legislative Assembly were only enforceable in the eastern half of the island, under Newfoundland Assembly purview, and even then “St. John’s lacked the capacity to maintain law and order on the frontier” (Sutherland 1994: 251).

There were disagreements between the two dominant ethnic groups of English and Irish, and between Protestant and Catholic over educational policies (Greene 1999: 102), but as Greene (1999: 192) explains in his work *Between Damnation and Starvation; Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics, 1745-1855*, the initial framework of an education system for the eastern part of the colony was eventually established through division of the schools and funding along denominational lines. According to Thomas (1981: 5) the implementation of the Newfoundland education acts in the Port-au-Port region would not arrive until the twentieth century therefore leaving the Catholic Church and its members to attempt to fulfil the obligation of the Church to educate its population.

MAP 5 FRENCH SHORE OF NEWFOUNDLAND⁷⁵



⁷⁵ Map adapted from Conrad & Hiller (2001: 127)

2.3.5.2 “French Shore” Education Parameters

As stated in section 2.3.5.1, there were developments in public school education in Newfoundland throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Formal teacher training commenced in 1823 at the Teacher Training Academy (or Central School) founded in St John’s (McNutt 1965: 168) as a denominational establishment operated by the Newfoundland School Society (Rowe 1952: 105, Johnson 1968: 51). This institution catered to subscribers of the Newfoundland School Society in Britain and Newfoundland in keeping within the Evangelical tradition (McCann 1989: 184) of the Protestant churches. It was not possible for the settlers on the “French Shore” to take advantage of the establishment of the Training Academy in having members of their communities trained as teachers, whether they were French or English speaking, since their settlements were not recognized by any government of the day (see Map 5 in section 2.3.5.2). Therefore teaching remained private for nearly the whole of the nineteenth century. It would not be until the 1870s that schools would be constructed by the Catholic Church and operated by the Church with public funding (Prowse 1895: 36) for members of the Port-au-Port region.

Mention should be made of several private school teachers. The earliest being Christine LeBlanc at Sandy Point, Port-au-Port. LeBlanc worked for Father Alexander Bélanger who arrived in the region in 1850. Father Bélanger personally taught in Sandy Point to the Acadian (Mannion 1977:

234) families⁷⁶ he found there (compare Boudreau 1990, Sweet 1999a, 2000, Charbonneau 1992: 31). According to Charbonneau (1992: 31), Christine LeBlanc “...avait une bonne instruction française”⁷⁷ and didn’t take a government salary though one was apparently offered to her. LeBlanc preferred instead to work “pour l’amour de Dieu”⁷⁸. It is not clear which government was in fact offering her a salary, or indeed if the church was offering it since no government officially permitted the settlements to be there during the period before 1904. The fact that Christine LeBlanc was already educated and teaching others in her community may have been due to her family migrating (Mannion 1977: 239) from Chéticamp or Margaree (Magré), Cape Breton (Charbonneau 1992: 30) where the public school system was already functioning (see section 3.4). Even if a community were able to instigate basic schooling, for most the hiring of a teacher or building a school was beyond the financial means of the villages (Gobineau 1972: 140).

At Conche on the *Petit Nord* peninsula, as early as 1858, a church was constructed. A priest resident in Cap Rouge, a village further north, would visit the area, preaching and instructing as he made his way from community to community (Fitzpatrick N.D. [<http://www.nucleus.com/~fitz/History.htm/>]), much as the priests in Nova Scotia were doing in the same period (compare Sweet 1999a, Sweet 2000). The community of Conche (Charbonneau 1992: 27) was one of the most important in the north east of the island, being the headquarters of

76 In 1830 the population of Sandy Point and its environs stood at 2000. Of this population, 1200 were Acadian, 400 were Mik’maq and 400 from France (Charbonneau 1992: 28). Acadian migration to this region began as early as 1770 due to the lack of government control and no taxation; a scenario much sought after by the early Acadians (Griffith).

77 “...had been well instructed in French...” (TR)

78 “...for the love of God...” (TR)

the French Naval station enforcing the fishing treaties (Janzen 2002: 47). Conche had a teacher named Mr Dower who taught from his home in the mid to late nineteenth century. The first school in Conche was created in 1860 though teaching would not be continuous. Teaching did finally appear to be permanent from 1890 due to the arrival of a teacher from Conche. This was a girl from the community who had been sent to Pictou, Nova Scotia to a convent to study to become a teacher sometime before 1883 (Fitzpatrick N.D. [<http://www.nucleus.com/~fitz/History.htm/>]). No mention is made of the convent's name, or the order of nuns who took on this work. However, what is known is that the *Notre-Dame de Montréal* religious congregation worked in Pictou during the same period. Therefore a girl from a French language community in Newfoundland would be able to study in the Atlantic region in her own language.

For the parts of the colony of Newfoundland under British colonial administration (1713-1933), teacher training would be left to each denomination until the early twentieth century. The Methodist denomination was able to instruct teachers at their own training school they established in St. John's and received subsidies from the government under provision of the 1853 "Act for the encouragement of education". This act was amended by the "Act for Encouragement of Education" of 1858 (NF 1858: 7) to ensure that Catholics also received a government subsidy, at the Catholic Academy in St. John's. According to Rowe (1952: 108), selection of candidates for the Academy to train as teachers for each denomination was left to the local district and not to a central authority. Catholic teaching was conducted, to this point, by the religious orders, both male and female. Further, Rowe (1952: 107-108) discusses how the

brothers and sisters who taught were themselves prepared for this role in Ireland before arriving in Newfoundland over a one hundred year period and that female teachers were prepared by the teaching nuns for the Catholic schools. These training arrangements would be of benefit to the population of the “French Shore” of Newfoundland following the 1904 *Entente Cordiale* which abrogated French fishing rights on the coasts of Newfoundland (Neary 1980: 113).

2.4 UPPER CANADA⁷⁹ (ONTARIO), 1786-1864

Upper Canada was originally part of New France under the French regime but was separated from the colony of Canada in 1791 to become Upper Canada (Wynn 1987: 247), the border with Lower Canada being the Ottawa River (see Map 3 in section 2.1.1). While the study of Upper Canada, and later in this chapter Lower Canada and Assiniboia, is outside the region of Atlantic Canada where the Acadians had settled, there were sizeable French speaking minorities in both Upper Canada and Assiniboia, and the majority of residents of Lower Canada were Francophone. This Francophone population, spread across nearly half a continent under the authority of the British Crown is important to investigate at this point in this thesis in order to understand the impact the colonial structures had on these other population groups, two of which lived, as the Acadians did, as a minority. The treatment of the Francophone population in these colonies, compared with the Atlantic region, is important in understanding the decisions of the people of

⁷⁹ Between 1791 and 1841 the name of the colony was Upper Canada, while after 1841 it became Canada West. In 1867 the name was again changed to Ontario when it entered Confederation that same year. The name Upper Canada remained the most common name for the province even under the Act of Union in 1841 and continues as the “nickname” of Ontario today.

the period in their strive for linguistic and cultural mastery of the colonial societies found in British North America following less than a century from the fall of the French colonial administration.

The majority of settlers in Upper Canada were English speaking and a large number of those early settlers were Loyalists from the United States. Francophone settlers from Lower Canada (Québec) who continued to reside in the new colony were to be found in the Ottawa River region, North Bay, Cornwallis, Niagara and Windsor (formerly called Sandwich) (Gervais 1993: 50). The settlers of French origin were therefore on the margins of Upper Canada society both geographically and socially being Francophone and Catholic. However, due to the role the parish priest played in their communities (Gervais 1993: 51), they were able to inculcate a rudimentary education as early as the late eighteenth century. The parish schools would become the foundations of the common (elementary) schools in the early nineteenth century as government legislation and financing were implemented. Educational acts commenced with the “Grammar Schools” act of 1807, which will be discussed in section 2.4.1. It should be remembered that the state of education at the time was also difficult with a “manque d’élèves, disette de manuels, pitoyables conditions de vie, insuffisance de ressources, apathie générale pour l’instruction, outillage inexistant et rareté de locaux appropriés”⁸⁰ (Godbout 1972: 68).

80 “...a lack of pupils, few textbooks, poor conditions for living, insufficient resources, general apathy toward education in general, a lack of resources and necessary school properties...” (TR)

2.4.1 Legal Parameters

Between 1816 and 1853 there were 12 Education Acts passed in Upper Canada (UP 1807, 1816, 1824, 1835, 1839, 1841, 1843, 1846, 1847, 1849, 1850 and 1853) (Curtis 1988: 445). The education legislation enacted was to provide for both grammar schools which prepared pupils at a secondary school level and common schools, which corresponded with an elementary education. Beginning with the “Grammar Schools Act” of 1807, "An Act to Establish Public Schools in Each and Every District of this Province" the province was divided into 8 school districts all of which were along the bottom of Upper Canada from the Detroit river in the west to the Ottawa river in the east (Coleman 1907: 35). According to Coleman in his work *Public Education in Upper Canada* (1907: 36), it was the Lieutenant Governor who selected the trustees who in turn would submit the names of those teachers they wished licensed for the district. The trustees would also be responsible for the buildings and equipment (Coleman 1907: 36). Even at this early stage, one English language schoolmaster was paid £100 per annum (Johnson 1968: 23), though this was not the norm. Teachers would earn £66 under the 1816 “Common Schools” Act while under the “Common Schools” act of 1841 they received £43 (Curtis 1988: 64-65). A positive effect of the “Common School” act of 1816 was that a school could be established in any community where families could provide a minimum of 20 pupils and build the school themselves. Reports from the school would be made to the trustees of the district every three months. The trustees could appoint the teacher and remove the same. Teachers had to be British subjects either by birth or naturalization (Coleman 1907: 58).

Following from the “Common Schools” Act of 1816 was the “Grammar School” act of 1839 that created 12 English grammar schools, one for each school district, all in English (Johnson 1968: 28). These schools, added to the common schools, would provide an invaluable beginning to general instruction in Upper Canada but were based solely on English as the language of instruction. The “Common Schools Act” of 1841 under the new unified colony of the United Province was a failure in its attempts to provide a common education system to two distinct ethnic entities in the now United Province of Canada. The people of Lower Canada would not accept a system of education that was outside the realm of the Catholic Church (Johnson 1968: 32). Canada East (Lower Canada) and Canada West (Upper Canada) would therefore continue to have separate school administrations.

It was by the “Common Schools” act of 1850 for Canada West that a free public education was introduced under the supervision of the Superintendent of Education for the province, Egerton Ryerson, in those districts that sought to introduce it (Johnson 1968: 39). The local district, if it chose the assessment method (see section 3.6), was to tax all property to pay for the schools and teachers rather than the parents of the children having to pay a subscription as they had done up to that point (Curtis 1988: 128). This was not without controversy. Many taxpayers refused to see the benefits of paying for all children to attend classes. It was generally felt that each family should pay for its own children if they wanted them to be educated. This budgetary argument was a common theme in the colonies of this early to mid nineteenth century (Morison 1963: 55-77).

2.4.2 Public Schools & Public School Teachers

According to Godbout (1972: 67-68) in his seminal work concerning French teaching and schools in Ontario, *L'Origine des écoles françaises dans l'Ontario*⁸¹, "...très peu d'enseignants avaient la connaissance et la vocation requises d'éducateurs de carrière"⁸². One of the greatest problems was finding adequately trained teachers. (Godbout 1972: 123). For most of French speaking residents of Upper Canada/Canada West, there was a reliance on the Catholic Church for school instruction and provision of teachers (Gervais 1993: 57). And it would therefore be incumbent on the Catholic Church to pay the related costs of financing the schools and paying salaries of teachers. It was not until the "Common Schools Act" of 1824, that teachers in Upper Canada were required to be examined for a permit from more than the local school trustees (Coleman 1907: 60). There were unqualified Francophone teachers working throughout the colony in the early nineteenth century (Godbout 1972: 124), and Godbout (1972: 124) quotes Audet in believing that "... une grande proportion de maîtres ne savaient ni lire ni écrire ..." ⁸³ and Gosselin commented that "... connaissances rudimentaires ... dans le domaine de l'orthographe et de la grammaire ..." ⁸⁴ were severely lacking. The instructors were in fact "... improvised teachers ...". Until Normal Schools were established in the mid-nineteenth century there was no formal qualifications for teachers in Upper Canada for either English or French languages beyond a

81 "*The Origin of French Schools in Ontario*" (TR)

82 "...very few teachers had the knowledge... required to make educating their vocation..." (TR)

83 "...a great portion of the teachers don't know how to read nor write..." (TR)

84 "...Rudimentary knowledge...in the areas of spelling and grammar..." (TR)

basic ability to read and write. As Gervais (1993: 60) points out, it was not until an early elite of educated Franco-Ontarians developed following the establishment of the *collèges classiques*⁸⁵ (see sections 2.4.3, 2.6.2 and 4.4.4) in eastern Upper Canada that this lack of education among teachers was corrected. It was from this small pool of educated elite that the clergy recruited the teachers. Even with improvements in teacher education by mid-nineteenth century, there continued to be questions related to qualifications (Curtis 1988: 225). In the early years of the nineteenth century there was little if any preparation of teachers for the few private schools that existed other than that provided by the religious communities in the Ottawa River region (Gervais 1993: 60). Before engaging teachers in the region it was prudent to verify what knowledge individual aspirants in the community had that could be passed on in the schools, rather than seek outside qualified teachers (Godbout 1972: 113). Common schools in French were permitted under the “Common Schools Act” of 1816 simply due to the fact that there was no stipulation that public education had to be in English only (Gervais 1993: 105). A French language primary school, under the 1816 act, was in existence at Windsor before 1824 and since there was no stipulation in any of the education acts that the language of instruction was to be exclusively in English, the French language schools had the same rights to government subsidization as the English language schools (Gervais 1993: 105).

⁸⁵ A *classical college* was an institution established by the Catholic Church to provide both junior and senior levels of education to members of the parishes of given locality. For further reading of the history of the *collèges classiques* in the Maritimes see George Stanley (1975: 117-137) and Claude Galarneau (1978).

According to the research completed by Godbout (1972: 151) on the origin of French language schools in Ontario, Egerton Ryerson as Superintendent of Schools⁸⁶ in Canada West (Coleman 1907: 102), maintained that French was equally part of the educational make-up of the province since its inception in 1791. He therefore heartily supported the use of French as a medium of instruction in the public schools of Canada West.

2.4.3 Private Schools and *collèges classiques*

According to Godbout (1972: 50-51), the first French language school was begun in Sandwich (Windsor), “Upper Canada”, in 1786 before the official creation of Upper Canada in 1791 (Johnson 1968: 15). The school had two female lay teachers: Miss Adémard and Miss Papineau. Father Dufaux, PSS⁸⁷, the parish priest, paid for the operation of this private school and the teachers. The school had 13 pupils. Six years later, in 1792, there were 16 or 17 pupils. A further secular female teacher called Miss Victoire, also came to the school at Sandwich in 1786 and remained in the parish to teach until 1796 (Godbout 1972: 68). Others who taught in the late eighteenth century in this region of Upper Canada in their own private parish schools were Mr Jean-Baptiste Rocoux, Father Potier of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), and Monsignor Hubert.

⁸⁶ Egerton Ryerson was Superintendent of Schools from 1846 to 1876 and had the greatest influence on public education in Upper Canada.

⁸⁷ PSS is the abbreviation for *Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice* of the Congrégation de Saint-Sulpice a religious congregation of priests from France based in Montréal.

Many schools opened in remote locations of Upper Canada after the War of 1812⁸⁸, but many did not remain open due to a shortage of funds and qualified teachers (Godbout 1972: 68). Quoting Plomer's work *Lettres de l'abbé J.B. Marchand, curé de l'Assomption Haut-Canada, 1796-1825*⁸⁹ who translated the letters of Father Marchand, the parish priest in Windsor in the later eighteenth century, Godbout (1972: 116) stresses the fact that the schools in the area around Windsor in the county of Essex along the Detroit river were French language schools, all operating privately. "...des écoles dont parlait l'abbé Marchand, étaient bel

et bien des écoles françaises..."⁹⁰ (Godbout 1972: 116). It is also pointed out that Father Marchand could not speak English and that he was previously the Superior of the Collège de Montréal. He had a great interest therefore in the education of his local population. (Godbout 1972: 116). Marchand supported the schools financially as did his predecessors who founded schools with the financial support of the Archbishop of Québec. Father Joseph Crevier followed Marchand as parish priest in founding two schools, one for boys and the other for girls. Crevier had the idea of creating a *collège classique* for his pupils as he was already teaching Latin and Mathematics, but before realizing this, he was transferred back to Lower Canada (Godbout 1972:

88 The War of 1812-1814 was fought between the United States and the United Kingdom over the perceived abuse of "pressing" sailors from the United States Navy into service of the Royal Navy and the Royal Navy's dominance of the seas near North America. The United States invaded Upper and Lower Canada and threatened the sea lanes near Nova Scotia and Newfoundland during these years. The American Army was finally repelled and an agreement was reached over fishing and sailing in coastal waters of British North America (Wynn 1987: 254-256).

89 "...The Letters of Father J.B. Marchand, Parish Priest of Assumption, Upper Canada, 1796-1825..." (TR)

90 "... the schools Father Marchand spoke about were truly French schools ..." (TR)

117).

It was the Catholic Church that led the educational direction in the Francophone community of Upper Canada. The professionals and clergy, mostly based in Ottawa, re-enforced the notion that faith and language were bound together, thereby creating the basis of Catholic control over education (Gervais 1993: 103). This sense of leadership becomes evident in the work of the bishops in eastern Upper Canada as demonstrated by Monsignor Rémi Gaulin⁹¹ (Sweet 1999a: 49), Bishop of Kingston⁹².

Throughout the mid nineteenth century, the Ottawa region of Upper Canada was populated with both Anglophone and Francophone settlers, the latter being Catholic and depending on the Catholic Church for their educational needs. Godbout (1972: 123) points out that the Catholic Church took the lead in this region in providing an educational infrastructure for the communities. In this way, the Catholic Church founded the Collège de Bytown⁹³ in 1848 (Collège d'Ottawa from 1855), which had a Grammar School attached which provided students in the area with higher education before entering the university. Religious communities like the

91 "Rémi Gaulin had been a teacher at the Seminary at Nicolet from 1807 until 1810, an institution founded by Bishop Plessis, and this work as an educator no doubt influenced him in his parish work..." (Sweet 1999a: 49).

92 Bishop Plessis had sent Rémi Gaulin to Kingston in 1813 and again returned to Kingston in 1833 this time as Coadjutor of Monsignor Macdonell and became bishop in his own right in 1840. Gaulin brought the sisters of the *Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal* to the area to teach in the French language (Gervais 1993: 107).

93 Bytown was the original name of the city of Ottawa named for Colonel By. The name was changed in the mid nineteenth century and chosen by Queen Victoria from a list of candidate cities to be the capital of the United Province of Canada and later became the federal capital of the Canadian Confederation (Hare 1987: 266).

*Oblates de Marie- Immaculée*⁹⁴, the *Soeurs Grises de la Croix*⁹⁵, and the Christian Brothers (Gervais 1993: 107) worked in the field of Catholic instruction in the Catholic Public schools of Canada West in French as they did in the parishes in Lower Canada (see section 2.6).

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century there were acrimonious debates between Catholic and Protestant proponents for and against a church based public school system. This issue was resolved in the “Act to make further provision for the establishment and maintenance of common schools throughout the Province” of 1841 which did not take denominational questions into account in creating common schools and so an amendment to this legislation was successfully introduced the same year and the notion of separate schools for Protestants and Catholics was incorporated into the act (Walker 1955: 44).

⁹⁴ “Oblates of Mary Immaculate” (TR).

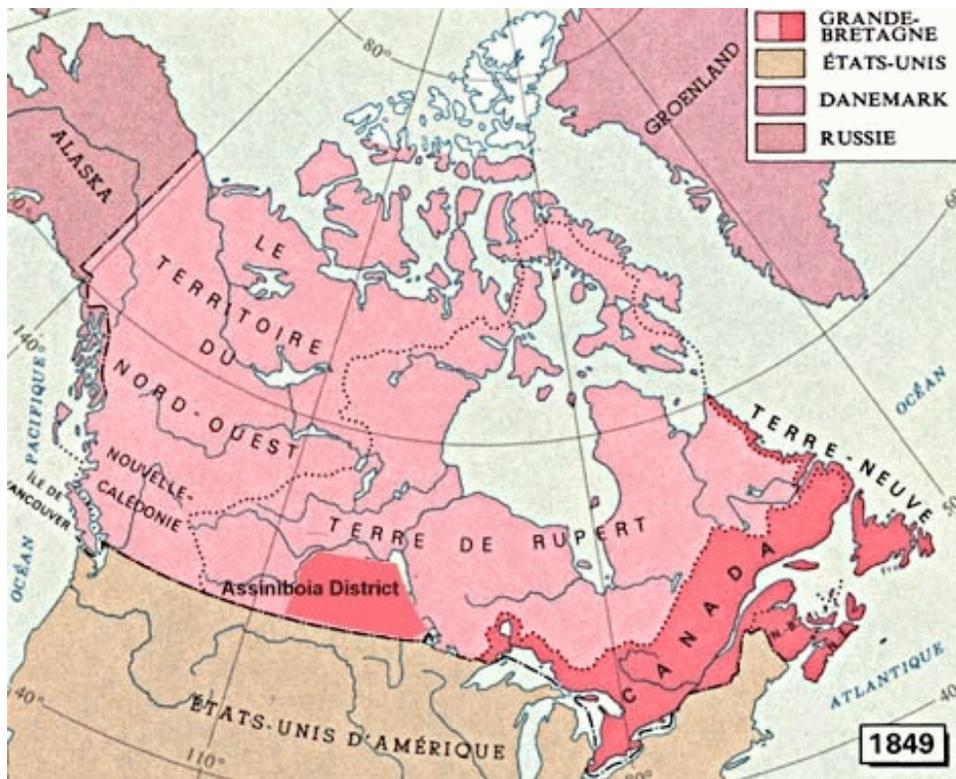
⁹⁵ “Grey Sisters of the Cross” (TR).

2.5 ASSINIBOIA DISTRICT, RUPERT'S LAND, 1810-1869

While it may seem odd to include a colony so far removed from *Acadie*, Assiniboia District in Rupert's Land (see Map 6 in section 2.5), more than 3000 kilometres away across British North America from eastern Nova Scotia, its resemblance to many of the early struggles in this time for teachers and schools in the French language necessitates its inclusion. The early battles for education rights for the French speaking Métis⁹⁶ and French Canadians parallels that of Atlantic Canada. As demonstrated by Sweet (1999a: 47, 66, 77), the Catholic Church was the first institution to provide teachers, both clerical between 1818 and 1834, and non-clerical from 1829 to the district (SHSB Provencher Series 1824: P1272-1275). It was the non-clerical teachers, especially the female teachers (Lavasseur 1995: 9) who would play a vital role in instructing the children of Assiniboia and the Red River Colony of Rupert's Land in its early years. Instruction

96 The *Métis* people are the descendants of the inter-marrying of French Canadian settlers and the local First Nations who became French speaking and Catholic.

MAP 6 ASSINIBOIA DISTRICT, RUPERT'S LAND, 1849⁹⁷



in the rudiments of knowledge would reach not just the settlers, but also the First Nations and the Métis. Angélique and Marguélite Nolin were two such early Métis students who went on to be the first non-ecclesiastical teachers in the North West (Gregor and Wilson 1983: 28). During the first half of the nineteenth century it was the role of the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, to provide teachers to the District of Assiniboia in both French and English to a growing settler population and an indigenous population of Métis.

⁹⁷ Map adapted from *Atlas national du Canada*, Energy, Mines and Resources Canada, 1985 [<http://atlas.gc.ca>].

The Assiniboia District of Rupert's Land was involved in an early Scottish attempt at settlement as the Red River Colony in 1811 under Lord Selkirk (Wynn 1987: 268; Morton 1957: 45) and then continued under French Canadian influence through the Catholic Church under Bishop Provencher from 1818. From 1822 the Hudson Bay Company established the Assiniboia Council as a local government for the District. The council was, however, mostly a judicial body (SHSB 1999). In 1835 the Council was changed to become an elected Legislative Assembly with an executive council nominated by the governor. Committees were created to ensure passage of laws and to organize a police force. It should be noted that both English and French speaking colonists, including Métis, were involved in the administration of the District (Morton 1957: 78, SHSB 1999). Between 1835 and 1869 the French speaking community became better represented in Assiniboian affairs and the council became increasingly cognisant of the rights of the Francophone citizens of the District. Many of the Francophone settlers had developed a sense of national pride, particularly the Métis (Morton 1957: 78) which was to play a decisive role in the creation of the province of Manitoba in 1870.

The Assiniboia District Council, however, lacked the initiative and funding to establish a public school system during the early nineteenth century similar to those found in the eastern colonies of British North America (see section 2.3). This, therefore, delayed the development of teacher training for both English and French settlers through an established Normal School. However, it did permit the creation of French language private schools with priests, brothers and nuns of

religious congregations and associated non-ecclesiastic as instructors.

With the absence of a defined territorial education system, the churches would create their own curriculum. As it was, the churches in the early nineteenth century viewed schooling as being “more properly the responsibility of the church than the state ... with the conviction that salvation was linked to education” and that “moral improvement was more important than subject matter as the basis of education” (Gregor & Wilson 1983: 34). It was therefore incumbent on the private schools founded by the missionaries to furnish teachers and a suitable curriculum for each denomination (see section 2.5.1).

2.5.1 Ecclesiastical Parameters

The area of the District of Assiniboia that was to become the province of Manitoba was not admitted to Canadian Confederation (Morton 1957: 142) until 1870 (after the short first North West Rebellion, 1869 to 1870). This was the result of the Métis led provisional government of Rivière-Rouge (Morton 1957: 130), a government in defiance of the acquisition of Rupert’s Land and the North West Territory by the government of the Canadian Confederation in 1869 (Morton 1957: 126). When Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870, there was an already established system of schools and teacher training (see section 2.5.2) through the administration of the churches (Gregor & Wilson 1983: 28-30) in both English and French, a situation of mutual cohabitation that was not to last. The Manitoba French language schools were abolished under

the “Act Respecting Public Schools” of 1890, which had in fact abolished separate Catholic schools. This act of the Manitoba legislature precipitated a national crisis between English and French Canadians in the east of the country.

In the absence of an established law, but encouraged by the Hudson Bay Company, and the Assiniboian Council, the Catholic Church established schools from 1818 in Catholic settlements. These schools included a high school in St Boniface, founded in 1818, which developed into Collège Saint-Boniface which was granted a university charter in 1871. In addition, the Catholic Church founded an elementary school at Pembina, a girl’s school in 1829 and an industrial school in 1833 (Gregor & Wilson 1983: 28). Bishop Plessis, the suffragan bishop of Québec, had ordained that the missionaries would take education to be a goal for each parish or mission where they established themselves (Groulx 1933: 76). He expected them to build a church, a house and a school, and so by 1845 there were five schools (Gregor & Wilson 1983: 28) built in the new parishes created under his auspices. It was under the authority of Bishop Taché of St Boniface that the secondary school at St Boniface mentioned above became a *collège classique* under the direction both the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* (Gregor & Wilson 1983: 29) and the *Oblats de Marie Immaculée* (Levasseur 1995: 50-51), a feat in educational development paralleled with that in the eastern provinces of Canada (see section 2.3.1.1 and Sweet 2000) and well in advance of the social and educational development of Rupert’s Land and the North West Territory.

Among the Protestant denominations providing teachers and schools in Assiniboia, the Red River Academy, run by John Macallum from 1836 (Gregor & Wilson 1983: 30) was the most successful.

By 1844 there were nine private Anglican schools with protestant ministers and teachers, often the wife of the couple being a teacher for the parish. These nine schools had a student enrolment of 485 (Gregor & Wilson 1983: 31). In 1847 the Presbyterians opened a school in the home of a settler until a log schoolhouse could be built in 1849 (Gregor & Wilson 1983: 32). The only other Protestant denomination with a private denominational school was the Wesleyan church about the same period.

2.5.2 Collège Saint-Boniface and St John's College

The foundation of *Collège Saint-Boniface* and St John's College was the beginning of secondary and post secondary education in Assiniboia. The schools were to "... create a literate group among the Métis..." (Morton 1957: 71) as well as among the local settlers, both Catholic and French speaking as well as for the English language Protestants. However, to arrive at a point where the population of the Assiniboia District could achieve a secondary education at Collège Saint-Boniface, there was a need for an elementary education. It was in the small denominational private schools of Assiniboia that education took place. In these schools the "basic textbook... remained the Bible" (Gregor & Wilson 1983: 35) and prayer books of a pious nature (Hubert 2002: 186) since there was no standard curriculum and the Bible and religious literature would often be the only materials available in the early days of settlement. As Morton (1957: 72) describes in his work *Manitoba, A History*, "From the schools came a good number of literate and even well-educated men ...". St John's College (Protestant) founded in 1849 (Morton 1957: 72),

originally began as a school by Reverend John West as the Red River Academy in 1833 (Morton 1957: 72). It was *Collège Saint-Boniface* that would be the “Normal School” of French Assiniboia until the creation of the province of Manitoba and the establishment of a provincial Normal School. The Oblates provided teaching Fathers each year between 1860 and 1871 in the region. In 1871 the *Collège* became a constituent member of the University of Manitoba. Many of the students of this college would in their turn become the French speaking teachers of the Assiniboian region.

2.6 LOWER CANADA (QUÉBEC), A CASE APART, 1791-1860

The only colony in British North America with a Francophone majority was the colony of Lower Canada⁹⁸ (Canada East after the Act of Union of 1841) (see Map 3 in section 2.1.1), which later became the province of Québec in the Canadian Confederation in 1867. Lower Canada is therefore unique in British North America and later in Confederation in terms of language, legal system and education of the majority of its population. As such the motivation to include it in this study was to demonstrate some of the problems that a majority French speaking population faced under an administration dominated to a great degree by the minority English settlers and the British government, but also to demonstrate the advantage the Francophones of Lower Canada had over other Francophones in the other colonies of British North America.

⁹⁸ Lower Canada will be referred to when speaking of the years 1791 to 1841 and Canada East when discussing the same colony from 1841 to 1867. From 1867 Canada East is referred to as the Province of Québec.

The Francophone population fared better in Lower Canada than in the other British North American colonies in terms of French language usage and educational prospects (Magnuson 1980: 13). With the fall of New France to the British in 1763 and the creation of a British administration (Ouellet 1980a: 97) in a colony dominated by the French Catholic population, the wisdom of the day was to leave the colony's social structure in tact with the Québec Act of 1774, with the addition of parliamentary institutions in 1791 (Ouellet 1980a: 24). Therefore the position of the Lower Canada aristocracy, the Catholic Church, the French language and Civil Law were all preserved unlike the situation of the Acadians 40 years before (see section 2.2.2).

From 1791 until 1841 the colony of Canada was divided politically into Upper and Lower Canada (see Map 3 in section 2.1.1), the vast majority of the population of Lower Canada lived in the St Lawrence River Valley with the greatest concentrations of people at Québec, Montréal and Trois-Rivières (Magnuson 1980: 13). The language of the majority, as mentioned in section 2.6, was French, but an influx of Loyalist refugees the rebelling English colonies which formed the United States of America, in the western half of the colony in the 1780s in the area south of Montréal, was to change the demographics and lead to a linguistic divide within the colony. In 1790, however, Lower Canada had 18 parish schools for the English colonists who had a population of 10,000 and

the French, or *Canadiens*⁹⁹, had 40 parish schools for a total population base of 160,000 (Magnuson 1980: 13).

The idea that there would be liberal free schools in Lower Canada for the *Canadiens* should not be entertained here as the Catholic hierarchy refused to consider a provincial education system seeing it as a threat to its own control over the social life and education of the colony (Johnson 1968: 16). The types of schools founded for the *Canadiens* will be further discussed (see section 2.6.1), but among the Loyalists, private religious schools were established (see also section 2.3.1) with teachers coming from as far as New England to instruct in the new institutions under a nascent provincial education system (Johnson 1968: 16).

2.6.1 Church and State Education, 1791-1864

The first of the Education Acts to be passed by the parliament of Lower Canada was the “Advancement of Learning Act” of 1801 (Magnuson 1980: 16), known as the “Royal Institution Act” of 1801 (Verrette 2002: 52). Under this act, English communities could petition for a public school to be built in their communities which would be paid for by themselves and then given over to the Royal Institute which would administer the schools (Johnson 1968: 16). The appointment of

⁹⁹ The term *Canadien* was used to describe the French speaking settlers of Lower Canada. This eventually became *French Canadian* or *Canadien français* and after the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s this population group became more commonly known as *Québécois*. Other French speaking populations of Canada use a separate term to better identify themselves: Acadian, Franco-Ontarian, Fransaskois, Franco-Manitoban etc. Collectively the term French Canadian could apply to all but the term Francophone Canadian as opposed to Anglophone Canadian is the more current.

teachers was given to the Governor General of Lower Canada and the administrators of the Royal Institute. Due to the intransigence of the clergy against the creation of Royal Schools in a large number of parishes, which would be Protestant or at the least secular (Verrette 2002: 53), the establishment of public schools did not begin until 1818 (Johnson 1968: 17) when agreement between the Catholic Church and the colonial administration was reached. By 1837 there were 37 Royal Grammar Schools under the Royal Institute which were public secondary schools, but they were not a financial success and were dominated by the Protestant families of the colony and later regretted by the Catholic Bishop of Québec (Ouellet 1980: 78). The two religious and linguistic groups continued to seek educational opportunities separately in Lower Canada where the Catholic Church was dominant in the lives of the French speaking people. The Royal Grammar Schools continued in existence as did many of the newly founded Royal Institute schools, but with English speaking pupils in attendance (Ouellet 1980: 166). Catholics, however, enjoyed control over primary education through the Parish School Act of 1824 (Ouellet 1980: 166, Verrette 2002: 52) for their own language and cultural needs.

The *Canadiens* and their clergy, were able to establish their own schools following the passing of the “Acte pour faciliter l’établissement et la dotation d’Écoles élémentaires dans les Paroisses de cette Province”¹⁰⁰ of 1824 (Lower Canada 1824), better known as the Fabrique Act, which permitted the parish councils to buy or build schools in their parishes and use 25 per cent of their parish revenues to finance elementary education (Verrette 2002: 53, Audet 1955: 65-78). The

100 “...An Act to establish and support Elementary Schools in the Parishes of this Province...” (TR)

result of the Fabrique Act was an increase in school construction so that in 1829 there were as many as 60 parish schools (Johnson 1968: 17).

A further important change in the operation of schools, including the practice of hiring teachers and administrators of the school districts as recommended in the “Encouragement of Elementary Education” act of 1829, commonly referred to as the “Syndic or Trustee Schools”. There was also a greater emphasis among the population and the legislatures of the colony to have better instruction for the general the children (Verrette 2002: 52). Under this Act parishes or townships (depending on the language and religion) could elect trustees to administer the schools in their area with grants for 50 per cent of school construction up to a limit of £50 (Verrette 2002: 53). Other grants to be provided were £20 for teacher salaries and a subsidy of £10 per annum for poor children in the parish or township (Johnson 1968: 17). Under this act, the Legislature of the Parliament of Lower Canada became the authority for Trustee schools and their administration through the Permanent Commission on Education. The financial arrangements for the Trustee schools mentioned above were extended to all other types of schools in the colony whether government or private. In 1830 parish priests were permitted to be members of the trustees (Verrette 2002: 53).

According to Verrette (2002: 53), a new “Trustee Schools” act was promulgated in 1832 which, for the first time, created school districts throughout the colony and set out the requirement that there be a school for boys and another for girls in each district. The government would pay £24

per year for public schools for boys and £20 per year for girls' public schools. This Trustee system was successful enough to create 1372 schools in Lower Canada by 1835 (Johnson 1968: 18) meaning one in every three children in Lower Canada was receiving some form of education (Magnuson 1980: 23). These figures far out-way the small steps made in formal schooling for the Acadians in Nova Scotia in the same early years of the nineteenth century (Ross 1992:96, see section 2.3.1). A consequence of the construction of so many schools would inevitably lead to a need for more and better trained schoolmasters. These teachers were trained at both the Normal Schools in Lower Canada and in the Catholic Church controlled *collèges classiques* (see section 2.6.2). The result was the enactment of the first education act of its kind dealing specifically with a Normal School (Verrette 2002: 54), in British North America (see section 2.6.2).

2.6.2 Normal Schools and Collèges Classiques

An early attempt at establishing a Normal School in Lower Canada in 1836 failed, but was the first Normal School in a British North American colony (Verrette 2002: 54). Three Normal Schools were founded in Canada East in 1857, however, following the passing of the “*Acte pour faire de meilleures disposition pour l’Avancement de l’Éducation Supérieure, et pouvoir à l’établissement et au soutien d’Écoles normales dans le Bas-Canada*”¹⁰¹ (LC 1856). For the

101 “...Act for the better establishment for the Advancement of Higher Education and to establish aid to the Normal Schools of Lower Canada...” (TR).

French speaking population there were schools affiliated with Université Laval¹⁰² at Québec and Montréal and one for the English at Montréal under the auspices of McGill University¹⁰³ (Johnson 1968: 34-35). Comparatively, other colonies of British North America were establishing their own Normal Schools exclusively for anglophones (compare sections 2.3 to 2.5), while Canada East had already created schools for non-ecclesiastical teacher training for both language groups.

It was the Catholic Church by far that excelled in educating the Catholic population in higher studies through the traditional Church controlled *collèges classiques*. By 1852 there were ten *collèges classiques* and seven *collèges industriels*¹⁰⁴ in Canada East, none of which were part of the public school system but rather were operated by the clergy as fee paying institutions (Johnson 1968: 35). During the first half of the nineteenth century the colleges did not grant university styled “degrees” due to a lack in the colony of an accredited Catholic higher education institution. This changed with the granting of the Royal Charter to Université Laval in 1852 (Stanley 1975: 119) which had its foundations under Bishop François de Laval in 1663. It should be noted that while the English community in Lower Canada concentrated on elementary education, the French community saw greater numbers instructed at the higher levels of schooling (Johnson 1968: 19).

102 Bishop Laval founded Université Laval as the *Grand Séminaire de Québec* in 1663. The institution received its Royal Charter in 1852.

103 McGill University was established in 1821 in Montréal.

¹⁰⁴ An “Industrial College” had an emphasis on trades training (Stanley 1975: 117-137).

Many of these educated Catholics were destined for service in the Church but also in law and teaching (Stanley 1975: 120). It was under the auspices of the Catholic Church and its clergy that secondary and superior education at these private *collèges classiques* was conducted to the benefit of the French speaking population.

2.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter focussed on the development of teachers and public education in the British North American colonies looking at the policies and developments in each in relation to the French speaking minority of the colonies and territories under British administration (see section 1.3). Through this discussion it has been demonstrated that while there were differences in dates of the introduction of education legislation, there were similarities to other French speaking minorities and the Acadians of Nova Scotia in the lack of an official French language education.

It is important to recall that the Acadians of Nova Scotia, and specific to this study the Acadians of eastern Nova Scotia, faced similar discrimination in the acquisition of public education and were to a great extent reliant on the Catholic Church for support until common school legislation was inaugurated in the middle of the nineteenth century. The entire body of education legislation emphasised the use of English as the language of instruction except for the period between 1841

and 1864. It should also be noted, that the introduction of Acadian teachers into the public schools from 1811 to 1864 (see section 3.4.1) were the beginnings of Acadian teacher entry into the public school system of eastern Nova Scotia. The Acadian teachers in the Nova Scotia public schools of the early nineteenth century and the pupils they taught will be further discussed (see sections 4.2, 4.3).

The legal framework of the 1811 to 1864 era in Nova Scotia as well as earlier legislation dating from 1758 is analysed in the following chapter which will demonstrate the specific parameters inside of which the Acadian teachers in eastern Nova Scotia were expected to conduct their profession.

CHAPTER 3: NOVA SCOTIA EDUCATION ACTS 1758 -1865

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Between 1758 and 1865, the various governments of Nova Scotia, whether military or civilian, enacted legislation related to teachers and education for the province (see Annex B) that had varying degrees of impact on the Acadian communities. The first laws promulgated for education and religion were passed with little regard to what today would be minority rights, but passed for the regulation of the majority English society. This society existed under martial law during and following the Wars of the Spanish and Austrian Succession¹⁰⁵. The laws of Nova Scotia from 1758 to 1864 are analysed in this third chapter to provide a background to the legal discrimination that was to become endemic in the society that was created on the ruins of the former French colony (see section 1.3). It was only during the period between 1841 and 1864 that legislation was enacted that would provide a short respite in which a public education system for the French-speaking Acadian people of the colony existed. With these twenty three years of official approval and through their own efforts in taking advantage of public funding, by the end of the 1840s “...la plupart des principales localités acadiennes possédaient une école élémentaire publique qui était fréquentée plus ou moins régulièrement par une vingtaine d’élèves¹⁰⁶...(Ross 2001: 39).

105 This was the second and third of the four North American wars waged by the British and French between 1689 and 1763.

106 “... most of the principle Acadian villages possessed a public elementary school that was frequented by about twenty students...” (TR)

3.2 ACTS REGULATING EDUCATION 1758-1811, THE ENGLISH PERIOD

Midway through the Acadian Deportation of 1755 to 1763, the military government of Halifax proclaimed “An act for the establishment of religious public Worship in the Province, and for suppressing Popery” (NS 1758: 5). While this piece of legislation was not explicitly written as a purely “education act”, it did contain elements that would affect the children being taught in the colony. It was the wish of the colonial administrators of Nova Scotia to create a “Little England” from the territory they had taken from the French through means of legislation, immigration and religion. The experiment was bound to fail as immigration of Scottish and Irish Catholics increased during the nineteenth century and the returned Acadians made for a multi-ethnic demographic state. This phenomenon of ethnic population removals has been studied by Stevens (1976) in his encompassing work *Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe*. This European tactic of population elimination and relocation was used during the 1755-1763 deportation of the Acadians (Griffiths 1969: 88-104) and later to assimilate the Acadian minority following their return to Nova Scotia (Edwards 1988: 203, Ross 2001: 45) through the use of legislation.

This chapter is divided into periods of legislation pertaining to major acts that contained large-scale changes to the education system, often promulgated each decade, and along with terms of reference to employment of teachers in Nova Scotia. The division of the chapter in this manner allows the reader to more readily see the broader themes in the legal history of Nova Scotia

education. The themes themselves are discussed to amplify the underlying messages in the acts and their relevance to the aims of this study (see section 1.3). Of primary importance to the discussion in this thesis, is how these various pieces of education related legislation influenced the work and life of the teachers in schools that had Acadian public school teachers. As will be seen in chapter 4 (see section 4.3), a growing number of Acadians, both male and female, entered the teaching profession during the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century, and therefore the education acts proclaimed during these decades, would have an effect on their qualifications and their guidance of the school. As education in Nova Scotia became a valued asset, the teaching profession increased in stature and the role of the Acadian public school teacher increased along with it as they in turn, became members of a small elite in the Acadian villages taking on ever greater roles in the leadership of their communities.

The education acts in Nova Scotia during the Deportation (1755-1763) did not commence with legislation aimed at the betterment of the resident population groups, but rather a proscription against Catholicism that would ensure the protection of the loyal colonial subjects of the English king from the traditional evils of the Roman religion and the Catholic enemies of the British monarch. During this “English” period, education legislation would continue this anti-catholic and anti-French discourse but would also begin a slow process of acceptance of Catholics as the immigrant population of Catholic Scots and Irish increased. This would in turn benefit Acadians after their return and those with pretensions to be Acadian teachers in school settings. It was unlikely that formal schools were established in most English language communities, let alone

Acadian villages before the second decade of the nineteenth century (Ross 2001: 16). And as demonstrated by Sweet (1999a) in his work *Réfractaire and Mission Priests in Post-Deportation Acadian Education in eastern Nova Scotia, 1792-1840*, it was the early work of the priests in the Acadian communities that began informal, religious based education with the parish priests being the first instructors (see section 2.2.3). These religious schools when in operation were private in nature until financially supported by the province mid-century. Of note when reading the original acts of the Nova Scotia legislature, is the fact that the early legislation, though brief, was often sweeping in its extent over the population. The act of 1758, as stated above, is short on words, but dictated life in two broad areas of the lives of the population- teaching and religion.

3.2.1 Act of 1758

“An act for the establishment of religious public worship in this province, and for suppressing Popery” of 1758 was the first piece of legislation related directly to teaching in Nova Scotia. In passing this act by order-in-council under Governor Charles Lawrence, the military government of Nova Scotia established the Church of England as the official religion of the colony in reflection of, and in an attempt to, re-create English society in Nova Scotia and destroying the power of the Catholic Church in the region which was still dominated by French speaking Catholic settlers and the Mi’kmaq population (see section 2.2). Religious tolerance was, however, extended to dissenting Protestants who were not expected to provide financially for the Established Church. With this act came the acceptance to a limited degree of a pluralistic society,

which would continue, with the arrival of new settlers to Nova Scotia. It did not, however, herald the tolerance needed to permit the Catholic population of the colony to begin establishing itself politically or socially at this early stage. In its attempt to clear the colony of Catholicism, Catholic priests who were still resident in the province were to leave before 25 March 1759 “on pain of perpetual imprisonment” (NS 1758: 5[3]). This ruling alone would affect not just the Acadians, but also the Mi’kmaq and Maliseet peoples of the region who had converted to Catholicism under the French. Further, as in England two centuries before, the new law (NS 1758: 5 [4]) provided that

...any person, who shall knowingly harbour, relieve, conceal, or entertain any such clergyman of the popish religion, or popish priest, or persons exercising the function of a popish priest, shall forfeit fifty pounds, one moiety to His Majesty for the support of the government in this province, and the other moiety to the informer, and shall be also adjudged to be set in the pillory, and to find sureties for his good behaviour at the discretion of the court.

Whether anyone was charged under this section of the act is open for conjecture, it would seem unnecessary since nearly the entire French and Catholic population was forcibly removed from Nova Scotia between 1755 and 1763. The threat that this act would counter had, by 1758-1759, almost vanished. The few priests who remained behind had migrated with the Acadians to either Île Royale (Cape Breton), Île Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island) or the Memramcook Valley, all beyond the limits of English control. However, section IV would remain enforceable for 23 years after the return of many of the Acadians to Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island (see section 3.2.3) and the penalties would also be enforced should the known Catholic priests, residing in Nova

Scotia for the support of the Mi'kmaq, be found to be benefactors of the Catholic Acadians. The Acadians may have been allowed to return by order of the London Board of Trade (Griffiths 1992: 125), but that did not mean that they would be encouraged in their culture and language. For the Acadians who remained in the province, imprisoned or in hiding, only the alliance, developed over a century and a half with the Mi'kmaq, preserved their contact with the Catholic Church and their very survival while in hiding. For those who returned after 1763, it meant settling far from the English (Boucher 1985: 7-23) and close to the Mi'kmaq to receive the assistance of a missionary priest (Sweet 1999b: 3).

3.2.2 Act of 1766

In 1766 a first concerted effort was initiated to provide a basic level of public teaching in the province to English speaking Protestant settlers. By the “Act concerning schools and schoolmasters” (NS 1766: 7) the colonial administration recognized the need of having the children of the colony taught the basics of language and morals. The government would be careful to select the teachers that it felt would provide indoctrination of Protestant religious principles as well as rudimentary subjects necessary for carrying on the commerce and life of the new colony. Of note was who could license a teacher: “...he shall have first been examined by the minister of such town wherein he proposes to keep such grammar school” (NS 1766: 7 [1]). Two very important ideas must be taken from this simple paragraph. The first was the idea that there were already people in the communities who had set up schools, most likely in homes.

These appear to have been local institutions with local teachers, more than likely a literate member of the community or an itinerant teacher (Basque 1994: 38). These early teachers would not have been licensed by any governing body but simply formed small classes of local village children, a development quite frequent in the period (see Sweet 1999a: 63 and Sweet 2000: 180). The outside examiner of the children for their subject examinations and the issuer of a teaching permit to the teacher was the local English speaking minister of the Protestant church, a situation not desired by the Catholic population of French speaking Acadians.

Secondly, the selection quoted above reflected the era in which it was the minister in the community who, as leader in the community due as much to his religious position as his education, judged the moral standing of the members. Teachers were seen as role models and therefore had influence over the thinking and moral progress of the children in their care. Since the communities were small and all inhabitants were required to be members of an Anglican parish or dissenting congregation, it was reasonably easy to make judgments based on the knowledge held by the local minister of the character of individuals. The minister was seen as a final arbiter within the communities and was used by the government as agent in its need for verification of suitable teachers to sustain the civil society based on English traditions and culture.

A prospective teacher was only issued a license by the government when attested to of good conduct and morals by a Protestant minister or two Justices of the Peace (Protestant) with a certificate of good conduct and morals with signatures of six further individuals (NS 1766: 1),

when the schoolmaster had taken the required oaths of *allegiance* and *supremacy*. Again, these last two oaths would prevent any possibility of a Catholic attempting to instruct anywhere in the colony since the “Act of Supremacy” of 1559 (England: 1559) promulgated by the English parliament, was anathema to loyal Catholics. The Nova Scotia legislation of 1766 confirmed the anti-catholic stance of the English parliament in the New World in Nova Scotia with the “Act concerning schools and schoolmasters” (NS 1766: 7). With this act any member of the community who wished to teach but: “...refuse to take the said oaths and subscribe the declaration, he shall be deemed and taken to be a popish recusant...”(NS 1766:7 [2]) and not permitted to instruct children. This curbed Irish and Scottish Catholics who were among the English settlers who might wish to teach, and Acadians who had survived or escaped the deportation, from teaching in their own settlements. For infractions against the act, the penalty was three months imprisonment without bail and a £10 fine to the King (NS 1766: 7 [2]). As noted by Sweet (2000: 185) concerning the Catholic population in Nova Scotia during the mid-nineteenth century, it was still the priest a decade later who was the judge of the moral fibre of those in his care and their suitability for studies at Arichat and the *Grand Séminaire* at Québec (see section 3.5).

A positive enhancement to the future of teaching in the colony included in the Act of 1766 was the setting aside of 400 acres of land in each township for schools with school trustees responsible for and having legal control over and decision making capability for the land and school structure when built (NS 1766:7 [3]). The actual role of the school trustees would not be discussed in

legislation until 1811 (see section 3.4.1). The implications for teaching in Nova Scotia in the future would begin with the provision of paragraph 3 of the 1766 legislation dealing with land for schoolhouses and Government commitment to education. Having the foresight to set aside land ensured that each community would be able to have a school and a teacher, even those areas that at that stage could not afford to hire a teacher or build a school. It should be noted that Nova Scotia in 1766 did not have counties or municipal boundaries but instead had townships that acted as settled boroughs¹⁰⁷. As the county system developed in Nova Scotia, the structure of the education system developed in conformity with it, allowing representation at the local level and a school administration at the level of government administration.

3.2.3 Act of 1786

In this “Act for relieving His Majesty’s Subjects professing the popish religion entitled: An act concerning schools and schoolmasters” (NS 1786: 1), sections in the previous schools act of 1766 against Catholics were repealed. There were of course limitations to this toleration, but it was an early recognition of Catholic rights to teaching and an education outside the Established Anglican Church. The penalties for Catholics caught or informed on who were teaching (see section 3.2.2),

108 An example of this is the area that became King’s County that had three townships: Horton, Cornwallis and Aylesford. Though these hold no political bearing today, the provincial electoral districts are similar to these township areas.

were rescinded. Catholics could teach, but within guidelines that encompassed more than just the requirements laid out in paragraph one of NS 1766: 7. These stipulated that a Catholic, whether a schoolmaster or priest, would not be permitted to teach a Protestant child under the age of 14 years, nor would any Catholic be permitted to board a Protestant under 14 years old. The latter stipulation may have been to prevent setting up private schools in the homes of priests or lay teachers, as was the practice of the day (Sweet 1999a: 48). This may also have been promulgated to enforce ethnic segregation in the developing communities. Many of the communities in Nova Scotia had already become mixed Protestant-Catholic and English-French from the 1780s (LaBelle 1991:34, Ross 1992: 118). This change in educational ideas, would then allow the Acadians to attend school, but would also lead the community to face new challenges in the domains of language of instruction, religion in the school and integration/assimilation of their cultural group into the larger Anglo-dominated society of the colony. In the late eighteenth century this separation of denominational groups into small classes might have been easily accomplished before the promulgation of the 1811 “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” (Common Schools Act). However, the philosophical purpose of schooling had changed by the second decade of the nineteenth century and so with the creation of these schools under the “Common Schools Act” (NS 1811: 8), the possibility of pupils of all denominations attending the same schoolhouse with the same schoolmaster became the norm. It will be seen (see section 4.2.1) however, that language would come to bear a greater part in the choice of teacher (Sweet 1999a: 16).

3.3 EDUCATION IN CAPE BRETON COLONY, 1784-1820

The colony of Cape Breton Island was the sole administrative unit in the Atlantic region of British North America never to possess its own Legislative Assembly. According to Morgan (2000: 108) it was felt that the population base had not yet developed enough to warrant the expense of an elected assembly, though one had been granted legally should the day arrive when the people could support it. Without this forum, the only method of legislation in the colony was by Order in Council of the Lieutenant Governor supported by his council made of local notables. Without the assembly, and without the continued access to the Nova Scotia laws, the people of Cape Breton would not have access to the various pieces of Nova Scotia legislation for education (BINS 40:123) until after the formal annexation of the Cape Breton Colony to Nova Scotia in 1820. As such, Cape Breton Colony will not be discussed separately in this chapter.

3.4 EDUCATION ACTS 1811-1839, FROM THE ENGLISH PERIOD TO THE ROAD TO PLURALITY

3.4.1 Acts of 1811, The First Real Education Laws

The year 1811 ushered in the beginnings of a permanent system of common schools in Nova Scotia. Through the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” (NS 1811: 8) (Common Schools Act) and the “Act to establish Grammar Schools in several

counties and districts of this Province” (NS 1811: 9) (Grammar School Act) the foundations were laid for what would be the education system for the province for the next 50 years.¹⁰⁸ The preamble to the Common Schools Act (NS 1811: 8) exhibited the new philosophy found among the governing elite of the colony as it struggled away from a settler society to one of an established population with a growing culture:

Whereas it is highly advantageous to the youth of this Province, to afford them easy means of acquiring useful knowledge in those essential parts of general education, which are necessary to persons of every rank and station in civilized society...

The acts did in fact cause 12 schools to be constructed according to Walsh (1958: 31) in her research leading to the writing of her thesis *The Evolution of the Catholic Public Schools in Nova Scotia*.

The influence of its Planter (Bumsted 1994: 162; see section 1.1) and Loyalist (Condon 1994: 186; see section 1.1) immigrants, and the influence of Scottish and Prussian education theories greatly advanced the cause of public schooling in English (see Gwynn 1991). The government of Nova Scotia would not accept the idea of French language public schooling until 1841 by the reform minded administration of T.N. Jeffery overseeing a coalition government (Beck 1985: 290). As illustrated by Harvey (1936: 363-368) in his article “Early Academies in Nova Scotia, 1841-50”, the dearth of grammar schools and the existence of a few quite exclusive academies to

108 Though this would not affect the people of Cape Breton Island for another nine years at which time the two colonies were rejoined.

the 1830s, spurred the government to enact the 1811 acts for grammar schools for each county. While the effort was laudable it would ultimately fail. The cause of eventual failure was twofold: firstly the law was premature, Harvey (1936: 363) claims, as there were not enough qualified teachers nor enough ready pupils for the schools and secondly because financial aid was withdrawn from the schools at the bidding of the Council within the government due to their support of the denominational colleges and academies.

In “Act to establish Grammar Schools in several counties and districts of this Province” (NS 1811: 9), the government of the day laid out more clearly than before the school areas and districts, subjects to be taught, rules pertaining to teacher dismissals and finally, allowances for schools and teachers. *The schools, while common were not free to all nor available in every community.* The schoolmasters were hired and schools built through the efforts of the freeholders and those with an income that could support such an endeavour. Districts and settlements with at least thirty families or households and who had an income (real or in estate) of 40 shillings, were to meet in April or November each year to vote monies for establishing and maintaining schools (NS 1811: 8 [1]). Of the monies voted, not more than £200 and not less than £50 was designated by the government as an appropriate allotment to support the community contribution. Freeholders, those members of a community with free title to their land who paid taxes accordingly, were to be assessed at the same rate as the Poor Rates (NS 1811:8 [1]) that were collected to support the poor of the district. This was the first mention of assessment as a means of raising money for education in the province, but was not fully implemented, as many people did not want to pay to educate

children other than their own (Morison 1963: 56). The act did provide a means where the families themselves could pay should there be a lack of support for the assessment method in any given community (NS 1811: 8 [1]). A local district could raise money on its own to establish a school and hire a schoolmaster and pay for the furnishings and utensils. With this system, the families paid for the education of the children, and received a grant of £25¹⁰⁹ per annum when at least £50 was raised locally. More could be granted proportional to the amount raised in the community and donations could be counted towards the raising of local money to increase this grant (NS 1811: 8). Should the district choose to raise money through assessment, pupils in the school were to be taught free other than the cost of books, stationery and fuel.

Morison (1963: 55) in her article “Assessment and Education in Nova Scotia” analysed the origins and progress of the use of taxation as a method of providing public education in the colony. The laudable argument that “it is highly advantageous to the youth of the province...” (NS 1811: 8; see earlier quotation in this section) would take 53 years between the “Act for the encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” of 1811 and the “Act for the encouragement of Education” of 1864 for the ratepayers and freeholders of the colony to be convinced or directed to accept the necessity of assessment or later compelled to accept it through legislation in 1864. It might seem more reasonable for those wishing to attend school to pay fees and subscriptions. It

¹⁰⁹ Halifax currency was based on the British pound sterling. The pound sterling in Halifax currency continued in used until 1860 when Nova Scotia changed to the decimal currency using Nova Scotia dollars, which were again replaced after Confederation in 1867 with dollars issued by the federal government in Ottawa (Flick 1981: 13).

would also take that same 53 years to convince the public that education for all was a benefit for that society and not a financial liability (Buckner 1994: 373, Robertson 1994: 344-345).

The “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” of 1811 was to ensure that a school grant was paid to any community that built and maintained a school in their community for both primary and secondary schools. Through this measure the population was “expected to inculcate a belief in the necessity of general education and to supply an adequate number of teachers for the elementary schools” (Harvey 1937: 4). However, it was later seen that the only people who took advantage of these grants were the wealthier members of the communities whilst the poor were neglected (Harvey 1937: 5, 49). In areas that did choose to pay for schools and teachers through assessment a certain number of poor scholars were to be taught for free (NS 1811). While virtuous in law, the actual results were quite different (Morison 1962: 56) so that by 1825 when this act was under study for revision, only 5,514 children actually attended school absorbing £10,000 per annum in costs while 4,377 children did not attend although that figure was put as high as over 13,000 not in school. According to Harvey (1937: 5), “...it is clear that the bounty system in education had not achieved its purpose”. The only change to the limited curriculum was the subject of orthography, which was added to that of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic (NS 1811).

The most glaring defect of the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” and the “Act to establish Grammar Schools in several counties and districts of this

Province” of 1811 (NS 1811: 8 & 9) was the absence of enforced assessment creating a free school system in the colony, allowing the continuance of the grant system with its known abuses (Harvey 1937: 4) and the inadequate method of payment of schoolmasters resulting in poor quality school teachers being employed. According to Bingay (1919: 37), the two other issues raised in these two acts were (1) the limitation of school construction to areas that had 35-40 children available for school from at least 30 families and (2) the exclusion of rural areas from schooling since it would be difficult to find a region with this minimal number of families residing in any given area. Under-populated regions of the province would be deprived of crown funding until revisions fifteen years later, and this in turn would affect education in Acadian regions of the colony since they had been required to settle in remote isolated areas far from urban centres (Boucher 1985: 7-23) along the coast of Sydney County on the mainland and Inverness and Richmond Counties on Cape Breton island in eastern Nova Scotia (see Maps 1 and 2 in section 1.1).

3.4.1.1 The Acts of 1811 and Schoolmasters

The Legislature of Nova Scotia appointed a committee in 1825 to look into the state of education in the colony and found that on average the “...teacher’s salary was below that of a daily labourer, whereas a competent master would receive at least £60” (NS Report 1825). The report went on to find fault in a number of areas related to the teachers working under the acts passed in 1811 (Common and Grammar School Acts). For schoolmasters of the day, the lack of appropriate salaries meant that properly qualified individuals would not consider the profession (Bingay 1919:

42). In the Legislative Commission's report, the following four themes were raised for inclusion and action based on the inquiry's findings.

1. Teachers and masters should be licensed by the province through the Trustees of the school.
2. A fair wage should be instituted with a recommendation of £60 per annum.
3. Knowledge of more subjects than the basic requirement should allow a teacher to be paid more which would be decided by the Trustees.
4. Teachers could be paid in goods and/or produce where agreed upon.

These and the other recommendations (see section 3.4.2.1) were submitted to the Legislature, which voted against them (Morison 1963: 56) but surprisingly did include many of the recommendations in their entirety in "An act concerning schools" (NS 1826: 5) which was applicable to teachers of both language groups.

Teacher's salaries were not to rise to the level recommended by the Legislative Commission¹¹⁰, but rather to £50. And it was only with "An act for the encouragement of schools" of 1832 (NS 1832: 2 [12]) that there was a legal requirement for the trustees of schools to provide a receipt to the schoolmaster when they had paid over the total salary so the government could verify the teachers were being paid their entire salary of £50 per annum. Since until 1832 the issue of salaries payment was not properly considered it could not be expected that good schoolmasters would be hired since those with ability would seek employment where they could be guaranteed

¹¹¹ Legislative Commission and its report will be referred to as LC Report 1825.

the payment of their salaries. The ability to fire was therefore a necessity but without alternative bodies to hire, the poor quality teachers would remain (LC 1825, Harvey 1937: 47):

The deficiency evident in the number of Schools extends also the degree and quality of instruction there obtained and requires to be equally provided for – By the pittance, which the greater part of the Settlements raise for the remuneration of the Teacher, none of respectable abilities or Character can be induced to accept the Office.

The acts of 1811 and 1826 continued to leave the salary issue in the hands of local school trustees and so the abuse of teachers' salaries continued until 1832. As well, since the schools needed to be recognized by the government under the education acts in order to receive the appropriate grants, those schools that operated in rural areas that did not have the required number of pupils would not be able to hire a duly qualified teacher due to the distance between settled areas in a rural district, making it impossible for the required minimum number of pupils to be had. Since these schools were not recognized nor inspected, a free hand in language of instruction could be had which was essential to the Acadian schools where they existed, both public and private.

As a whole, the educational situation in the colony was deplorable in the first half of the nineteenth century. Bingay (1919: 45) quotes a visiting Captain W. Moorson from the United Kingdom in 1830 in describing the schools and schoolmasters:

...the settlers are generally anxious that their children should be instructed; and have found several schools in temporary operation, where the number and means of the settlement did not admit of its coming within the scope of the provincial grant; though this practice is punishable by the strict letter of the law.

This observation would support the current evidence of unofficial schools and schoolmasters among the Acadian settlements and their continued use of French in teaching (Sweet 1999a: 67-72). With the government requirement that there be a minimum of 30 families in a district to receive government grants it would not be possible for many rural communities to be endowed with a teacher.

The poor nature of the education system in Nova Scotia in the nineteenth century is evidenced in the fact that there were eight acts and revisions to the major pieces of education legislation between 1811 and 1841 (see Annex B). As will be seen, the major education acts were produced to make the appropriate corrections to the system as they were seen in the light of educational philosophy and legislation in British North America in the first half of the nineteenth century (see section 2.3). Nevertheless, the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” and the “Act to establish Grammar Schools in several counties and districts of this Province” of 1811 (NS 1811: 8 & 9) should not be lightly discarded, as this was the first real attempt at creating a system of public schools in Nova Scotia and provided the legal foundation for the schools in the province. However, it would be a minority who would benefit at the expense of the general school-age population. And these acts would not be of great benefit initially to the Acadians who, as a disparate collective across the eastern half of the colony, had neither the economic resources nor a solid population base to claim public funds for a schoolmaster and school. Equally, the government of Nova Scotia would not accept the idea of French language public schooling until 1841 (Beck 1985: 290).

As will be discussed in chapter 4, the Francophone teachers and schools functioning at least part of the year in French¹¹¹ were doing so *hors-la-loi* – outside the law. However, the distance to major English centres and the lack of inspectors prevented detection and the benefits of setting up these illegal French language private schools was worth the risk. From about 1830, the private Acadian schools with their Acadian teachers began to submit the required yearly school reports (PANS RG14: 60) and claim government funding for the teachers salaries and school maintenance. In many cases there were free poor scholars attending as prescribed by law to take advantage of further public funds (PANS RG14: 60). While this reporting procured grants, it also meant conforming to government expectations and standards concerning licensing of teachers and language of instruction in the classroom, which before 1841 was expected to be in English. While there is evidence that many of these formerly private French Catholic institutions continued to function as public schools in their own language (see sections 4.3 and 5.2.2), the years 1811 to 1841 were difficult for educators as they sought to continue to provide schooling to their communities in their mother language, often in the face of resistance from local English residents (see section 5.2.2). By accepting government financial support the private schools became part of the public school system and were required, legally, to conform to the law. It was perhaps fortunate for the Acadian schoolmasters that inspections by Trustees and the overall education establishment were so weak before the 1830s (Chiasson 1961: 148). In this way, those that

¹¹¹ While official schooling in Nova Scotia had to be conducted in English at this time, including all schools receiving crown grants, teachers that worked in Acadian villages were able to conduct at least part of their lessons in French as there were no other members of staff nor administration to prevent it.

accepted the conditions to become legal public schoolmasters could reap the financial rewards while continuing to teach in French.

3.4.2 Act of 1826

The education act of 1826, “An act concerning schools” (NS 1826: 5), was a major revision of the acts of 1811 (see section 3.4.1.1) and some of the problems that had arisen in the first two acts which implemented a colony wide education system. By this act, the government gained better control of the schools in the province through a slightly enlarged administration and better division of the province into scholastic units (NS 1826: 5 [2]). The recommendations of the Legislative Commission of 1825, though rejected by the Legislature (Morison 1963: 56), were in fact influential in the new piece of legislation, the 1826 “Act concerning schools” (NS 1826) and many of the original proposals were, in fact, made part of the new document with small adjustments.

3.4.2.1 The Reports of the Legislative Commission

Before the decision to create a Legislative Commission the government of Prime Minister Michael Wallace in 1824 required the School Commissioners of each school district to provide answers to a number of questions related to the schools, teachers and pupils current that year. This questionnaire permitted the government to acquire an idea of the current state of the

education establishment after 13 years operating under the 1811 education acts. It was from this questionnaire that the government instituted the Commission of Inquiry. It had become evident to the Legislature that the aims of the acts in 1811 had fallen short by 1824. The following were the questions originally posed (LC 1825) to the School Commissioners:

1. *How many schools are in the districts of the county and where are they situated?*
2. *What are the names and characters of the masters?*
3. *How many children attend these schools?*
4. *What is the common allowance per annum made to the master for the tuition of each child? How much is paid in cash?*
5. *How many children are there in the neighbourhood of each school remaining without instruction in consequence of the inability of their parents to pay for their education?*
6. *What settlements are there in the District in which, from the poverty of the inhabitants no schools are yet established in which they are really wanted?*
7. *What would be the expense per annum of supporting a school in each of such settlements?*

The answers to these questions in the reports provide an accurate assessment of the situation in the mainland of the province. As it was only four years since the re-incorporation of the island of Cape Breton in 1820, there were no returns at that point from the island half of the colony. The reports from the mainland varied from district to district, but as may be presumed, the towns and the city of Halifax reported better success than the rural districts further from the main centres. In at least one case, that of Digby, the school commissioners were not even able to identify one of the teachers in their employment (Harvey 1937: 9)! As well, in Digby the average age of the teachers was 55 with the oldest being 70 (Harvey 1937: 13). It was concluded in the same report

that teachers were not easy to find and that the quality of teaching had fallen. The solution suggested was to provide a salary of £100 per annum (Harvey 1937: 12), a wage that will be seen in section 3.4.2.2 was far from that established in the 1826 education act. An overtone of the linguistic debate in the region surfaces in this particular report from western Digby when in the report a suggestion was made that an example of good schools could be created with the establishment of “one good *English* school” (Harvey 1937: 12), a debate that would continue until 1864.

3.4.2.2 Provisions of the 1826 Education Act

The results of the Legislative Commission of 1825, though reporting failures in many areas of government and School Commissions educational responsibility, were rejected. They were, however, eventually incorporated into the 1826 “Act concerning schools”. Of the many provisions implemented in the 1826 act, the linguistic factor mentioned in the previous section was, for the Acadians, one of the most influential. It is evident in this report and the education legislation following it, that the government had discovered that the formerly private French language schools established in Acadian villages and towns were now submitting requests for public funding. This fact would not have escaped the notice of the xenophobic English language Nova Scotia administration. To combat the possibility of the government of Nova Scotia subsidizing French language schools to Acadians, the new education act had a change of terminology and included the frequent codicil “...*English* schools shall be established...” (NS 1824: 5), as recommended by the Legislative Commission (LC 1825).

The Legislative Commission Report of 1825 made twelve recommendations in all, and as mentioned previously, many were incorporated into the “Act concerning schools” of 1826. These proposals included the following:

1. School Districts would be created throughout the province.
2. A minimum of one schoolhouse would be constructed per school district.
3. Thirty families in any one area could have a school the subscribers would support throughout the year. If there were less than thirty families then the school did not have to be supported through the year.
4. If there were not enough families in a district to support a school, then that district could be joined to a neighbouring one with sufficient population.
5. The school of a combined district would be kept in each part of the two districts in proportion to the number of pupils from each area.
6. Children of the district were to be taught for free.
7. Schoolmasters would have to be licensed and guaranteed a wage of a minimum of £60.
8. Taxes in each district would pay for its school except where the population of a district raises the money themselves for their own school.
9. Trustees were to be appointed for each school and they in turn had to compile an annual report of the school.
10. Any more than basic subjects taught as per the act would need the permission of the trustees to be taught and an appropriate payment made to the teacher for the extra tuition.
11. Teachers may be paid in goods or produce for only a limited portion of the annual salary.
12. A commission of three people established in each county or municipal district were to license teachers after examining them for their competency to teach.

The LC 1825 also recommended that temporary aid be given to poor districts in order to encourage education in those areas. Considering the number of poor rural areas in the colony this would have been an expensive undertaking and did not appear in the 1826 “Act concerning schools”. While addressing many of the problems in the 1811 acts, these recommendations did not adequately provide for the funding of the schools. More emphasis was given to assessment as a means of raising needed revenue but grants would continue to be included and continue to be the chief source of school revenue from the government. As mentioned previously, these proposals were rejected by the Legislature but a version of them did appear in modified form in the 1826 act.

It is interesting to note that the Commission recommended the salary of a teacher be established at £60 per annum (LC 1825); the Digby District as mentioned previously, recommended £100 so that a *schoolmaster of quality* would be encouraged to teach in the district (Harvey 1937: 12), and the final salary offered by the 1826 act was £50 per annum (NS 1826: 5 [16]) but could be set lower by the local District School Commissioners.

As with the recommendations of the Legislative Commission of 1825, the government was encouraged and did implement the idea of sectioning off each county into School Districts, usually two per county on average (Ross 2001: 19). To this division would devolve the responsibility for the education of the province, therefore, to a lower body than the Legislative Council (NS 1826: 5 [2]) in distant Halifax. However, the act would begin the process of

centralization of the education system in the province and tighter control over the issuance of teacher licenses and level of qualifications. Since Acadians, until 1826, had local influence over the education administration of the teacher and school they would in fact begin to lose the ability to oversee their teachers and schools which had hitherto been operated in French as the teacher administration was gradually centralized in Halifax among the governing English population.

There was further provision for one teacher and one schoolhouse (maintained all year) per School District (NS 1826: 5 [13]) as long as there was a minimum of 30 families. To allow the rural families to obtain the full benefits of the 1826 act, as had happened under the act of 1811 (see section 3.4.1); the act of 1826 (see section 3.4.2) allowed School Districts to be joined (NS 1826: 5 [14]) in the event that one district did not have the population base to support a school and teacher of its own. In this event, School Districts were permitted to merge with neighbouring districts so that combined they would gain access to schooling. Again the wording is such that it makes it amply clear that it would be English schools that will be established in the districts. Grants for maintaining the schools of Nova Scotia amounted to £2500 from which each mainland county would receive £180. The whole of Cape Breton Island, only six years re-joined to Nova Scotia, would receive a grant of £220 and Halifax¹¹² £300 (NS 1826: 5 [21]). Under the new legislation, teachers and schoolmasters had to be licensed by the School Commissioners in the local districts. There appears to have been a distinction made between *teachers* and *schoolmasters*

113 “According to Bingay (1919: 38), there were “at least a dozen institutions for the education of youth” in Nova Scotia.

in this act as though there is no clear indication what that distinction was within the text of the act.

The teachers and schoolmasters were tested on literary acquisition, general competency and moral character, the latter being added to the list of subjects taught and presumably the teacher was expected to promote British Protestant morals and manners (NS 1826: 5).

3.4.3 Act of 1832

With the passing of “An Act for the encouragement of schools” of 1832, the Nova Scotia government added to the administrative structure of the education system with the creation of a Board of Commissioners for each county or district. The composition of the Board was five members (three being a quorum). This new body was given the management of schools and therefore created an added level of responsibility between the Legislature and the School Commissioners for the districts in a centralized body. The government provided financial support through a grant of £4000 annually from the province to be split among the counties and districts (NS 1832: 2 [2], see also Annex B). The “Act for the encouragement of schools” of 1832 did continue the idea of laying out the province into school districts and the regulations that went along with them as per the legislation previously enacted (NS 1826: 5 [2] and NS 1832: 2 [3]).

Instructors were referred to in the act as teachers and not schoolmasters, though, as mentioned, the act itself did not designate a difference between the two. Evidence of a departure from a dependence on the United Kingdom for ideas related to teaching was clear in the report of 1825 (Harvey 1937: 3) which referred to the Scottish school system more as a concession to British sensibilities than the source of pedagogical influences.

With the act of 1832, the Board of Commissioners thus relieved the School Commissioners of the responsibility to license teachers, again raising the level of administration that would be responsible for this issue and preventing possible abuse. Trustees of each school in every district were to submit reports every six months to the Board of Commissioners stating:

1. number, names and ages of students
2. their progress in studies
3. amounts and details of expenses
4. salary of teachers

Unlike the county grammar schools, the Board of Commissioners exempted Academies from supervision since the Academies were considered private institutions often under the auspices of a Christian denomination. This was important to institutions such as Arichat Academy, which though a public school, was operated by the Catholic Church (see section 5.2.3) as a bilingual grammar school from 1833 (Sweet 1999a: 98-99)¹¹³.

¹¹³ The first public school at Arichat was founded in 1821 (Ross 2001: 30).

The “Act for the encouragement of schools” of 1832 stipulated that the yearly salary of teachers was to be £40 per annum and inhabitants of School Districts had to raise £25 themselves for the hiring of a teacher and must have built a schoolhouse at the time they are to hire an instructor. The teachers were also given a receipt from the trustees for full payment of their salary (NS 1832: 2 [9]) providing a much-needed security to enforce payment to teachers. This appears to correct an issue in the province with regard to the non-payment of teachers’ salaries.

Funding under this legislation changed the nature of some schools from strictly grammar or common schools. Evidently there were areas of the province that did not have the population to support two schools, one for each level of scholarship, but a combined school would be more easily sustained. It must be remembered that in the context of the first half of the nineteenth century Nova Scotia was in a state of economic depression (Gwynn 1991: 61) and many families were not able to subscribe to the instruction of their children in a local school. According to the “Act for the encouragement of schools” of 1832, grammar schools already established could be combined with common schools and receive common school funding on application (NS 1832: 2 [21]). These combined schools could also receive an extra £25 if between eight and fifteen students were instructed in “higher branches of education”, (those subjects beyond the basic reading, writing and mathematics), and a further £35 if fifteen or more such students enrolled in the school at the higher level. Teachers who had at least eight students of this type could potentially earn £100 and for fifteen or more of the same, a total of £120. As well, an incentive to

licensed teachers to take in more pupils and remain in their position as teachers, was an exemption from paying Poor and County taxes, labour on roads and from militia duty.

3.4.4 Act of 1836, Racially Based Education

Four years after the promulgation of the “Act for the encouragement of schools” of 1832, the provincial legislature again promulgated a new education act, namely the “Act to continue and amend the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1836. A salient point in this act was the “Education of coloured people” mentioned for the first time though it was in terms of separate black schools. Until then no legislation allowed for any but white settler schooling. The expense of keeping a dual public school system for white and black populations in such an economically depressed colony as Nova Scotia seems ludicrous, but in the first half of the nineteenth century, in British North America, this was considered the norm.

Until 1836, Black and Mi’kmaq education was conducted in private schools, much as the Acadians and other ethnic minorities did. The education act of 1836, though segregationist in nature, did at least create one school per county for non-white children at government expense outside of Halifax which already had a school for its black pupils. According to the “Act to continue and amend the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1836, a school for black children could be established in each county or district under the Board of Commissioners and receive funding similar to the other common schools in the same county or district. Interesting to note,

however, is the grant to the African School in Halifax, which was £60 per annum while the white schools received £40 more per annum (NS 1832:2 [7]) reflecting an endemic racism that was to continue for another century in the city and province.

The colonial government took a serious look at Mi'kmaq education only with the passing of "An act to provide for the instruction and permanent settlement" of the Mi'kmaq (NS 1842) which included directives for Mi'kmaq education, Mi'kmaq reserves and the position of the Indian Commissioner (the latter was first held by Joseph Howe in 1842) all in the same omnibus bill. A continuation of the same policies from the 1842 act, which reflected the colonial ethnic bias against the aboriginal people of Nova Scotia were written into "An act concerning Indian Reserves" (NS 1859) of 1859. According to Conrad & Hiller (2001: 112) it was only a very few among the political elite of the province who no longer saw the Mi'kmaq as threatening to the (English) European dominance of the colony. The "Act concerning Indian Reserves" of 1859 (NS 1859) also established that Mi'kmaq squatters on crown or private land which was unoccupied, could buy these lands, and the money would be used for Indian relief. The act also created the boundaries of the Indian Reserves within Nova Scotia. For Cape Breton this would create the reserves of Whycogomaugh, near Lake Bras d'Or, and Eskasoni near Sydney.

3.4.5 Act of 1836, Division of Sydney County

Sydney County was created at the extreme eastern end of the mainland of Nova Scotia (see Map 4 in section 2.2.3.2). With a growing population in the lower districts around Guysborough and Canso, the county was divided. The more southern area near the Atlantic Ocean was added to the eastern most part of Halifax County to form the new county of Guysborough and the northern section was left as a rather small unit with the name of Antigonish County.

The “Act to divide the county of Sydney” (NS 1836) in 1836 did not directly affect Acadian education and teachers except in so far as it further divided a minority population. From 1836 the Acadians in the eastern mainland of Nova Scotia were divided into two counties; Antigonish County contained the villages of Pomquet, Tracadie, and Havre-Boucher and in the new county of Guysborough (see Map 1 in section 1.1). In Guysborough County Larry’s River, Port Felix (Molasses Harbour) and Torbay were isolated fishing villages remote from services throughout the early post-Deportation period of Acadian history. The Acadians of the Guysborough area made petitions to Father François Lejamtel of Arichat as far back as 1816 (Sweet 2000: 182) to have a priest say Mass and teach the children of the area.

Unfortunately for Guysborough County, according to Ross (2001: 35-39), there was no school for Acadians until the end of the nineteenth century. Perhaps this was true of official schools,

however, as will be seen in chapter 4, Isadore Delorie formerly of Tracadie and Chéticamp, taught in Guysborough in the Acadian villages for nearly twenty years (see section 4.3.4). In Antigonish county the Acadians fared better due to the availability, early in the nineteenth century, of French speaking priests to teach (Sweet 1999a: 37) and the population base to support a school in their area. And as Ross (2001: 50) points out it was “...le silence des populations rurales préoccupés par leur survie matérielle”¹¹⁴ that exposed the dire situation of the Acadians in the region surrounding Tor Bay.

3.4.6 Act of 1838

“An Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools and the act in amendment thereof ” of 1838 (NS 1838: 23) provided an important improvement to the teaching provided in the Acadian regions of the province of Nova Scotia. Where there was a population base too small to support a proper school district with teacher (NS 1826: 5), as in many Acadian regions, a new provision allowed for itinerating teachers functioning under the same terms of funding as common schools. Itinerating teachers were those teachers hired by the Board of Commissioners to alternate between two or more poor school divisions of each county during the year. For Acadians in regions such as those spread throughout eastern Nova Scotia, this change in regulation would have immeasurable benefits since the villages were far enough apart to

114 “... the silence from the rural population pre-occupation with material survival ...”(TR)

constitute separate school districts. However, the general poverty of the region (Plessis 1815: 105) did not allow the hiring of even one teacher, whether English or French speaking to provide schooling. A similar category of teacher was found in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Acadian villages (Bourgeois & Basque 1984: 42).

Since the official language of schools in the colony continued to be English, it was to the advantage of the Acadians who taught in French for much of the year to continue having local control over licensing and hiring of teachers using public funds by continuing to forward annual school reports to the government through the school commissioners. The lack of proper inspections to enforce the language provision would continue until the Act of 1841 (NS 1841) allowing the Acadians to continue teaching within the framework of the education laws of the province while continuing to do so in the French language (see section 3.4.1.1). The new “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools, and to alter and amend the same” (NS 1841: 43), however, would create a better environment for the Acadians permitting them to teach in their own language (see section 3.5).

A further development under the 1838 “Act to continue and amend the act for the encouragement of schools” (NS 1838) was that female teachers could thereafter be employed if males could not be found, a concession that would benefit communities unable to hire a male (see section 4.3.2.1), which was the preferred gender which appeared, harder to find. The new concession would allow more teachers to be hired since a female teacher was paid less and communities could more easily

afford the salary of a female teacher. It was more likely that the teacher would be from the same community as the school and would therefore have a vested interest in promoting education in the community. In the first major revision to the education system in the colony, the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1841 (see section 3.5), the law was adjusted by the Legislature of Nova Scotia so that it would be possible to hire two female teachers in place of one male teacher. This change would, in fact, make it more desirable to have female teachers than male since two teachers could teach more children, theoretically, in a year at nearly the same cost.

3.4.7 Act of 1839, The Question of Land

The withdrawal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1834 from Nova Scotia due to the adoption of the public school system, left a legal vacuum concerning the question of ownership of lands held by the society for the purposes of school construction and support (see section 3.2). In the eyes of the Church of England, it would stand to inherit the lands as the parent organization of the SPG. The colonial government of T.N. Jeffery inferred that the land was part of the educational inheritance for the people of the province and proceeded to take possession of the land in 1839 under “An act to provide for the selection and appointment of Trustees of lands, granted, reserved or otherwise allotted, as School Lands, or for Schools in this province” (NS 1839: 2).

In the provisions of the legislation, free holders in school districts were to nominate six people as trustees of whom the governor would choose three trustees of school lands. The trustees were to take possession of school lands and improve them while leasing the land for not more than 21 years “for the best advantage” (NS 1839: 2 [2]). The profits were to be used for the education of poor children (NS 1839: 2 [2]).

It is interesting to note that the final section of the act (NS 1839:2 [5]) states that nothing in the act would be enforced until the Queen’s approval had been attained. It appears that the members of the local Church of England hierarchy and their connections with their counterparts in the United Kingdom, were able to convince the British parliament against this act and the absorption of the SPG lands by the Crown through the Nova Scotia government of the day. The act was disallowed by the British parliament in 1840 and the land was returned to the Anglican Church.

3.5 EDUCATION ACT 1841, A SPACE TO TEACH

After thirty years of improvised legislation dealing with teachers and teaching in Nova Scotia, the government, in 1841, set down its first major revision of the education system in the province which in fact afforded the centralization of the administration of the teachers and schools “ ...so that greater uniformity in the system... be pursued by the respective Boards of Commissioners [so that teaching] may be promoted ...may be rendered more effective... ” (NS 1841: 43 [4]). The

latter was embodied in the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools, and to alter and amend the same” (NS 1841: 43) promulgated in 1841 which, with minor revisions, remained in effect until the act of 1864. The salient points of this act will be illustrated to reveal the major changes brought to teaching as well as the importance of the language provisions for teachers who were to use one of four languages (English, French, German or Gaelic) as mediums of instruction. This was to become the greatest advantage to the Acadian teachers who could continue to openly use their own French language in their schools without fear of discovery by the provincial education authorities.

3.5.1 Central Board of Education

The most important feature of the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools, and to alter and amend the same” (NS 1841: 43) was the creation of the *Central Board of Education* in Halifax. The Central Board was composed of five members who were appointed by the governor on the advice of the Executive Council. This board would become the highest education authority in the colony with powers previously held by the Secretary of the Province. The new position would have the education related duties previously held by the secretary to the province to oversee the new education act (NS 1841: 43) as well as having the use of a full-time clerk.

The Central Board appointed five people in each county to serve on the Board of Commissioners

of each of the counties of Nova Scotia, which in turn had to submit returns once per year on 31 December for the Central Board to prepare its yearly report to the Governor in Council. The Central Board established standards with regard to official forms for teachers to complete for each school at the end of the school year: affidavits, certificates, rules and regulations for Boards of Commissioners in each county as well as instructions for the guidance and conduct of teachers. Commissioners could only appoint teachers and grant licenses to them if the morals and good character of candidates warranted. This was a departure from previous legislation since it was previously the local English clergy who made the assessment of a candidate's moral character. Again the norm for this decision was based on the values of a Victorian society and those of the majority population.

3.5.2 Implications for Teachers

A second issue touched on by the "Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools" (NS 1851) of 1841 was a better working environment for teachers. Part time or short contract teachers from this date were to be treated with the same respect as full contract teachers, a welcome change in areas that could not afford full time teachers and for part time teachers themselves, who were not to face the same discrimination as before. This may not have had an immediate effect on their lives however, as most legislation at this period took time to filter down to the local village level. Female teachers were to be employed, and no longer viewed as substitutes for male instructors (NS 1841: 43 [12]) as in 1838 (NS 1838: 23). This validation and the economic advantage of

hiring female teachers rather than male teachers created such a change in the perception of the occupation that within 40 years the majority of teachers in Nova Scotia would be females, radically altering the profession¹¹⁵.

According to the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” (NS 1841: 43 [27]), teachers in the Academies and headmasters of public schools, would have to be able to teach all the subjects in the provincial curriculum as per the previous acts “and also one or more of the Modern Languages¹¹⁶, wherever it shall be found practicable to introduce the same”. This was the first acknowledgment of the value of learning a language other than English and the classics. Why now? By 1841 the English population of Nova Scotia was secure in their control of the society and demographically the English speaking people of English, Scottish and Irish backgrounds formed the majority (Roy 1993: 143) so that other languages posed little threat to the established British community.

According to the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” (NS 1841: 43 [27]) the courses taught were: Classics, Mathematics, Algebra, Geography, English Grammar, History,

115 This was not just the case in Nova Scotia. Refer also to Sheila Andrew, “Mother’s Helper? Factors Affecting the Feminization of Teaching in New Brunswick Acadian Schools, 1861-1881” in Maurice Basque et al., *L’Acadie au féminin : un regard multidisciplinaire sur les Acadiennes et les Cadiennes*, Centre d’études acadiennes, Université de Moncton, (2000).

116 There was no mention in the act of 1841 which Modern Languages were to be taught.

Composition, and a modern language where available. This emphasis on a classical academic curriculum was the cause of some amount of controversy as noted by Bingay (1919: 50). This type of curriculum would serve little purpose in the rural areas of the province where Acadian public school teachers taught a basic curriculum of reading, writing and mathematics based on their own abilities. It would simply succeed in training those of the colonial elite aspiring to positions within the administration of the province in Halifax or the county seats or for those with a vocation to the Church of England after further studies at the University of King's College in Windsor, Hants County. The majority of pupils in the Acadian villages needed a much more rudimentary education providing them with the tools needed for a life of trade and commerce, a curriculum such as that found at Arichat Academy under the *Frères de écoles chrétiennes* and Father Hubert Girroir in 1860 to 1864 (see section 5.2.3.3).

3.5.3 The Reality in the Classroom, 1841

The promulgation of the 1841 education act ushered in a new era in public instruction in Nova Scotia. The liberal colonial government of the 1840s, which included reform minded members like Joseph Howe, would recognize the aspirations of the linguistic minorities, not just the Acadians, but also the German and Gaelic settlers (NS 1841: 43 [14]). The Act would have far reaching linguistic implications in education for these people, which allowed teaching in the

language of the settler population which, after the enactment of the “Act for the encouragement of Education” of 1864 (Free Schools Act) (see section 3.6), would be rescinded. It was not until the “Act to Amend Chapter 81 of the Revised Statutes 1967, the Education Act” (NS 1981) when Acadian schools had a right to a teacher and classroom in the French language in the public schools of Nova Scotia. While French continued in use in Acadian public schools, the teachers were to encourage the inculcation of the English language (Ross 2001: 55).

3.5.3.1 Ethnic and Linguistic Minority Recognition

The government of Joseph Howe had acknowledged the presence of other languages operating in the schools due to the great number of immigrants settling in Nova Scotia over the preceding decades. Until 1841, the government had officially denied access to any public service and schools in any language except through the English language. Even after 1841, the public administration was to continue in English, but the concession to instruction in a language other than English was perhaps a step in the remedying of illiteracy within the province, which had reached appalling proportions. According to Morison (1963: 65) in 1842 there were 29,382 pupils attending schools in Nova Scotia. In the province there were also 2771 non-fee paying pupils making 32,153 pupils in the schools of the province. By 1845 the estimates showed that only one in seven of the school aged children were attending instruction (Morison 1963: 65).

With the inclusion of one paragraph (NS 1841: 43 [14]) the linguistic nature of public education and the potentially pluralistic society that would develop on a permanent basis became a reality:

...any school, wherein the ordinary instructions may be in the French, Gaelic or German language, in any School District in this Province, shall be entitled to the like portion of the public money as any school wherein the ordinary instruction may be in the English language.

While this concession reflected a relatively minor section of the entire government bill, it would have a profound affect on Acadian public school teachers. It would legitimize the otherwise clandestine teaching in French already found in the Acadian public schools (Bingay 1919: 45; see section 3.4.1.1), to be public and paid for from the public purse.

It would be laudable to think that there was a vision in the act of 1841 to relegate to the past the acrimonious existence between the ethnic groups that had settled the colony and promote the ethnic diversity of mid-nineteenth century Nova Scotia. The sudden appearance of section 14 in the education act would lead the reader to believe, however, that the government of the day simply faced the reality that the vast majority of the children in Nova Scotia did not attend school. A good part of this lack of schooling in Nova Scotia could be attributed to simply an inability to speak English which was the required language of instruction in public schools prior to 1841 (see section 3.4). It could also be the case that not just the pupils, but the public school teachers in many of the Acadian villages could not speak English well enough to pass on instruction in that language. Whether this was to be a temporary measure or not, the goal would have been to get as

many children in front of a teacher as possible for public instruction. Comparisons with neighbouring provinces (MacNaughton 1947: 116) and Canada West (Coleman 1907: 58, Johnson 1968: 39) would show that Nova Scotia was woefully behind in the provision of public instruction in either French or English and the hiring of qualified public school teachers.

The act of 1841 may have been intended to rectify the deplorable situation of a few children in public schools thereby permitting children of any language group mentioned in the act to participate in local schools in their own language. Sweet (1999a) demonstrated this very issue in the schools of eastern Nova Scotia and the vagaries of homogenous linguistic instruction, both from a teacher and a pupil stand point. Morison (1963: 65) mentions that in 1842 there were only five English medium schools in all of the Eastern Shore of Nova Scotia. She does not indicate whether or not these schools were “officially” English or whether or not there was any teaching in any other language than the English language as per the education act of 1841 (NS 1841). Morison does not mention the Acadian teachers in the same area teaching in mid-century (see section 4.3.4) in eastern Nova Scotia. It was the need for teachers and schooling that prompted the Premier¹¹⁷ and Joseph Howe¹¹⁸ the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly to implement the much-needed “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1841. Howe began his campaign years before through the medium of the newspaper he published in Halifax called

117 Prior to 1848 there was no system of responsible government in Nova Scotia and the position of Premier or Prime Minister was completely dependent on the pleasure of the governor appointed by the Crown (see Annex A).

118 Members favouring liberal principles were able to dominate the 1836 and 1840 assemblies (Beck 1985: 112). Joseph Howe was the leading member of the Assembly in Nova Scotia advocating these reforming principles.

The Novascotian. The paper and its publisher became outspoken proponents of responsible government (see Annex A), reform and opposition to the reactionary governments in the colony who had the support of a number of elites who ran the machinery of administration in league with the governor appointed by the Crown. Though Howe would later find himself at odds with Catholics and members of the Liberal party (Meagher 1927), he was in the forefront of reform in the 1830s and 1840s and supported the moves toward the use of French in the Acadian public schools.

3.5.3.2 Implications for a Multilingual Nova Scotia

With the knowledge today of what a multilingual and multiethnic society is capable of and what its financial and social implications are for a state, we can look back on the early attempts in Nova Scotia to recognize the various cultural and linguistic groups as a progressive action and applaud the early tolerance of ethnic and racial minorities in Nova Scotia. Waves of immigrants from Scotland, England, German states, the Planters and Loyalists as well as the returned Acadians from the Deportation, and the Mi'kmaq all formed a larger multiethnic community that gave early Nova Scotia a characteristic which was to disappear in many parts of nineteenth century North America affected by assimilation policies as colonies struggled to admit increasing cultural populations of immigrants from Europe. Nova Scotia acquired those same assimilationist policies with the election in 1864 of Premier Sir Charles Tupper (see section 3.6) succeeding Joseph Howe's liberal administration. The open tolerant policies of the reform-minded government of Howe were rejected under Tupper who abrogated the idea of multi-ethnicity and replaced it with

the “Act for the encouragement of Education” of 1864 that enforced the “English only” school system that would set back the work of the previous 42 years of linguistic acceptance and progress created under the liberal governments before Tupper. The ethnic minorities, including the local Acadians, would rapidly see the decline of their numbers as they became assimilated into the larger English communities around them until names of villages and regional accents would be all that remained of their populations.

The implications for the Acadian community under both Howe and Tupper were enormous since the Acadian public school teachers, who until 1841 were forced to teach in French illegally in Nova Scotia, were able to take full advantage of the 1841 “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” to instruct in French and have recourse to public monies to fund the schools in Acadian regions of Nova Scotia. The implications of this enlightened policy in colonial education, has to date not been fully appreciated or analysed but will be in chapters 4 and 5. Very few societies in the New World were as progressive as Nova Scotia in mid-nineteenth century in recognition of its minorities. Did the government of the day have as a goal the creation of a broad pluralistic society? Was this act in 1841 simply a stop gap measure to preserve government credibility faced with the shocking literacy statistics and diminishing student enrolments at the most basic level of instruction? Was this act simply a copy of the thinking in the United Province of Canada (see section 2.4) in the 1840s under Ryerson who supported French education across Upper Canada (Godbout 1972: 151), which was a colony that was becoming the focal point of progress and growth in British North America (see section 2.4.2)?

According to Cox (1994: 24), negative attitudes continued to exist to French, German and Gaelic speaking populations during the second half of the nineteenth century. The use of these three languages was more an expedient to ensure more pupils were attending public school than actually acknowledging the rights of non-English language population groups having a right to education in their own languages.

3.5.4 The Acts from 1841 to 1864

Though the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” of 1841 brought a number of changes to teaching in Nova Scotia, and encouraged better community participation in the teaching of the children of the province, there were still broad areas of the education system in the province that needed changing. One of these areas needing reform was the weak system of public funding that used a combination of assessment (property taxes) and grants (church and government donations) rather than assessment only. This ambiguous method of combined public-private financial support (see section 3.5.3) continued to leave the school system in Nova Scotia with under-educated regions whose financial support by the general population was not effectively enforced. Until either the majority of the people were convinced of the need to fund the schools through subscription or general taxes were used, funding to schools would lag behind other areas of social progress. Even as late as 1848, the government would only authorize voluntary assessment (NS 1841) which meant that to fund the education of the province schools and school boards would need the active support of local subscriptions of donors and parents. The

short-sightedness of this thinking resulted in the perpetuation of limited schooling in the rural regions of Nova Scotia for a further 50 years.

For the Acadians and Acadian public school teachers, the greatest achievement with the 1841 education act was the legitimate use of French as a medium of instruction in the classrooms of the few Acadian public schools frequented by the Acadian people. The schools that had been operating in French illegally for years were now accepted as French language Acadian public schools. Areas of eastern Nova Scotia that were culturally and linguistically mixed, as was the case in Arichat (PANS RG1: 444: 33,34), had to hire public school teachers of both English and French languages. In villages that had a greater, if not exclusive population of Acadians, as was the case of Pomquet (PANS RG1: 445 [31]), it was quite reasonable to see a French speaking teacher and the daily use of the French language as the medium of instruction. Whether there were French language texts and manuals was another issue, but the use of the language was the major gain at this point and would have a legal basis until 1864 (NS 1864).

The acknowledgment, on the part of the government of the day, of the need for public instruction in the home language was to have a profound effect on the communities of Nova Scotia, which would bring the level of education in the province to a new high, though well short of the desired levels.

3.5.4.1 Act of 1845

The 1845 “Act for the encouragement of schools” (NS 1845: 25) contained several new and important points of educational legislation for the province including three sections related specifically to teachers. The act of 1845 was a major bill that contained many elements found in the public school act of 1841, but also amplified parts of it. The first of amendments specified that no teacher could be a “...Commissioner of Schools, or a Trustee of any Academy, Grammar School or Common School, entitled to claim aid under this Act...” (NS 1845: 25 [4]). This limited the role of the teacher to simply teaching. In this way, the Act would prevent a conflict of interest in the financial affairs of the schools and commissions supported from public monies. In the early days of the public system, the boundary between teachers, trustees and commissioners was easily crossed as often the most educated members of the communities would, by necessity, have to take on several of these roles due the limited numbers of literate people in society.

The second of the sections dealing with teachers concerning licenses and dismissal with individual boards. According to section 14 of that Act, no one would be permitted to teach in the province without first having their credentials, morals and character examined by the Board of Commissioners. “License[s] to teach [at] a Common School” (NS 1845: 25 [14]; see section 3.5.2) were issued by the Commissioners when candidates were approved following verification of their qualifications. Members of the Board of Commissioners were also to issue permits for teaching in the Grammar Schools (NS 1845: 25 [34]; see section 3.5.2).

The third issue, and one of perhaps greatest import to public school teachers, whether English or French speaking, after licensing was the dismissal of teachers from public schools. With the passing of this act, the Board of Commissioners was empowered to terminate teachers' contracts from common and grammar schools and to cancel the contracts between the teachers and the trustees of any given school as well as withdrawing the teachers' licenses (NS 1845: 25 [45]). This proviso would prevent teachers from becoming entrenched into a school and abuse their positions and the financial and social arrangements that accrued with it. For the teacher, however, it put in doubt the permanence of their employment with schools. The contract between the teacher and local school trustees would be created on the basis of a mutual agreement, which, in areas like the Acadian villages of eastern Nova Scotia, required a French speaking teacher, granted under both this act and that of 1841. Should the Board of Commissioners be in any way against instruction in anything but English, then the Board of Commissioners could theoretically force out a teacher who taught in French or any instructional language allowed by the act (NS 1845: 25 [24]). Within the section dealing with school operational languages, it was mentioned that four languages were to be used for instruction purposes in the public schools of Nova Scotia (English, French, German and Gaelic). Equally there was the proviso "...or other languages..." (NS 1845: 25 [24]), which begs the question: What other languages might have been in mind by the legislators? Perhaps Mi'kmaq?

Female teachers in Academies were permitted to teach in their own right (NS 1845: 25 [42]) rather than mere substitutes for men as they were in the common and grammar schools (NS 1845:

25 [11]). This portrayed a marked difference from previous acts (NS 1838 and NS 1841). Female teachers, though no doubt as capable as their male counterparts, were considered the poorer choice for the work of instructors due to their lack of technical training and academic qualifications. In the 1840s the only institution in eastern Nova Scotia available to prepare the teachers was Arichat Academy (for men) (see section 3.5.2). The nearest school where women could learn to become teachers was the convent of the Trappistine sisters in Tracadie, Antigonish County (see section 5.2.2.1) though this institution was not public and was not acknowledged as a Normal School for training teachers for the government.

In the case of counties that did not have academies or grammar schools, the teachers in common schools were granted an increase in allowance of a further £30 per annum per teacher (NS 1845: 25). The proviso on which the allowance was conditional was that the following subjects would be taught: Reading, Writing, Geography, English Grammar, Composition, English History, Arithmetic along with one or more of the following: Classics, Algebra, and “practical branches of Mathematics”¹¹⁹ (NS 1845: 25 [25]). While the teachers in certain counties would have welcomed the increase in allowance, the additional subjects that would need to be taught would predicate many receiving this sum. The majority of Acadian teachers, having not attended a formal teachers college and many not having more than Grammar School finishing qualifications, would not have the ability to teach these subjects. The textbooks would undoubtedly be in English and the emphasis in finishing school would continue to be the ability to function in

¹¹⁹ This term was not explained in the text of the education act.

English even if the law stated that schools operating in other languages could receive equal funding as English medium schools.

This additional teachers' allowance applied to selected schools in all counties, usually being two to three in number per county (NS 1845: 25 [25]). To be granted this funding, the trustees of each school had to supply a certificate in writing to the Commissioners stating that "at least six scholars above the age of ten years, have been continuously for the preceding half-year been taught the Classics, Algebra, and the practical branches of Mathematics..." (NS 1845: 25 [25]) and the certificate also had to include the names and ages of the pupils. At the grammar school level, in addition to the regular English curriculum, were added the subjects of Land Survey and Navigation (see section 5.2.3). However, it was noted by Bingay (1919: 54) that "...the Navigation lessons ...[consisted] chiefly [of] learning rules by heart... ". Again, it must be stressed that while the government could insist that certain higher level courses be taught, it was up to the teachers' abilities if the subject was properly instructed or attempted at all (Bingay 1919: 54).

While there were obviously some advances in the "Act for the encouragement of schools" of 1845, it failed to effectively address the major issue of all education acts before 1864, namely that of finances. There was only one section of the act dedicated to the issue of financing schools and teachers through assessment (NS 1845: 2 [43]). To continue along this line of corporate financial thinking by the colonial administration (Lanning 2000: 133) was to court continued disaster for the government in educating the general populous.

For the Acadians, throughout the 1840s and 1850s there was slow progress in matters of teaching and schooling. Rawlyk & Hafter (1968) level a great deal of criticism at the Acadians in this period in the area of education, but it should be remembered that financial support was required from the central government (Lanning 2000: 133) in order to maintain a teacher in a poor community and texts could not be used as they were not in French (*Debates* 1854: 372, Ross 2001: 32). But with the Halifax-based school administration continuing to support teaching through the archaic method of financing then in place through subscriptions to the general public for support of the local schools, many of the provinces Acadian school-aged children were not able to attend schools (PANS RG14: 39).

An interesting point made in this act refers to the poor students of the colony, the object of some attention by the legislators. The act of 1845 created a method whereby the public who wished it, could be taxed voluntarily (NS 1845: 25 [23]) and the monies raised would be applied to the education of the poor of any ethnic group or language. Up to this point, the poor pupils were limited to a select few gaining access to public schools for education through the education acts leading up to 1845. Previously, a few children would be permitted to attend for free and their names listed separately in school records for the year (NS 1845: 25 [22]). Firstly the poor students were to be admitted to studies in numbers not to exceed eight per year in any one of the common or grammar schools or academies (NS 1845: 25 [22]). Commissioners were also to establish schools in poor or under-populated areas, poor districts, and for people of colour and the

Mi'kmaq (NS 1845: 25 [20]). To cover additional costs for the poor or disadvantaged of any ethnic group, a grant of £50 for books and stationary was offered, of which one half was to be used for the poor students of the county (NS 1845: 25 [19]). The teaching of the poor added to the financial burden of the teachers to some degree as they were unable to collect fees from these families, hence the limit on the numbers permitted to attend during one school year. Even so, according to Bingay (1919: 54) quoting a visiting British Naval officer:

... never knew a case of a child being refused admittance to the school because of inability to pay the fee. Every parent who wished to send his children to school was free to do so, where they were indistinguishable from the children who of those who assisted in supporting the school. This practice held, not only under one master, but under a succession of them, for a quarter of a century, until free schools were established.

Obviously from the previous description of the nature of teaching in the period of the 1840s in Nova Scotia, there was an altruistic desire to see the local children instructed. It would have been difficult for a teacher to refuse admittance to any child in the village, even one who's family could not afford the fees since the teacher lived in the same village as the children and parents. Bingay (1919: 52) provides an insight into the process of teacher qualification for the 1840s which, he points out, did not provide for an examination of teachers. To gain a teaching permit the candidate, in the case presented in King's county, was required to read a short passage, explain the contents and complete a few basic problems in arithmetic.

With one commissioner approving a teacher, the required second sponsor rarely wanted more

proof and the permit was issued. If this method of issuing teacher permits was the norm for most of the teachers of the Nova Scotia in the 1840s to qualify for the public school system it is not hard to see that many instructors could have less than the required qualifications. While this may seem disturbing today, it would have allowed the Acadians to ensure that the few public schools they controlled had a French language teacher of their choice with qualifications the local School Commissioners (and therefore the community) felt were appropriate. The 1845 “Act for the encouragement of schools” (NS 1845: 25) did, however stipulate the method for licensing teachers (NS 1845: 25[14]) though it left the actual examination questions to the local School Commissioners:

...no such [teaching] license shall, on any pretence or account be given, unless the Commissioners shall be satisfied of the good moral character and suitable qualifications of such teacher.

3.5.4.2 Act of 1850

The last of the three major education acts or revisions to those same education acts was “An act for the encouragement of education” of 1850. In this act the Nova Scotia government further centralized its control over education in the province and created the additional position of Provincial Superintendent of Education who would visit the various schools to inspect discipline, qualifications of masters, books used, accuracy of returns and accounts. He was also to compile half yearly reports to the government concerning the general state of affairs in the school system. Once a year there would also be a meeting between the Superintendent and the District Boards of

Commissioners and the licensed teachers to discuss general points concerning education and instruction in the province (NS 1850: 39). The Superintendent was also to provide a report of the physical improvements to school buildings, ventilation, improved grounds, maps, books, forms for end of year School Returns and the encouragement of better training for teachers and the working of Teachers Institutes, a workshop for the support of the teacher. He would also take the responsibility for supplying teachers to poor districts and provide a uniform system of instruction by the teachers across the colony. The Superintendent would be granted an annual salary of £250 plus £100 in expenses.

Also included in this act were regulations for the financing of instructors if serving in academies (NS 1845: 25 [36]). These institutions, often private, would receive funding from the provincial government only if the local people (presumably the parents of the children attending) collectively contributed £100 in tuition fees per annum toward the payment of the schoolmasters. A second stipulation was that the academy had to have 25 pupils with no less than 10 receiving constant instruction in the same subjects as at the grammar schools (NS 1845: 25 [36]; see section 3.5.2). The government apparently wished to see lengthier periods of schooling under the public school teacher with a minimum of students. Of concern to the legislators regarding subjects being taught was the enforcement of a conformity between the subjects taught at the academies with those taught at the grammar schools in each county (NS 1845: 25 [40]). The government was consciously attempting to bring the academies under its control as much as was possible using financial incentives to do so.

The courses required in grammar schools included in this act were: reading, writing, arithmetic, classics, modern languages, geography, English grammar, history, agriculture chemistry, composition, land survey and navigation (NS 1845: 25 [33]). For the grammar schools there was also a set minimum of 20 registered students of which ten had to be attending school regularly to receive a financial grant from the provincial government. Twice a year the school trustees would conduct public examinations (NS 1845: 25 [34]) from which an assessment of the learning to date could be made. Of note is that grammar schools only required the inhabitants of the village and catchment area to subscribe £40 (NS 1845: 25 [33]) as opposed to the subscription required by the academies.

3.5.4.3 Normal School Act, 1854

Following on the heels of several other British North American colonies (see section 2.3), Nova Scotia established a teachers training facility in 1854 under the name Normal School, the common appellation of similar institutions of the period. This school was to undergo several name changes during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but continued to provide teachers to the province for a century and a half. Of interest to this thesis is what, if any, influence the school had on Acadian teachers as the Normal School was an English language institution (see section 4.4.1). In the Education Report (NS *Journal* 1853: 187-194) to the Nova Scotia Legislature of January 1853, made by John Dawson, the Superintendent of Schools for the province, the mention of the

proposed Normal School was made and a great many of his thoughts were duly incorporated into the act establishing the institution the following year.

According to “An act for the establishment of a Normal School” (NS 1854: 5) the “college” would be built in a central part of the province, thereby allowing access to all parts of the province without favouring any one area (NS 1854: 5 [1]). The site eventually chosen was Truro (NS 1857: 21). By provision of this act, the Superintendent of Education for the province would also be the principal of the Normal and Model¹²⁰ school (NS 1854: 5 [3]) where student teachers could practice their teaching skills (NS 1854: 5 [6]). Perhaps this was to maintain consistency in subject matter offered in the classrooms. By agreement with the trustees, the schools of the province in any district could become model schools though it would be unlikely that the Superintendent would be required to become principle of all of these model schools since he was only required to occupy that position in Truro according to the act (NS 1854: 5 [3]).

By design, the Normal School would instruct the new teachers in a curriculum based as much as

possible on that of the Normal Schools in Upper Canada, New York State and Massachusetts (NS 1854: 5 [7]). This provision was later repealed allowing Nova Scotia to develop an institution with

120 The Model School was actually established in 1857 as a real school for local children near the Normal School which would “...be paid for by a subscription supported by Truro residents and under a staff of Normal School graduates...” (Harvey 1989: 33).

its own curriculum and priorities (NS 1857: 21 [7]) while still maintaining the standards originally set. The students at the Normal School had to be at least 16 years old, of good moral standing and had to have undergone a common school education (NS 1854: 5 [8]). The candidates also had to provide a written guarantee that they would teach for three years in the province following the completion of their studies (NS 1854: 5 [8]). The quality of the common school students entering the Normal School was quite varied and as much time was spent bringing the students up to an acceptable standard (Harvey 1989: 32) as in preparing the students to be teachers. This was not simply the case in Nova Scotia, but was to be found in Europe as well (Harvey 1989: 32).

The selection of candidates for the Normal School was left to the School Commissioners (NS 1854: 5 [8]) who could send one county or district candidate per £100 grant annually. However, the principal of the Normal School could admit ten students at his own discretion after charging a fee, but the maximum permitted to attend at any one time was ten students. It should be remembered that the students being admitted were not required to have completed grammar school education but simply common school studies (see section 3.4.2.2). This fact would give insight into the level of training that could be accomplished at the Normal School. More time would have to be spent on secondary studies of their own than on preparing teachers to teach (Bingay 1919: 58, Harvey 1989: 32). It meant that training at the Normal School would be geared towards teaching at the common school level and not at the grammar school level. It would only be in 1858 that the colonial administration enacted an amendment to the “Act for the establishment of a Normal School” (NS 1854: 5) that would allow the Normal School to begin

training teachers for grammar school teaching and to grant certificates to teachers for grammar schools (NS 1858: 41).

Prospective graduates would be required to sit for an examination prepared by the principal after a term of studies of not less than five months for which a pass would grant the teacher candidate a certificate level C. For a student who failed the first examination and required a second attempt, a certificate with a designation of “A” or “B” would be awarded (NS 1854: 5 [11]). The holder of any of these certificates would be granted a teaching license from any Board of Commissioners (NS 1854: 5 [12]) as long as the candidate was of good moral standing. Should it be found that moral character was less than satisfactory, the graduate teacher would have his name struck from the list of graduates from the school. If the principal of the Normal School so desired, he could send three graduates of the Normal School to any college or academy in Nova Scotia providing them with a grant (NS 1854: 5 [13]) so that the teacher graduates could study mathematics and classics with a view to teaching high school (grammar school or academy).

While the Normal School became a later success for Nova Scotia in the twentieth century, as attested to by its lengthy history it nevertheless had limitations. The Normal School was established to train teachers for a uniform education system. This uniform system was not to appear until after 1864 (see section 3.6). For the Acadians it served little good as the curriculum was English based. The first Acadians did not attend the Normal School until the late 1860s. According to Ross (2001: 40) “...le fait que tous les cours sont en anglais constituait un ... facteur

contraignant ... Il est fort probable que les autorités ecclésiastiques [catholique] aient vu d'un très mauvais œil cette école longtemps dominée pas les presbytériens et les baptistes"¹²¹.

Opposition to the Normal School was great enough to have the initial Normal School Bill of 1851, defeated in the Assembly by a combination of votes against it including Acadian and other Catholic members of the Legislative Assembly (Perry 2003: 78). It would take a further three years of negotiation and government will to finally see the Normal School bill of 1854 passed into law.

3.6 EDUCATION ACT, 1864 “TUPPER’S LAW” & EDUCATION ACT, 1865

It was the promulgation of the Nova Scotia “Act for the encouragement of Education” of 1864 (NS 1864: 58) and the “Act for the better encouragement of Education” of 1865 (NS 1865: 29) under the Conservative government of Charles Tupper (1864-1867) that the very nature of the Nova Scotia colonial education system changed radically from that developed over the previous 23 years under the Liberal governments and the reforming influence of Joseph Howe¹²². The “Act for the encouragement of Education” of 1864 (NS 1864: 58) would see the subtle abrogation of

121 “ ...the fact that all the courses were offered in English constituted a constraining factor. And it was probable that the [Catholic]Church authorities viewed with concern the fact that the school had long been dominated by the Presbyterians and the Baptists”. (TR)

122 In his trenchant editorials in the newspaper *The NovaScotian*, Howe advocated many liberal reforms and sponsored the development of Nova Scotian communications. He became a member of the Nova Scotia provincial

language provisions heretofore granted. The Acadian population (as well as other groups) had been allowed to develop linguistically and promote their own language and culture within the broader educational framework. While the act of 1864 is often cited in research as a pivotal year in education due to the assessment as a means of raising taxes for the support of public education and the abrogation of linguistic rights other than English within the education system, the “Act for the better encouragement of Education” of 1865 (NS 1865: 29) was by far the legislation carrying the greater influence due to its more comprehensive amplification of the articles related to the standardization of the education system of the act of 1864 in Nova Scotia.

3.6.1 Minority Education Rights and Acadian Schools

Within the acts of 1864 “Act for the encouragement of Education” and the 1865 “Act for the better encouragement of Education”, linguistic rights in schools were “deleted” from the laws of the province, strangely, a mere two years before the promulgation of the British North America Act (UK 1867) in 1867 which had provisions for language and education. However, within the Nova Scotia legislation (NS 1864 & NS 1865) the fact that a clause specifying the approval of the French, German and Gaelic languages in public schools equal with English usage, previously included in all education acts from 1841, was not included in these acts, making it clear that the

assembly in 1836, and spent the next 12 years working to reform the Nova Scotian government. From 1860 to 1863 Howe was prime minister of Nova Scotia. In 1856, Charles Tupper became provincial secretary in the new Conservative government elected in 1855. Defeated in the election of 1864 by the Conservatives Tupper became prime minister.

government wished to reform the education system by creating a linguistically homogenous school system. This coupled with the new teacher licensing arrangement (NS 1850: 39; see section 3.5.4.2.), meant that Acadian teachers were at a disadvantage compared to their Anglophone colleagues (Rawlyk & Hafter 1970: 14). The act of 1865, in fact, expressly stipulates that it was providing for a “...uniform system of education” (NS 1865: 29 [18]). To what end would this be enacted? There are several points to consider with this clause.

Firstly, the government of Charles Tupper considered it a priority to push through reforms of the education system in Nova Scotia so as to implement the educational policies long since achieved in Canada West under Edgerton Ryerson (see section 2.4.1) and neighbouring New Brunswick (see section 2.3.3.1). The debate concerning assessment (Morison 1962: 59; see sections 2.3.1 & 3.5) to fund public education had dragged on for 20 years with no government willing to commit itself to enforcing something that increased taxes. Secondly, Tupper had reached an agreement with the Catholic Church in the person of the Archbishop of Halifax that permitted him to absorb all educational institutions into the provincial Department of Education orbit. By granting separate schools in Halifax, and to continue to operate some Catholic schools in the larger English speaking centres of population in 1864, Charles Tupper was able to win over the Catholic hierarchy (Beck 1985: 143, MacLean 1991: 38) to his educational reform proposals (see section 5.2.1 and 5.3.2.3).

In the rural, and therefore less populated regions, the public schools became homogenous English language institutions as the government dictated and the Catholic population was forced to submit to the mixed religion schools. The small rural public schools which had seen a certain amount of autonomy and Catholic Church influence, came under the same regulations and teacher control and were therefore legally obliged to teach in English. This had a direct impact on such institutions as Arichat Academy, which had been a predominantly French language institution. The teaching staff of Arichat Academy at the time was composed mostly of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes*, who were forced to leave the school after the 1864 act forced the same teacher permit requirements on these instructors. The brothers were unwilling to prepare themselves for examination by a government board and therefore were forced to withdraw to other locations but were eventually forced to leave Nova Scotia (Pichette 1980: 148; see section 5.2.3.1). This loss was to be felt severely in Arichat where a progressive decline in the French language would be noticeable (Ross 2001: 48). Elsewhere, in the small schools of the Acadian villages, the French speaking teachers were able to become accredited over the years by the local examiners and School Commissioners (NS 1865: 29 [44]) as there was local rather than central [Halifax] examination which permitted some discretion on the part of the local inhabitants and their elites to license the teachers they wished. Where the communities were predominantly French speaking, the teachers would remain supportive of the Acadian's French language (Pomquet, Petit-de-Gras, Chéticamp) even though illegal after 1864, while in linguistically mixed areas the French language would be slowly eliminated (Chezzetcook, Havre-Boucher, Tracadie, Arichat and Richmond County) through the steady progress and use of English. This decline in the use of the

French language in Acadian villages has been documented by such researchers as Dr Sally Ross (1992: 143-157) in her article “Majorité ou minorité: le cas de l’île Madame”, by Ronald LaBelle (1992: 185-193; 1991:11) in his work *Acadian Life at Chezzetcook*, concerning the villages of West Chezzetcook and Grand Désert.

3.6.2 Reality in the Classroom

One of the clear changes in the classrooms of Acadian schools was the implication for teachers to meet a standard set of requirements established by the province (NS 1864: 58 [32]). The act of 1864 contained a list of six prerequisites. Each schoolmaster was:

1. to teach diligently all subjects required and keep discipline in the school;
2. not to establish a school without first seeking permission of the local trustees, and if the area had not trustees, to notify the clerk so trustees could be appointed;
3. to keep accurate registers of daily attendance of pupils ready for inspection by commissioners, provincial inspectors, visitors¹²³ and trustees;
4. to inform the parents and trustees twice yearly of the coming examinations through the pupils;
5. to publicize school meetings through the pupils to the trustees and clerks;
6. provide information about the school, its interests and character, to trustees, commissioners or the superintendent.

The act of 1865, “For the better encouragement of Education” (NS 1865: 29) also called the “Law Relating to The Public Schools in Nova Scotia” contained further directions for teachers wishing

123 Visitors, according to the *Law Relating to the Public Schools in Nova Scotia* (NS 1865: 29 [45]) were members of the Legislature, ministers of religion and magistrates.

to instruct in Nova Scotia. In addition to the six points listed above in 1864 were added the following (NS 1865: 29[44]):

1. Provincial grant for salaries would be distributed to male and female teachers equally in all districts except for teachers who possessed a lower than a first rate qualification.
2. Licensed assistants who were employed at least four hours per day would receive two-thirds of the allowed grant for a teacher depending on the classification of the teacher.
3. Teacher licenses were obligatory and had to be issued by the examiners of the employing district in order to receive funds for salaries.
4. Rolls and registers now had to be completed in the morning and afternoon “in the manner prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction” and had to be available for inspection by trustees, visitors, examiners, commissioners, inspectors, and superintendents.
5. Cooperation between trustees had to be maintained. This indicates that to this point there was some question of an innate lack of cooperation between teachers and trustees. Special mention was also made of the cooperation regarding examiners.
6. Christian morality was to be inculcated in pupils as well as “...all other virtues which are the ornaments of human society”.
7. Health and comfort of pupils was emphasized and the teachers had to report any diseases that might appear among the pupils. Comfort in the schools of mid-nineteenth century British North America was of course relative to the period. (Godbout 1972).
8. All teachers and pupils were “...to have a special care to the usage of school books and apparatus...” (Sweet 1999a: 76).
9. Penalties for destruction of school property put the onus on the school teacher to take care that school property was kept in good order. If the children themselves damaged the school it would still be incumbent on the teacher to pay the damages to the trustees if the damage was through “...gross neglect or failure to exercise proper discipline...”.
10. Public examinations were to be held “every half year”. These had to be communicated to the parents of the pupils of the school, the trustees and to the school visitors in the School Division. This would inevitably allow the parents and trustees to examine the progress of the pupils at the school and to determine whether the teacher was actually teaching and performing his/her duties according to the act.

For the teachers of the communities of Nova Scotia, these requirements increased not only their responsibilities towards the government and the local communities, but would also ensure a better

standard of accountability from teachers for their conduct and that of pupils in their charge. It would also force the trustees and commissioners to account to the central authority for the schools in their districts and not to consider themselves an independent power. Considering that it was now the taxpayers of the province who were paying for public education, it would be necessary to furnish the Legislative Assembly with details of the actions and educational results of the teachers.

With the advent of these more stringent rules for teachers in the acts (NS 1864: 58 and NS 1865: 29) which compelled Acadian teachers to report on the progress of their pupils, they were obliged to write their reports in good English and to ensure that their pupils passed the public examinations in English. This increased pressure to conform to the homogenous education system contained therefore a condemnation of the minority languages of Nova Scotia. The survival of French and "...the education of the Acadians would be heavily dependant on what could be found among their own ... teachers ..." (Sweet 1999a: 106). The fact that public school teachers and schools had been functioning in their own language between 1841 and 1864 made the change to English that much more difficult. Two decades of linguistic rights in the classrooms of Acadian public schools would not now endear the Acadian teachers and other members of the communities to the new laws which appear designed to assimilate all linguistic minorities into the English vernacular of the province and would lead to the continued clandestine use of French and the employment of Acadian teachers in the schoolrooms to ensure that the pupils received an adequate education that would not be guaranteed under the new system of compulsory education.

3.7 Conclusion

As seen in this chapter, government legislation relating to teachers and teaching in Nova Scotia in the first few acts (see section 3.2), aimed at establishing the Church of England as the official Church of the province as well as controller of the educational establishment. The military and then civilian governments between 1758 and 1864 sought to regulate the population who had access to public education and those minority population groups who had established private schools in their villages. There was some success on the part of the Acadians of eastern Nova Scotia under the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of education” of 1841 which permitted public schools to function in French. This act provided a 23-year period when French language public education was permitted in Nova Scotia. Encouraged by the initial success of French language teachers in the Acadian villages, Acadians would continue to rely on French teachers in their schools (see section 4.3), thus preserving their language and culture even after the enactment of the 1864 “Act for the encouragement of Education” which failed to make allowance for the use of French, German and Gaelic in the public schools of Nova Scotia.

This study of the laws affecting teachers and teaching in Nova Scotia is necessary to gain insight into the parameters in which Acadian teachers had to accommodate themselves during the

nineteenth century and under earlier British military administrations (1758-1811) and early Legislative councils in the colony (from 1811).

CHAPTER 4: ACADIAN PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS: BACKGROUND AND EDUCATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

To this point in the discussion of the Acadian teachers in public schools in eastern Nova Scotia the focus has been on the political and legal situation (see chapter 3) as well as an historical perspective of the place for French language education in the British North American colonies of the 1811 to 1864 period (see chapter 2). It will be the objective of this chapter to provide a background to the Acadian public school teachers working in the Acadian villages of the eastern part of Nova Scotia. In many instances the private teachers became public school teachers after 1841 (see section 3.5) in order to enable schools to apply for the provincial grant. Licensing had been a local affair for the Trustees and later the School Commissioners, however changes appeared to this system following the implementation of the 1864 and 1865 education acts (see sections 3.4 and 3.5).

This chapter will cover teacher origins and village schools as well as the training teachers might have had and finally a look at some of the legal constraints placed on the public school teachers of the day based on some of the legalities discussed in chapter three. The use of census records, parish records and government maps (see section 4.3.4) and related demographic documents will be used to give an accurate picture of the background of Acadian teachers in the public schools.

This chapter, concerning the public school teachers themselves is a pivotal answer to the questions raised in chapter one of this thesis (see section 1.3). Questions pertaining to the characteristics of these teachers and the social dynamics in the villages, including their ethnic background and teacher training, were raised in the first chapter and many of these are answered in chapter four. With these answers the reader will be able to appreciate the essential leadership role of the Acadian public school teacher as an educated participant in the small but influential elite of the Acadian village community.

While the primary school records are often silent concerning the origin of the public school teachers in Acadian villages, archival sources such as census records, parish statistics and diocesan documents can be used to trace their origins and reveal the work conducted by the Acadian teachers in the public system. In this chapter, the public school teachers in Acadian villages are identified and those of a Francophone heritage are studied through public records. Through this means, the educational and social background of the Acadian public school teachers can be illustrated. Often there was a lineage of teaching within families (see section 4.3.2.2, 4.3.3.3 and 4.3.4). There is evidence as well of a migration from teaching to the religious vocation within the realm of public school education as was the case of many of the Trappistine sisters who were previously teachers in Acadian villages, or male teachers who became priests (see sections 4.4.2 and 5.2.2.1). This phenomenon was found in other Acadian communities outside of Nova Scotia in the mid to late nineteenth century (Andrews 1996: 103).

There is confirmation of the continuity between the initial efforts at creating a small literate elite by the early mission priests as demonstrated by Sweet (1999a) and the teachers working in the early Acadian public schools (see sections 4.3.1, 4.3.3 and 4.3.4). This link is vital from the point of view of the survival of the French language and culture in some of the Acadian villages of eastern Nova Scotia dominated by the English language population. It also established the growing elite of educated Acadians able to take leadership roles in the village communities outside the confines of the Church. The leadership created was localised, however, to the Acadian villages themselves, and did not constitute an elite that was very much connected with other Acadian communities in the Maritimes (Andrew 1996: 76). The new elite was limited but followed the trend of being either the teachers, doctors, lawyers or priests in the villages.

The developments in the advancement of Acadian public school teachers in the newly founded or funded public schools in eastern Nova Scotia studied in this thesis were ahead of the Acadian Renaissance¹²⁴ that took place in the 1880s and 1890s. This education “was particularly important in developing the more urbanized elite of the Acadian renaissance period ... it also provided the qualifications necessary to establish the professional and church-based elite” (Andrew 1996: 63).

¹²⁴ The Acadian Renaissance appeared in the late nineteenth century which was a recognition within the Acadian communities of the Maritimes, that validated their language and culture as well as propelled members of the these communities to demand better recognition and rights to language, schools and communities (Conrad & Hiller 2001: 150).

Basque (1996) has presented the leadership of the village of Néguaç in northern New Brunswick in the first half of the nineteenth century in his work entitled *Des hommes de pouvoir. Histoire d'Otho Robichaud et de sa famille, notables acadiens de Port Royal et de Néguaç*¹²⁵. The development of this leadership and their role in that developing Acadian community in the “Acadian Peninsula” region of northern New Brunswick was important as evidence of non-ecclesiastical leadership in the Acadian villages of the region (Basque 1996: 131, Bourgeois & Basque 1984: 9-10). It should be pointed out, that while this elite was developing in Néguaç, it was in a region dominated by the Acadian population and its cultural values and way of life. The villages were nearly exclusively French speaking and set away from the influence of the English population of the province. The isolation of such a large Acadian nearly homogenous population would permit the development of local Acadians into roles that might otherwise not extend, at such early dates, to other regions of the Maritime Provinces where, as in Nova Scotia, the Acadians were not permitted to settle together in large communities (Boucher 1985: 8). Instead, the Acadians of eastern Nova Scotia, being a minority in the province (Bastarache & Ouellet 1993: 413), were reliant at first on the Catholic Church before the development of a small number of non-ecclesiastical members of the communities, an elite which developed in Nova Scotia during the second half of the nineteenth century (see section 4.5.1 and Sweet 1999a: 54), later

¹²⁵ “Men of Power. The History of Otho Robichaud and his Family, Acadian Notables of Port Royal and Néguaç” (TR).

than that of northern New Brunswick. (Basque 1996: 131).

For many Acadian communities in eastern Nova Scotia, (Sweet 1999a: 52) an influx of English and Gaelic speaking immigrants in the early nineteenth century caused the Acadian villages to be either dominated by the new settlers or have a minority population of English speaking people who would come to control the leadership positions in the society (Ross & Deveau 1992: 120-121). The work of the early Acadian public school teachers in creating an educated Acadian leadership within the community, though relatively small at first, would ensure linguistic endurance essential to the well-being and future survival of the Acadian communities of eastern Nova Scotia.

In this chapter, the Acadian teachers are studied from the school reports of Inverness, Richmond, Antigonish and Guysborough counties (see Map 1 in section 1.1). These counties are the only ones to have a population of Acadians. Cape Breton¹²⁶, Victoria and Pictou counties are not included for this reason. As there is more than one year without school reports from the schools of Richmond County, much as in all the other public school districts in eastern Nova Scotia, there should be no presumption that there was not a public school, but rather that the school reports were not filed or have since been lost. The same could be said for the date of the establishment of

¹²⁶ Cape Breton County should not be confused with Cape Breton Island where the county is found. This county includes the city of Sydney and the town of Louisbourg (author).

a public school, which should be counted from the date of public monies being forwarded for its support under the appropriate education acts (see section 3.2) rather than by date of first appearance of public school reports.

4.2 BACKGROUND OF TEACHERS

The teachers in Acadian public schools in eastern Nova Scotia are frequently mentioned by name among writers of Acadian education (Chiasson 1961, Ross 2001, Basque 1994), but the cognitive development of these teachers as well as their backgrounds are often given only a cursory reference. In this chapter, those Acadian and other Francophone teachers listed in archival sources between 1811 and 1864 as well as those from non-governmental sources will be analysed for their village of origin, ethnic background and teacher training. These dates are chosen as they indicated the first date of public school legislation in Nova Scotia (1811) and the “Tupper Law” (1864) that ended official French language use in public schools in the province. Non-Acadian teachers are also discussed in this chapter as some of the later teachers also came from other provinces and ethnic backgrounds: Lower Canadians, Jersey Islanders, Scottish, English, Irish and from France.

4.2.1 Ethnic Background

It might have been presumed that the schools and their teachers in Acadian villages were always Acadians. However, this is not the case. In Chezzetcook, Halifax County (see Map 1 and Map 2 in section 1.1) for instance, the first full time schoolmaster was Antoine Faucher a *Canadien*¹²⁷ from Lower Canada. Faucher arrived in Chezzetcook with the parish priest Father Pierre Migneault in 1814 (Labelle 1991: 25).

It will also be seen in the research presented in this chapter, that not all the teachers were as adept at the French language as others and this in turn had an effect on the language of the school during the individual teacher's tenure (Sweet 1999a: 50). This was to have as great or greater effect on the language of the villages as well as whether or not there was French language clergy residing in the local parish. While public schools were essentially government schools, for many years following the establishment of the public schools in 1811, there was influence of the Catholic and Protestant Churches on the Trustees and School Commissioners (PANS RG14: 3-4, RG14: 56-57). Considering that the Clergy were often called on to provide moral examination to prospective teachers (NS 1826: 5) it is not surprising to find this continued role of moral arbiter continued throughout the nineteenth century. It should also be remembered that the Catholic

¹²⁷ "Canadien" was a term used before Confederation in 1867 to refer to a Francophone from Lower Canada.

hierarchy saw the public schools within its communities as essentially “Catholic Schools” within the public school system (MacLean 1991: 38-39, Sisson 1959: 316). In Halifax there were eight Catholic schools in 1865 with 1050 pupils making up 54% of the common school students in the city at that time (Hood 1996: 69).

Bishop Cameron of Antigonish opposed common schools as well as the 1864 and 1865 Education acts (MacLean 1991: 31). In a letter to Cardinal Barnabo in Rome, quoted by MacLean (1991: 31) in 1869, five years following the enactment of the “Tupper Law” of education (see section 3.6), Cameron confirmed that up to the passing of the “Common School Act” of 1864 and 1865, there had been an unofficial separate school system in which the Catholic population was free to build schools and hire teachers according to both the current education law of the province and in accordance with the desires of the Roman Church which dominated the Acadian communities. The Bishop and the unofficial newspaper for the Diocese, *The Casket*, agreed with Rome that Catholics should attend separate schools (*The Casket* 1858: 11[2]; MacLean 1991: 31; see section 5.2.1). With this in mind it is clear that Acadian teachers could teach in French during the previous education acts, perhaps even before the Education Act of 1841 with tacit knowledge of the government. It was noted by MacLean as well that Bishop MacKinnon had selected for the

Acadian parishes and their schools of the diocese *Le petit catéchisme de Québec* (Archives of the Diocese of Antigonish¹²⁸ MacKinnon 2[1]: 1-7).

4.3 ACADIAN TEACHERS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A detailed investigation will be presented in this section illustrating the names and backgrounds of individual public school teachers found in the Acadian communities of eastern Nova Scotia. In this section, an attempt is made to demonstrate the relation between teachers and the communities themselves. Public school teachers often came from the very community where they taught. As well there was often a direct correlation between the public school teachers and those who initially taught them before the establishment of the public school system. This then emphasizes the premise found in section 1.3 that there was a direct educational connection between the public school teachers as inheritors of the preliminary education established by the Catholic Church in the villages under the mission priests as early as the late 18th century in eastern Nova Scotia (Sweet 1999a). It shows in many cases that the public school teachers were themselves recipients of the teaching of the early priests (see section 5.2.2).

¹²⁸ Hereafter ADA.

4.3.1 Inverness County

Inverness County of Nova Scotia is found on the north eastern shore of Cape Breton Island stretching from Cape North to Port Hawkesbury in the south (see Map 1 in section 1.1). It should be remembered that the county had a dual ethnic composition; that of the Acadians and that of the English-speaking settlers of predominantly Scottish, Irish and English (Wade 1972: 10-11). The Acadians settled in the area surrounding Chéticamp as far south as Magré (Margaree) (see Map 2 in section 1.1). At the Margaree Valley and south as well as west, the Scots, Irish and English settled creating a linguistic divide in the county along the Margaree River, north of which was Acadian. The Acadians made up a relatively small population in Inverness county of 406 people according to the census of 1838 (PANS RG1: 449 [133]).

Though there were early reports of private schools being founded in the area as early as 1803 (AAQ, RL 211A, III: 329) and private teaching (AAQ 312 CN, N-É II: 148, 149) taking place, there were no official school reports being submitted to the government in Halifax until 1846 from Chéticamp (PANS RG14: 39) and 1847 from Magré (PANS RG14: 39). It is interesting to note that the school reports from the public schools of the area were served by teachers who reflected the linguistic divide of the region (compare sections 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2) between the English parts of the county in the south and central areas and the French speaking northern district from Cap Rouge north of Chéticamp to as far south as Magré.

4.3.1.1 Chéticamp

According to Chiasson (1961: 161) in his work *Chéticamp: Histoire et traditions acadiennes*, “[p]armi les nouvelles recrues arrivées à Chéticamp, quelques hommes savaient lire et écrire...”¹²⁹ in French. Mentioned specifically are François Lefort, Louis Lehuidée and Jean Bourgeois from the French Navy in 1806 (Chiasson 1961: 33). Men from the French Navy would also appear in the Tracadie area of Nova Scotia following imprisonment during the Napoleonic War (1799-1815) (see section 4.3.3.1). Men with a knowledge of reading and writing, would, as shown in other Acadian villages, pass on this knowledge to their families and the surrounding children. As mentioned by Chiasson (1961), Ross (2001), Basque (1984) and Sweet (1999a), the first teachers were often ambulant and this was the case not just in Chéticamp as it was common in other areas of early nineteenth century Nova Scotia (MacDougall 1976: 52). Peripatetic teaching was common throughout the early history of New France (Magnuson 1990) as well.

With the official sanctioning of French in Nova Scotia public schools under the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools and to alter and amend the same” (NS 1841: 43), there was nothing to prohibit the local schools of the Chéticamp from offering public school education in French. The evidence of the schools becoming public by the provision of yearly school reports in exchange for the annual school subsidy provides details of the subjects taught, students and

129 “Among the new arrivals at Chéticamp were several men who could read and write...” (TR).

language of instruction.

The first teachers and their years teaching in Chéticamp, according to the official school reports were Jean de Carteret 1847-1850 (PANS RG14: 39), Jean Bourgeois and Urbain Cormier 1846-1850 (PANS RG14: 39), Sophique Beaudin, Joséphine Thériault 1846-1847 (PANS RG14: 39) and Isadore Delorie 1846-1847 (PANS RG14: 39). Isadore Delorie though mentioned with reference to Chéticamp here, is discussed in more detail when speaking of Guysborough County (see section 4.3.4), was born 5 February, 1820 in Tracadie and died in Merland, Antigonish County 27 March, 1892. For a period of approximately twenty years Isadore Delorie taught in Guysborough County and appears in the census records of Molasses Harbour, 1871, and of Larry's River in 1881.

Jean de Carteret (1847-1850) became quite well known due to his long service in the public schools of Chéticamp (PANS RG14: 39). He was a British settler from the French speaking Protestant Jersey Island in the United Kingdom. He migrated for work to Chéticamp as other Jersey Islanders did, working in the fishery among the Acadian population. Jean, however, converted to Catholicism after his arrival in Chéticamp (Chiasson 1961: 161, Ross 2001: 34) and became a local teacher in both private teaching and then in the public schools when they were established, applying the learning he had received in his native country. De Carteret started his teaching career as a peripatetic teacher; “[o]n sait qu’au début, le professeur passait de maison en maison où il réunissait les enfants du voisinage et leur enseignant le catéchisme et les rudiments

de la lecture”¹³⁰ (Chiasson 1961: 161), though he changed to conventional teaching at the local school in Chéticamp when that became available by 1826.

According to Chiasson (1961: 162), there were, in fact, two schools established in the village following the passage of the education legislation of 1826 (NS 1826: 5[13], see section 3.4.2.2) and four schools in the Chéticamp region by 1850 (Ross 2001: 34). While Ross (2001: 33) maintains that there were no public schools before 1846 in Chéticamp, it should be remembered that schools became public following the passage of the various education acts of the 1820s (see section 3.4.2) if the school wished to take advantage of provincial subsidies, even if there are no extant records to verify official school returns and records before 1846. The schools in question would most likely have been established as private schools with the parents subscribing to send their children for education. As and when monies became available through the education acts for support of schools (NS 1826), the schools could be considered public as they were then accepting public monies for support. It is very hard to prove the exact dates of when funds were accepted by the local schools with so few records from the period, but the fact that four schools were built in the area of Chéticamp in the first half of the nineteenth century would lead to the conclusion that in an area of relatively poor Acadians on the margins of Nova Scotia society, must have accepted financial support from outside the community to have these buildings and teachers (NS 1826).

¹³⁰ “It was said, in the beginning, the teacher would pass from house to house where he would gather the neighbouring children and teach them catechism and the basics of reading” (TR).

Jean Bourgeois, of whom little is known, was also a peripatetic teacher in Chéticamp, along with Urbain Cormier. According to Chiasson (1961: 162), Cormier was only capable of teaching French reading and writing. Urbain (Urlong) Cormier was one of the first non-ecclesiastical school teachers in the area. He taught at home and then in schools (Chiasson 1961: 191). He is listed in the official School Report for Chéticamp as teaching in 1846 to 1848 and again in 1850 (PANS RG14: 39). The fact that there is a gap in the dates shown in the school report does not necessarily mean that Cormier did not teach in the intervening years, but rather that there are no known records of school reports being submitted by him to the school commissioners. There were, in fact, reports each year, except 1849, from the other teachers in Chéticamp in the intervening years (PANS RG14: 39). Other teachers during these early years in Chéticamp included H. Blanchard 1846, L. Chiasson 1850 and Joseph LeBlanc 1850 for which little is known and even less for those including Saphique Beaudin, Joséphine Thériault, Charles LaFrance, Paddy à Christine, and Laurent Chiasson,

Following the passing of “Tupper’s Law” (NS 1864), Paul and Évariste LeBlanc were invited from New Brunswick (Chaisson 1961: 164) to teach at the request of Father Hubert Girroir who worked to found schools in the Chéticamp area during his period as parish priest from 1868 to 1875 following his re-appointment within the diocese (see section 5.2.3.1). Paul LeBlanc later became a Holy Cross priest in New Brunswick and Évariste retired from teaching for health reasons (Chaisson 1961: 164). As can be seen from the dates in this section connected to the

teachers, their employment was often for short periods, for as little as a year or less.

As Chiasson (1961: 191) states in his work *Chéticamp; Histoire et traditions acadiennes*, all the teachers at this time in the early nineteenth century taught only what they themselves had learnt or knew, which was often very rudimentary. Their subjects were basic reading and writing as well as mathematics and the catechism.

4.3.1.2 Magré (Margaree)

The official school reports of Magré (Margaree in English) began in 1847 and ended in 1850, a very short period of time for submitting reports. In this three-year period there appear eight teachers, none of whom are Acadian or Francophone. The names of those appearing in the registers (PANS RG14: 39) are: H. Hull, C. MacKinnon, William Ayre, John MacRae, Ewen McPhie, Hugh Fraser, A. MacFarlane and J. Burke. The fact that the Acadians were a minority in Magré is indicated by their absence as teachers. The preponderance of Scottish names is a better indication of the language of use in the village and the school. MacDougall (1976: 53-54) attests to the scholarly ability of the Scottish teachers in the public school of Magré. An interesting note from the work of MacDougall is that two of the teachers in region were educated at Arichat Academy, but not mentioned by name (see section 5.2.3) and prepared for teaching at the high school level (MacDougall 1976: 55-56).

This lack of French speaking instruction from qualified teaching personnel who spoke the language of the Acadians of Magré, would have a profound effect on the Acadians of this region of Inverness County and result in the demise of the French language. Magré, being an ethnically mixed community of Acadian, Scottish and Irish (Plessis 1812: 100), would result in the gradual decline of those claiming French as their mother language, much as it did in villages such as Arichat (Sweet 1999a: 52) and Chezzetcook (Labelle 1992: 191, see section 4.3.5). The Scots, perhaps already with some knowledge of the basics in reading and writing in English and Gaelic were able to become licensed as schoolmasters under the terms of the Education Acts of the 1840s, even though the Act of 1841 “An act for the encouragement of schools...” permitted the French language to be used in the public schools in Nova Scotia. While areas such as Arichat alternated yearly between instructors in English and French (Sweet 1999a: 50), Magré evidently did not and therefore the outcome would be a weakening of the French language in this area of Inverness county to the extent that it became an English speaking village with the name Margaree.

4.3.2 Richmond County

The Acadians of Richmond County, Nova Scotia, could count on a reasonable offering in the field of education, both public and private through school teachers who were French speaking. Public schools would cater to Acadian needs to a great extent and were funded by the government (see section 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5). By 1852 there were 32 common schools in Richmond County, which had an Acadian majority at the time, supported by means of government grants and subscriptions

(NS *Journal* 1853: 198). An interesting point to learn from the Report by Superintendent of Schools John Dawson, to the Nova Scotia Legislature in 1853 in the *Legislative Journal*, is that of the 32 schools, very few of the public school teachers made regular reports to the government for Richmond County (PANS RG14: 56-57), or if they indeed did forward reports, not all were kept.

The Acadian villages of Richmond County are located on the mainland of Cape Breton Island and Île Madame just off its southern coast (see Map 1 in section 1.1). The county seat is at Arichat, the largest community situated on Île Madame. Richmond County was the one county in Nova Scotia where the Acadian population formed the majority of the population (Ross 1992: 143). However, "... cette force numérique à l'échelle du comté n'a pas joué en faveur de la langue française ..."¹³¹ (Ross 1992: 143). And as Labelle (1991: 11) has stated in his comprehensive work concerning the village of Chezzetcook entitled *La vie acadienne à Chezzetcook, Nouvelle-Écosse*¹³² "...une après l'autre, les communautés acadiennes du comté se sont cependant assimilées à la minorité anglophone..."¹³³. In this section, the villages studied will be L'Ardoise and Rivière-Bourgeois from the mainland portion of the county, and D'Escousse, Arichat, Arichat-Ouest and Petit-de-Gras on Île Madame (see Map 1 in section 1.1). Of these villages only Petit-de-Gras continues to use the French language on a continuous basis (Labelle 1991: 11). The interest in these villages in particular is derived from the number of school records available as well as the names of some of the teachers and the roles they played in the local communities and

¹³¹ "... this numeric force throughout the county did not play a favourable role for the French language..." (TR).

¹³² "Acadian Life in Chezzetcook, Nova Scotia" (TR).

¹³³ "One after the other, the Acadian communities of the county were assimilated by the Anglophone minority"(TR).

their eventual migration into other work within the Acadian communities (see section 4.4).

4.3.2.1 L'Ardoise

In the village of L'Ardoise, the public school teachers began submitting school reports to the provincial secretary in 1825 as the teachers in the single room schools also acted as principle for the school. In L'Ardoise the teacher Bruno Béranger carried this on until 1827. Béranger is reputed to have taught in L'Ardoise until 1828 (Samson 1994: 70, Boudreau 1984: 73) after which he moved to Rivière-Bourgeois to teach (see section 4.3.2.2). There was a School Report made in 1836 by J. Donovan and another in 1847 by Mr John McLeod for L'Ardoise Road School, but the majority of the School Reports from L'Ardoise were prepared and submitted by Jeanne Mombourquette in 1840 and 1845 and again in 1848, 1849 and 1850.

The fact that at this early date of 1840 there was an Acadian woman, Jeanne Mombourquette, teaching is noteworthy. According to the Education Act of Nova Scotia (NS 1841) women were to be encouraged to become teachers (see section 3.5.2). Jeanne Mombourquette's early education is attributed to Bruno Béranger who taught in L'Ardoise from 1825 to 1828/9. Jeanne Mombourquette taught between 1840 and 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57) at the public school in L'Ardoise. Jeanne Mombourquette was born in 1808 at L'Ardoise to Honoré Mombourquette also from L'Ardoise and Henriette Cordeau, originally from Gabarus, Cape Breton Island. Very little is known about the early life of Jeanne Mombourquette, but she appears to have been from a

family of 10 children (Rootsweb [<http://www.rootsweb.com/>]: Mombourquette). It was under Bruno Béranger that Jeanne Mombourquette began her schooling one of the first of the links between the earliest teachers and the new public school teachers of Acadian origin. Mombourquette's school reports for the public school indicate that she had taken on teaching at the public school by 1840 (PANS RG14: 56-57). At that time she would have been 32 years of age, quite late to begin teaching which would beg the question whether she actually had students in a private capacity before that date? Alternatively, she could have been teaching at the school without submitting reports.

Following ten years of teaching in the public school at L'Ardoise, Jeanne Mombourquette left L'Ardoise in 1850, perhaps staying briefly with her younger sister Angèle who had married and was living in Tracadie from 1834 (Rootsweb [<http://www.rootsweb.com/>]: Mombourquette, NS Census 1838). Jeanne Mombourquette entered the noviciate of the *Notre-Dame des Septs-Douleurs* Trappistine convent in Tracadie, Antigonish County (see section 5.2.2.1) at the age of 42. Little more is heard of her, but her work as a public school teacher would have been useful to the Trappistine Order in Tracadie which operated a school for local girls in both French and English (see section 5.2.2.1). She was listed in the census for Big Tracadie (Canada Census 1871: 201[H-2]) erroneously as aged 62 when she was actually 63, and is known to have died before 1886 (Boudreau 1980: 157). Jeanne Mombourquette's life in L'Ardoise is of value to this study as she was one of the first women of Acadian extraction to have been a public school teacher in eastern Nova Scotia in an Acadian village at a time when the developing of a new leadership was

predominantly male oriented.

4.3.2.2 Rivière-Bourgeois

According to the public School Records, there were three teachers in the public school at Rivière-Bourgeois during the first half of the nineteenth century. In Rivière-Bourgeois there was one Francophone teacher and two Anglophones: Bruno Béranger, George Strachan and J. Hefferman. Bruno Béranger appears to have taught in the village between 1827 and 1869, while George Strachan taught from 1840 to 1850 and J. Hefferman during 1850 only.

Bruno Béranger was a laicised Trappist monk from Tracadie (Schrepfer 1947: 43), though originally from France. Béranger arrived in Tracadie (see Map 2 in section 1.1) in 1825 (Schrepfer 1947: 37) with Father Vincent de Paul Merle and a number of other monks (AAQ NE V: 118), to establish more permanently, the monastery at Tracadie that was originally founded by Vincent de Paul in 1818 (AAQ NE V: 106, Boudreau 1980: 82). From Tracadie, Bruno Béranger migrated to Havre-Boucher where he began teaching local children (Schrepfer 1947: 43), followed by another move, this time to L'Ardoise in 1825 and finally settling in Rivière-Bourgeois in 1829. He remained in Rivière-Bourgeois until his death in 1869 (Samson 1994: 69). While not an Acadian, nor from Lower Canada, Bruno Béranger integrated into the Acadian community of Rivière-Bourgeois following his marriage to an Acadian (Schrepfer 1947: 43).

Béranger is first mentioned in a Rivière-Bourgeois petition of Father Courteau (PANS RG5 Series P: 77 [1869]), the parish priest of Rivière-Bourgeois, seeking government assistance to pay Béranger as a teacher in 1839 (Samson 1994: 70). Béranger taught in the field near his home and in his own house (Samson 1994: 71) teaching French and English before there was a school in the village. Though not having formal teaching skills, Béranger's ability to teach would more than likely have been developed while being a monk in France before arriving in Tracadie and while teaching the catechism classes at his parish (Samson 1994: 69). As a Trappist monk in that era from France he would have had knowledge of the French language, Latin and basic mathematics. He would also have learned English locally in both Tracadie and Rivière-Bourgeois.

Samson (1994: 70) mentions in his encompassing work concerning the history of Rivière-Bourgeois *The River That Isn't: A Tale of Survival and Prosperity Rivière-Bourgeois, Cape Breton, 1717 to 1994*, that Bruno Béranger was the first school teacher in Rivière-Bourgeois and that he, after 1839, was the first public school teacher. Béranger's grand daughter was to become a teaching assistant in the same community in the 1890s (Samson 1994: 73) in keeping with the pattern of teachers, both private and public, coming from the same community and family (see section 4.4). The Public School records indicate that Bruno Béranger submitted School Reports from 1827 until 1869 (PANS RG15: 56-57). Béranger could be considered the longest serving Francophone public school teacher in an Acadian community in eastern Nova Scotia.

4.3.2.3 D'Escousse

On the north side of Île Madame is found the village of D'Escousse. Settlement along the north shore of Île Madame in the early eighteenth century was induced by the "... suitability as a base for fishing operations carried out on Newfoundland's Grand Banks..." (*Île Madame* 1973: 5, see Map 1 in section 1.1). With the growth of population in D'Escousse, by 1824, a parish was established with a resident priest. At the same time, with the introduction of the public school system in Nova Scotia in 1811 (see section 3.4.1) the possibility of a school for D'Escousse, as a growing community, was possible.

According to the Nova Scotia school reports for D'Escousse in 1828 (PANS RG14: 56-57), nearly 85% of the children attending the school were Acadian. The first public school records for the school in D'Escousse were submitted in 1827 with a subsequent submission for the year 1829. The two reports were made by Thomas Culliton (PANS RG14: 56-57 [167]) who was listed as a farmer in the 1838 Nova Scotia census (NS *Census* 1838). As outlined in chapter 1, section 1.3, the situation where an Anglophone was teaching a class of overwhelming numbers of Francophones was not unique to D'Escousse (see sections 4.3.2.4 and 4.3.3.1). As will be seen in this section, D'Escousse did have many Acadian teachers following Thomas Culliton, perhaps in response to the overwhelming numbers of Acadian pupils who would have found it difficult to attend a class with a teacher who could not speak French. The other teachers, including the French speaking teachers at the public school in D'Escousse who submitted school reports or were mentioned in the school reports from the public school were: Stephen Bruton (see section 4.3.2.4)

who taught from 1845 to 1847 and who taught previously in Arichat from 1828 to 1832 and again in Arichat in 1836, B.G.G. Potts who submitted a School Report in 1847, Charles Martel who taught in 1848 and 1849 and Dennis Sweeney who served as a teacher from 1849 to 1850.

In the neighbouring Acadian village of Lower D'Escousse, Samuel Keating also an Anglophone taught from 1848 to 1850. Amongst the teachers in D'Escousse mentioned in this section it is clear that only Charles Martel and Stephen (Étienne) Bruton were French speaking public school teachers. Stephen Bruton became the first Acadian public school teacher in the school at D'Escousse (PANS RG14: 56-57).

Charles P. Martel (1829-1891) is of interest to this thesis not only for his role as a public school teacher (1848-1849), but also for his migration into the sacerdotal life of the Diocese of Antigonish. Martel was to become one of the first Acadians ordained to the priesthood in the diocese (Johnston 1994: 34). Martel studied for a career in commerce in Arichat (see section 5.2.3.2) where he was born and became a merchant for a number of years before taking on the role of public school teacher in D'Escousse in 1848 and 1849. From 1855, Martel began his studies for theology at Saint Francis Xavier University, which had moved to Antigonish from Arichat (see section 5.2.3). After a brief period of studies at the *Grand Séminaire de Québec* in 1858, Charles Martel returned to Antigonish where he finished his studies and was ordained in 1860. His priestly life took him to Tracadie, Havre-Boucher and Pomquet and later to Rivière-Bourgeois where he lived until his death in 1891.

What is interesting concerning Martel is that his initial education was geared towards becoming a merchant. This is illustrated by his private studies in commerce in Arichat at the Arichat Academy. Born into a region built on commerce and shipping (Boudreau 1974: 110) it would be quite natural to enter into a trade in his own village. It is not known if Charles Martel trained as a teacher while at the Academy, but considering that completion of any programme of studies at the Academy, and in the case of Martel this would have been in commerce, this was all that was needed in the 1840s as a pre-requisite to be examined by the local school commissioners to acquire a teaching permit for the public schools in Richmond County. The first public School Report in 1848 prepared by Charles Martel would have him as 19 years old. His early studies could, therefore, have fallen before 1841 (see section 5.2.3).

Near D'Escousse on the north side of Île Madame is the village of Poulamon where Louis Seniat taught from 1817 to 1825 and also in 1834 (Ross 2001: 30). Seniat was originally from France and came to Île Madame by way of Rollo Bay (Baie Fortune) on Prince Edward Island. He appeared in Poulamon in 1830 (PANS RG1: 337) requesting support from the provincial government for payment for teaching, but was refused through the local School Commissioners in Arichat on the grounds that he was teaching in French only (Ross 2001: 30). Evidently his teaching went on without school reports being forwarded to Halifax.

Seniat was licensed in Nova Scotia through the Board of School Commissioners for the Upper District of Sydney (now Antigonish County) in 1832 (PEI 2702/479). His teaching license made it clear that he was teaching in French and had been examined for literary requirements and the “...faithful duties of a Schoolmaster...” (PEI 2702/479). Louis Seniat was licensed to teach reading, writing and arithmetic and that, in French, since the license was granted with the word *English* stuck through and replaced with the word *French*.

4.3.2.4 Arichat

Arichat (see Map 1 in section 1.1) is the village where, more than in any other, the confrontation and divide between the two language groups of English and French speaking residents was most pronounced as the Acadians formed the majority but were consistently denied opportunities by the English language minority around them. While the other Acadian communities would face assimilationist tendencies over the years in eastern Nova Scotia (see section 1.3), it was in Arichat that the earliest and most obvious difficulties would appear.

Arichat village had a longer tradition of public school teachers than other villages due to it being the largest community in Richmond County. As mentioned in section 4.3.2.3, Arichat had developed into a commercial centre for lower Cape Breton Island with fishing, trans-shipment and ship construction as the principle industries. According to the census of 1811 (NS *Census* 1811) there were approximately 1080 Acadians living in Arichat, from a total population of 1200. The

fishery of Arichat and the rest of Île Madame were dominated by the Jersey families who migrated from the Island of Jersey in the English Channel. Ross and Deveau (1992: 120-121) describe the situation of the domination by a few Protestant Jersey families on Île Madame and at Arichat in particular in *The Acadians of Nova Scotia: Past and Present*:

Despite the fact that they represented a very small percentage of the population, these families occupied virtually all the important judicial, governmental and military positions in Richmond County until the mid-1800s. This reflected not only the economic and political power of the Protestant merchants but also the educational disadvantage of the Acadians. The Jersey families who first settled in Île Madame were bilingual, well educated and they had the distinct political advantage of belonging to the Church of England.

When the names of the public school teachers of Arichat are read against the demographic and political background of the area, it is little wonder that the Acadians had to accommodate themselves to the linguistic reality of an English language minority in positions of authority and having only English speaking public school teachers with the exception of Stephen Bruton. In 1829, Father Roy of the Arichat parish wrote to the Bishop concerning the deplorable state of Acadian education in the parish (AAQ NE VI: 97) and a letter from Father Courteau (AAQ NE VII: 61) also addressed to the bishop the following year, indicates the level of English language that the Acadians of Arichat had at that time: there were very few who could conduct business and life in anything but French. The ignorance of the Acadian students could only begin to change with the coming of Stephen Bruton to the public school in Arichat, but this situation would not last and the remainder of the public school teachers at Arichat would be Anglophones.

The school records (PANS RG14: 56-57) show that there was a public school in 1828 in Arichat with Stephen Bruton and John Walsh as teachers from 1828 to 1829 who also submitted school records in 1832 and 1836. Further public school teachers (PANS RG14: 56-57) were John Fuller and Malcolm McLethan teaching in 1840 and 1845, as well as from 1847 to 1850, and finally John Shaw submitting a public school report in 1845. There is one report on record from the public school at Grand-Ruisseau, a village outside Arichat, made by Bruno Béranger (see section 4.3.2.2) for the 1849 to 1850 school year.

During the tenure of Stephen Bruton and John Walsh at the Arichat public school, the linguistic divide within the local population became clear and the use of the school was pivotal in the linguistic dual within the Arichat community. As indicated in section 1.3, the difficulties in relations between the two linguistic groups in communities such as Arichat, were delicate and became one of the two major divisive factors, the other being religion. In order to promote the French language and ensure that the Acadians were provided with schooling, the Catholic Church became directly involved (Sweet 1999a and Sweet 2000).

Of the children who attended the Arichat public school in 1828 to 1829, over 70% were Acadian of French language origin while only 30% were from a mixed or anglophone background (PANS RG14: 56-57). In 1829 John Walsh became the public school teacher who was a unilingual Anglophone, and the student population in the school was reversed linguistically to favour the English language as the public school records clearly indicate for 1829 (PANS RG14: 56-57). It

was not unknown, that the Catholic parish priest could influence the parents of school children and have them refrain from sending their children to a school with an English speaking Protestant teacher (Andrew 1996: 71), which could well have been the case in Arichat considering the sudden reversal in numbers. The previous year the majority of pupils were French speaking under Stephen Bruton in 1828.

Considering that the majority of the teachers over the years at the Arichat public school were Anglophones it is easy to understand how the Acadian population of Arichat, who formed such an overwhelming majority of the population, would come to resent the presence of the small but overly influential Anglophone population and their own lack of opportunities from a deficiency in education and educational opportunities. The public school under Stephen Bruton in 1828 would therefore be an oasis for the Acadian children in Arichat during his period as public school teacher. His teaching in Arichat ended in 1836. However, he again appears in the public school records for the neighbouring village of Arichat-Ouest from 1848 to 1850 (see section 4.3.2.5).

It was for the reason of control and the linguistic difficulties in Arichat that Father John Chisholm founded the first Arichat Academy as a private institution in 1833 (see section 5.2.3); though originally a Catholic Church school it eventually became non-denominational under the auspices of Richmond County. The subjects taught at Arichat Academy were English, French, Greek, Latin, Ancient and Modern History, Geography, Mathematics, Navigation, Logic and Rhetoric (Johnston 1971: 157). There were 20 pupils at the Academy in 1834 (PANS RG14: Arichat

School Papers). What should be noticed among the subjects is the language of instruction was both English and French so that all pupils could share in the learning. A petition for government funding in 1833 and 1834 (PANS RG14 Arichat School Papers) resulted in a grant, which was later rescinded and finally the school closed in 1841. Alongside the public school in Arichat was the “Arichat Girls School” according to the public school reports of the day. This was not the convent school for girls begun in 1856 by the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal* at the request of the bishop (see section 5.2.2.2). This earlier school does not appear in any other record other than that of the parish priests’ as a Girls’ School, but is, rather, the remnants of the Arichat Academy. It functioned from 1836 to 1850 according to the school reports (PANS RG14: 56-57).

Teaching at the Girls School were: Miss Hacket in 1836 (PANS RG14: 56-57), Miss LeNoir in 1840 and again in 1845 (PANS RG14: 56-57), Mrs. Boucher in 1840, 1845, and again between 1847 and 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57), Miss LeBlanc (see section 4.3.2.5) for the year 1840 and again in 1848 (PANS RG14: 56-57), Boudreau also in 1840 followed again in 1847 (PANS RG14: 56-57), Fleger in 1840 and the years 1847 to 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57), and finally Lattimore from 1848 to 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57). What is interesting to note among the names and dates, is the predominance of Francophone public school teachers in the first two decades of the school founded in 1836, followed by a mixed Anglophone and Francophone staff of public school teachers after this.

A letter from Jean-Baptiste Maranda, the parish priest and future Vicar General of the Diocese (AAQ NS VI: 134) to Father Cazeau, the secretary to the Bishop of Québec in 1836, mentions that the Arichat Academy (see section 4.3.2) had been reduced to a school for little girls. While the school may have been reduced to this status of teaching small girls in the Arichat community, there was a grant that continued to come to Arichat Academy from the provincial treasury ranging from £50 to £100 in 1835, 1837, 1838, 1839 and 1841 (Johnston 1971: 159). The government in Halifax and Bishop Fraser castigated Father Maranda, who directed the school, for failing to provide a teacher for the school in 1843 (Johnston 1971: 159, 234) even though the provincial grant had been provided until 1841. The Arichat Girls School continued to receive a grant as per the legislation enacted for the support of public education for common (elementary) schools (see section 3.4).

While it is quite clear from the Bishop and the government that a public school teacher was not available in 1843, there were no school reports submitted by the Arichat Academy between 1840 and 1845 (PANS RG14: 56-57). If the only complaint was against Father Maranda in 1843, then it would appear that there had been public school teachers during the rest of the first half of the 1840s, but that they were not providing reports of their yearly work, or that these records have been lost. The latter was the case throughout the region where public school reports in existence are limited in numbers (Ross 2001: 30) compared to other Acadian regions like Clare in southwest Nova Scotia, but it would appear that some instruction was taking place in the community at Arichat Academy since educated members of those communities were later found in positions that

required at least the rudiments of instruction at a common school level.

For all of its linguistic difficulties, the region surrounding Arichat fared better than most towns and villages for the era with a reasonable number of public school teachers who were competent enough to promote the skills needed in their communities as often as possible in the language of the majority of Acadians. While the Anglo-Protestants and Jersey families dominated the Acadian communities in Île Madame, there were Acadian public school teachers who were able to ensure the education of as many of the local children as possible in French.

4.3.2.5 Arichat-Ouest

What is today called West Arichat or Arichat-Ouest was originally named Acadieville and later Little Arichat and lies to the west of the main village of Arichat (see Map 2 in section 1.1). The community was made up mostly of French speaking Acadian families¹³⁴ (NS *Census* 1811, Ross & Deveau 1992: 122). A separate parish from that of Arichat proper was established in 1863 and given to Father Hubert Girroir (see section 5.2.3) to organize.

First mention of a public school in Arichat-Ouest through school reports was in 1832 (PANS RG14: 56-57) under the tutelage of N. Doyle who appears to have worked at the school in 1832, 1840, 1845, and 1847 to 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57). Working alongside Doyle at the school was Henri Renouard in 1840, 1845 and 1847 (PANS RG14: 56-57).

¹³⁴ Of the 47 families listed in the Nova Scotia *Census* of 1811, all were Francophone.

Though submitting the school reports at these dates, Henri Renouard more than likely worked throughout this period between the dates of submission. Henri Renouard was from France and who had migrated to the Arichat region (Ross 2001: 30) where he settled and commenced teaching at the public school in 1840. He is known to have married Domithilde Arsenault in Grande-Digue, New Brunswick, in 1841 (Centre d'études acadiennes: *Arsenault*), though continuing to live and work in Arichat-Ouest until at least 1847 from which he migrated via southeastern New Brunswick (LeBlanc 2000 [<http://www.biographi.ca>]) to the Acadian Peninsula in the north of that province. Henri Renouard appears in Caraquet, in northern New Brunswick, in 1871 (Andrew 1996: 82) as a Class II teacher (see section 2.3.3.2). He qualified in New Brunswick to teach basic education as well as geography and bookkeeping (Andrew 1996: 67). Other French immigrants had migrated to the Acadian Peninsula about the same time and taught as itinerant teachers in the Acadian villages (LeBlanc 2000 [<http://www.biographi.ca>]).

Other Acadian public school teachers in Arichat-Ouest of which very little is known included Miss Bouton teaching from 1848 to 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57), Miss LeBlanc (from Arichat see 4.3.2.4) 1849 and 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57), and finally Miss Forêt 1849 to 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57). A private teaching institution was established in Arichat-Ouest by the *Notre-Dame* Sisters of Montréal (see section 5.2.2.2) who came to Arichat-Ouest to establish a convent-school in 1862. The sisters who taught came from the larger convent already established in Arichat in 1856 (see section 5.2.2.2).

4.3.2.6 *Petit-de-Gras*

The small fishing village of Petit-de-Gras found at the extreme eastern end of Île Madame (see Map 1 in section 1.1) had a public school operated by James Campbell who forwarded reports for the years 1849 and 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57) to the Halifax government. Though an Anglophone, teaching in a French speaking village, which as illustrated earlier (see section 4.3.2.4) was a recurring problem for Acadian education and public schools in the first half of the nineteenth century in eastern Nova Scotia, it is interesting to note that James Campbell taught previously at the first Arichat Academy (see section 4.3.2.4) from 1839 to 1841 (PANS RG14: 56-57) but with the closure of that school, the teachers there including Campbell would need to look for other public school children in the region to teach. There is no evidence to suggest that Campbell moved immediately to Petit-de-Gras, but in a climate on Île Madame of expanding educational opportunities in the Acadian villages outside of Arichat (see sections 4.3.2.1 and 4.3.2.2), he would have looked at neighbouring villages for a placement where the local public school in Petit-de-Gras was begun in 1840 (*Île Madame* 1974: 7).

4.3.3 Antigonish County

Antigonish County has three Acadian villages along its eastern extremity; Havre-Boucher, Tracadie and Pomquet (see Map 2 in section 1.1). Today only Pomquet retains its Acadian

heritage and language, but until the mid twentieth century these three villages continued to speak French. In the village schools there were many teachers of Acadian descent and, as will be noted, there were family connections between communities. A supply of French speaking public school teachers were available for these villages though they were not always trained to the same level of teacher qualification expected through the education acts of Nova Scotia (see sections 3.4 and 3.5).

The first schools and schoolmasters in Tracadie, Pomquet and Havre-Boucher were the missionaries and seminarians (see section 2.2.3.2 and 5.2.1) provided by the Catholic Church. Father Antoine Manseau states in his letter of 28 January, 1817 “ J’ai réussi à établir des écoles dans mes trois missions...”¹³⁵ (AAQ 312 CN, N-É II: 147). While in all likelihood these were one-room “schools” with the priest himself or perhaps a catechist as instructor. This private education would be the norm as in other Acadian villages until the development of the public school system in the province after 1826. There may have been an attempt by Father Manseau to use the “Act for the encouragement of the establishment of schools” (NS 1816) to the advantage of his own parishioners. Under the terms of the act, the villages were expected to build and support schools in their area (see section 3.4.1) in order to qualify for school grants to support the hiring of a public school teacher.

135 “... I have succeeded in establishing schools in each of my missions...” (TR)

4.3.3.1 Tracadie

Tracadie had the privilege among the Acadian villages of eastern Nova Scotia (see Map 1 in section 1.1) in having both the Trappist Monastery as well as the Trappistine Convent near the village and the population could therefore have access at an early stage to private and then public education.

The pupils in the Tracadie area were not a uniform population of Acadians, though Acadians formed the greatest number of inhabitants of the village (PANS RG1: 447). The school reports from 1828 to 1848 demonstrate that the Acadian students ranged from 84% of the total (PANS RG14: 3-4 [78]) to a low of 59% in 1830 (PANS RG14: 3-4 [133]) and then 61% in 1847 (PANS RG14: 3-4 [432]). The fall in numbers could be related to seasonal work requiring the children to support the family.

The first public school was established in Tracadie in May 1828 with 21 pupils (PANS RG14: 3-4). Among the public school teachers found in the area there were those who were taught by the male and female religious communities of teachers. Of these can be counted men like William Edge who taught for Father Vincent de Paul Merle at Tracadie as well as for Father Hudon at Arichat from 1822 (Sweet 1999a: 65) and Michael Dunphy, though English, who taught in the school from 1828 to 1831 (PANS RG14: 3-4), evidently the first official public school teacher at

Tracadie.

Bishop Plessis, the Bishop of Québec, received a letter of report from Red River Colony in Rupert's Land (see Map 6 in section 2.5) dated 17 September 1820, which mentions Edge as Guillaume-Étienne Edge, the French version of his name. The bishop sent William Edge to the Red River colony in 1818 with Father (later Bishop) Norbert Provencher who was assigned as missionary to the Red River. Edge was to open a school at Saint-Boniface. From the same letter of Father Provencher, Guillaume Edge was described as an ecclesiastic born in Montréal on 1 December 1792 who had attended the Collège de Montréal. However, he left Red River in 1820 after not persevering in his studies for the priesthood. (Société Historique de Sainte-Boniface 1913: 45). However, this was not the end of Edge's career as he then tried his vocation on two other occasions. He attempted to enter the Trappist monastery in Tracadie under Father Vincent de Paul Merle in 1822 and began teaching in the parish of Tracadie in 1823 (AAQ 312, NE V: 117) and then at Arichat under the supervision of Father Hudon in 1824 (AAQ 312, NE VI: 83). That same year, however, Edge stopped his studies for the priesthood (AAQ 312, NE VI: 85) and returned to Tracadie, where he married Judith Benoît and taught school (AAQ 312, NE VII: 93). Their first daughter Angélique (Jane) married Isadore Delorie (see section 4.3.3.1), a school teacher who moved to Port Felix.

Due to Edge's previous studies at the Collège de Montréal, an institution founded by the *Congrégation de Saint-Sulpice* in 1767, and his religious studies, he was able to become a valued

member of the teaching community at Tracadie. He rose from teacher to School Trustee as early as 1828 (PANS RG14: 3-4) and appears as such in reports to the Nova Scotia government in 1830 and 1831 (PANS RG14: 3-4). Edge died in 1857.

An important link in the early education of the Acadians of eastern Nova Scotia, was the case of Louis Morel, Junior of Pomquet, son of Louis Morel, Senior who is mentioned in the Nova Scotia census of 1791 as a shopkeeper (PANS RG1: 444 [34]). As demonstrated previously by Sweet (2000: 183) in his article *Father François Lejamtel: Ecclesiastical Education at Arichat, 1792-1819*, those children selected for studies with the parish or mission priest who did not continue their studies at seminary, could and did become active teachers in the local communities; Louis Morel, Junior was one such pupil.

It was Louis Morel, Junior who became a school teacher after his attempts to enter the *Grand Séminaire de Québec* failed when Father Rémi Gaulin, mission priest to Tracadie, Pomquet and Havre-Boucher from Lower Canada, was unable to secure financial support from the Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia for his studies. Bishop Plessis had been willing to accept Morel as a student for the priesthood as long as some sort of funding could be found either from the family or the local church (AAQ 312 CN RL: 365 & 441). This unfortunately was not forthcoming and so Louis Morel remained in Tracadie (Sweet 1999a: 91). Louis Morel, Junior was therefore one of the first known teachers to have studied under a member of the local *réfractaire* and mission clergy by 1821 (AAQ, 312 CN, I-M: 59).

Father Rémi Gaulin, in his letter of 4 March 1811 (AAQ 312, IM: 59) to the Bishop of Québec, mentions that Louis Morel could at that point read and write in French and that he knew French grammar and rudimentary Latin. With these skills already in hand, Morel taught for a year at the public school in Tracadie in 1829 (PANS RG14: 3-4). He became a school trustee for Pomquet in 1848, the year after his daughter Melanie Morel appears in the yearly school reports as a schoolteacher in Pomquet (see section 4.3.3.3). Other teachers in the community at Tracadie were Joseph Hennequin 1831 (PANS RG14: 3-4), William Walsh 1848 (PANS RG14: 3-4) and Ellen Chisholm 1850 (PANS RG14: 3-4). Joseph Hennequen appears to have been a sailor in the French Navy who became a prisoner of war during the Napoleonic period at Halifax (Boudreau 1990: 168). After his release, Hennequen makes his appearance in Tracadie as a school teacher along with other former sailors¹³⁶. While, it may seem strange that a member of the French Army could teach it was not unique to Nova Scotia. Research carried out by Magnuson (1990: 73-94) in his article *The Elusive Lay Schoolmasters of New France*, shows that there were nine former soldiers working as teachers before 1749 in the regions around Québec City, Trois-Rivières and Montréal. Joseph Hennequin was born in Metz, Lorraine, France in 1792 and died in Tracadie 29 November 1831, the same year in which he filed a public school report. During his time in Tracadie he married Susanne DesLauriers, sometime before 1825, the date of their first child's birth (Rootsweb: [<http://www.rootsweb.com/~nsantigo/tracadie.html>] DesLauriers Genealogy).

¹³⁶ “After the Napoleonic Wars several soldiers who were held prisoner in Halifax immigrated to the area upon their release. These soldiers included Pierre Davisson (Davidson), Joseph Hannequin dit Alicon (Alisson), Joseph-Aime Dadu (Dadeau), Jean Courtin, and Augustin Pascal” (Pomquet Historical Society, [<http://www.pomquet.ca>] 2002).

Ellen Chisholm taught in the public school at Tracadie at least in 1850 though she may have taught a few years before this. Chisholm did not teach after 1850 at the public school, as she became a postulant nun, with the Trappistine Order in the same village that year (see section 5.2.2.1). Boudreau (1990: 115), in his work *Cent ans de vies Cisterien en Nouvelle-Écosse* suggests that Ellen Chisholm entered the Trappistine convent early in the history of the order in Tracadie; however, the public school records for the period show otherwise (PANS RG14: 3-4).

Though the Trappistine sisters taught at their own convent school at Tracadie and at Merland in the hills behind Tracadie, they also had the help of a number of public school teachers. The names of Burett, Jordan, Phee and Garvy all appear in the school returns kept at the Nova Scotia Public Archives (PANS RG14: 3-4) what is not clear is whether the lay teachers taught at both the Tracadie and Merland public schools as the school records do not indicate this. Looking at the dates indicated from the yearly school returns, it appears the lay teachers were hired in pairs and included at least one male teacher. These supplemental teachers could possibly have been added to the staff when the Trappistine sisters were: (a) over-burdened with numbers of students at both of their schools, (b) were occupied with other duties than teaching or (c) perhaps to solicit public funds for their convent school by taking on public school teachers and providing a regular school report to the government.

In the school year 1834 to 1835 Elanor Phee and Martin Garvy were teaching at the convent (PANS RG14: 3-4). In keeping with the linguistic policy of the sisters to teach in both languages (see section 5.2.2.1) these two teachers appear to meet the requirement, as Garvy is likely to have come from River Bourgeois in Richmond County, Cape Breton and therefore teaching in French, Phee, speaking English is not known other than the name appearing in the school records (PANS RG14: 3-4). In 1850, the teachers Burett and Jordan appear in the school report as lay teachers at the convent school (PANS RG14: 3-4).

4.3.3.2 Havre-Boucher

Havre-Boucher, is the most easterly of the three Antigonish County Acadian villages (see Map 1 in section 1.1). The village had a public school dominated by anglophones which would inevitably be damaging to the language of the community. The first mention of any school in the area appeared in a letter from Father Antoine Manseau, the parish priest to the Bishop of Québec (AAQ NE II: 147). The following year there was an appeal for books for the basics of French reading (AAQ NS II: 147). It needs to be remembered that this sort of school was private and may not have been in a school building of its own. Though the Havre-Boucher school was established in 1816, following the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” (NS 1811: 8) (Common Schools Act), there is no evidence that the school received funding from the public coffers of the colony (see section 3.4.1).

The first mention of a public school teacher working at the Havre-Boucher school was in 1829 when Neil Arbuckle taught fifteen pupils. There is no further evidence of public education in Havre-Boucher until the public school teachers are listed in the government school reports beginning in 1848. For the village of Havre-Boucher Maurice Newman appears for the academic year 1848 to 1850, and a Mr. Corbett for 1850. What is not revealed is who the public school teachers before 1848 were, if indeed there were any other than Neil Arbuckle. It may be that there were no other teachers, public or private, in the community before 1848. And it is unlikely that many Acadians from Havre-Boucher, with their limited funds, would have been able to send their children to Tracadie or Pomquet where there were public schools as well as the private schools operated by the Trappists and Trappistines.

Since Havre-Boucher was not an independent parish until 1858 (Johnson 1994: 148), but was a mission parish of Tracadie (see Map 1 in section 1.1), it may be presumed that those families in the community who could afford the fees might send their children to Tracadie for schooling, though the numbers would likely be small considering the economic state of the three Acadian villages of Tracadie, Pomquet and Havre-Boucher in Antigonish county (Plessis 1812: 107). That being the case, it is unlikely that the families of Havre-Boucher would have had the money to invest in a schoolhouse, nor in the subscriptions to hire a teacher as required by the education acts of the day (see section 3.4).

The school report of 1848 (PANS RG14: 3-4) does reveal that nearly 87% of the students in the

classroom of Maurice Newman were English speaking students while the Acadians amounted to just over 13%. In a community that was majority Acadian for much of the preceding half century (PANS RG1: 444, PANS RG1: 449, Centre d'études acadiennes: *Gaudet*), this educational situation would not ensure the schooling of the Acadian children, nor would it ensure the linguistic survival of the Havre-Boucher Acadian community. In the school report of Maurice Newman there is no indication that any French was used as the medium of instruction (PANS RG14: 3-4). As has been chronicled by Ross and Deveau (1991: 128-129), the French language died out in Havre-Boucher from the overwhelming assimilationist tendencies in Antigonish County during the twentieth century.

While in a village such as Arichat (see section 4.3.2.4) or Tracadie (see section 4.3.3.1) there were compromises which amounted to the hiring of public school teachers of each language (see section 1.4), the Acadians in a small village like Havre-Boucher, which became besieged with English speaking settlers from other parts of Nova Scotia during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, could do little to prevent their assimilation.

4.3.3.3 Pomquet

Pomquet had a varied public and private education. The school established by Father Antoine Manseau (see section 4.3.3.2) was private, as was the convent school of the Trappistine sisters that Father Vincent de Paul Merle founded in 1826 in this community, which the local Acadians called

*Le petit couvent*¹³⁷. The work of the sisters is discussed further in section 5.2.2.1.

The first public school in Pomquet was established under the “Act concerning schools” of 1826 (NS 1826) in Pomquet in December 1829 (PANS RG14: 3-4) with 21 pupils. Unlike the other Acadian communities of Antigonish County, Pomquet had a more homogenous Francophone population (PANS RG1: 444, RG1: 445) including that of its school. In 1830, 1831 and 1848 the Acadian students numbered from 86%, 70% and 100% respectively while the Anglophone students only appear in 1830 and 1831 numbering 14% and 30% with none for the year 1848. In the case of the 1830-1831 statistics, Pomquet had the services of Moïse Broissard, a local Acadian, as public school teacher (PANS RG14: 3-4) and Archibald William(s)¹³⁸, an Anglophone, from 1831 to 1833 (PANS RG14: 3-4).

Since Archibald William(s) does not appear in the school reports following 1833 and there were no English language children listed in the 1832 to 1848 public school reports, it could be presumed that the English language students attended classes with the Anglophone teacher elsewhere, or else William(s) did not provide school reports for his group of English school

137“*The Little Convent*” (TR)

138 William(s) appeared in the public school records as both “William” and “Williams”.

children. Broissard taught in Pomquet at a small school on Monks Head Road, which was in School Section 22 of the provincial government education districts (Landry 1990: 14).

Melanie Morel of Pomquet taught in the local public school following Moïse Broissard, from 1847 to 1849 (PANS RG14: 3-4). Morel taught 31 students in 1848 (Rennie *et al* 1980: 64) and it was in 1848 that Morel's father became a school trustee for Pomquet (PANS RG14: 3-4). Sometime after 1849 Morel left Pomquet and became a teaching sister of the Trappistines (see section 5.2.2.1) in Tracadie (Schepfer 1947: 145). Marie-Victoire (Victoria) Doiron also taught locally for an unknown number of years (Ross 2001: 36) before taking vows at the Trappistine Convent in Tracadie as Sister Marie-Victoire (see section 5.2.2.1).

Archibald William(s) had 25 students (with no mention as to whether these were Anglophones or Francophones or both) at the Pomquet school (Société Sainte-Croix [s.a.]: 6) from 1831 to 1833 (PANS RG14: 3-4) followed by James (Jacques) Deveaux (PANS RG14: 3-4) who in 1834 had 25 pupils. Isadore Delorie, who taught formerly in Chéticamp from 1846 to 1847 (PANS RG14: 39), had 24 students in Pomquet in 1848 (PANS RG14: 3-4). Delorie taught in both Chéticamp and Pomquet, but his lengthiest service was in Guysborough County and will be dealt with in section 4.3.4.

4.3.4 Guysborough County

Guysborough County had four villages, Larry's River (formerly Molasses Harbour), Charlos Cove, Port Felix and Torbay with a sizeable Acadian population. Because of the remoteness of these Acadian villages, the lack of services in French both from the government and the Catholic Church, and the growing population of English settlers in the Chedabucto Bay area (see Map 1 in section 1.1) due to its proximity to the fishing banks off the coast of Nova Scotia, the French language faded so that today there are very few people in these villages that can speak the language of their ancestors. The diminution of the language was not without a struggle since the Acadians had demanded educational services as early as 1815 when the people of Torbay requested Father François Lejamtel, who was the mission priest responsible for their region (AAQ 312 CN N-É VI: 65). There is no record if they were able to acquire a teacher, though Father Lejamtel did make pastoral visits to the area subsequent to this date (Sweet 2000: 182). The earliest recorded teacher in the Torbay/Larry's River area was Isadore Delorie who taught previously in Larry's River, Chéticamp and Pomquet (see section 4.3.3.3).

Isadore Delorie (also spelled Deslauriers) was born in Tracadie, Nova Scotia in 1820 (SPCR¹³⁹ 1820). He studied at the local school¹⁴⁰ in Tracadie and was listed in the same school in 1829

139 "St Peter's Church Records", Tracadie, Nova Scotia.

140 It should be remembered that the schools in this early period, though begun as local subscription schools, became public schools over the succeeding years (see section 3.4.1).

being taught by Louis Morel (PANS RG14: 3-4[78, 116, 133]; see section 4.3.3.1). Isadore Delorie married Angélique Edge, the eldest daughter of William Edge (see section 4.3.3.1). In 1843, they moved to Port Félix and Larry's River in what is now Guysborough County where he was listed as a teacher in the census records of 1871 and 1881 (*Canada Census* 1871 and 1881). Isadore Delorie later returned to Antigonish County where he died in 1892.

It could be assumed, based on the census records, that during the years from about 1850 until the 1870s, Isadore Delorie taught school in the area of Port Felix and Larry's River. The provincial records show that there were no schools or teachers speaking English in the area until the 1850s and since there is no mention made of Acadian teachers, Delorie evidently taught without submitting reports to the government and therefore was teaching by subscription with no government subsidy which public schools from 1850 were entitled to (see section 3.5.4.2). He would have likely been the only Acadian public school teacher in this part of Nova Scotia before the late 19th century. Considering that Delorie did not appear to present reports to the government, and may have been teaching privately, he was likely teaching in French to the Acadians in the region. It was again the lack of trained Acadian teachers that would see the decline of the French language in these villages in Guysborough County. When public schools were eventually created in the late 19th century they did not admit French language teachers nor allow the students to learn in their own language. By 1910 the Acadian children were instead admitted to the four local English language public schools (Ross 1992: 146).

According to the map created by A.F. Church for the government of Nova Scotia in 1864 (Church 1864 [<http://www.gov.ns.ca>]), each of the villages of Port Felix and Larry's River, had a school building, the one in Larry's River was, in fact, adjacent to the Catholic Chapel. These schools were more than likely two of the four mentioned by Ross (1996: 146). It was in the schools here mentioned where Isadore Delorie taught during the 1870s and 1880s.

4.3.5 Chezzetcook

Near Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, are the villages of Chezzetcook West and Grand-Désert (see Map 2 in section 1.1) which were settled by Acadians and Mi'kmaq well before the foundation of Halifax in 1749 and which was re-founded by Acadians following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 between Britain and France (see section 2.2). While this proximity to Halifax provided for its economic development, it was later to be detrimental to its linguistic survival (Sweet 1999b:1).

The first school teacher to begin work in the villages of Chezzetcook Inlet was Antoine Faucher, a non-ecclesiastic, who arrived in 1814 along with the mission priest Father Pierre Migneault (Sweet 1999b: 9). Antoine Faucher was born in Point-aux-Trembles (Montréal), Lower Canada. Faucher commenced the first private school, near the parish church of St Anselme's in 1814

(Melanson 1981:1). Faucher was 22 years old at the time and remained in the community (Labelle 1991: 25) marrying Divine Roma (Melanson 1981: 1).

The first public school teacher mentioned in the school reports to the government was Maria Julia Léonie Devilleray who worked in one of the two schools to be found at Chezzetcook in 1846 (Sweet 1999b: 10). Léonie Devilleray (also spelled de Villier in other parts of British North America) appears in the school reports to the government in that year with a salary of £25 per annum (PANS RG14: 25). Her name only appears as the spelling *Devilleray* in the school report. It seems that there was a considerable amount of French used in the school based on the manuals found in the report of 1846 (PANS RG 14: 25). The list of texts includes the principle work of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* (see section 5.2.3.1) of Montréal, the *Nouveau traité de traites historiques*¹⁴¹, from their publication *Nouveau traité des devoirs du chrétiens envers Dieu*¹⁴², first published in Montréal in 1841; *Le livre des enfants* and *Alphabet français* were listed as two books when in fact this was one monograph entitled *Le livre des enfants : nouvel alphabet français*¹⁴³ published in Québec City in 1838, a *Syllabaire français*¹⁴⁴, as well as a book of pious

141 “New Treaties of Historical Treaties” (TR).

142 The whole title of this publication *Nouveau traité des devoirs du chrétien envers Dieu: dans lequel chaque chapitre et chaque article sont suivis de traites historiques analogues aux vérités qu'on y traite* written by L.C. and F.P.B. (Louis Constantin and Frère Philippe) was available throughout Montréal and indeed Lower Canada from the mid 1840s (Voisine 1987: 353). “New Treaty of the Duties of Christians Towards God; in which each chapter and each article is followed by Historical Treaties” (TR).

143 “The Childrens’ Book: New French Alphabet” (TR).

144 “French Syllabus” (TR).

readings *Neuvaine de prière*¹⁴⁵ (PANS RG 14:25). The brothers printed and used these French language books for use in their schools in Lower Canada.

It could be that during the writing of the report, Léonie Devilleray's name was transposed (Courville 1995: 93) from de Villier, which appears in the South Western region of the province. There are no de Villierays in the census records of 1838 or 1851 in Halifax County, nor is the name common to the Acadians of Nova Scotia other than those through the descent of Jacques de Villier from Belgium who appeared in the province about the same time as the release of the French prisoners of the Napoleonic Wars held in Halifax until 1815 (see section 4.3.3.3). If Jacques de Villiers had been one of these prisoners it would explain his entrance into the life of the Acadian villages in Nova Scotia much as that of Renouard and Hennequin (see section 4.3.3.1) in the eastern half of the province. It can only be speculated that her father or other member of her family taught her, thereby becoming literate and would have taken up the teaching profession. How she came to be teaching in Chezzetcook is unknown as was her access to the teaching manuals of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* .

The manuals of the Brothers had become standard teaching training tools, which were freely distributed to convents in Lower Canada (Voisine 1987: 353). “Au cours de la décennie 1840, Montréal ressent grandement ‘la nécessité de l’éducation d’une élite laïque [et le] besoin d’enseignants qualifiés’”¹⁴⁶ (Ducharme 2003: 258). Monsignor Bourget, Bishop of Montréal, supported this teacher training by the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* (Voisine 1987: 353). It

145 “Novena of Prayers” (TR).

146 “...Over the course of the 1840s, Montréal felt the need to educate a lay elite of qualified teachers...” (TR).

would not be until 1891 that an Acadian teacher from the Chezzetcook area would be trained at the Nova Scotia Normal School in Truro (Ross 2001: 42) and so the methodology in teaching of the *Brothers* would be of benefit to the Acadian community of Chezzetcook.

4.4 PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT

What has been uncovered in this thesis and in particular this chapter, is the movement of the Acadian teachers in the region of eastern Nova Scotia. The earliest teachers were local instructors teaching privately the basics of reading and writing with succeeding generations hired for the public school system of Nova Scotia. The new teachers would be employed in either the local private schools which later became public schools (see sections 2.2.3.2 and 2.3.1), or new schools were built through the application of the various early Nova Scotia Education Acts (see section 3.4). With the development of the public school system in Nova Scotia and especially its application in eastern Nova Scotia, the need for teachers was great and though there were only relatively few before the 1860s, those that worked in Acadian villages had a relationship within the larger Acadian community that allowed for movement from one village to another and in some cases between counties (see section 4.3.4).

The motivation to leave one village for another are varied but include reasons of economic and employment advancement in a public school, religious vocations and family issues. In analysing the movement of Acadian public school teachers, it should be remembered that there were very few choices for teachers in places of employment and a limited number of students (Andrew

1996: 69, 74). Sending children to school was a decision that had to be weighed against the need for labour (Andrew 1996: 69, 74). Where schools opened, there was a requirement for at least one teacher and that one teacher is often all that was available in the early days of the public schools (see sections 3.4 and 3.5).

One of the most observed changes found in this analysis is movement between local villages within the same county. It is a rare case that a public school teacher moved from one county to another, but rather the majority stayed within the county boundaries, and therefore within family groupings that were familiar. The teachers of Chéticamp and Magré (see section 4.3.1) worked within the confines of northern Inverness County with the odd exception like Isadore Delorie (see sections 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.4). The teachers of Île Madame in Richmond County remained connected to the small villages dotting the island (see section 4.3.2), which progressively opened more and more schools requiring public school teachers that could teach in French, even clandestinely in the 1811 to 1841 period, though not all the schools would have a Francophone teacher (see sections 4.3.2.1, 4.3.2.4, 4.3.2.6 and 4.3.3.2).

Early public school teachers, being taught locally by a member of the village who could already teach the rudiments of reading and writing and perhaps mathematics, would continue the tradition and teach in the same area (see sections 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.3). It would appear as well, that the education was passed down through the family making one or two families the educators of the community as in the case of Louis Morel Senior's family in Tracadie and Pomquet (see sections 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.3) and Bruno Béranger's family in the Île Madame region (see section 4.3.2.2).

4.4.1 Economic Employment Opportunities

With the addition of public schools in the small villages about Arichat in mid-nineteenth century, the economic opportunities for the educated elite of the Acadian community grew. Teachers such as Renouard, Bouton, LeBlanc and Forêt in Arichat-Ouest (see section 4.3.2.5), LeNoir, Boucher and Boudreau in the Arichat “Girls School” (see section 4.3.2.4), Bruton and Martel in D’Escousse (see section 4.3.2.3), Béranger and Mombourquette in L’Ardoise (see section 4.3.2.1) found that they were able to advance their own economic well-being by taking positions as teachers, even if only for a few years. Since the official recognition of French language teaching was not until 1841, the Acadian teachers who were hired would inevitably have to teach in French illegally. Unfortunately, there were not enough French speaking teachers for all the communities and so many had to rely on the Anglophone community to fill the role of public school teacher in their Acadian villages. This was the case in Richmond County at L’Ardoise Road school (PANS RG14: 56-57 [222]), Lower D’Escousse (PANS RG14: 56-57 [224, 227, 229]), D’Escousse during the years 1828-31 and 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57 [167, 172, 229]), Petit-de-Gras (PANS RG14: 56-57 [227, 229]), Arichat-Ouest in 1832 (PANS RG14: 56-57 [172]) and Arichat in 1848 to 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57 [227, 229]).

In the cases of Magré in Inverness County (PANS RG14: 39) and Havre-Boucher in Antigonish County (PANS RG14: 3-4) the pronounced and rapid decline of the French language can be

partially attributed to the employment of Anglophone public school teachers (PANS RG14: 39) following the creation of public schools in the two villages (see sections 4.3.1.2 and 4.3.3.2).

The only known Acadian public school teacher among the Acadian villages of Guysborough County (see section 4.3.4) was Isadore Delorie of Tracadie, Nova Scotia. His perambulations could be attributed to a search for employment in each of the three counties in which he taught. His work began in Chéticamp in 1846 and 1847 followed by Pomquet in 1848 and his final move to Molasses Harbour (Port Félix) Guysborough County to teach from 1849 until 1881 (see section 4.3.4). Isadore Delorie is intimately tied to the early public school teachers of Antigonish County. As a pupil of Louis Morel (PANS RG14: 3-4) the first public school teacher in Tracadie who was, himself, taught by Fathers Gaulin and Lejamtel, Delorie married the daughter of another prominent school teacher and School Commissioner, William Edge of Tracadie, who was taught by the early priest missionaries (see section 4.3.3.1). The fact that Delorie remained for so many years in Guysborough County attests to the need for a French speaking teacher and the need for employment which would not have been available in Tracadie in the same period (see section 4.3.3.1) which already had public school teachers at this time.

4.4.2 Religious Vocations

A further reason for migrations within the Acadian villages of eastern Nova Scotia for public school teachers was a motivation to work in the Catholic Church as priests or nuns. While the numbers of teachers leaving for this reason are not overwhelming, there is evidence of shifts in location for certain teachers. The three most frequent changes were: for the female public school teachers to end their public teaching career and enter the convent to teach for either the Third Order of LaTrappe (the Trappistines) at Tracadie; for male teachers to stop their public school teaching and enter the seminary either in Antigonish or in Lower Canada; and thirdly for a member of the Trappist monastery also in Tracadie to leave the order and teach locally. In each case, the teaching before entering the ecclesiastical state was conducted in the public school system of Nova Scotia. For the members of religious communities leaving the religious vocation to pursue teaching as a layperson was choice made for the rest of their lives.

In the case of female public school teachers entering religious life, there were four female teachers in eastern Nova Scotia all entering the Trappistines before or in 1850 (see section 5.2.2.1); Jeanne Mombourquette from L'Ardoise, Richmond County (see section 4.3.2.1), Ellen Chisholm, Antigonish County (see section 4.3.3.1), Melanie Morel, Pomquet (see section 4.3.3.1) and Victoria Doiron (Ross 2001: 36) from Pomquet. Of the male local public school teachers choosing to leave teaching for the priesthood there was one, Charles P. Martel, from Arichat, who was a teacher in D'Escousse (RG14: 56-57) from 1848 to 1849. Martel entered the seminary in

Antigonish in 1855. Martel was to serve in local Richmond County parishes following his ordination (see section 4.3.2.2).

In two cases there were former members or postulants of the Trappist order who left and followed a vocation to teach. The first was Brother Bruno Béranger from France and the second was the seminarian William Edge. Béranger was known to have lived and worked in four communities in Richmond County after leaving the Trappists. Béranger's public school records (PANS RG14: 56-57, PANS RG5: 77) reveal his moves beginning in L'Ardoise from 1825 to 1827, followed by Rivière-Bourgeois in 1839, Grand-Ruisseau in 1848 and finally D'Escousse from 1849 to 1850.

William Edge, as illustrated in sections 4.3.2.3 and 4.3.3.1, taught in Arichat in 1824 after which he moved to the Tracadie area which he already knew previously through Father Vincent de Paul Merle in Tracadie where instructed in a private school from 1822 to 1823 (AAQ 312, NE V: 117). He became a school trustee for Tracadie by 1828 (PANS RG14: 3-4) at the local public school (see section 4.3.3.1). William Edge's movements were related to his desire to find a religious vocation. Edge relocated in the region which also allowed him to become involved in the schools and then the public system in a capacity that would permit his own influence in the operation of the local public school in Tracadie (PANS RG14: 3-4) as well as the hiring and licensing of public school teachers when he became a school trustee for the Tracadie public school in 1828 (PANS RG14: 3-4).

4.4.3 Immigration

A final method of movement found in eastern Nova Scotia was the direct immigration of people from France. In this way, four French nationals became teachers in Tracadie and Île Madame. Louis Seniat (see section 4.3.2.2), Henri Renouard (see section 4.3.2.4), Joseph Hennequan (see section 4.3.3.1) and Bruno Béranger (see section 4.3.2.6) all came from France at the beginning of the nineteenth century and remained in the Acadian communities of eastern Nova Scotia. Bruno Béranger mentioned already in section 4.4.2, migrated from France with the Trappist Community in support of the Cistercian foundation of Father Vincent de Paul Merle in 1824 and left the order in 1825 becoming a public school teacher in Rivière-Bourgeois in Richmond County (see section 4.3.2.6). Louis Seniat established himself as a teacher first at Rollo Bay in Prince Edward Island and then at Poulamon on Île Madame (see section 4.3.2.2). Henri Renouard, a sailor in the Imperial French Navy became a public school teacher at Arichat-Ouest (PANS RG14: 56-57) following his release from prison in Halifax during the Napoleonic wars. Joseph Hennequan (PANS RG14: 3-4), like Renouard a French sailor, left prison at the end of hostilities with France in 1815 and migrated to Tracadie where he also a public school teacher from 1840 to 1847 (see section 4.3.2.4).

4.4.4 The Teachers Who Changed Schools

Acadian teachers, on the whole, did not move very frequently. There were perhaps few opportunities to migrate and family connections would have served to keep the majority in the

villages they came from. It should be noted that the teachers from Chéticamp remained in northern Inverness County and did not appear in other Acadian villages of eastern Nova Scotia. The case of Isadore Delorie (see section 4.3.4) moving from Tracadie to Chéticamp (1846 to 1847), from Chéticamp to Pomquet for the year 1848, and finally Molasses Harbour (1849 to 1881) was unique. Chéticamp, while remaining an isolated community reliant on its own teachers for schooling, did therefore have the added help from Delorie who originated in Antigonish County.

Three other teachers who changed schools were Stephen Bruton going no further than from Arichat to D'Escousse (PANS RG14: 56-57) sometime between 1836 and 1845 (PANS RG14: 56-57 [207]). Bruno Béranger, following his departure from the Trappist monastery in Tracadie in 1825 (see sections 4.3.2.1 and 4.3.2.2), was later found in four other village reports all in Richmond County (PANS RG14: 56-57): L'Ardoise, Rivière-Bourgeois, D'Escousse and Grand-Ruisseau. While Anglophones are not considered in this thesis to a great extent except in the context of their role in the decline of the French language, James Campbell was one Anglophone who moved from Arichat Academy to Petit-de-Gras (PANS RG14: 56-57).

It is evident then, that the vast majority of Acadian teachers remained in their villages of origin. Only the teachers mentioned in section 4.4.4 were found to have moved from one village to another, each with one reason or another as illustrated in sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2. It should also be remembered that it was the local school commissioners who licensed a teacher for the local schools in each county of the province (see section 3.5.1). Should the teacher need to move, they

would be required to stand before the school commissioners of the new school district to be examined before receiving a teaching license (see section 3.5.1).

4.5 CONCLUSION

There are several points that can be concluded from this chapter. Of greatest interest is that in each Acadian village in eastern Nova Scotia there was some amount of teaching throughout the 1811 to 1864 period by Acadian public school teachers. The public school records indicate that frequently there were Acadian public school teachers who were able to provide a basic common school curriculum for a limited number of Acadian children in the villages mentioned (see section 4.3) within the legal confines between the “Act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province” in 1811 (see section 3.4.1.1) and that of 1864, the “Act for the encouragement of Education” (see section 3.6.1). There is little doubt that this invaluable service, rendered at a cost to the community in financial outlay and time away from family work, enabled the Acadian communities of eastern Nova Scotia to maintain their language and to create an elite that could provide the needed leadership for the communities into the later nineteenth century. This leadership would include doctors, lawyers, teachers and clergy. As will be seen in chapter five, there was some concern on the part of the Catholic Church over the role of Acadian Catholic teachers in mixed public schools which were created in some of the Acadian villages of eastern Nova Scotia (see sections 4.3.2 and 4.3.3).

CHAPTER 5: PREPARING ACADIAN PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

It is rare to find mentioned where the early Acadian public school teachers were trained (Ross 2001: 17, Sweet 1999a: 47) or by whom in the first half of the nineteenth century. Though there were no formal programmes specific to Acadian needs in Nova Scotia in training for the public school system until the introduction of the Bilingual Programme at the Nova Scotia Normal School in 1902 (Ross 2001: 44) with its perceived Protestant bias (see section 2.3.1.2), there were methods of developing the teaching skills needed for the Acadian public school teachers. In this chapter, the essential role of the convents of the Trappistine Sisters in Tracadie, the schools of the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame* in Arichat, and the Arichat Academy will be looked at in the preparation of Acadian teachers for the public school system in eastern Nova Scotia.

Until the addition of French language courses at the Nova Scotia Normal School in the early twentieth century, very few Acadians took advantage of the teacher training available at that institution due to the English language requirements (Ross 2001: 40). In most cases the teachers, as has been noted in chapter 4, had been educated at the village school level at grammar schools and academies where they existed, and then took placements as teachers themselves as laid out in the various education acts of Nova Scotia (see sections 3.4 and 3.5).

5.2 TRAINING OF ACADIAN TEACHERS, 1826-1865

The Catholic Church had an important role in the preparation of Acadian teachers in eastern Nova Scotia. In the first half of the nineteenth century there were few French language institutions that could provide the training needed to prepare the Acadians desiring to become public school teachers. It was into this need that the Catholic Church stepped to provide the training necessary for the instruction of teachers for the Catholic population of eastern Nova Scotia. The Acadian villages were able to take advantage of this teacher training by having members of their own communities trained. As will be seen, in the initial years of this work of training teachers, the instruction was provided in both French and English, which permitted the Acadians to be full participants in this venture.

5.2.1 The Church's Role in Provision of Teachers in Public Education

Before the rise of an educated elite in the Acadian villages, the Catholic Church was the most influential structure in Acadian society. Even in the 1850s there were very few non-ecclesiastical members of the Acadian villages who were literate enough to hold positions of leadership equal in stature with that of the parish or mission priest.

Considering the length of time discussed in this thesis, 1811 to 1864, it would be natural for the Catholic Church to wish to provide some guidance for those who would be instructing the Acadians who would become public school teachers. Looking at the dates just mentioned, there

were in fact a number of papal documents in support of the Acadian teachers' position regarding Catholic education that should be included in any discussion of the training of Catholic teachers and the schools under their administration. Under Popes Pius VII (1800-1823), Leo XII (1823-1829), Gregory XVI (1831-1846) and Pius IX (1846-1878), there were no less than 22 papal documents ranging from encyclicals to pastoral letters that directly touched on Catholic opinions on teachers, public schools and institutions of higher learning connected to the Church. Of these, 10 are related to the role of the Church in eastern Nova Scotia and its Acadian public school teachers (see section 5.2.1).

While not directing their encyclicals at Nova Scotia specifically, the Catholic hierarchy, including the Popes, were able to influence the direction of teacher training and educational institutions created by the Catholic Church within Nova Scotia. It was in this way that the Acadians could become trained for teaching both in a Catholic and French speaking environment.

In his encyclical *Diu satis*¹⁴⁷ (1800: 2), Pope Pius VII enjoined the bishops of the Church to "...pay great attention to the type of person to whom you entrust children and growing youth in seminaries and colleges ... to the teachers selected and the lectures they give ...". Leo XII in his Apostolic Constitution *Quod Hoc Ineunte*¹⁴⁸ (1824: 3-5) dealing with "The Principle and aim of teaching", encouraged the Church's obligation to teach sciences and arts within the traditions of the Church with special attention to good morals in the schools. The encyclical of Leo XII of

¹⁴⁷ "On the Return to Gospel Principles" (TR).

¹⁴⁸ "The Principle and Aim of Teaching" (TR).

1825 entitled *Caritate Christi*¹⁴⁹ (1825: 7), also enjoined the faithful to “...avoid books that are hostile to [the Catholic] religion, morals and public order ...”.

Pope Pius IX wrote the majority of papal documents in this period concerning Catholic education. In addition, he was endorsed in his opinion by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide (CPF) in Rome concerning the erection of colleges for the Catholic population in Ireland. In this letter “To Ensure Catholic Colleges For Catholics” dated 1847 (CPF 1847: 9-11) from the CPF to the Primate of Ireland, the Congregation states its opposition to mixed denominational institutions being established in Ireland and its opposition to the Bishops of Ireland making agreements with the British government concerning funding and enrolment in Catholic colleges (CPF 1847: 9). Rome preferred the creation of colleges and universities in the tradition of the University of Louvain¹⁵⁰ in Belgium, which was a strictly Catholic university teaching Catholic faith and morals.

Bishop Cameron of Antigonish, who was a seminarian studying in Rome at the time of the writing of this apostolic letter, was greatly influenced by both Leo XII and the revolutionary events taking place in Italy in mid-nineteenth century. Ideas he formulated there while in seminary would be later found in his work as coadjutor of Bishop MacKinnon (MacLean 1991:12-13). His opinions on Catholic education and colleges were to be seen in the events in the Diocese of Antigonish after his election as coadjutor. By 1857, the Catholic bishops in the Maritimes, as the ecclesial

¹⁴⁹ “Character of Christ: Extending Jubilee to the Entire Church” (TR).

¹⁵⁰ The University of Louvain was founded in 1425 by Pope Martin V which became a federation of colleges until the Reformation when it became a unified Catholic university (Rashdall 1942: 267).

province of Halifax, met in synod in Halifax and “...warned Catholics against the dangers of mixed [Protestant and Catholic] schools and of the use of the Protestant Bible in the schools while they exhorted their people that no effort should be spared to secure, if possible, the blessings of a thorough Catholic education...” (Walsh 1958: 43-44).

Bishop MacKinnon supported Archbishop Connolly of Halifax in that they claimed for the Catholic people “...the right to maintain their own schools...the Church rejected a state monopoly of education and disapproved of schools without religion...” (Walsh 1958: 60). While an effort was made by the Bishop of Antigonish to see amendments to the 1864 and 1865 public school legislation (see section 3.6) Tupper (see section 3.6.1) would not support separate schools for the Catholic Church and refused any changes to the acts (Fay 2002: 122). While Bishop MacKinnon was seeking to keep a separate school system for Catholics he would have unintentionally protected the Acadian’s French language through these schools if the separate system for Catholics were created. If separate schools had been permitted under the 1864 education legislation (NS 1864), the Catholic Acadian population would have formed the majority linguistic group in the classrooms of Acadian schools. In reality, the Acadians had to attend mixed Protestant and Catholic schools after 1864 which meant the English speaking Protestants would control the schools and French would not be the language of instruction.

In a consistorial address in 1851, Pope Pius IX declared his intent to see the bishops in Spain oversee the education within their dioceses in “... complete accordance with Catholic teaching ... they will be quite free to exercise the most careful supervision even over public schools ...” (Puis

IX 1851: 20). In addition, in this address; Pius IX (1851: 20) expounded his ideas concerning colleges and schools noting:

It was consequently decided that the manner of educating and instructing youth in all Universities, Colleges or Seminaries, in all schools, whether public or private, would be completely in accordance with Catholic teaching. Bishops and diocesan authorities, whose office binds them to defend the purity of Catholic teaching, to spread it, and to see that youth receives a Christian education, will in no manner be impeded to carrying out these duties.

Such instruction could hardly be ignored in the Diocese of Antigonish where the hiring of Acadian public school teachers had begun and where the majority of pupils in the schools in Acadian villages were Catholic children. For this reason, the use of Acadian public school teachers and the promotion of Catholic public schools was important. In areas such as Arichat, this was in the realm of the possible with the instruction provided by the many Acadian public school teachers (see sections 4.3.2.3 and 4.3.2.4). The development of this Catholic school system was even more pronounced under Father Girroir and the coming to Arichat of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* and the *Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal* working within the public schools until the changes to the public education system in 1864 (see section 3.6). However, this sort of action led to disaffection by the Protestant majority.

Pius IX turned his attention in 1864 to the secularism arising in the schools of the world. In his Apostolic Letter *Quun non sine*¹⁵¹ (Pius IX 1864: 26-31), he made it clear that in his position on the matter "...there can be no doubt that the greatest misfortune to society is when the public and private education of the young...has been taken away from the controlling power of the

¹⁵¹ "Secularism in Education" (TR)

Church...” and he further went on to explain that “...[i]n these schools when education is not clearly combined with religious instruction, youth are left exposed to the gravest of dangers...”. While he promoted the use of Catholic teachers and schools and control over these institutions, Pius IX (1864: 30) also wished “...even more so to warn the faithful and to make it clear to them that they cannot frequent such schools as are set up against the Catholic Church...”.

It was finally in 1875 that Pius IX issued a strong condemnation of mixed denomination schools where Catholic children attended non-Catholic schools. In his *Instructions* (Pius IX 1875: 55-63) issued by the Holy Office, Pius IX makes very clear his reasoning from earlier statements in *Quon non sine* of 1864 and now expanded:

It is absolutely necessary that all bishops should make every effort to see to it that the flock entrusted to them may avoid every contact with the public schools... Catholics should have their own schools and...these should not be inferior to the public ones. Every effort must, therefore, be made to set up Catholic schools where they do not yet exist and to increase the number of and improve the organization and training the same level as that of the public schools...

It could be readily stated that in villages such as Pomquet and Chéticamp, there would be fewer problems in having the Catholic children attend the public school since the majority of children were Catholic and the school teachers were frequently Francophones (see section 4.3.3.3 and 4.3.1.1). In areas where there was an ethnic mix, for instance Tracadie and Arichat (see sections 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.2.4), there were greater issues within the confines of the school over religion and language.

The influence of the Church in Acadian villages of the eastern counties of Nova Scotia and the specific influence of the hierarchy under Bishops MacKinnon and Cameron quite clearly followed a trend in the Catholic world seen in the examples just given in Europe (Doyle 1977: 55), and where "... faithfulness to the Tridentine decrees was a sign of orthodoxy ... during the pontificate of Pius IX (1846-1878) this trend became clearer, as the church underwent a period of Romanization" (Doyle 1977: 55). The concern of the Catholic Church was by no means limited to fighting the government over mixed denomination education, but it was equally concerned with the teachers that they would provide to the schools and the training these teachers would receive in the institutions of the Diocese of Antigonish in eastern Nova Scotia. By the time the "Act for the encouragement of Education" of 1864 (NS 1864: 58) and the "Act for the better encouragement of Education" of 1865 (NS 1865: 29) which stated that there would be no separation of schools by religious denomination were enacted in Nova Scotia (see section 3.6), "...one third of the people of Nova Scotia were Roman Catholics accustomed under the free and easy system then prevailing to have their own schools in those sections in which Roman Catholics predominated, conducted largely under the control of the clergy..." (Walsh 1958: 59). The Catholic Church had a role to play during the first half of the nineteenth century in the provision of teachers for the Catholic population, which included the Acadian population and the Acadian public schools.

5.2.2 Private (Religious) Teachers

As demonstrated by Sweet (1999a, 1999b and 2000) the earliest education of the Acadians in eastern Nova Scotia during the last two decades of the eighteenth century until the passage of the first education acts (see section 3.4.1) was provided through the efforts of the Catholic Church in the local parishes, most often in search of possible seminarians (Sweet 2000: 175). However, there was private religious schooling for more of the population as the nineteenth century progressed and religious houses were established by orders and congregations of the local diocese as well as invited congregations from Lower Canada. The congregations included the *Sœurs du Tiers-Ordre de la Trappe*¹⁵², or Trappistines founded by Father Vincent de Paul Merle of Tracadie, Nova Scotia and the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal*¹⁵³ founded by Saint Marguerite Bourgeoys.

5.2.2.1 Training Teachers With The Trappistines

The *Congrégation Notre-Dame de Montréal* in Montréal trained the Trappistines, founded in 1823 as sisters and teachers, from 1822 to 1823. The Trappistines were the first “teaching” sisters to begin their academic apostolate in eastern Nova Scotia in the nineteenth century (MacDonald 1964: 74).

152 “Sisters of the Third Order of La Trappe” (TR)

153 “Congregation of Our Lady of Montreal” (TR)

The Cistercian Third Orders, like the Trappistines of Tracadie, were the result of a reform movement of the order in Europe at the time of the Revolution. One of the principle advocates of the reform was Dom Augustin de Lestrange, superior of the Cistercian abbey of La Trappe in France (Merton 1976: 90). His ideas included an active apostolate within the Cistercian contemplative order (Merton 1976: 90) which was adhered to by Father Vincent de Paul Merle of the same community. However, according to Thériault (1980: 180):

...[t]he Third Order...was an abnormality in Cistercian life. It was developed in Europe as an immediate solution to the problem which was created by the disappearance of teaching institutes and caused by the pressures of the Revolution. The formula was not accepted on a permanent basis by Cistercians of any observance.

The movement was eventually suppressed by the Holy See (Thériault 1980: 180) by the 1870s since it was not within the original ethos of the Cistercian order to teach those outside of the order, nor for its member monks and nuns to leave the cloister to teach. In Nova Scotia, this is precisely what Father Vincent de Paul Merle had established, with himself teaching and working in parishes outside of his monastery and the Trappistine sisters establishing a school in Merland and accepting girls to be taught in their establishment in 1823 (see section 5.2.2.1).

The Trappistines in Tracadie, however, were founded before the suppression of their branch of the Cistercian order. As will be seen they were founded under the auspices of the reform movement and sought to fulfil the active apostolate mandate of their founding father Vincent de Paul Merle (Merton 1976: 90). Their convent-school was established first at Pomquet under the name of

*Notre-Dame de Grâce*¹⁵⁴ (Thériault 1980: 179) and then moved in 1826 to Tracadie (Johnston 1971: 65) near the Cistercian community of men also founded by Father Vincent de Paul Merle.

Consisting of 14 members¹⁵⁵, the sisters at what became *Notre-Dame des Septs-Douleurs*¹⁵⁶ convent (Thériault 1980: 180), instructed the local Acadian and Mi'kmaq girls in both English and French (Schrepfer 1947: 142) at their private convent school and later founded a public school in Merland a nearby village (Schrepfer 1947: 142) of mixed Irish, Scottish and Acadian heritage. There is some discrepancy over the names of the 14 sisters at the Tracadie convent as the names in the census records for 1871 (*Canada Census: 1871*) and those of the *Annals* (Bertonnière 2004) of the convent do not completely match the names of those in the sources already mentioned. This fact could be as much to do with the census taker not providing the real names of the sisters, but rather the “name in religion” of many of the sisters. As noted by Father Vincent de Paul Merle the teaching of the Trappistines was, “... of necessity ... limited to pupils of the immediate vicinity” (Johnston 1971: 330). It provided studies that went beyond simply catechism lessons of the parish (Sweet 1999a: 71). The goal of the Trappistines was to teach their pupils to the point where they could become teachers themselves. One of their first pupils, Margaret Power, joined the Trappistines (Schrepfer 1947: 140) and was required to teach at the convent. The sisters were

¹⁵⁴ “Our Lady of Grace” (TR).

¹⁵⁵ The Trappistine sisters were: Marie Landry, Anne Marie Côté, Marie-Olive Doiron, Ellen Chisholm, Margaret Power, Margaret Broussard, Jeanne Momberquette, Melanie Morel, Marie Victoire (Victoria Doiron), Flora MacDonald, Claire (another Floral MacDonald) and Marie (Osité Levandier), Catherine Perrot and Elizabeth (no surname known).

¹⁵⁶ “Our Lady of Seven Sorrows” (TR).

later assisted in their private convent school and the Merland school (see section 5.2.2.1) by public school teachers (PANS RG14: 3-4). It was likely that the convent school, in receiving public school teachers to work, would have submitted the yearly school reports to the Department of Education in order to receive government financial help in paying for the public school teachers mentioned in the reports (PANS RG14: 3-4).

The curriculum of the Trappistines' was to prepare the girls of the Acadian and Mi'kmaq villages in the Antigonish region to be good teachers (Vincent de Paul Merle *Memoire*: 1824). Father Vincent de Paul Merle mentioned the subjects taught at the convent school in his *Memoire* (1824), stating that they ranged from learning to read and the catechism, to sewing, embroidery and creating artificial flowers which were taught by the sisters (Schrepfer 1947: 140). Added to these duties, and approved by the *Rule of St Benedict* (1966: 84, 91), the sisters kept a home for the aged and infirm (MacLean 1991: 55, Schrepfer 1947: 141) and also farmed (Schrepfer 1947: 141). But with former students becoming teachers (see section 4.3.3.1), the Trappistines filled their role in training public school teachers principally for the Acadian public schools (see sections 3.4.2 and 3.4.3).

The Trappistine convent at Tracadie had four former public school teachers who joined the order and who would have added to the skills base at the convent school for teaching women to become public school teachers. These former secular teachers were Ellen Chisholm who taught in Tracadie (see section 4.3.3.1) from 1849 to 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57), Jeanne Momberquette from L'Ardoise, Richmond County in Cape Breton where she taught from 1840 to 1850 (see

section 4.3.2.1), Melanie Morel who was mentioned previously (see section 4.3.3.1), who taught in Tracadie from 1847 to 1850 and finally Marie-Victoire (Victoria) Doiron who taught locally from 1831 until 1833 (PANS RG14: 3-4) before taking vows at Tracadie. Doiron would later become the fourth superior of the convent (Schrepfer 1947: 145) during the years 1881 to 1905. This migration of public school teachers into the Trappistine convent is an important element in the Church's training of public school teachers for the Acadian community. As indicated by Sheila Andrew (1996: 83) in her seminal work *The Development of Elites in Acadian New Brunswick, 1861-1881*, most Acadians who entered the teaching profession did not stay long, but used it as a means of entering other professions or vocations (see section 1.3). This was true for the four women entering the Third Order of La Trappe at Tracadie, who would ultimately aid the Church in ensuring the provision of public school teachers in eastern Nova Scotia as female teachers became more prevalent (see section 3.5.4).

According to the *Rule of St Benedict*, which insisted on manual labour as part of the daily routine of the monks and nuns, the Trappistines of Tracadie were able to devote much of their time to teaching at the convent school and the public school at Merland, since the light farming undertaken would occupy only a limited amount of the sisters' time, as a simple necessity (Vogüé 1983: 240) and not the principle occupation as laid down by Father Vincent de Paul Merle the founder. There was time in the day set aside for reading and prayer (Vogüé 1983: 241) for the sisters but since the Trappistine sisters of Tracadie were not "enclosed" nuns without any contact with the community around them, they could enter into their own vocation specifically with

teaching as their primary vocation (AAQ NE V: 108). Some of the nuns therefore used a greater portion of the day for teaching purposes rather than work specific to the order or the convent.

Though the subjects taught by the sisters at the Tracadie convent did not progress beyond the elementary level, as was the case with most schools of the day (see section 3.5.4.3), the level was adequate to provide public school teachers under the provisions of the Education Acts of the 1840s and 1850s (see section 3.5.4 and PANS RG14: 3-4). As Boudreau (1980: 160) states in his seminal work *Le Petit Clairvaux, Cent ans de vie cistercienne à Tracadie en Nouvelle-Écosse 1818-1919*¹⁵⁷, there were many mothers who were taught by the sisters to read and write, and who in turn passed on their knowledge to their own children. The Trappistines were also responsible for “... empêcher les jeunes filles ... de demeurer dans l’analphabétisme.”¹⁵⁸ (Bourdreau 1980: 160).

According to Thériault (1980: 180) in his work *Les instituts de vie consacrée au Canada / The Institutes of Consecrated Life in Canada* mentioned earlier in this section, the Third Order of La Trappe “... was an abnormality in Cistercian life” as a creation to survive the French Revolution and was not to be a permanent part of the Cistercian ecclesiastical family. Since the Cistercian way of life is to be enclosed and remote from the world, the work of the Trappistines of Tracadie did not adhere to the teachings of the order, but rather to the philosophy of the Cistercians of

157 “Little Clairvaux, One Hundred Years of Cistercian Life at Tracadie in Nova Scotia, 1818-1919”. (TR)

158 “[s]topping the young girls...from remaining illiterate”. (TR)

LaTrappe monastery in France (Merton 1976: 93) from which Father Vincent de Paul Merle had come (Merton 1976: 87).

The Trappistines' teaching apostolate, though laudable and in line with the wishes of the Bishop of Antigonish (see section 5.2.1) for the Catholic Church to provide teachers for the public schools, was not welcomed by the Cistercian order. The General Chapter of the Order refused to admit the Tracadie sisters to the order as mentioned above due to the failure of the reform in Europe to change the contemplative apostolate of the order to an active one. In 1871, the Cistercian superior of the Order in Kentucky to which they were affiliated since 1859 (Boudreau 1980: 156) stipulated that the Trappistines of Tracadie were not to admit further postulants (Schrepfer 1947: 141) and so the Trappistines Third Order was to dissolve when the last living sisters died. The last Trappistine died at Arichat in 1917. While the Trappistines would not be permitted new postulants, those sisters already within the order under vows were permitted to continue with their work of teaching and would continue providing new Catholic teachers for the public schools in eastern Nova Scotia into late nineteenth century eastern Nova Scotia.

5.2.2.2 Training by the Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal

The second teaching order to work among the Acadian girls of eastern Nova Scotia was the *Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal*. Saint Margerite Bourgeoys founded the Notre Dame sisters in 1658 in Montréal as a teaching order (Thériault 1980: 110). The work of the Notre Dame sisters was to teach the female population of New France and in turn create a population of female teachers for work in the French speaking community of Montréal. Over the next two centuries the

order expanded its work to other French speaking communities in British North America. The Notre Dame sisters arrived in Arichat in 1856 after an invitation from Bishop MacKinnon (MacLean 1991: 31) to teach the girls of the region of Île Madame the basics of education following the requirements of the various education acts created in the 1850s and 1860s in Nova Scotia (see section 3.5.4.3) and to train some of these girls to become public school teachers themselves.

Leading up to the arrival of the Notre Dame sisters, preparation had been underway by Bishop MacKinnon to have a convent and land prepared for them (SFX¹⁵⁹ MG73/1/481). The sisters worked in Arichat and Arichat-Ouest (see sections 4.3.2.4 and 4.3.2.5) mostly with the female children of the Acadian families. Father Hubert Girroir, the parish priest of Arichat, himself a great proponent of Acadian education and first Acadian to study for the priesthood in Nova Scotia (Boudreau 1974: 69) prepared for their arrival in 1855. The first three sisters stayed with the sister of Father Maranda (St Miriam 1953: 75), a priest in the area in 1856, in Arichat while Father Girroir prepared a convent for the sisters. A further convent and school were built in Arichat-Ouest in 1862 which they occupied in 1863 (Doyle 1940: 266). The Notre Dame sisters advertised as far away as Antigonish (*The Casket* 1858) that they had opened a boarding school for girls with a detailed description of courses and requirements for entrance.

It is important to note that, just as the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* used their own schoolbooks for teaching purposes written by their congregation (see section 5.2.3.1), so too the *Congrégation*

¹⁵⁹ Saint Francis Xavier University Archives referred to as SFX.

de Notre-Dame de Montréal had brought with them texts that were produced within their own community (Hamel 1996: 86) to use in their private convent school which operated as a government public school. Choppin (1993: 5) stated in his research on school manuals, that the books themselves were not simply aids in teaching but would “...perpétuer leurs identités, leurs valeurs, leurs traditions, leurs cultures...”¹⁶⁰.

As Andrew (1996: 16) points out in *Selling Education: The Problems of Convent Schools in Acadian New Brunswick, 1858-1886*, there were differences in opinion regarding the role of education for women and the use of the French and English languages in higher education. The convent school in Arichat would inevitably face this linguistic difficulty in a mixed English/Protestant and French/Catholic population such as that on Île Madame especially in Arichat. The convent school in Arichat-Ouest would fair better in the linguistic discussions, as the community of Arichat-Ouest was more homogenous French in mid-nineteenth century.

In Arichat the Notre Dame sisters taught in the public school from 1856, called the “St Catherine Boarding School” (Doyle 1940: 266), erected in 1854-1855 (SFX MG 75/1 SJF18) though the sisters were not officially licensed as public school teachers. The Notre Dame sisters continued their work in Arichat for 31 years. By 1892 there were one hundred students but two years later the numbers dropped to 65 and the convent in Arichat-Ouest closed in 1894 (St Miriam 1953: 78) due to the falling number of pupils attending classes each year. The course of study at the St Catherine Boarding School prepared girls to become teachers (Doyle 1940: 266). The subjects

¹⁶⁰ “...perpetuate their identities, their values, their traditions, their cultures...” (TR)

included French and English, globes, ancient history, rhetoric, botany, philosophy, chemistry, music – vocal and instrumental – drawing and painting as well as needlework (Doyle 1940: 266, St Miriam 1953: 78). With an array of subjects nearly equal to that offered at Arichat Academy for the male students, it is little wonder that the school became popular and had an enrolment of one hundred girls by 1892, only 29 years after the founding of the convent (St Miriam 1953: 78). But as importantly, the sisters “...were often role models for women who wanted to develop their intellectual or business skills. Convents taught a particular code of manners and language...” (Andrew 1996: 18) which was a requirement for gaining a teaching permit in mid-nineteenth century (see sections 3.5.4.1 and 3.5.4.2).

As was to be the case within the decade, the sisters as well as the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* were required to take the public teacher examinations but as Andrew (1996: 60) points out in her work *The Development of Elites in Acadian New Brunswick, 1861-1881*, “...lack of a license does not necessarily indicate lack of education... Even good Francophone teachers might also have been reluctant to jump through the hoops necessary for superior qualifications...”. According to a letter (ADA¹⁶¹ MacKinnon: 3[1] 1-4) from the Superintendent of Education, A.H. MacKay to Bishop MacKinnon in 1894, the Notre Dame sisters were later exempt from the public school exams and only required an inspection in order to be granted a “First Rank Course” qualification, a considerable change from the 1860s (see section 3.6.1) and the government’s inflexible attitude to public school teacher examinations. Those among their pupils, however, could be prepared for these examinations and become public school teachers in their own right.

¹⁶¹ Archives of the Diocese of Antigonish referred to as ADA.

The Notre Dame sisters' convent school in Arichat, originally founded as a private school, became a provincial grammar school (Johnston 1971: 423) after the "Act for the encouragement of Education" (NS 1864). From their school they were able to "... send out... graduates of their school whom they had carefully prepared for the important work of teaching" (Johnston 1971: 332, 340). Heidi MacDonald (2003: 46) in her work entitled *Developing a Strong Roman Catholic Social Order in Late Nineteenth-Century Prince Edward Island* notes that the Notre Dame sisters "...raised the level of education...by providing qualified teachers for academic subjects, as well as religious education, etiquette, culture, and the 'womanly arts' ...". MacDonald (2003: 46) also points out that in Acadian communities, "...the sisters undoubtedly raised the social status [of] Francophone identity and culture...", which would bolster the language and culture where the Acadians were often a minority population.

The Arichat Convent School teachers were: Sister St Zephyrin, 1827-1906, superior of Arichat Convent 1862-1883, Sister St Maurice, 1829-1910, who taught English at the Arichat Convent from 1860 until 1880, Sister Elizabeth, Sister Saint-Jean-de-la-Croix, and Sister Sainte-Mathilde who were the three original *Congrégation de Notre-Dame* sisters of Montréal sent to found the school and convent at Arichat. There are no figures for the numbers of female students taught by the Notre Dame sisters. Those who completed the course provided by the Notre Dame sisters could take the examinations for the school commissions in the Richmond County and become public school teachers.

5.2.3 Arichat Academy

Arichat Academy has had a varied and sometimes acrimonious history and the Academy should not be confused with the College-Seminary founded in 1853 for the academic training of the priests and teachers of the Diocese of Antigonish in eastern Nova Scotia (see section 5.3). The Academy was established to be a grammar school where subjects equivalent to high school could be taken according to the Nova Scotia government legislation of 1811 and 1826 (see sections 3.4.1.1 and 3.4.1.2). These studies would permit the boys of the community in Arichat to look for work in areas other than the fishery including the opportunity to teach. Father John Chisholm was the founder of the original Arichat Academy in 1833 (Cameron 1996: 14). The following year, a petition for financial support was forwarded to the colonial government, who offered support in 1834, to the *Catholic Academy at Arichat* (St Francis Xavier University Archives 1957: 65, Johnston 1971: 157-158).

The teaching staff at the college, according to Johnston (1971: 158), in his work *A History of the Catholic Church in eastern Nova Scotia*, included an un-named non-ecclesiastic teacher from 1835 until 1837, this layman was followed by Mr James Campbell (see section 4.3.2.6) who taught from 1839 to 1841 (PANS RG14: 56-57), 1841 being the final year the academy operated (Johnston 1971: 158). Funding to academies like Arichat had been more clearly defined by the Education Department in Halifax in the “Act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools” (NS 1841) which provided further grants to academies and in particular entitled academies to the same funding as combined common and grammar schools (NS 1841: 43). With

the failure of the Arichat Academy, the programme that would create new male and female public school teachers was in jeopardy.

It was not until 1853 that Arichat Academy was re-opened, this time under the leadership of Father Hubert Girroir, the first Acadian priest of Nova Scotia ordained since the Deportation (Boudreau 1975: 72). Following his ordination in Québec City, Father Girroir became the new rector of the cathedral at Arichat (Bourdreau 1975: 72) and then headmaster of the Academy. Arichat Academy was re-opened in conjunction with the establishment of the seminary-college, temporarily at Arichat. Since the academy at Arichat conducted its classes in lieu of a local grammar school, the provincial treasury awarded it a yearly allowance of £100 in 1854 under the government of William Young of the Liberal (Reform) Party (NS 1854: 25 [2]). With the re-establishment of grammar school classes at the academy from 1853, the process of developing male public school teachers could continue.

Attendance at the academy was high (89 boys and 11 girls) in the academic year 1855 to 1856. In the academic year 1856 to 1857 there were 109 boys and no girls¹⁶² (Johnston 1971: 330). Father Girroir was head of the academy and had the support of two Anglophone teachers; Joseph MacGillivray from 1855 to 1856 and John F. Fuller from 1856 to 1857. This arrangement only lasted until 1857 when Fuller left the academy. This precarious state of schooling was finally

¹⁶² It should be remembered that in 1857 the Notre Dame sisters' boarding school had commenced in Arichat-Ouest for girls.

rectified temporarily in 1860 with the arrival of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* from Montréal (Boudreau 1975: 73).

The work of the Arichat Academy in its first existence as well as its revival, illustrated the need in major centres like Arichat for education facilities that could train the local population to become teachers. Men such as Charles Martel (see section 4.3.2.3) were trained at the Arichat Academy and then became teachers are examples of this work. Without a Normal School (see section 3.5.4.3) to provide the training needed, it was the work of the Arichat Academy, the Notre Dame sisters and the Trappistine sisters to teach the Acadians who would later become the public school teachers in Acadian public schools. In each of these examples, it was the Catholic Church that provided the facilities and instructors for the training of public school teachers.

5.2.3.1 *Frères des écoles chrétiennes*

One of the most controversial moments in educational history in eastern Nova Scotia, was the introduction of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes*, or Christian Brothers of De LaSalle, at Arichat. Having a congregation of teaching brothers dedicated to developing and instructing school to both children and adults in English and French at the grammar school level would provide a consistent teaching faculty. The Brothers were welcomed by Father Hubert Girroir¹⁶³, the rector of the

163 Father Girroir was a promoter of the French language and Acadian culture, which for many Anglophones, appeared as a threat to their hegemony of the Church whose hierarchy in Nova Scotia was Irish and Scottish. Father Girroir was, in fact, transferred to the smaller community of Arichat-Ouest in 1863 when he fell from favour with the Bishop. He was finally moved about in the diocese to Chéticamp and finally Havre-Boucher.

cathedral in Arichat who was also the director of Arichat Academy (see section 5.2.2.2) from 1853 (Boudreau 1965: 72). Girroir was facing mounting criticism from the English speaking community and the diocesan hierarchy for his promotion of the French language and education for the majority Acadian population of Arichat and Richmond County, though it should be noted, not to the expense of the English speaking people of Richmond County.

The Brothers arrived in 1860 to take over Arichat Academy with their particular brand of education and made the academic possibilities at Arichat greater than in most areas of the Atlantic region of the period. Nive Voisine, in his seminal work, *Les Frères des écoles chrétiennes au Canada, tome 1, La conquête de l'Amérique, 1837-1880*¹⁶⁴, describes the foundation of the Christian Brothers in Canada including that of Atlantic Canada during the 1860s and 1870s and the difficulties encountered until their eventual withdraw from all the local diocese in the Atlantic region and Marie-Josée Laroque (2001) in *Le projet éducatif des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes*¹⁶⁵, describes the methods and subjects taught in the schools run by the Christian Brothers as well as the educational philosophy of the congregation which will be discussed in greater depth in section 5.2.3.2.

The Christian Brothers were proposed to work in Arichat originally by Father Chartier, the rector of Arichat Cathedral from 1850 to 1852 (Johnston 1994: 22). Father Chartier had been a parish

164 “The Brothers of the Christian Schools in Canada, volume 1, The Conquest of America, 1837-1880” (TR).

165 “The Education Project of the Brothers of the Christian Schools” (TR).

priest in Lower Canada where he would have encountered the work of both the *Institut des Frères des écoles chrétiennes*¹⁶⁶ and the sisters of *Notre-Dame de Montréal*. Seeing a need for a teaching order upon his arrival in Arichat, he advocated the Christian Brothers who were working in Lower Canada. The Brothers in Montréal appear to have agreed to come and work and in fact four brothers (Austin, Maximillian, John Eve and Aboudian) arrived in the summer of 1860 to begin work at the Arichat Academy (Voisine 1987: 140). The school they took over had an enrolment of 157, and by November of the same year had established a night school for adults which had an enrolment of 28 (Johnston 1977: 335, Voisine 1987: 140).

According to Voisine (1987: 354) the Brothers normally trained teachers at their academies in the absence of Normal Schools. This measure had been tried and accepted in the Diocese of Montréal (Voisine 1987: 353) where the Brothers first established themselves in Canada (Laroque 2001: 187). Unfortunately, the Academy suffered from a lack of funding throughout its existence. And while the school had a numerical success among the population the project was not always endorsed by the Bishop of Arichat (Johnston 1971: 237) and it was in 1864 that, "... Bishop MacKinnon was faced with the choice of having the Brothers examined for teaching licenses or lose the government grant for the Academy" (McLean 1991: 39).

The government of Charles Tupper introduced new education legislation in 1864 entitled "Act for the encouragement of Education" (NS 1864: 58) (see section 3.6) which required all educators in

166 "Institute of the Christian Brothers" (TR).

the province to submit to a public examination to be accredited with a Nova Scotia teachers permit. The Brothers refused this obligation, but were willing to provide credentials and answer verbal requirements in a “private response” (Voisine 1987: 140). Bishop MacKinnon was more willing to compromise with the government over schools than his coadjutor Bishop Cameron even though papal instructions were counter to the Bishop’s plans (see section 5.2.1). While the Church had a duty to provide Catholic public school teachers, it needed the funding provided by the government to carry on the Academy. Funding by the government of Nova Scotia amounted to £100 as a grant and a further £150 was raised through subscriptions from the local community (Voisine 1987: 140). In response to this crisis, Father Hubert Girroir, the parish priest, attempted to find funding through the Catholic Church at the Propagation of the Faith, but this could only be had through Bishop MacKinnon who had refused (Voisine 1987: 140). He also solicited (*Centre d’études acadiennes*, Rameau Dossier 5:1-2) Emperor Napoléon III¹⁶⁷ through Rameau de Saint-Père, a mutual friend of the Emperor, and supporter of the Acadians (Pichette 1998: 147) but was unsuccessful in this regard.

Without continuous funding and the lack of support from the government in Halifax which made undue demands on the Brothers to conform to the new licensing requirements, the Brothers were forced to withdraw from the academy and cease work. They moved to Arichat-Ouest where

167 The role of Napoléon III in French Canada in both Lower Canada and the Maritimes among the Acadians has been well documented by Robert Pichette (1998) in his thorough work entitled *Napoléon III, l’Acadie et le Canada français*.

Father Girroir had been sent by the Bishop in 1863 and set up a private boarding school. The Academy at Arichat was placed under the direction of a public school teacher with three lay instructors (Rémi Benoît, Angus MacIsaac and Angus MacDonald) to replace the Brothers (see section 4.3.2.3). The Brothers remained in Arichat-Ouest until 1867 when they retired back to Montréal, with one of their number transferring to Halifax (Voisine 1987: 142) to teach at Saint Mary's College (West 2002: 11).

Of the three teachers at Arichat Academy taking over from the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes*, Rémi Benoît was the only French speaking member of staff. Rémi Benoît was born in D'Escousse 3 January 1842 and buried there 6 June 1919 and considered a patriot of the Acadian people during his lifetime. According Chiasson (2000 [<http://www.biograh.ca>]), Rémi Benoît taught in Arichat between 1861 and 1869. Benoît would likely have been one of the students of the first Arichat Academy (see section 5.2.3) who trained as a teacher.

5.2.3.2 Academy Curriculum 1853-1860

The second academy at Arichat was, in its nascent state, a part of the education system of the Arichat College-Seminary. From 1853 to 1860, the Arichat Academy was a diocesan operated academy, which, though “public” for funding purposes, was under the auspices of the Diocese of Antigonish. The junior levels of schooling were taught with the idea that the pupils would

continue their studies at the college level when completed to become teachers or priests (*The Casket* 1858: 5-8) under the guidelines of the Education acts of 1841, 1845 and 1850 (see sections 3.5.3 and 3.5.4). With the transfer of the college portion of the institution to Antigonish in 1855, becoming St Francis Xavier College, the Academy remained at Arichat with public funding as per the “Act for the encouragement of education” (NS 1850) (see section 3.5.4.2). The subjects mentioned in *The Casket* of 5 August 1858 (*The Casket* 1858: 5-8), were only indicated as “higher branches” of education that would lead to entrance to the college, though none were listed.

5.2.3.3 Academy Curriculum 1860-1865

Following the arrival of the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* in 1860, Arichat Academy underwent changes in curriculum and methodology in preparing pupils for the non-academic trades and preparing teachers, as the Brothers were pioneers in public Catholic education (Laroque 2001: 184). The founder of the Christian Brothers, Father Jean-Baptiste De LaSalle, made it clear that primary school should be free and reading and writing should be in the local language and not Latin. De LaSalle wrote his thoughts and methodology of teaching in several texts, the most important being the *Conduite des écoles chrétiennes*¹⁶⁸ published 1838 in Montréal (Voisine 1987: 310) (see section 4.3.5). Jean-Baptiste De LaSalle believed that the schools should be established to operate in uniformity in methods and subjects as well as the general conduct of the school (Voisine 1987: 310). In this way there would be no delay in the progression of a pupil should there be a change of teacher or school. There was also a rule preventing the Brothers from

168 “Conduct of Christian Schools” (TR).

creating manuals and using teaching methods that were not in conformity with those established by the founder. De LaSalle believed that teaching should be simultaneous and that both adults and children should be taught when in need and that their teachers (the Brothers or other teachers) should receive a formation in teaching that was professional and reflective of the culture and language of the population (Laroque 2001: 188-189). This programme was instituted in Arichat at the academy under the Brothers' supervision in 1860.

Students leaving the Arichat Academy of the Brothers as teachers would be well prepared for the public school curriculum they would be required to teach in either French or English. Paramount in the teaching of the Brothers was the Catholic religion in the mother tongue of the pupils. In the case of the Arichat Academy, this would be primarily in French but with no discrimination against pupils they taught in English. The Brothers believed that the culture and language of the students was as important as any other part of their studies and therefore should “...ne devraient jamais être abandonnées pour une orientation professionnelle superficielle ou pour une spécialisation utilitariste trop précoce de crainte de former des automates...” (Laroque 2001:189-190)¹⁶⁹. The Brothers considered education a means to learning a method of earning a living (Laroque 2001: 190) which resulted in the creation of commercial courses, which were included among the courses at the Arichat Academy (Johnston 1977: 424). Courses needed in teaching at the public schools were taught. In this way the students who completed the programme of studies at the Academy could fulfil the requirements of the education legislation which became more and more exacting of the

169 “...should never be abandoned for a professional orientation which is superficial or for simply a utilitarian specialization too precocious which could create automatons...” (TR).

required courses to be taught in the public schools of Nova Scotia. The courses included chemistry, navigation, physics (Laroque 2001: 191) as well as French language, English language, Writing (in both English and French), Arithmetic, Bookkeeping, Geometry, Geography, Globes, Ancient and Modern History, Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, Music and Drawing as well as Greek, Latin, Navigation, Trigonometry and Mechanical drawing (Johnston 1977: 424). The curriculum coincided with that required of teachers in the grammar schools of Nova Scotia under the education act of 1841 and therefore only included religious instruction for the benefit of the pupils themselves, but as a teachable subject in Nova Scotia. The courses required for teachers to be licensed in Nova Scotia after 1841 included in this act were: reading, writing, arithmetic, classics, modern languages, geography, English grammar, history, agriculture chemistry, composition, land survey and navigation (NS 1845: 25 [33]).

The Brothers were directed to teach from both the texts *Traite Des devoirs du Chrétien envers Dieu*¹⁷⁰ and the catechism as approved by the Bishop of Arichat. In the case of Arichat Academy two catechisms were used in the early 1860s; the *Petit catéchisme de Québec*¹⁷¹ for French and *Butlers Catechism* in English which was subsequently translated to Gaelic for the use of the diocese in many of the Scottish communities (ADA, MacKinnon 2[1]: 1-7). In the pedagogical programme laid out by the Brothers, the Reading taught to the pupils was to begin with the basics

¹⁷⁰ “...Treaties of Responsibilities of Christians To God...” (TR).

¹⁷¹ “...Little Catechism of Québec...” (TR).

of letters and progress to spelling and finally to the reading of texts such as “... livres de piété, comme sont, par exemple, *l'Imitation de Jésus-Christ*, les *Sages Entretiens*, les *Vérités Chrétiennes*, les *Pensées Chrétiennes*, le *Pensez-y bien*, etc...”¹⁷² (De LaSalle 1720: 14 01 08). Teaching of Latin by a Latin master could only be conducted once the Brothers were assured that the pupils knew very well their own language (De LaSalle 1720: 03 08 01).

Concerning the subject of Writing, the children were taught to write as soon as they well understood the letters and formation of words in reading. There were twelve levels, which progressed from the basics of sentence structure to formal compositions (De LaSalle 1838). The subject of composition was taught through grammar and exercises, which included lessons in spelling. For the French language pupils the texts used were *Abrégé des principes de la grammaire française*¹⁷³ and *Exercices orthographiques*¹⁷⁴ texts which were published by the Brothers. According to Voisine (1987 : 328) :

*Le premier objectif de cet apprentissage de la langue est d'amener l'écolier à bien posséder la première partie de la grammaire et une bonne connaissance de l'orthographe, mais, une fois cette base acquise, on peut initier les plus avancés à la rédaction...*¹⁷⁵.

With Arithmetic, the Brothers spent less time but when teaching they were required to provide the

¹⁷² “... books of piety for example The Imitation of Christ, Wise Roads, Christian Truths, Christian Thoughts, Think Well, etc...” (TR).

¹⁷³ “...Principles of French Grammar Abridged...” (TR).

¹⁷⁴ “...Spelling Exercises...” (TR).

¹⁷⁵ “The first objective of the learning of a language is to lead the pupil to know well the first part of the grammar as well as a good knowledge of spelling, but, as soon as a basis is acquired, the pupil can be initiated into preparing more advanced texts.” (TR).

basics as outlined by De LaSalle (De LaSalle 1838: 49-56). And finally History, Geography and Design were subjects taught by the Brothers at Arichat who used texts and maps to ensure the pupils in the classrooms inculcated the principles of Christian history and the history of the British Empire, France and Nova Scotia. Students used the text *Histoire de France précédée de l'Histoire sainte*¹⁷⁶ published in 1836 and *Civilité chrétienne, revue et corrigé*¹⁷⁷ and for mathematics and design the *Abrégé de géographie*¹⁷⁸, *Abrégé de géométrie pratique*¹⁷⁹, and *Nouveau traité d'Arithmétique*¹⁸⁰ all published in 1833, were employed. Within Design (drawing) and Geometry, the concentration was placed on practical work and less on teacher demonstrations (De LaSalle 1838: 56-60). It should be noted that the publication of manuals and texts used in the Brother's schools were strictly controlled by the Brothers administration (Voisine 1987: 334), but the value was such that the methodology used by the Brothers and the success in their schools was enviable in this period and so the Brothers freely distributed the manual *Conduite des écoles chrétiennes*¹⁸¹ to other religious congregations (Voisine 1987: 353) and found its way to teachers with no apparent connection with the Brothers such as Devillary in Chezzetcook (see section 4.3.5).

It is evident that the Brothers offered a series of courses that were the best formation for the Acadian public school teachers (see sections 5.2.2.1, 5.2.2.2 and 5.2.3.3). The Brothers were able

¹⁷⁶ "...History of France, preceded by Sacred History..." (TR).

¹⁷⁷ "...Christian Civility Reviewed and Corrected..." (TR).

¹⁷⁸ "...Geography Abridged..." (TR).

¹⁷⁹ "...Practical Geometry Abridged..." (TR).

¹⁸⁰ "...New Treaties of Arithmetic..." (TR).

¹⁸¹ "...Conduct of Christian Schools..." (TR).

to train teachers in the most recent and advanced of the pedagogical methods available in Europe and yet remain within the dictates of the Catholic Church as outlined in section 5.1. The Brothers concern was for the individual pupil and not simply teaching the masses in a classroom. The teacher would be prepared for the class in advance and teach pupils that were organized in classes according to age and knowledge levels (De LaSalle 1838).

As outlined in section 5.2.2.1, Trappistine sisters taught subjects that were directed to the young women of the period which included the basics of reading and writing as well as sewing, drawing, floral design and basic arithmetic. There are no records as to the teaching methods employed by the Trappistine sisters, however, the initial three nuns sent to train in Montréal by Father Vincent de Paul Merle were taught by the *Congrégation de Notre Dame*, who in turn adopted the methods employed by the Christian Brothers in the 1840s and 1850s. It could be extrapolated that all three orders therefore used the same methodology and were required to teach similar curriculums as dictated by the government of Nova Scotia (see section 3.5 for curriculum requirements from 1841 to 1864).

With the Trappistine sisters, the Notre Dame sisters and the Christian Brothers, the Catholic Church was able to provide teacher training at a level consistent with the needs of the Acadian people and their public schools within the confines of official Catholic doctrine (see section 5.1), and meet the requirements of the Nova Scotia government under the education legislation from 1826 until 1864.

5.3 SAINT FRANCIS XAVIER COLLEGE-SEMINARY

Saint Francis Xavier College-Seminary (which from 1866 received a Royal Charter as a university) was originally founded as the College-Seminary at Arichat (see section 5.2.3). Bishop MacKinnon, Bishop of Antigonish established the college (ADA, MacKinnon 2[1]: 1-3) as a training institution for the diocesan priesthood (MacDonell 1947: 84) and classics college. The College-Seminary worked in conjunction with Arichat Academy which was created for the boys and girls of the Île Madame region to prepare them for secondary studies and preparation for public school teaching (see section 5.2.3). Bishop MacKinnon stated his intention was to make the college available for the improvement in the standards of teachers in eastern Nova Scotia (MacDonell 1947: 84) as well.

Bishop MacKinnon had made the College-Seminary one of his most urgent priorities upon assuming the See of Arichat as second bishop of the diocese (AAQ DG VI: 88), which he speaks of in his first pastoral letter to the Diocese of Arichat (ADA, MacKinnon 2[1]: 1-3):

A Diocesan seminary, even on a small scale, is among the first cares of a Bishop; consequently it will receive our earliest, and most serious attention. According, as our means will allow us, other institutions shall be founded for the education of the rising generation, to correspond with the requirements and progress of the age in which we live ... The opening of our seminary will

also afford an opportunity to many among the lay-youth of our diocese, to acquire a good, and sound education, to qualify them to fulfil with credit to themselves, and benefit to their country ...

According to the bishop, the College-Seminary was to remain in Arichat only a year or perhaps two (McLean 1991: 27, O'Connell 1965: 4) and was given the name of Seminary of St Ninian (ADA, MacKinnon 2[1]: 1-8) who is the patron saint of the diocese (SFX MG75/1/SFF14, MacDonell 1947: 85, Plessis 1980: 103). In fact, the college, with the new name, Saint Francis Xavier, given by Bishop Cameron, the coadjutor of the diocese, moved to Antigonish in 1855 (Boudreau 1974: 114, MacLean 1991: 39, O'Connell 1965: 4) where Bishop MacKinnon had intended it to be situated (SFX MG75/1/SFF9). The College-Seminary was to serve the people of the various dioceses¹⁸² of the Atlantic region of British North America. Until 1853, all Catholic seminarians from the Atlantic colonies had to travel to Québec City, Montréal or Nicolet (all in Lower Canada). The foundation of the college-seminary was opposed however, by the Catholic Bishop of St John's in Newfoundland, Rev. Dr. Fleming (Darcy 2003: 247) who preferred to send seminarians to Ireland (himself Irish) for training at the Irish National Seminary at Maynooth.

Some of the faculty of the college-seminary taught at the Academy which was in the same building in Arichat. The first administrator of the St Ninian's Seminary was Reverend Dr. Shulte who acted as the Rector and Principal during its first two years of operation, 1853 to 1855 (SFX MG 75/1/SFF9). Dr. Shulte taught theology, philosophy and Latin and was assisted by Roderick

182 The Atlantic region had four diocese in the first half of the nineteenth century; Halifax, Arichat/Antigonish, St John's, Harbour Grace and Chatham-Bathurst.

MacDonald who taught the subjects of mathematics, Latin, and Greek. John Fuller, who taught at the seminary, was previously a public school teacher in Arichat from 1845 to 1850 (PANS RG14: 56-57) who again taught at Arichat Academy from 1856 to 1857 (see section 5.2.3). Fuller became the English professor at the college-seminary while Father Hubert Girroir, rector of the Cathedral at Arichat and principal of the Arichat Academy (see section 5.2.3) became professor of Christian Doctrine and French language (Boudreau 1974: 113, MacLean 1991: 205).

With this cross-institutional faculty teaching the subjects required for the public school teachers in Nova Scotia (NS 1845: 25 [33]), the students who were prospective teachers at the college and at the Academy would succeed in preparing for public school teacher examinations by the school commissioners of the various counties in eastern Nova Scotia. For the students of the college-seminary who were Francophone and had intentions of teaching in the public school system of eastern Nova Scotia, the courses included French as a teachable subject and taught by Father Girroir.

During the first year of operation, the college-seminary, now called Saint Francis Xavier College, had fifteen students while three years later there were forty-nine (MacDonell 1947: 86). By 1860 eleven priests had been ordained and a further thirteen others were in training at the college. There were also "...a gratifying number of men ... prepared for teaching ..." (MacDonell 1947: 86). The college received an allowance of £100 from the provincial government under the provisions of the "Act to continue an act for the encouragement of schools and amend the same"

(NS 1841: 43) following an agreement based on personal correspondence between Bishop MacKinnon and Premier Joseph Howe in 1853 (Boudreau 1974: 113, Cameron 1996: 17). The money received under provisions of the “Act to continue an act for the encouragement of schools and amend the same” (NS 1841: 43), were in accordance with the preparation given by the college for the preparation of teachers for the public schools. The college received a further annual grant of £250 in 1855 (MacLean 1991: 27). In his application for the subsidy, Bishop Cameron noted that the local community had provided £1700 to create the buildings on the new campus of the college which had been transferred to the town of Antigonish (MacLean 1991: 27). Further funding in the late 1850s came from the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in France, which raised money on behalf of the college and other projects in the diocese (Cameron 1996: 17) amounting to 20,000 French Francs (ADA, MacKinnon 2[1]: 1-3; MacDonell 1947: 85).

Bishop MacKinnon was active in seeking support for the college at Arichat and then at Antigonish because, as MacLean (1991: 27) pointed out in his work *Bishop John Cameron; Piety and Politics*, “... what mattered to Bishop MacKinnon was the need to supply priests and teachers for his people”. The unfortunate aspect to this leadership was its ethnic drive. The Scottish Catholic community made up the majority population in the region and therefore dominated the hierarchy (Thériault 1978: 26) and promoted its own population at the expense of the other ethnic groups (Sweet 1999a: 54) that lived in eastern Nova Scotia. Cameron (1996: 24) stated that Acadians did not attend the college-seminary after its founding at Arichat, however, four of the initial five Acadians ordained to the priesthood for the Diocese of Antigonish attended St Francis Xavier

College after its move from Arichat to Antigonish (Sweet 1999a: 101) which indicates that they indeed did begin their studies in Arichat at the college and then moved with the institution to Antigonish to complete their degrees.

While Saint Francis Xavier College-Seminary was not to survive as a bilingual institution as it might have, had it remained in Arichat after 1855, it did provide French language coursing to the Acadians of the Île Madame region for the first two years following its foundation in 1853. The work of the Catholic Church in making some effort to provide educational facilities for the Catholic population of eastern Nova Scotia is evident. The need for higher education was recognized and the initial institutions created as bilingual academies and colleges for the use of both the English community and the Acadians of the Île Madame region.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, a demonstration of the development of teacher training is demonstrated from its earliest days through private establishments such as the Trappistines (see section 5.2.2.1) and *Congrégation de Notre-Dame de Montréal* (see section 5.2.2.2) as well as the *Frères des écoles chrétiennes* (see section 5.2.3), and a few taking advantage of the early college-seminary in the Arichat and then Antigonish (see section 5.3.2).

What is evident in this chapter is the influence of the Catholic Church in ensuring a Catholic education for its members and training for prospective Catholic public school teachers by religious congregations of the French language (see section 5.2). The Acadians could and did take advantage of these opportunities to study in their own language and become public school teachers. Though being a minority in three of the four counties of eastern Nova Scotia (see section 1.3), the Acadians had, for a short period of approximately forty years, education at a level higher than most other minority cultural groups in Nova Scotia (Rawlyk & Hafter 1970: 9). The Acadian public school teachers coming from the small Catholic training institutions of eastern Nova Scotia in the French language would ensure the continued survival of the French language in some of the Acadian communities in eastern Nova Scotia.

6.0 CHAPTER 6: SYNTHESIS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this thesis *For a space to teach: Acadian teachers in the public schools of eastern Nova Scotia, 1811-1864*, the introduction of French speaking Acadian teachers into an exclusively English language education system from 1811 was illustrated. Though the colonial government was to permit French as a language of instruction only between 1841 until 1864, the Acadians were faced, as they were before 1841, with education legislation that officially prohibited the use of any language but English in the public school system.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS OF THE CHAPTERS

The writing of the chapters of this dissertation has followed the design of answering the questions illustrated in section 1.3. The discussions found in the chapters have been prepared with the answers to those questions in mind. Each chapter supplied the evidence related to one or more of the queries and elaborated on that evidence to allow a better understanding of the Acadian public school teachers and the role they played in the early establishment of public school education in the Acadian villages in the eastern counties of Nova Scotia. These Acadian teachers were essential in the propagation of the French language and maintenance of the Acadian culture in many communities where they faced, and often still face (Landry & Allard 2000), assimilationist tendencies. In this the final chapter the conclusions to each of the preceding chapters is discussed.

This will permit the initial outcomes to be confirmed (see section 1.3).

Chapter 1, the *Introduction to the Study* focused on the proposed thesis discussion and the areas of motivation, problem postulation, methodology, and a review of available literature and sources. Chapter 1 centred the reader within the confines of the subject area with relation to the sources available as well as an understanding of the methodologies needed in the writing of this thesis. The principle resource for this thesis were the public school records that were submitted by the Acadian public school teachers between 1811 and 1864, which permitted an immediate insight into when the public school teacher worked in the school in question, his or her level of study and what they were able to teach. In chapter 4 (see section 4.2), there was discussion concerning the teaching skills and subject areas that public school teachers were to have to gain a teaching license, however, not all teachers were of the same skill level in all subjects. The governments and local school authorities established a minimum (see sections 3.4 and 3.5) requirement and hired teachers based on these norms.

The questions raised (see section 1.3) for research and debate for this thesis showed the value of this research in supplying a detailed analysis of the early Acadian public school teachers who, in most available published sources are given a cursory mention but little in the way of a personal history related to the origins, training and teaching patterns of the individuals. This history of the Acadian public school teachers provided part of the motivation for pursuing this research area. The various school reports (see section 1.6.3) were pertinent as they are often the only available sources for the teachers' work. While not all school reports were preserved over the decades,

those that were have been an invaluable source of material to study the teaching of these individuals and the activities and subjects taught in the classrooms of the Acadian public schools in the early nineteenth century. Since the role of the Acadian public school teacher was so vital in promoting the French language, the primary sources were needed to give evidence of what work was accomplished (see section 3.5.3).

Chapter 2, *Acadian Education, 1604-1864* is an overview of Acadian education from the foundation of Acadia in 1604 until the Nova Scotia “Act for the encouragement of Education” of 1864 (see section 3.6). The discussion focussed on the instruction found after the establishment of the British colony of Nova Scotia (see section 2.3) as well as French education in the other colonies of British North America (see sections 2.3 to 2.6). With such a comparison it is possible to illustrate the difficulties the Acadians of eastern Nova Scotia had in pursuing an education within the English language public education system in the province. The fact that the Nova Scotia government created a public school system in English only to the detriment of the French minority was not unique (see sections 2.3.2 to 2.3.5) as each colony in British North America enacted similar legislation except in Lower Canada, which was a case apart from the others.

This pan-British North America comparison was essential to the understanding of the issues facing the Acadian people settled in eastern Nova Scotia. While not unique in that they faced discriminatory legislation, they did face an environment that was hostile to French language education, even from within the their own church hierarchy.

Chapter 3, entitled *Nova Scotia Education Acts 1758-1865*, reviewed the Education Acts and related government legislation of Nova Scotia from 1758 to 1865 and how they were to impact the Acadian communities in eastern Nova Scotia. Chapter 3 also dealt with the legal aspects of the creation of public schools and the bodies to regulate these schools and teachers, and the hiring of public school teachers including the prerequisites for becoming a public school teacher. This chapter was important in setting the legal framework under which the Acadian public school teachers had to work and under which their teachers were to comply. What this also provided were the laws around which the Acadian public school teachers would have to work so as to ensure the pupils in their schools would be able to learn in their own French language usually during periods of linguistic oppression.

It is rare to find an analysis of the education legislation for the province of Nova Scotia completely scrutinized to allow an encompassing picture of the development of the legal structure that the Acadian teachers had to work within from 1758 until 1865. Chapter 3 therefore provides this necessary background and structure from which the history of Acadian public school teachers can be related. In most previous studies (see section 1.6.3.2), the law has been mentioned with relation to specific periods of time or difficulties for the Acadian people. The writing of Chapter 3 presents a continuous time frame from 1758 until 1865 from which an understanding of the events that came from the passage of the education acts discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. In this way a broader perspective can be developed for the history of this aspect of Acadian education history in eastern Nova Scotia and the entire legal framework understood. While relating the facts of education development for Acadians can and is accomplished by many without a great deal of

reference to the law, an understanding of the legislative basis for the events is crucial. With that knowledge as an introduction, the ensuing discussion in chapter 4 of the Acadian public school teachers and their background as well as chapter 5 dealing with the education of the public school teachers is more readily understood.

Within this framework of laws related to education was the discovery that the early legal constraints were designed as much to prevent Catholicism in the new colony of Nova Scotia as to stop the children of Catholic parents from being educated. But since there were more than just Acadians in the colony, which also included Irish and Scottish Catholics, the laws would need to be altered to permit Catholics to be educated, a fact which the Acadians could take advantage of. There were often no explicit regulations against the use of the French language by teachers in classrooms before 1841, but there was no promotion of any language but English until the 1841 education legislation (and its amendments). The maze of the legal framework for the licensing of teachers, which began with limited government input, eventually, required government intervention and regulation to a greater and greater extent which created a different impediment for the Acadians to overcome in establishing their own teachers in the local schools. Through this new adversity, the Acadians recognized the need for better preparation and sought out institutions that could prepare them for teaching skills that would be accepted by the government. The early Acadian teachers were able to begin their careers in the education system quite easily, but as regulations were enforced, the need for recognized qualifications ensued. The development of teacher training institutions followed, which also permitted French language instruction for many years in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Chapter 4, *Acadian public school teachers: background and education*, concentrated on the individual Acadian public school teachers, their origins and educational background and the legal constraints imposed on them in their own training. Of interest in this chapter are the ethnic and geographic origins of the Acadian public school teachers as well as the patterns of employment, and levels of education. Where possible an attempt was made to place the teachers in the social and political context of the village or county of origin. This discussion lends itself to several necessary points in the writing of this thesis.

Firstly, the teachers are members of a family and community for which they are trained to teach (see section 4.3). The interest within the Acadian community to learn more of individual teachers was highlighted as well as the discussion of their role as public school teachers. Secondly, the Acadian public school teachers from these eastern villages take on a new role within the social context of the village, gradually assuming leadership positions alongside the parish priest who had previously dominated that same structure (see section 4.1). Thirdly, the Acadian public school teachers played a part in the political world of the province (see section 3.5.1) in being French speaking teachers for pupils who spoke the same French language and for which there was little or no provision in the legislation made by the governments in Halifax. Teaching in French was the norm even when the law prohibited it (see sections 3.2 and 3.4), and forced concessions from the government (see section 3.5).

The Acadian public school teachers were also the catalyst for communities to demand institutions

to prepare future teachers at a level commiserate with the demands of the government (see sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.2.3), which sought to better the education system in Nova Scotia. This third issue was discussed in at length in chapter 5.

In the case of Guysborough and Antigonish counties, new research discussed here shed light on several teachers in areas previously unexplored in education history in Nova Scotia. These teachers were essential to the linguistic survival of the Acadians of Guysborough and Antigonish and up to this point little was known of their existence. The fact that they were teaching in the Acadian villages in Guysborough and Antigonish counties should not be surprising but the length of time and the clandestine nature of the work, at least from the point of view of the official records from the period make it noteworthy. This research provides insight into the teaching in French conducted in Guysborough County, which until now had very little treatment in the Acadian education historiography.

In Chapter 5, *Preparing Acadian Public School Teachers* was concerned with the Acadian public school teachers' education in a period when institutions of higher learning in the French language in Nova Scotia were limited. Most sources related to Acadian teaching and schools (see section 1.6.3.2) speak only lightly of the training of Acadian public school teachers in eastern Nova Scotia and an understanding of the difficulties faced by the Acadian communities to provide trained and qualified teachers for their public schools as the nascent public school system developed. It was found, in the course of the research, that the Acadians did find the means to be instructed as teachers through the institutions founded by the Catholic Church in eastern Nova

Scotia, an instruction very often in French.

This chapter focussed on where the teachers were trained (see sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3) and what institutions (see section 5.3) were available for them to be trained for the teaching profession. Importantly as well, the constraints on that education of the teachers both by the government and the Catholic Church were discussed to present a complete picture of the influences on this development of teachers' formal training. The dearth of establishments in the province for training of teachers, whether French or English, before the 1850s provided a means for the Catholic Church to develop its own teacher training. The Catholic Church succeeded, with the help of the local clergy who supported the Acadian cause (see sections 5.2.3) in the establishment of institutions (see sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3) to better enable the future generation of teachers to be prepared for their chosen profession.

The Acadian public school teachers were required then in the first half of the nineteenth century to rely on what could be offered in their communities in the way of preparation for teaching in the public schools. This self-reliance was essential to their continuing a French language tradition in an adverse environment. The research conducted illustrated that the necessity to have French language teachers in local schools provided incentives to both local clergy and government to ensure that teacher training could be found within the region of eastern Nova Scotia.

6.3 FINAL CONCLUSIONS

The work of a small group of French language public school teachers from 1811 until 1864 in the Acadian villages was the greatest asset of the early post-Deportation settlements as these teachers were able to re-introduce the basics of literacy into the communities. As mentioned in section 1.1, the role these early teachers played should not be undervalued in the development of the Acadian villages. The introduction of Acadian public school teachers within the villages allowed the Acadians themselves to take roles of leadership in their communities, and later, to rival even the parish priest as the most educated member of the society and thereby influenced the following generations of Acadians with the ability to enter the professions and positions of leadership in the French language.

This work focussed on the introduction of Acadian public school teachers in the provincial school system in the eastern counties of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton Island between 1811 and 1864. The factors in the development of teacher training in an environment both politically and scholastically stable and proficient were discussed and analysed in the preceding chapters. This thesis answered the following main research problem: Did the introduction of Acadian teachers into the public school system in eastern Nova Scotia retard the decline of the French language in Acadian villages (see section 6.3)? This can be responded to in the affirmative, that indeed the rise of Acadian public school teachers in schools of eastern Nova Scotia between 1811 and 1864 did in fact retard the decline of the French language in many Acadian villages, particularly in areas of mixed ethnic settlement. While not halting all assimilation of the Acadians in to the

English society, the efforts made by these Acadian teachers to make available schooling for a number of Acadian children created an atmosphere propitious for the survival in a few of the communities of the French language and Acadian culture within a province dominated by the English speaking majority.

This thesis was able to demonstrate who these teachers were and from what communities they originated (see sections 4.2 and 4.3), including those who came from Lower Canada and Europe. As seen, the teachers were able to work around the various education laws (see sections 3.4, 3.5 and 3.6) including those that proscribed teaching in French (see section 3.2) and thereby provide the initial rudiments of an education in the French language for those children who could attend.

With the introduction of public school funding (see section 3.4.2) and the hiring of Acadians to fulfil the function of public school teachers, the Acadian villages were able take advantage of the training opportunities provided by the Catholic Church (see sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3) and lay the foundations of a tradition of French language instruction in Acadian regions of eastern Nova Scotia. This initial work of the Acadian people would have far reaching and permanent results for the Acadians of Nova Scotia in the 21st century.

The Acadian public school teachers provided one of the few means of perpetuating the French language among the Acadians of eastern Nova Scotia in the first half of the nineteenth century following the re-establishment in eastern Nova Scotia of the Acadians from the Deportation of 1755 to 1763. The Acadian public school teachers were able to encourage the inculcation of the

language and culture of the Acadian people resulting in the survival of many Acadian villages in eastern Nova Scotia until the twentieth century (Ross & Deveau 1992: 155, Landry & Allard 2000). Through this system of education, the values and culture of the people re-established in Nova Scotia after 1764 was perpetuated.

The Acadian people of eastern Nova Scotia were among the first in the province to take advantage of the education acts passed by the Nova Scotia legislature from 1811. In the earliest years of this emerging public education system the Acadians, like many cultural groups in Nova Scotia, did not have the funding to establish schools in every community and ensure the education of all the communities' children. However, there were small beginnings and by mid-nineteenth century the Acadian villages often had an Acadian public school teacher who was submitting yearly school reports to the government in Halifax. It was through the work of the Acadian public school teachers that an educated group of citizens developed in the Acadian communities (see section 4.3) and the idea of creating an educated population grew. With the newly educated, a renewal in the lives of Acadians developed. With the Acadian Renaissance of the late nineteenth century the Acadian people could recognize themselves and their distinct culture and history, creating a people that would be full participants in the political and social life of eastern Nova Scotia.

It was with the education acts of Nova Scotia (see sections 3.4 and 3.6), designed to encourage public schooling, that while discriminating against the Acadians due to a policy of English only public schools, the French speaking Acadians were able to develop a professional source of Acadian public school teachers who could provide schooling in the French language (see section

4.3). The education laws of the province were, to a great part, the vehicle for French language public education in the 1840s and 1850s (see section 3.5) but did not survive into the second half of the nineteenth century of Nova Scotia and Acadian history, and therefore affects the current issues facing the Acadians in the province and their collective future (Julien 1990, Landry & Allard 2000). As Ross and Deveau (1992: 157) noted, the Acadian population of Nova Scotia in 1900 still accounted for 10% of the total population and spoke French. A good deal of this accomplishment must be accredited to the Acadian public school teachers who worked throughout the first half of the nineteenth century in isolated villages, often working against the law which proscribed the use of French in teaching in the public schools.

These early Acadian public school teachers provided a learning environment for a small group of Acadian children who would become the first Acadian educated elite and therefore the leaders in the Acadian communities in the second half of the nineteenth century. If it were not for these teachers, the returning Acadians would have succumbed to the assimilation espoused by the Nova Scotia government (see sections 2.3.1 and 3.2) following their return from the Deportation of 1755 to 1763 in the English language public school system. Instead, the Acadian public school teachers created the environment necessary for the perpetuation of the Acadian language and culture for the following decades.

The early public schools were a reflection of the first public school teachers found in them and the language carried into the school became the basis of the education found there. In the case of many Acadian children, they arrived in school speaking French but found a school in English

(Ross & Deveau 1992: 155). The first Acadian public school teachers prevented the outright assimilation of the Acadian people of eastern Nova Scotia and increased the opportunities for linguistic and cultural survival of the Acadians in these remote villages. The Provincial Secretary, Samuel Creelman, said in his annual report to the government (NS Report 1854), "... as is the teacher, so is the school ...", the Acadian public school teachers, quietly working against the general trends of English-only public education in the province, had an immeasurable influence in the continued existence of the Acadians as a separate linguistic and cultural group in eastern Nova Scotia. Without a teacher there could be no school, and with the introduction of the Acadian teachers, the linguistic and cultural survival of the Acadian people was assured in eastern Nova Scotia.

Annex A

From Earl Grey to Sir John Harvey

Downing Street, 31 *March*, 1847.

Sir,

I have already acknowledged the receipt of your Despatch of the 2d February, enclosing two letters to yourself from your Executive Council [of the British authorities], and I now propose to communicate the conclusions at which I have arrived after that attentive consideration which I have felt due, as well to the intrinsic merits of the views stated by your advisers, as to the respectable source from which the statement emanates.

In doing so, it will be convenient that I should at the same time advert to the correspondence which, soon after your assumption of the government of Nova Scotia, you had with Mr. [Joseph] Howe [leader of Nova Scotia's responsible government movement] and his friends.

Upon a careful comparison of these very able papers, in which the members of your Council and their political opponents have stated their respective views as to the manner in which the Executive Government of Nova Scotia ought to be conducted, I am led to the conclusion that there is not in reality so wide a difference of principle between the conflicting parties as would at first sight appear to exist, and that it may not be impossible to chalk out a system of administration to be hereafter adopted, to which, without the slightest sacrifice of consistency, both might assent.

On the one hand, I find that the members of your Council declare that they "desire in no degree to weaken the responsibility of the Provincial Government to the Legislature," and I gather from the general tenor of their papers of the 28th and 30th of January, that they are aware that, in the present state of affairs, and of public opinion in Nova Scotia, it is necessary that the Governor of the province should, in administering its affairs, have the advice and assistance of those who can command the confidence of the Legislature, and more especially of that branch of the Legislature which directly represents the people.

On the other hand, I can hardly doubt that the gentlemen of the opposite party who have insisted so strongly upon the necessity of what is termed "responsible government," would admit the justice and importance of many of the arguments which have been used, in order to show the danger and inconvenience of making the general tenure of offices in the colonial service to depend upon the fluctuations of political contests in the Assembly. I am the more convinced that the gentlemen of the opposition will recognize the force of these arguments, because I observe in the various papers in which they have stated their views, frequent references, either direct or implied, to the practice of this country, as that which affords the best model for imitation in laying down rules as to the manner in which the government of Nova Scotia should be carried on. Now there is scarcely any part of the system of government in this country which I consider of greater value than that, which though not enforced by any written law, but deriving its authority from usage and public

opinion, makes the tenure of the great majority of officers in the public service to depend upon good behaviour. Although with the exception of those who hold the higher judicial situations, or situations in which judicial independence has been considered to be necessary, the whole body of public servants in the United Kingdom hold their offices technically during the pleasure of the Crown, in practice all but the very small proportion of offices which are distinguished as political, are held independently of party changes, nor are those who have once been appointed to them ever in point of fact removed, except in consequence of very obvious misconduct or unfitness. Thus, in fact, though the legal tenure, "during good behaviour," is rare, tenure during good behaviour, in the popular sense of the term, may be said to be the general rule of our public service.

The exception is in the case of those high public servants whom it is necessary to invest with such discretion as really to leave in their hands the whole direction of the policy of the empire in all its various departments. Such power must, with a representative government, be subject to constant control by Parliament, and is therefore administered only by such persons as from time to time enjoy the confidence of Parliament as well as of the Crown. These heads of departments, or Ministers, together with their immediate subordinates who are required to represent or support them in Parliament, are almost invariably members of one or other House, and hold their offices only as long as they enjoy the confidence of Parliament.

Though it is not without some inconveniences, I regard this system as possessing upon the whole very great advantages. We owe to it that the public servants of this country, as a body, are remarkable for their experience and knowledge of public affairs, and honourably distinguished by the zeal and integrity with which they discharge their duties, without reference to party feeling; we owe to it also, that as the transfer of power from one party in the State to another is followed by no change in the holders of any but a few of the highest offices, political animosities are not in general carried to the same height, and do not so deeply agitate the whole frame of society as in those countries in which a different practice prevails. The system with regard to the tenure of office which has been found to work so well here, seems well worthy of imitation in the British American Colonies, and the small population and limited revenue of Nova Scotia, as well as the general occupation and social state of the community, are, in my opinion, additional reasons for abstaining, so far as regards that province, from going further than can be avoided, without giving up the principle of executive responsibility, in making the tenure of offices in the public service dependent upon the result of party contests. In order to keep the Executive Government in harmony with the Legislature, it is doubtless necessary that the direction of the internal policy of the colony should be entrusted to those who enjoy the confidence of the Provincial Parliament, but it is of great moment not to carry the practice of changing public officers further than is absolutely necessary for the attainment of that end, lest the administration of public affairs should be deranged by increasing the bitterness of party spirit, and subjecting the whole machinery of Government to perpetual change and uncertainty.

In the practical application of these views, there will, I am aware, be room for considerable difference of opinion.

In this, as in all questions of classification, varying circumstances and the various views taken by different men, will give rise to discussions and occasional alterations with respect to particular offices. Your acquaintance with what has passed, and is passing in the mother country, will suggest to you instances in which the question has been raised, whether a particular office should or should not be a Parliamentary office; and some in which different offices have been deliberately removed from the one into the other class.

The question how many of the public officers in Nova Scotia ought to be regarded as political, is one to be determined on the general principles I have before laid down, and with reference to various considerations arising from the peculiar exigencies of the public service, and the finances and social state of the colony. The practical end of responsible government would be satisfied by the removability of a single public officer, provided that through him public opinion could influence the general administration of affairs. Without quite assenting to the too modest estimate which your present Council have given of the resources of the province, I admit that the smallness of the community, its want of wealth, and the comparative deficiency of a class possessing leisure and independent incomes, preclude it from, at present, enjoying a very perfect division of public employments. Small and poor communities must be content to have their work cheaply and somewhat roughly done. Of the present members of your Council, the Attorney-General and Provincial Secretary, to whom the Solicitor-General should perhaps be added, appear to me sufficient to constitute the responsible advisers of the Governor. The holders of these offices should henceforth regard them as held on a political tenure. And, with a view to that end, the Provincial Secretary should be prepared, in the event of any change, to disconnect from his office that of the clerkship of the Council, which seems to be one that should on every account be held on a more permanent tenure.

It is possible that in the event of any change being rendered necessary by the course of events in the Provincial Parliament, the party succeeding to power might insist on increasing this number of political offices, by adding to the list of those to be so regarded. In case such a question should arise, I must leave it to your discretion, on a view of various local and temporary circumstances, which I am unable at present to appreciate, to form your own decision with respect to any such demand. I should feel no objection to somewhat increasing the number of political offices (for instance, by appointing a financial secretary and a responsible chief of the department of public lands and works), should the expense of doing so, without injustice to those now in the public service, be found to be not more than the colonial revenue would conveniently bear. But I rely on your using your influence to resist that disposition, which a party succeeding to power often exhibits, to throw open the various offices of emolument to their friends, without sufficient regard to the mischiefs thereby permanently entailed on the public service. And it is but due to what I have seen of the conduct of the principal advocates of responsible government in Nova Scotia, to express my reliance on their public spirit and sober estimate of their country's position and interests, as the most effectual safeguard against any abuse of power.

There is another safeguard which, even with the less considerate members of any party, you will, I think, find sufficient to protect the public interests against any great disposition

unnecessarily to place offices hitherto held on what has practically been a tenure of good behaviour, on one of a more precarious nature. However desirous the people of Nova Scotia may be to establish the principal of responsible government, they would I feel absurd, shrink from effecting any reform, however just or necessary, at the cost of injustice to individuals. Now, when individuals have engaged in the public service under a belief, sanctioned by custom, that they obtained a tenure of their offices during good behaviour, it would be most unjust to change that tenure to one of dependence on a parliamentary majority, without ensuring them a provision that would make up for the loss of official income. I think that the consideration that the grasping at any particular office would necessitate the provision of an adequate pension for its occupant, will be a salutary check on any disposition to carry party government beyond its just limits.

This condition must be applied to the removal of those public officers who now have seats in your Executive Council, unless where they have clearly accepted office on an understanding to the contrary effect. I cannot suppose that the necessity of providing the requisite pensions will be deemed by the Assembly an unreasonable accompaniment of the establishment of parliamentary government. And hereafter I think it would be proper to recognise as an invariable rule, that no person should without such provision be deprived of any office (except upon the ground of unfitness or misconduct), unless he had accepted it on the distinct understanding that it was to be held virtually, as well as nominally, during pleasure.

I entertain a strong conviction that the adoption of such a rule will be found conducive not only to the interests of the holders of offices, but also to those of the public, and to a true economy of the public money. As I have already observed, it is impossible to expect that men of superior capacity will devote themselves to the public service unless they are assured that their employment will be permanent, or are offered emoluments so large as to make up for the uncertainty of the tenure by which they are enjoyed. If the emoluments of public employment are small, and its tenure at the same time uncertain, a strong temptation is given to the holders to endeavour to make up for these disadvantages by irregular gains, and thus to give rise to practices equally injurious to the community in a pecuniary and in a moral point of view.

You will observe that, in the preceding observations, I have assumed that those only of the public servants, who are to be regarded as removable on losing the confidence of the Legislature, are to be members of the Executive Council. This I consider to follow from the principles I have laid down. Those public servants, who hold their offices permanently, must upon that very ground be regarded as subordinate, and ought not to be members of either house of the Legislature, by which they would necessarily be more or less mixed up in party struggles; and, on the other hand, those who are to have the general direction of affairs exercise that function by virtue of their responsibility to the Legislature, which implies their being removable from office, and also that they should be members either of the Assembly or of the Legislative Council. But this general direction of affairs, and the control of all subordinate officers, it is the duty of the Governor to exercise through the Executive Council; hence the seats in that Council must be considered as in the nature of political offices, and if held in connexion with other offices must give to these also a

political character. This, however, leads me to observe, that if only two or three of the principal offices are to be regarded as political, it may very probably be advisable to assign salaries to two or three of the Executive Councillors as such. The Executive Council has duties of a very important character to perform; those duties, and the defects in the manner in which they had then generally been discharged I find thus described in a confidential despatch which the late Lord Sydenham, then Mr. P. Thomson, addressed to Lord J. Russell, from Halifax, in the year 1840: —

"The functions of the Executive Council, on the other hand are, it is perfectly clear, of a totally different character. They are a body upon whom the Governor must be able to call at any or at all times for advice; with whom he can consult upon the measures to be submitted to the Legislature, and in whom he may find instruments, within its walls, to introduce such amendments in the laws as he may think necessary, or to defend his acts and his policy. It is obvious, therefore, that those who compose this body must be persons whose constant attendance on the Governor can be secured; principally, therefore, officers of the Government itself; but, when it may be expedient to introduce others, men holding seats in one or other House, taking a leading part in political life, and above all exercising influence over the Assembly."

* * * * *

"The last, and, in my opinion, by far the most serious defect in the Government, is the utter absence of power in the Executive, and its total want of energy to attempt to occupy the attention of the country upon real improvements, or to lead the Legislature in the preparation and adoption of measures for the benefit of the colony. It does not appear to have occurred to any one that it is one of the first duties of the Government to suggest improvements where they are wanted. That the constitution having placed the power of legislation in the hands of an Assembly and a Council, it is only by acting through these bodies that this duty can be performed, and that if these proper and legitimate functions of Government are neglected, the necessary result must be, not only that the improvements which the people have a right to expect will be neglected, and the prosperity of the country checked, but that the popular branch of the Legislature will misuse its power, and the popular mind be easily led into excitement, upon mere abstract theories of government, to which their attention is directed as the remedy for the uneasiness they feel."

In this view of the proper functions of the Executive Council I entirely concur; but I greatly doubt whether they could be adequately discharged by a Council composed of only two or three persons holding offices in the public service, and of gentlemen serving gratuitously. It is hardly possible to expect that those so serving should devote any large portion of their time to their public duties, and it therefore appears to me highly desirable that salaries should be assigned to at least one or two seats in the Executive Council.

On such terms as these, which I have thus detailed, it appears to me that the peculiar circumstances of Nova Scotia present no insuperable obstacle to the immediate adoption of that system of parliamentary government which has long prevailed in the mother country, and which seems to be a necessary part of representative institutions in a certain stage of their progress.

I have thought it due to you to enter thus fully into the practical difficulties to be encountered in giving effect to those general principles which, in my despatch of the 3d of November, I laid down for your guidance in the selection of your responsible advisers. I am in hopes that the present despatch will leave you in no doubt as to the course to be pursued by you in the event of any changes of which you may anticipate the contingency. I owed it to you to make myself clearly understood on this point; and I trust that what I have now said, will be regarded by your Council as amounting to such a declaration of my views as was requested by them in their letter of the 30th January.

I have, etc.,

(Signed) Grey.

Annex B: NOVA SCOTIA EDUCATION ACTS

Nova Scotia	
1758	An act for the establishment of religious public worship in this province, and for suppressing popery (NS 1758: 5)
1766	An act concerning schools and school matters (NS 1766: 7)
1780	An act for establishing a public school in Halifax (NS 1780: 3)
1786	An act for relieving His Majesty's Subjects professing the popish religion, entitled An Act concerning schools and schoolmasters (NS 1786: 1)
1811	An act to amend An act for establishing a public school in Halifax (NS 1811: 2) An act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province (NS 1811: 8) (Common Schools Act) An act to establish Grammar Schools in several counties and districts of this Province (NS 1811: 9) (Grammar School Act)
1821	(NS 1821: 10)
1826	An act concerning schools (NS 1826: 5)
1832	An act for the encouragement of schools (NS 1832: 2)
1836	An act to continue and amend the act for the encouragement of schools (NS 1836: 92)
1838	An act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools and the act in amendment thereof, and also further to amend (NS 1838: 23)
1839	An act to provide for the selection and appointment of Trustees of lands, granted reserved or otherwise allotted as School Lands or for schools in this Province (NS 1839: 32)
1841	An act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools and to alter and amend the same (NS 1841: 43)
1842	An act to provide for the Instruction and Permanent Settlement of the Indians (NS 1842: 16)
1845	An act for the encouragement of schools (NS 1841: 25)
1850	An act for the encouragement of education (NS 1850: 39)
1854	An act to establish a Normal School (NS 1854: 5)
1857	An act to amend the act to establish a Normal School (NS 1857: 21) An act to continue and amend the laws relating to education (NS 1857: 22)
1858	An act to continue and amend the laws relating to education (NS 1858: 24) An act to continue and amend the laws relating to education (NS 1858: 41)
1859	An act concerning Indian Reservations (NS 1859)
1863	An Act to continue and amend chapter 60 of the Revised Statutes "Of Public Instruction" (NS 1863: 33)
1864	An act for the encouragement of Education (NS 1864: 58) (Tupper's Law)
1865	An act for the better encouragement of Education (NS 1865: 29)

Annex C: Prince Edward Island Education Acts

	Prince Edward Island
1802: 1	An act for the better and more effectual establishment of the Church of England in this Island
1820	National School (Normal School) Founded
1825	Schools Act
1829: 9	An Act for the establishment of an academy at Charlottetown
1830: 7	An act for the relief of His Majesty's Catholic subjects
1835: 13	An act to authorize the sale of lands in this Island, reserved as sites for churches and for glebe and school lands
1843: 21	An act to alter and amend the act for the establishment of an academy in Charlottetown
1847: 9	An act for the encouragement of education
1847: 21	An act for doing away with the oaths of abjuration, heretofore imposed on Catholics
1848: 7	An act for levying further an assessment on all lands in this colony for the encouragement of education
1849: 7	An act to explain and amend the present act for the assessment of land and the encouragement of education
1851: 30	An act to alter the appropriation if a certain sum of money raised by the present assessment act
1852: 12	An act to continue an act for the encouragement of education
1852: 13	An act for the encouragement of education and to raise the funds for that purpose by imposing an additional assessment on land in this Island, and on real estate in Charlottetown and common and Georgetown and common.
1853: 2	An act to amend the Free Education act
1854: 3	An act in further amendment of and in addition to the Free Education act
1855: 12	An act to establish a Normal School and in further amendment of the Free Education act
1857: 17	An act to continue and amend the Free Education act
1860: 14	An act to alter and amend the laws relating to education
1860: 15	An act to alter the Normal School act
1860: 17	An act to establish a College in Prince Edward Island under the name and style of "Prince of Wales's College" and to repeal certain acts therein named.
1861: 36	An act to consolidate and amend the several laws relating to education

Annex D: NEW BRUNSWICK EDUCATION ACTS

New Brunswick	
1784: 4	An act for preserving the Church of England as by law established in this province
1802: 6	An act for aiding and encouraging Parish Schools
1805: 12	An act for encouraging and extending literature in this province (Grammar School, Saint John)
1816: 15	An act for establishing a Grammar School in the town of Saint Andrews in the county of Charlotte
1820: 6	An act to confirm the charter of the Madras school in New Brunswick and to extend the powers if the Governor and trustees of the same
1823: 15	An act to continue and act entitled "An act for granting further aid in support of the Grammar School in the town of Saint Andrews"
1829: 29	An act for the endowment of King's College Fredericton in the Province of New Brunswick and to make new provisions for the establishment and support of Grammar Schools throughout the province
1833: 31	An act relating to Parish schools
1837: 3	An act to appropriate a part of the Public revenue for the services therein mentioned
1837: 8	An act to repeal all the acts now in forces relating to Parish Schools
1837: 20	An act relating to Grammar Schools of King's and Queen's Counties
1837: 30	An act to enable the Governor and trustees of the Madras School to sell ceratin land in Fredericton
1839: 10	An act to continue the act relating to Public Schools
1840: 10	An act to provide for the establishment of a Gramma School in the county of Restigouche
1840: 39	An act to amend an act intituled "An act to repeal all the Laws now in forces relating to Parish Schools"
1843: 38	An act to reserve and continue the Acts relating to Parish Schools
1845: 96	An act further to continue the Acts relating to Parish Schools.
1846: 60	An act in amendment of the laws now in forces relating to Grammar Schools
1847: 56	An act to provide for the support and improvement of the Parish Schools. (Training School Founded)
1849: 45	An act to amend an act intituled "an act to provide for the support and improvement of the Parish Schools"
1850: 30	Lands for public uses and School Reserves
1852: 40	An act for the better establishment and maintenance of the Parish Schools
1853: 15	An act to unite a portion of a School District
1855: 27	An act to continue..."Of Parish Schools" and of the ac in amendment
1857: 5	An act to revive and continue... the revised statutes "Of Parish Schools" and the act in amendment thereof
1858: 9	An act relating to Parish Schools (Major act of revision)
1861: 15	An act relating to Grammar and Superior Schools
1871: 21	An act relating to Common Schools "The Common School Act" (Free School legislation)

Annex E: NEWFOUNDLAND EDUCATION ACTS

Newfoundland	
1799	Charity Schools founded (Pro & RC)
1836	Encouragement of Education
1838	Act to amend previous act for Encouragement of Education
1843	Act for encouragement of education in this colony
1843	Act for establishment and support of grammar school in Harbour Grace
1843	Commissioners Appointment Act
1844	St. John's Academy Act
1851	Act for encouragement of education
1852	Act for encouragement of education
1853	Act for encouragement of education
1854	Act for encouragement of education
1855	Act for encouragement of education
1856	Act for encouragement of education
1857	Act for encouragement of education
1858	Act for encouragement of education
1866	Act to amend act for encouragement of education
1866	Act to repeal Carbonear Grammar School Act
1867	Amendment to Act for encouragement of education

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANDREW, S. M. 1996a. *The Development of Elites in Acadian New Brunswick, 1861-1881*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queens's University Press.
- ANDREW, S. M. 1996b. Selling Education: The Problems of Convent Schools in Acadian New Brunswick, 1858-1886. *Report*, Canadian Catholic Historical Society/Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, 1: 15-32.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. Évêques de Québec. 312 CN, *Registres des lettres*: 211, vol. 10 and 11.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. N-É, V, 108 Vincent de Paul Merle to Bishop Plessis, [correspondence] Tracadie, 4 October 1822.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. 312 CN, N-É V: 117, Vincent de Paul Merle to Bishop Plessis, [correspondence] Tracadie, 8 April 1823.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. 312, CN, I-M I:59, Rémi Gaulin to Bishop Plessis, [correspondence] Tracadie, 3 March 1821.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. 312 CN, N-É II: 148, Antoine Manseau to Bishop Plessis, [correspondence] Antigonish, 7 January 1814.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. 312 CN, N-É II: 149, Antoine Manseau to Bishop Plessis, [correspondence] Antigonish, 25 February 1815.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. 312 CN, N-É II: 148, Antoine Manseau to Bishop Plessis, [correspondence] Antigonish, 28 January 1817.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. 312 CN, N-É VII: 93, James Grant to Bishop Plessis, [correspondence] Guysborough, 7 February 1825.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. 312 CN, N-É VII: 85, Hyacinthe Hudon to Bishop Plessis, [correspondence] Arichat, 20 December 1824.
- Archdiocesan Archives, Québec. 312 CN, N-É VII: 83, Hyacinthe Hudon to Bishop Plessis, [correspondence] Arichat, 30 March 1824.
- ARSENAULT, B. 1994. *Histoire des Acadiens*. Montréal: Fides.
- ARSENAULT, F. 1982. L'Église catholique en Acadie (État de la recherche). *Revue de l'Université de Moncton*, 15 (1): 105-117.

- ARSENAULT, F. 1983. Le leadership de l'Église en Acadie (1864-1942). *Sessions*, 50 (1): 453-470.
- ARSENAULT, G. 1994. *Guide historique de la région Évangéline, Île-du-Prince-Édouard, Canada*, Moncton: [s.n.].
- ARSENAULT, G. et La Société St-Thomas D'Aquin. 1982. *L'éducation chez les Acadiens de Î-P-E 1720-1980 ou la Survivance acadienne à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard*. Summerside: Société St-Thomas D'Aquin.
- ARSENAULT, G. 1983a. The Acadian Experience in PEI. *Les Cahiers*, 14 (2): 59-72.
- ARSENAULT, G. 1983b. *La religion et les Acadiens à I-P-E 1720-1980*. Summerside: Société St-Thomas D'Aquin.
- ARSENAULT, G. 1987. *Les Acadiens de l'Île, 1720-1980*. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.
- AUCOIN, C. 1986. La venue des pères eudistes à Chéticamp. *Bulletin d'histoire et de généalogie*, 3 (4): 9-12.
- AUCOIN, C. 1994. Histoire de Chéticamp. *Premier colloque des Sociétés d'histoire acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse*, 1 (1):14-19.
- AUDET, L-P. 1952a. *Le système scolaire de la Province de Québec, vol IV, L'institution Royale, Le déclin: 1825-1846*. Québec: Presses Universitaires Laval.
- AUDET, L-P. 1952b. *Le système scolaire de la Province de Québec, vol V, L'instruction publique de 1824 à 1867*. Québec: Presses Universitaires Laval.
- BABINEAU, R. 1984. *Résumé d'histoire d'Acadie 1604-1984*. Moncton: Presses de l'Université de Moncton.
- BASQUE, M. 1994. *De Marc Lescarbot à l'AEFNB, Histoire de la profession enseignante acadienne au Nouveau-Brunswick*. Edmonston: Éditions Marévie.
- BASTARACHE, M. & Ouellet, A.B. 1993. Droits linguistiques et culturels des Acadiens et des Acadiennes de 1713 à nos jours, in Jean Daigle, (ed), *L'Acadie des Maritimes, études thématisées des débuts à nos jours* (385-430). Moncton: Chaire d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.
- BECK, J. M. 1985. *Politics of Nova Scotia, vol. 1, Nelson-Fielding 1710-1896*. Halifax: Four East Publications.
- BERNARD, A. 1935. *Histoire de la survivance acadienne 1755-1935*. Montréal: Les Clercs de St-Viateur.

- BERNARD, A. 1938. *Histoire de l'Acadie*. Moncton: L'Évangéline ltée.
- BERNARD, A. 1945. *L'Acadie vivante : histoire du peuple acadien de ses origines à nos jours*. Montréal: Éditions du Devoir.
- BINGAY, J. 1919. *Public Education in Nova Scotia. A History and Commentary*. Kingston: The Jackson Press.
- BENEDICT. 1966. *The Rule of Saint Benedict*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers.
- BLANCHARD, J.-H. 1927. *Histoire des Acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Edouard*. Moncton: L'Évangéline ltée.,.
- BOGDAN, R.C. & BIKLEN, S.K. 1982. *Qualitative Research For Education, An Introduction to Theory and Methods*. Boston: Allan and Bacon Inc.
- BORG, W.R. & GALL, M.D. 1983. *Educational Research, An Introduction*. New York: Longman.
- BORG, W. R. 1963. *Educational Research an Introduction*. New York: David McKay Co.
- BOUCHER, N. 1985. L'Émigration et les Acadiens : le cas des Acadiens du Sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse. *Revue de l'Université Sainte-Anne*, 1 (1): 7-23.
- BOUCHER, N. 1992a. Acadian Nationalism and the Episcopacy of Msgr Édouard LeBlanc, Bishop of Saint John, New Brunswick (1921-1935): A Maritime Chapter of Canadian Ethno-Religious History. Unpublished PhD thesis. Halifax: Dalhousie University.
- BOUCHER, N. 1992b. Le Bon Dieu parle français. *Les Cahiers*, 23 (3,4): 135-142.
- BOUCHER, N. 1980 *The Development of an Acadian Village, Surette's Island 1859-1970*. Yarmouth: Lescarbot Press.
- BOUDREAU, E. 1974. Un évêché au Cap-Breton. *Les Cahiers*, 5 (3): 108-119.
- BOUDREAU, E. 1975. L'abbé Hubert Girroir, (1825-1884). *Les Cahiers*, 6 (2): 69-81.
- BOUDREAU, E. 1982. Genèse et évolution du clergé acadien. *Revue d'histoire de l'Outaouais*, 27(1): 3-26.
- BOUDREAU, E. 1980. *Le Petit Clairvaux : cent ans de vie cistercienne à Tracadie en Nouvelle-Écosse, 1819-1919*. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.

- BOUDREAU, G. C. (ed). 1991. *Une dialectique du pouvoir en Acadie, Église et autorité. Actes du Congrès du centenaire de l'Université Sainte-Anne, tenu à Pointe-de-l'Église, N.-É., du 18 au 20 octobre 1990*. Montréal: Fides.
- BOUDREAU, G.C. 1987. L'influence religieuse du père Sigogne sur les Acadiens du sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse. *Revue de l'Université Ste-Anne*,(1): 32-53.
- BOUDREAU, G.C. 1989. L'apostolat du missionnaire Jean Mandé Sigogne et les Acadiens du sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse. PhD thesis, Université de Montréal, Montréal.
- BOUDREAU, G.C. 1992a. Doléance et indolence clericales envers un peuple délaissé. *Les Cahiers*, 23 (3-4): 117-134.
- BOUDREAU, G.C. 1993. L'ignorance est un vice : une démarche de scolarisation en Acadie. *Études d'histoire religieuse*, 39 (1): 125-141.
- BOUDREAU, G.C. 1996. The *Nujjinen* of the Mi'kmaq People and the Construction of their Chapel at Bear River, Nova Scotia. *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 16 (1): 7-20.
- BOUDREAU, G.C. 1992b. *Le Père Sigogne et les Acadiens du Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse*. Montréal: Bellarmin.
- BOUDREAU, G.C. 1987. *Les écrits du père Sigogne. Vol. 1*. Pointe-de-l'Église: Presses de l'Université Sainte-Anne.
- BOUDREAU, G.C. 1997. *Sigogne par les sources*. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie et Presse de l'Université Sainte-Anne.
- BOURGEOIS, P. -F. 1910. *Les anciens missionnaires de l'Acadie devant l'histoire*. Shédiac: Presses du Moniteur acadien.
- BOURGEOIS, R. & BASQUE M. 1984. *Une histoire de Lamèque. Des origines à nos jours*. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.
- BRASSEAU, C.A. 1991. *Scattered to the Wind, Dispersal and Wanderings of the Acadians, 1755-1809*. Lafayette: The Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1991.
- BRICKMAN, W.W. 1973. *Research in Educational History*. Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions.
- BRODEUR, R. & CAULIER, B. 1997. *Enseigner le catéchisme, autorités et institutions XVIIe-XXe siècles*. Ste-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval et Éditions du CERF.

- BRODEUR, R. & ROULEAU, J.-P. (eds). 1986. *Une inconnue de l'histoire de la culture, la production des catéchismes en Amérique française*, Sainte-Foy: Éditions Anne Sigier.
- BRODEUR, R. (ed). 1990. *Les catéchismes au Québec, 1702-1963*. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval et Paris, Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- BROOKS, K.J. 1986. The Effect of the Catholic Missionaries on the Micmac Indians of Nova Scotia, 1610-1986. *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 6 (1): 107-115.
- BROWN, C. 1990. *Histoire générale du Canada*. Montréal: Éditions du Boréal.
- BRUN, R. 1982. *De Grand-Pré à Kouchibouguac : l'histoire d'un peuple exploité*. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.
- BRUN, Régis. 1990. Les élites acadiennes et leur perception des événements en France. *Les Cahiers*, 21 (2, 3): 123-130.
- BRUN, R. 2004 *Les Acadiens avant 1755*. Moncton: Imprimerie Cormier.
- BUCKNER, P.A. & FRANK, D. 1990. *The Acadiensis Reader vol 1: Atlantic Canada Before Confederation*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press.
- BUCKNER, P.A. & REID, J.G. 1990. *The Atlantic Region to Confederation, A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- BUCKNER, P.A. 1994. The 1860s: An End and A Beginning, in Buckner, P.A. & Reid, J.G. *The Atlantic Region to Confederation. A History* (156-183). Toronto: University of Toronto Press & Acadiensis Press.
- BUMPSTED, J. M. Scottish Emigration to the Maritimes 1770-1815: A New look at an Old Theme. *Acadiensis*, X(2): 65-85.
- BUMSTED, J.M. 1994. 1763-1783: Resettlement and Rebellion, in Buckner, P.A. & Reid, J.G. *The Atlantic Region to Confederation. A History* (156-183). Toronto: University of Toronto Press & Acadiensis Press.
- BUTLER, G.R. 1994. L'Acadie et la France se rencontrent: le peuplement franco-acadien de la baie St-Georges, Terre-Neuve. *Newfoundland Studies*, 10 (2): 180-207.
- BUTLER, G.R. 1995. *Histoire et traditions orales des Franco-Acadiens de Terre-Neuve*. Sillery: Éditions du Septentrion.

- CAMERON, J.D. 1996. *For The People, A History of St. Francis Xavier University*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- CAMPBELL, D.F. 1978. *Banked Fires; the ethnics of Nova Scotia*. Port Credit: The Scribblers' Press.
- CAMPEAU, L. (s.j.). 1967. *Monumenta Nova Francia, La première mission d'Acadie (1602-1616)*. Ste-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- Canada, Government of. 1871. Census Records. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
- Canada, Government of. 1881. Census Records. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
- CASAUX, Y. 1992. *L'Acadie : histoire des Acadiens du XVIIe siècle à nos jours*. Paris: Éditions Albin Michel S.A.
- CASGRAIN, H.R. 1897. *Les Sulpiciens et les prêtres des Missions-Étrangères en Acadie, (1676-1762)*. Québec: Pruneau-Kirouac Libraires-Éditeurs.
- CASGRAIN, H. R. 1922. *Mémoires sur les missions en Nouvelle-Écosse, au Cap-Breton et à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard*. Ottawa: [s.n.].
- Centre d'études acadiennes. Fonds François Edme Rameau de Saint-Père, Dossier 5: 1-2
- Centre d'études acadiennes. Fonds Arsenault-généalogie
<<http://www.umoncton.ca/etudeacadiennes/centre/white/sha.html>>
- Centre d'études acadiennes. Archives des colonies. Série E, carton E 228, Série E 3.
- CHAUSSÉ, G. 1996. French Canada from the Conquest to 1840, in Terrence M. & Roberto P. (eds), *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (56-106). Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- CHIASSEON, A. 1978. Le clergé et le réveil acadien (1864-1960). *Revue de l'Université de Moncton*, 11 (1): 29-46.
- CHIASSEON, A. 1985. L'influence de l'Église dans le développement de Chéticamp. *Bulletin d'histoire et de généalogie*, 2 (5): 9-14.
- CHIASSEON, A. 1987. Odyssée du madelinot Guillaume LeBlanc. *Les Cahiers*, 18 (3): 140-141.
- CHIASSEON, A. 1962. *Chéticamp : histoire et traditions acadiennes*. Moncton: Éditions des Aboiteaux.
- CHIASSEON, P.M. 1988. Father Vincent de Paul Merle: Unusual Trappist, Unlikely

- Missionary. *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 8 (1): 20-41.
- CHOPPIN, A. (ed). 1993. Manuels scolaires, États et sociétés XIX-XX siècles. *Histoire de l'Éducation*, May.
- CHOQUETTE, R. 1995. *The Oblate Assault on Canada's Northwest*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.
- CHRISTOPHE, P. 1986. *1789, les prêtres dans la Révolution*. Paris: Éditions Ouvrières.
- CLARK, A.H. 1968. *Acadia : The Geography of Early Nova Scotia to 1760*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- CONDON, A. D. 1994. 1783-1800: Loyalist Arrival, Acadian Return, Imperial Reform in *The Atlantic Region to Confederation, A History* in Buckner, P.A. & Reid, J.G. (eds) (184-209) Toronto & Fredericton: University of Toronto Press and Acadiensis Press.
- CONRAD, M. FINKEL, A. & JAENEN, C. 1993. *History of the Canadian Peoples, Beginnings to 1867*. Toronto: Copp-Clark-Pitman Ltd.
- CONRAD, M. & HILLER, J. 2001. *Atlantic Canada. A Region in the Making*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- CORMIER, C. 1951. En route pour l'Acadie. *Relations*, 1 (127): 178-180.
- COURVILLE, S. 1995. *Introduction à la géographie historique*. Ste-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- COX, L.V. 1994. Gaelic and the Schools in Cape Breton. *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 14 (2): 20-40.
- CROSS, R.D. 1965. Origins of the Catholic Parochial Schools in America, *The American Benedictine Review*, 194-209.
- CROWLEY, T. 1988. *Clio's Craft. A Primer of Historical Methods*. Toronto: Copp Clark-Pitman Ltd.
- CUTHERBERTSON, B. 1980. *The Old Attorney General. A Biography of Richard John Uniacke 1753-1830*, Halifax: Nimbus Publishing.
- DAGNAUD, P.-M. 1905. *Les Français du sud-ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse, Le R. P. Jean-Mandé Sigogne, Apôtre de la Baie Sainte-Marie du Cap de Sable 1799-1844*. Besançon: [s.n.].
- DAIGLE, J. (ed). 1980. *L'Acadie des Maritimes*. Moncton: Chaire d'études acadiennes,

Université de Moncton.

- DAIGLE, J. (ed). 1993. *Les Acadiens des Maritimes : études thématiques des débuts à nos jours*. Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.
- DAIGLE, J. 1992. The Acadians: a People in Search of a Country, in *The Québec and Acadian Diaspora in North America*, Breton, R. & Savard, P. (ed) (1-10). Toronto: Multicultural Historical Society of Ontario.
- DAIGLE, L.C. 1956. *Les anciens missionnaires de l'Acadie*. St-Louis-de-Kent: [s.n.].
- DAIGLE, R. 1994. *Histoire de Pomquet. Premier colloque des Sociétés d'histoire acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse*, Pointe-de-l'Église: Université Sainte-Anne, 1 (1): 38-43.
- DARCY, J.B. 2003. *Fire upon the Earth, The Life and Times of Bishop Michael Anthony Fleming, OSF*. St. John's: Creative Publishers.
- DEGERT, A. 1912a. *Histoire des Séminaires français jusqu'à la Révolution*, vol. 2. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie.
- DEGERT, A. 1912b. *Histoire des Séminaires français jusqu'à la Révolution*, vol. 1. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne et Cie..
- DEWOLFE, M. & FLIE, G. 1972. *All The King's Men, The Story of a Colonial University*. Halifax: Alumni of the University of King's College.
- Diocesan Archives, Antigonish. MacKinnon Papers. Fonds 2[1]: 1-7.
- Diocesan Archives, Antigonish. MacKinnon Papers Fonds 3[1]: 1-4.
- Diocesan Archives, Antigonish. MacKinnon Papers Fonds 2[1]: 1-3.
- Diocesan Archives, Antigonish. MacKinnon Papers Fonds 2[1]: 1-8.
- DOUCET, C.-A. 1973. *Une étoile s'est levée en Acadie : Marcel-François Richard*. Charlesbourg-Est: Éditions du Renouveau.
- DOYLE, J. P. 1977. *The Immigrant Church. New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865*. Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- DUCHARME, I. 2003. L'offre de titres littéraires dans les catalogues de la bibliothèques de collectivités à Montréal (1797-1898) in LaMonde, Y. & Montreuil, S. *Lire au Québec au XIX^e siècle*. Montréal: Éditions Fides.

- DUFOUR, A. 1994. Financement des écoles et scolarisation au Bas-Canada : une interaction État-communautés locales (1826-1859). *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 6 (2): 219-252.
- DUNN, C.W. 1991. *Highland Settler, A Portrait of the Scottish Gael in Cape Breton and Eastern Nova Scotia*. Wreck Cove (N.S.): Breton Books.
- DUPONT, J.-C. 1977. *Héritage d'Acadie*. Montréal: Leméac.
- DUPONT, J.-C. 1979. *Histoire populaire de l'Acadie*. Montréal: Leméac.
- EATON, A.W.H. 1972. *The History of King's County*. Belleville: Mika Studio.
- ECCLES, W. J. 1990. *France in America*. Markham: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.
- EDWARDS, C.E. 1945. La survivance de la culture française en Nouvelle-Écosse. Unpublished PhD thesis. Montréal: McGill University.
- FAY, T.J.A. 2002. *History of Canadian Catholics; Gallicanism, Romanism and Canadianism*. Montréal & Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.
- FINGARD, J. 1972. *The Anglican Design in Loyalist Nova Scotia, 1783-1816*. London: S.P.C.K.
- FITZGERALD, J.-E. 1998. Michael Anthony Fleming and Ultramontanism in Irish-Newfoundland Roman Catholicism, 1829-1850. *Report*, Canadian Catholic Historical Society / Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, 27-44.
- FITZPATRICK, D.J. *History of Conche*, <http://www.nucleus.com/~fitz/History.htm>.
- FLICK, D.H. 1981. Early Money in Nova Scotia: A Short History of Currency, Exchange and Finance. *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 1 (2): 4-15.
- FONTENEAU, J.-M. 1996. *Les Acadiens, citoyens de l'Atlantique*. Rennes: Éditions Ouest-France.
- FORBES, E.R., & MUISE, D.A. 1993. *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Francis Xavier, Sister. 1957. Educational Legislation in Nova Scotia and the Catholics. *Report*, Canadian Catholic Historical Society / Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique (63-74).
- GALARNEAU, C. 1978. *Les collèges classiques au Canada français (1620-1970)*. Montréal: Fides.

- GALLANT, C. 1980. L'engagement social de Georges-Antoine Belcourt, curé de Rustico, 1859-1869. *Les Cahiers*, 11 (4): 316-339.
- GALLANT, C. 1992. *Pierre-Paul Arsenault 1866-1927*. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.
- GARRAGHAN, G.S.J. 1940. *A Guide to Historical Method*. New York: Forham University Press.
- GENICOT, L. 1987. *Critique historique*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia.
- GERMAIN, E. 1972. *Langages de la foi à travers l'histoire, mentalités et catéchèse, approche d'une étude des mentalités*, [Collection de l'Institut supérieur de pastorale catéchétique, Institut catholique de Paris]. Paris: Fayard-Mame.
- GERVAIS, G. 1993. L'Ontario français, 1821-1910 in *Les Franco-Ontariens*. Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa.
- GOBINEAU, J. A. 1972. *Voyage à Terre-Neuve suivi de la Chasse au Caribou*. Montréal: Éditions du Jours Inc.
- GREGOR, A. & WILSON, K. 1983. *Monographs in Education IX, History of Education in Manitoba: I. Red River to 1879*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- GREENE, J.P. 1999. *Between Damnation and Starvation. Priests and Merchants in Newfoundland Politics, 1745-1855*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- GRIFFITHS, N.E.S. 1969. *The Acadian Deportation, Deliberate Perfidy or Cruel Necessity*. Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing.
- GRIFFITHS, N.E.S. 1973. *The Acadians: Creation of a People*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson.
- GRIFFITHS, N.E.S. 1992. *The Contexts of Acadian History 1686-1784*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- GROULX, L. 1931. *L'enseignement français au Canada, vol II, dans le Québec*. Montréal: Librairie d'Action Canadienne-Française.
- GROULX, L. 1933. *L'enseignement français au Canada, vol II, Les écoles des minorités*. Montréal: Librairie Granger frères.
- GWYN, J. 1991. Economic Fluctuations in Wartime Nova Scotia, 1755-1815, in Conrad, M. (ed) *Making Adjustments. Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press.
- HALIBURTON, T. 1973. *History of Nova Scotia. vol. 2*. Belleville: Mika Publishing.

- HAMEL, T. 1999. La production pédagogique des Sœurs de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame: 1858-1991, *Études d'histoire religieuse*, Canadian Catholic Historical Society / Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique (67-87).
- HARRIS, R.C. (ed). 1987. *Atlas historique du Canada, vol. 1, des origines à 1800*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
- HARVEY, R.P. 1989. *Alexander Forrester and the Establishment of a Normal School*. Truro: Nova Scotia Teachers College Press.
- HARVEY, D.C. 1936. Early Academies in Nova Scotia, 1841-50, *Journal of Education* (363-368).
- HUBERT, O. 2000. *Sur la terre comme au ciel. La gestion des rites par l'Église catholique du Québec (fin XVIIe - mi-XIXe siècle)*. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- HYAMS, B. 1990. The Colonial Office and Educational Policy in British North America and Australia Before 1850. *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 2 (2): 323-338.
- JANZEN, O.U. 2002. The French Presence in Southwestern and Western Newfoundland Before 1815 in Magard, A. (ed), *Les Francos-Terreneuviens de la péninsule de Port-au-Port. Évolution d'une identité franco-canadienne*. Moncton: Presses de l'Université de Moncton.
- JOHNSON, F.H. 1968. *A Brief History of Canadian Education*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.
- JOHNSTON, A.A. 1960. *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia. vol. 1*. Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Press.
- JOHNSTON, A.A. 1971. *A History of the Catholic Church in Eastern Nova Scotia. vol. 2*. Antigonish: St. Francis Xavier University Press.
- JOHNSTON, A.A. 1994. *Antigonish Diocese Priests and Bishops 1786-1925*. MacKenzie, K.M. (ed). Antigonish: The Casket Printing and Publishing.
- JULIEN, R. 1990. Chéticamp: An Acadian Community in Conflict. *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 2 (2): 265-285.
- KOREN, H.J. 1962. *Knaves or Knights? A History of the Spiritan Missions in Acadia and North America, 1732-1839*. Pittsburg: Duquesne University Press.
- KRUGER, E.G. (ed). 1986. *Education: past, present and future*. Pretoria: Euro Publications.

- LA COTARDIÉE, G. 1946. *La congrégation de Jésus et Marie au Canada : cinquante ans 1890-1940*. Montréal: [s.n.].
- LABELLE, R. 1991. La vie acadienne à Chezzetcook. *Les Cahiers*, 22 (2, 3) : 1-95.
- LABELLE, R. 1987. Les débuts du mouvement coopératif chez les Acadiens du comté d'Inverness en Nouvelle-Écosse. *Les Cahiers*, 18 (4): 196-209.
- LAHEY, R. 2002. *The First Thousand Years. A Brief History of the Catholic Church in Canada*. Ottawa: Novalis.
- LAMARCHE, R.H. 1982. *L'organisation territoriale en Acadie et l'évolution socio-économique aux Maritimes de 1871-1971*. Petit-Rocher: [s.n.].
- LAMONDE, Y. & MONTREUIL, S. (eds). 2003. *Lire au Québec au XIX^e siècle*. Montréal: Éditions Fides.
- LANCTÔT, L. 1994. *L'Acadie des origines, 1603-1771*. Sainte-Julie: Les Éditions du Libre-Échange.
- LANDRY, R. & ALLARD, R. 2000. Langue de scolarisation et développement bilingue : le cas des acadiens et francophones de la Nouvelle-Écosse, Canada. *DiversCité Langues*, vol. v. <http://www.teluq.quebec.ca/diversite/>
- LANDRY, R. & ALLARD, R. 1994. Profil sociolinguistique des Acadiens et Francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick, *Études canadiennes/Canadian Studies*, (37): 211-236.
- LANDRY, R. & MAGORD, A. 1992. Vitalité de la langue française à Terre-Neuve et au Labrador: Les rôles de la communauté et de l'école. *Éducation et francophonie*, 20(2): 3-23.
- LANDRY, S.L. & LANDRY, M.I. 1990. *Simon Louis Landry Speaks of Life in Pomquet*, Pomquet: Pomquet Press.
- LAPIERRE, J.-W. & ROY, M.K. 1983. *Les Acadiens*. [Que sais-je?], Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- LAPROTTE, J. 1986. *Les Frères de l'Instruction chrétienne en Amérique du Nord*. Laprairie: Imprimerie Laprairie.
- LAROQUE, M.-J. 2001. Le projet éducatif des Frères des Écoles chrétiennes. *Études d'histoire religieuse* (67): 183-195.
- LEVASSEUR, D. 1995. *Les Oblats de Marie Immaculée dans l'Ouest et le Nord du Canada, 1845-1967*. Edmonton : University of Alberta Press & Western Canadian

Publishers.

LEBLANC, E. 1963. *Les Acadiens, la tentative de génocide d'un peuple*. Montréal: Éditions de l'homme.

LEBLANC, G. 1994. Histoire de l'Île Madame. *Premier colloque des Sociétés d'histoire acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse*, Pointe-de-l'Église: Presses de l'Université Ste-Anne, 34-36.

LEBLANC, R.G. 2000. Charles-Dominique Auffray. *Dictionnaire biographique du Canada en ligne*, Université Laval/University of Toronto. <<http://www.biographi.ca>>

LEBLANC, G., GODIN, A. & RENAUD, A. 1993. L'enseignement français dans les Maritimes, 1604-1992, in Daigle, J. (ed), *L'Acadie des Maritimes, études thématiques des débuts à nos jours* (543-585). Moncton: Chaire d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.

LEBLANC, R. & LALIBERTÉ, M. 1990. *Sainte-Anne, collège et université 1890-1990*. Pointe-de-l'Église: Chaire d'étude en civilisation acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse, Université Sainte-Anne.

LEBRUN, F. 1990. L'Église de France et la Révolution (1789-1801). *Les Cahiers*, 21 (2,3): 67-88.

LÉGER, Y. 1987. *L'Acadie de mes ancêtres : histoire et généalogie avec cartes et illustrations*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Alternative.

LE GRESLEY, O. (c.j.m.). [s.a.] *L'Enseignement du français en Acadie, 1604-1926*. Bathurst: [s.n.].

LE GUERNE, F. 1889. *Lettre de Le Guerne, missionnaire de l'Acadie 1889*. Québec: C.O. Gagnon.

LEMIEUX, L. 1977. La première Caisse ecclésiastique du clergé canadien. *Sessions*, Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, (44): 5-22.

LEMIEUX, L. 1989. *Histoire du catholicisme québécois, Les XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, t.I, Les années difficiles (1760-1839)*. Montréal: Boréal.

LEMIEUX, L. 1975. L'Établissement de la première province ecclésiastique au Canada. *Les Cahiers*, 6 (3): 117-137.

LEO XII, 1824. *Quod divina sapientia*, Vatican City, 28 August.

LEO XII, 1825. *Caritate Christi*, Vatican City, 25 December.

- Les Prêtres de Saint-Sulpice au Canada; Grandes figures de leur histoire.* 1992. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- LESSARD, C. 1971. Le Collège-Séminaire de Nicolet (1803-1863). *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 25 (1): 63-88.
- Life of the Reverend Father Vincent de Paul, Trappist and Missionary, 1768-1853*, Oka, [manuscript].
- LIGUORI, M. 1953. Haliburton and the Uniackes: Protestant Champions of Catholic Liberty. A Study in Catholic Emancipation in Nova Scotia. *Report*, Canadian Catholic Historical Society/Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique (37-48).
- LOUDER, D.R. 1983. *Du continent perdu à l'archipel retrouvé le Québec et l'Amérique française.* Ste-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval.
- LOUPÈS, P. 1993. *La Vie religieuse en France au XVIIIe siècle.* Paris: Sedes.
- MACDONALD, H. 2003. Developing a Strong Roman Catholic Social Order in Late Nineteenth-Century Prince Edward Island. *Historical Studies*, Canadian Catholic Historical Association/Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique,(69): 34-61.
- MACDONALD, H. M. 1964. *Memorable Years, A Century of Education in the County of Antigonish.* Antigonish: Casket Printing and Publishing.
- MACDONELL, M. 1947. The Early History of St. Francis Xavier University. *Report*, Canadian Catholic Historical Society/Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, (48):81-90.
- MACINTOSH, A.G. 1964. *The Development of Teacher Education in Nova Scotia*, Unpublished MA Thesis. Halifax: St Mary's University.
- MACLEAN, R.A. 1991. *Bishop John Cameron; Piety and Politics.* Antigonish: The Casket Printing and Publishing Company.
- MACLEAN, RA. 1976. *History of Antigonish vol 1 and 2.* Antigonish: The Casket Printing and Publishing Company.
- MACDOUGALL, J.L. 1976. *History of Inverness County, Nova Scotia.* Belleville: Mika Publishing Company.
- MACNAUGHTON, K.F.C. 1947. *The Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900, A Study in Historical Background.* Fredericton: University

- of New Brunswick Press.
- MACNUTT, W.S. 1965. *The Atlantic Provinces. The Emergence of Colonial Society, 1712-1857*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- MAGNUSON, R. 1980. *A Brief History of Quebec Education. From New France to Parti Québécois*. Montréal: Harvest House.
- MAGNUSON, R. 1990. The Elusive Lay Schoolmasters of New France, *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 2 (1): 73-94.
- MANNION, J.J. 1977a. Settlers and Traders in Western Newfoundland in Mannion, J.J. (ed) *The Peopling of Newfoundland, Essays in Historical Geography*. Social and Economic Papers No 8, Institute of Social and Economic Research. St John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- MANNION, J.J. 1977b. *The Peopling of Newfoundland, Essays in Historical Geography*, Mannion, J.J. (ed). Social and Economic Papers No 8, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland.
- MARTIN, E. 1936. *Les Exilés acadiens en France au XVIIIe siècle et leur établissement en Poitou*. Paris: Hachette.
- McCANN, P. 1989. Class, Gender and Religion In Newfoundland Education, 1836-1901. *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 1(2): 179-200.
- McMANNERS, J. 1960. *French Ecclesiastical Society Under the Ancien Régime, A Study of Angers in the Eighteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- MEAGHER, N. H. 1927. *The Religious Warfare in Nova Scotia 1855-1860*. Halifax, [s.n.].
- MELANSON, M.F. 1974. Antoine Gagnon, prêtre missionnaire. *Les Cahiers*, 5(4): 161-177.
- Mémoire sur les missions de la Nouvelle-Écosse du Cap-Breton et de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard de 1760 à 1820*. Québec: C. Darveau, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1895.
- MERLE, Vincent de Paul. 1886. *Memoir of Father Vincent de Paul, Religious of La Trappe*. Charlottetown: John Coombs Steam Printer.
- MONAGHAN, E.J. 1991. Literacy in Eighteenth-Century New England: Some Historiographical Reflections on Issues of Gender, in Conrad, M. (ed). *Making Adjustments. Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press.

- MOORE, C. 1990. La Nouvelle-France et ses rivales, 1600-1760 in Brown, C. (ed), *Histoire générale du Canada* (122-221). Montréal: Éditions du Boréal.
- MORISON, G. 1963. Assessment and Education in Nova Scotia. *Collections*, Nova Scotia Historical Society, (34): 55-77.
- MUCCHIELLI, A. 1991. *Les méthodes qualitatives*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- MURPHY, T. & STORTZ, G. (eds). 1993. *Creed and Culture, The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- MURPHY, T. & PERIN, R. 1996. *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- MURPHY, T. et al. 1987. *Religion and identity: the experience of Irish and Scottish Catholics in Atlantic Canada*. St. John's: Jespersen Press.
- MURPHY, T. 1981. James Jones and the establishment of Roman Catholic Church government in the Maritime Provinces. *Sessions*, Canadian Catholic Historical Association, (48): 26-42.
- MURPHY, T. 1984. The Emergence of Maritime Catholicism, 1781-1830. *Acadiensis*, 13(2): 29-49.
- MURPHY, T. 1996. The English-Speaking Colonies to 1854, in Murphy, T. & Perin, R. (eds), *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada*, 108-188. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- MURPHY, T. 1985. The religious history of Atlantic Canada: the state of the art. *Acadiensis* 15 (1): 152-174.
- PIUS VII. 1800. *Diu satis*, Vatican City, 15 May.
- PIUS IX. 1847. To Ensure Catholic Colleges For Catholics, Correspondence of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide to Archbishop of Tuam, Vatican City, 9 October.
- PIUS IX. 1851. The Freedom of Bishops to Watch Over Education, *Consistorial Allocution*, Vatican City, 5 September.
- PIUS IX. 1864. *Quon non sine*, Apostolic Letter to Bishop of Brisgovia, Vatican City, 14

July.

PIUS IX. 1875. Attendance at Non-Catholic Schools, *Instructions* Holy Office to the Bishops of the United States, 24 November.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia. RG14 vol. 3-4, 39, 56/59.

Public Archives of Nova Scotia. RG1, vol. 444: 34.

NEARY, P. 1980. The French and American Shore Questions as factors in Newfoundland History, in *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Essays in Interpretation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1758. *An act for the establishment of religious public worship in this province, and for supressing popery*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1766. *An act concerning schools and schoolmasters*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1780. *An act for establishing a public school in the town of Halifax*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1786. *An act for relieving His Majesty's subjects professing the popish religion*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1789. *An act for founding, establishing and maintaining a college in this province*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1811. *An act to amend An Act for establishing a public school in the town of Halifax*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1811. *An act for encouraging the establishment of schools throughout the province*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1811. *An act to establish Grammar schools in several counties and districts of this province*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1816. *An act for founding, establishing and maintaining an academy at Pictou*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

NOVA SCOTIA. 1825. *Legislative Committee Report 7 March, 1825*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

- NOVA SCOTIA. 1826. *An act concerning schools.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1832. *An act for the encouragement of schools.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1836. *An act to continue and amend the act for the encouragement of schools.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1836. *An act to divide the county of Sydney and regulate the representation thereof.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1838. *An act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1839. *An act to provide for the selection and appointment of trustees of lands granted.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1841. *An act to continue the act for the encouragement of schools and to alter and amend the same.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1845. *An act for the encouragement of schools.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1850. *An act for the encouragement of education.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1854. *An act to establish a Normal School.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1857. *An act to amend the act to establish a Normal School.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1857. *An act to continue and amend the laws relating to education.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1858. *An act to further amend the act to establish a Normal School.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1858. *An act to continue and amend the laws relating to education.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1863. *An act to continue and amend chapter 60 of the Revised Statutes of Public Instruction.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA. 1864. *Of public instruction.* Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.

- NOVA SCOTIA. 1865. *An act for the better encouragement of education*. Halifax: His Majesty's Printer.
- NOVA SCOTIA, 1853. *Journal of the House of Assembly*, Halifax: His Majesty's Printer, 187-197.
- O'BRIEN, C. 1894. *Memories of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke, Bishop of Zion; First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia*. Ottawa: Thorburn and Co.
- O'CONNELL, B. J. 1965. *The St. F.X. Story*. Antigonish: St Francis Xavier University Press.
- OUELLET, F. 1980a. *Economic and Social History of Quebec, 1760-1850. Structures and Conjonctures*. Ottawa: Gage Publishing and the Institute of Canadian Studies, Carlton University.
- OUELLET, F. 1980b. *Lower Canada 1791-1840; Social Change and Nationalism*. Toronto: McClellan and Stewart.
- PERRY, G. 2003. A Concession to Circumstances: Nova Scotia's 'Unlimited Supply' of Women Teachers, 1870-1960. *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 15(2): 327-360.
- PICHETTE, R. 1991. D'Antoinette de Saint-Étienne de la Tour à Évangéline : La religieuse en Acadie, in Boudreau, G.C. (ed). *Une Dialectique du pouvoir en Acadie, église et autorité*. Montréal: Fides.
- PICHETTE, R. 1998. *Napoléon III, l'Acadie et le Canada français*. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.
- PINEAU, W. 1967. *Le clergé français dans l'Île du Prince-Édouard 1721-1821*. Québec: Éditions Ferland.
- PLESSIS, J.-O. 1980. Le journal des visites pastorales en Acadie 1811, 1812, 1815. *Les Cahiers*, 11(1, 2, 3).
- PLONGERON, B. 1974. *La vie quotidienne du clergé français au XVIIIe siècle*. Paris: Hachette Littérature.
- PROWSE, D.W. 1895. *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records*. London: MacMillan.
- PROVENCHER, N. 1913. Lettres de Monseigneur Joseph-Norbert Provencher, premier évêque de Saint-Boniface. *Bulletin de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface*, vol. 3.

RAMEAU DE ST-PÈRE, F.-E. 1859. *La France aux colonies : Les français en Amérique : acadiens et canadiens*. Paris: A. Jouby, Librairie-éditeur.

RAMEAU DE ST-PÈRE, F.-E. 1889. *Une colonie féodale en Amérique. L'Acadie (1604-1881)*. Montréal: Granger frères.

RAWLYK, G. & HAFTER, R. 1970. *Acadian Education in Nova Scotia : An Historical Survey to 1965. Studies of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*. Ottawa: Information Canada.

REES, Ronald. 2000. *Land of the Loyalists. Their struggle to shape the Maritimes*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing.

REID, J. 1991. Change and Continuity in Nova Scotia, 1758-1775, in Conrad, M. (ed) *Making Adjustments. Change and Continuity in Planter Nova Scotia, 1759-1800*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press.

RENNIE, C., DOIRON, C., MORELL, L. & MORELL, P. 1980. *La tradition orale de Pomquet*, Pomquet Project 375, Société Sainte-Croix.

Revue de l'Association canadienne d'éducation de langue française. 1977. Pour un plan de développement de l'éducation française au Canada, 6 (3): 7-12.

ROBERT, M. 2002. Le livre et la lecture dans la nobless canadienne, 1670-1764, *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique*

ROBERTSON, I.R. 1994. The 1850s: Maturity and Reform, in Buckner, P.A. & Reid, J.G. (eds) *Atlantic Canada to Confederation. A History* (333-359). Toronto & Fredericton: University of Toronto Press & Acadiensis Press.

ROBICHAUD, N. 1991. *Guide bibliographique de l'Acadie 1976-1987*. Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.

ROSS, S. & DEVEAU, A. 1992. *The Acadians of the Maritimes, Past and Present*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing.

ROSS, S. & DEVEAU, J.A. 1995. *Les Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse, hier et aujourd'hui*. Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.

ROSS, S. 1992. Majorité ou minorité: le cas de l'Île Madame. *Les Cahiers*, 23 (3, 4): 143-157.

ROSS, S. 2001. *Les écoles acadiennes en Nouvelle-Écosse, 1758-2000*. Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.

ROWE, F.W. 1952. *The History of Education in Newfoundland*. Toronto: Ryerson Press.

- ROY, M. 1981. *L'Acadie : des origines à nos jours*. Montréal: Québec/Amérique.
- ROY, M. 1978. *L'Acadie perdue*. Montréal: Éditions Québec/Amérique.
- ROY, M.K. 1993. Démographie et démolinguistique en Acadie, 1871-1991, in Daigle, J. (ed), *L'Acadie des Maritimes: études thématiques des débuts à nos jours*, 141-206. Moncton: Chaire des études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.
- Royal Instructions to Governor Parr, 11 September 1784*, Beaton Institute of Nova Scotia, vol 40, Halifax, Public Archives of Nova Scotia.
- RUMILLY, R. 1955. *Histoire des Acadiens*. Montréal: L'Auteur.
- SAMARAN, C. 1961. *L'Histoire et ses méthodes*. Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade.
- SAMSON, G. 1984. *Rivière-Bourgeois, Paroisse acadienne du comté de Richmond, au sud du Cap-Breton, en Nouvelle-Écosse*. Yarmouth: Éditions Lescarbot.
- SISSONS, C.B. 1959. *Church and State in Canadian Education: An Historical Study*. Toronto: Ryerson Press.
- SAVOIE, A.-J. 1980. L'Enseignement en Acadie de 1604 à 1970, in Daigle, J. (ed), *Les Acadiens des Maritimes: études thématiques* (419-466). Moncton, Chaire des études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.
- SAVOIE, A.-M. 1996. L'évolution de l'éducation dans les régions acadiennes in *Le Congrès mondial acadien, l'Acadie en 2004. Actes des conférences et des tables rondes* (423-448). Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie.
- SCHMIDT, D.L. & MARSHALL, M. (eds). 1995. *Mi'kmaq Hieroglyphic Prayers, Readings in North America's First Indigenous Script*. Halifax: Nimbus Publishing.
- SCHREPFER, L. 1947 *Pioneer Monks in Nova Scotia*. Monastery: St. Augustin's Monastery.
- Sigentatimgeoei, Le cathéchisme micmac, The Micmac Catechism*. 1921. Abbeville: Imprimerie F. Paillart.
- SIMPSON, A. 1953. Alexander Munro And Boularderie Academy. *The Dalhousie Review*, 32(4): 49-58.
- SIMPSON, N. 2004. A Brief History of Canada, Pre-History to Present. Important Moments in Canadian History, <http://www3.sympatico.ca/goweezer/canada/canhist.htm>.

- Société Sainte-Croix. [s.a.] *Histoire de Pomquet*. Pomquet : Société Sainte-Croix.
- SPIGELMAN, M.S. 1975. *The Acadian Renaissance and the Development of Acadian-Canadian Relations, 1864-1912*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Halifax: Dalhousie University.
- Saint Miriam of the Temple. 1953. The Congregation of Notre Dame in Early Nova Scotia, *Report*, Canadian Catholic Historical Society/Société canadienne d'histoire de l'Église catholique, 67-80.
- Saint Francis Xavier University Archives, A. A. Johnston Fonds: MG75/1/SFF14.
- Saint Francis Xavier University Archives, A. A. Johnston Fonds: MG75/1/SFF9.
- STANLEY, G. 1975. Les collèges classiques de langue française en Acadie. *Les Cahiers*, 6(3): 117-137.
- STEVENS, M. 1976. *Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe*. Llandysul: Gomer Press.
- SUTHERLAND, D.A. 1994. 1810-1820: War and Peace in Buckner P.A. & Reid, J.G. (eds) *The Atlantic Region to Confederation, A History*, (234-262). Toronto & Fredericton: University of Toronto Press & Acadiensis Press.
- SWEET, B. 2000. Father François Lejamtel : Ecclesiastical Education at Arichat (1792-1819). *Les Cahiers*, 31(3,4): 175-194.
- SWEET, B. 1999a. *Réfractaire and Mission Priests in Post-Deportation Acadian Education in Eastern Nova Scotia, 1792-1840*. Unpublished MA thesis. Québec: Université Laval.
- SWEET, B. 2002a. Le père Gabriel Champion, 1748-1808 : de l'exile au refuge, un ecclésiastique ambulant français en Amérique britannique du Nord. Unpublished article.
- SWEET, B. 1999b. *St. Anselm's Chezzetcook, A Brief History of an Acadian Parish From 1750*. West Chezzetcook: KT Graphics Publishers.
- SWEET, B. 1997. The Influence of Diocesan and Religious Priests from France and Lower Canada in Preserving the French Language Among the Acadians. Unpublished article, Atlantic Canada Workshop, St Mary's University.
- SWEET, B. 2002b. Un missionnaire moins connu; le père Jean-Baptiste Allain en Amérique française de 1786 à 1812. Unpublished article.
- TABET, M & LEMMER, E.M. 2002. The role of the Catholic school in the education

- system of Lebanon, *Educare* 31(1&2). Pretoria: University of South Africa Press.
- TACKETT, T. 1986. *Religion, Revolution, and Regional Culture in Eighteenth-Century France, The Ecclesiastical Oath of 1791*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- TACKETT, T. 1977. *Priest and Parish in Eighteenth-Century France, A Social and Political Study of the Curés in a Diocese of Dauphiné 1750-1791*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- TÉTU, H. & GAGNON, C.-O. 1887. *Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des Évêques de Québec. vol 1*. Québec: Imprimerie Générale A. Coté et Cie.
- TÉTU, H. & GAGNON, C.-O. 1888. *Mandements, lettres pastorales et circulaires des Évêques de Québec. vol 3*. Québec: Imprimerie Générale A. Coté et Cie.
- THÉRIAULT, L. 1977. Esquisse de l'histoire de l'Église acadienne (1604-1945). *Missions étrangères*, 18 (1): 4-9.
- THÉRIAULT, L. 1980. L'acadianisation de l'Église catholique en Acadie, 1763-1953, in Daigle, J. (ed) *Les Acadiens des Maritimes, études thématiques des débuts à nos jours*, (293-369). Moncton: Centre d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.
- THÉRIAULT, L. 1993. L'Acadie de 1763 à 1990, Synthèse historique, in Daigle, J. (ed) *L'Acadie des Maritimes, Études thématiques des débuts à nos jours*, (45-91). Moncton: Chaire d'études acadiennes, Université de Moncton.
- THÉRIAULT, L. 1978. L'Église catholique en Acadie, 1604-1864. *Revue de l'Université de Moncton*, 11 (1): 17-27.
- THÉRIAULT, L. 1990. Les prêtres réfractaires français en Acadie : un épisode de la Révolution française. *Les Cahiers*, 21 (2,3): 89-121.
- THÉRIAULT, M. 1980. *Les instituts de vie consacrée au Canada depuis les débuts de la Nouvelle-France jusqu'aujourd'hui, notes historiques et références / The Institutes of Consecrated Life in Canada From the Beginning of New France Up to the Present, Historical notes and references*. Ottawa : Bibliothèque nationale du Canada.
- THIBEAU, P.W. 1922. *Education in Nova Scotia Before 1811, A Dissertation*. Unpublished MA thesis. Washington: Catholic University of America.
- THUILLIER, G. & TULARD, J. 1986. *La méthode en histoire*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.
- THOMAS, G. 1981. *Aspects of the Culture of the French Minority of Newfoundland's*

- West Coast*, Ethnic Identity in Atlantic Canada Series, Halifax, International Education Centre, Saint Mary's University.
- TONER, P. 1988. Lifting the Mist: Recent Studies on the Scots and the Irish. *Acadiensis*, XVIII (1): 215-226.
- TOSH, J. 1984. *The Pursuit of History. Aims, Methods, and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*. London: Longman.
- TRABOULSEE, A. 1962 *Laurence Kavanagh, 1764-1830, His Life and Times*. Glace Bay: Brodie Printing Service.
- TREMBLAY, M.-A. 1962. Les Acadiens de la Baie Française. *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, XV (4): 526-555.
- UNITED KINGDOM. 1867. *British North America Act, 1867*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- VENTER, I.S.J. & VAN HEERDEN, S.M. 1989. *The grounding of History of Education*. Pretoria: Euro Publications.
- VERRETTE, M. 2002. *L'Aphabétisation au Québec, 1660-1900. En marche vers la modernité culturelle*. Montréal: Septentrion.
- VOGÜÉ, A. 1983. *The Rule of Saint Benedict. A Doctrinal and Spiritual Commentary*, Kalamazoo [s.n.].
- VROOM, F. M. 1941. *King's College: A Chronicle, 1789-1939*. Halifax: Imperial Publishing.
- WAGG, P.C. 1992. Stratification in Acadian Society: Nineteenth Century Richmond County. *Les Cahiers*, 23 (3,4): 159-167.
- WAGG, P.C. 1986. Father William Phelan: An Irish Trouble-Maker in Arichat. *Nova Scotia Historical Review*, 6 (1): 75-87.
- WAIT, P. 1990. Un défi continental, 1840-1900 in Brown, C. (ed), *Histoire générale du Canada*, (334-448). Montréal: Éditions du Boréal.
- WALKER, F.A. 1955. *Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada, vol. 1, A Study of the Documentation Relative to the Origin of Catholic Elementary Schools in the Ontario School System*. Toronto: Federation of Catholic Education Associations of Ontario.
- WALSH, F.X. 1958. *The Evolution of the Catholic Public Schools in Nova Scotia*. Unpublished MA thesis. Boston: Boston College.

WEST, A. 2002. *Saint Mary's University, An Anniversary Portrait*. Lockeport: St Mary's University & Community Books.

WIERSMA, W. 1969. *Research Methods in Education, an Introduction*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co.

WYNN, G. 1990. Aux confins de l'empire, 1760-1840, in Brown, C. (ed), *Histoire générale du Canada* (224-331). Montréal: Éditions du Boréal.

Biographical Sketch

Brad Sweet completed a Bachelor of Arts in History at the University of King's College, a college in association with Dalhousie University in Halifax, Canada in 1985, which he followed with a Bachelor of Education degree from Memorial University of Newfoundland in 1986. In 1999, he completed the degree of Maîtrise ès Arts in History from Université Laval in Québec City.

He has taught for more than 15 years overseas and in Canada. Brad Sweet taught in the Republic of Zambia and the United Kingdom before returning to Canada where he taught at Collège François-Xavier-Garneau in Québec City while studying at Université Laval.

Brad Sweet has served for seven years as a Naval Officer in the Canadian Armed Forces and lectured for the American Military University. He currently resides in Halifax, Nova Scotia.