ATTITUDES OF PARENTS TOWARD THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOLING IN VICTORIA, B.C. DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD

by

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Attitudes of Parents Toward the Development of Public Schooling in Victoria, B. C., During the Colonial Period.

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ABSTRACT

A revolution in education occurred in western society in the nineteenth century. State-controlled free non-sectarian school systems took over the schooling of most children. Much has been written about the roles of governments, educational bureaucracies and educators in this phenomenon but little has been said about that of parents. Because parents in western society have traditionally had the ultimate responsibility for the development of their children, their attitudes toward the rise of state schooling is a necessary question in educational history.

This thesis explores the attitudes of parents to the growth of public schooling on colonial Vancouver Island. It shows that parents considered the school which their children would attend to be their choice. If they could, they put their children in private schools. If a private school which supported their values and ambitions was not available or economically feasible, they put their children in non-sectarian public schools. Since the low population in the rural areas surrounding Victoria made a proliferation of specialized private schools impractical, public schools were more strongly supported by rural parents than by city parents.

The first chapter introduces the question of parental attitudes toward schooling and its importance in educational history. The second, third and fourth chapters show what kinds of schools parents supported. Rather than separating the schools for analysis into categories such as upper and lower-class, sectarian and non-sectarian,

rural and urban, or public and private, I have chosen to show the schools in chronological development so they can be seen in the context of the overall development of the Victoria area. The status of each school has, however, been identified as closely as possible. Chapter five summarizes the conclusions drawn from the evidence and analyzes why parents may have preferred one type of schooling over another.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The expansion of schooling that took place in the Western world beginning in the eighteenth century was a fundamental social change. At the beginning of the century, schooling was conducted as it had been for centuries in such institutions as parents or religious bodies could afford. Many children never received formal schooling, acquiring the knowledge they needed to support themselves from older members of their communities as well as from their peers. By contrast, at the turn of the twentieth century, most Western nations had either established or were developing school systems in which their children were required to spend their formative years.

There is a lively debate in educational history today about the reasons for the maturation of the trend toward public schooling in the nineteenth century. Early to mid-twentieth century writers of educational histories are now labelled "Whig historians" because they viewed the organization of common schooling under government control as part of the necessary adjustment of Western societies to revolutions in industry, religion and government.[1] They believed public schooling ensured that the energies of the young were channelled to the benefit of society. The young benefitted because they received equal opportunity to better themselves.[2] Later educational historians are called moderate revisionists partly because they believe that public schooling is a necessary and beneficial feature of modern society but agree that it requires reforms before it will serve all its clients

equally.[3] The radical revisionists of the 1970s doubted the necessity of bureaucratized education.[4] They claimed that the upper classes imposed universal standardized public schooling on the lower classes to give them the skills they needed for the changing character of lower-class positions while making them believe they had equal opportunity.[5]

Radical revisionism with its emphasis on the use of a neo-Marxist model of interpretation has fallen into mild disrepute in educational history but the questions that it raised are being taken seriously by all historians.[6] What were the purposes of universal public schooling? Who supported its development? Was the development primarily a response to industrialism and urbanization? Were the kinds of systems developed appropriate to the needs of the total society? What was the effect of public schooling on social groups? Did universal schooling ensure equality of opportunity?

Canadian educational history reflects the general trends of Whiggism, moderate revisionism and radical revisionism found in England and the United States.[7] Charles E. Phillips's The Development of Education in Canada, C.B. Sissons's Church and State in Canadian Education, and F. Henry Johnson's A History of Public Education in British Columbia were Whig histories.[8] Canadian Education: A History, put together by J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet, was a seminal work in moderate revisionism.[9] Another important work in moderate revisionism was Neil Sutherland's Children in English Canadian Society which documented changes in attitudes toward children in Canada in the twentieth century by showing

how government agencies concerned with their welfare evolved. The school was only one of the government agencies considered.[10]

Michael Katz, working from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education and the University of Toronto, provided much of the impetus for radical revisionism in Canadian educational history. His research led him to conclude that his assessment of American public schooling as "universal, tax-supported, free, compulsory, bureaucratic, racist, and class biased" was also true of Canada.[11] The investigations of his students, who included Alison Prentice, Susan Houston and Harvey Graff, highlighted the efforts of urban reformers to organize Canadian schooling to serve the interests of capitalism and industrialization. Prentice, in her 1977 book, The School Promoters, challenged the Whig view that the school system of Canada West was created by Egerton Ryerson to improve the quality of life for Canadians.[12] Prentice argued that Ryerson was only one of a group of educational reformers who acted on the middle-class need for order and stability to fortify its position in the new industrial society. The fact that her study is almost completely concerned with Ryerson weakens her thesis. In "Politics, Schools and Social Change in Upper Canada," Houston sought to prove that reformers persuaded the upper and middle classes to support common schooling by exploiting the disproportionate influence of the city and by organizing school funding through the government.[13] Graff demonstrated in "The Reality Behind the Rhetoric: The Social and Economic Meanings of Literacy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Example of Literacy and Criminality" that educational reformers promoted schooling because they believed literacy

would "provide the vehicle for the efficient transmission and reinforcement of morality and restraint."[14]

Whigs, moderates and radicals in educational history all tended to focus their interpretations of the development of public schooling on the leaders who directly or indirectly helped create the public systems. Whigs held up the early educational administrators as heroes who had the character and foresight to persist in implementing controlled schooling for the good of society. Moderates gave more recognition to the influence of social institutions such as missionary organizations on the changing configurations of educational institutions for the young in the nineteenth century.[15] Radicals followed the Whigs in citing the disproportionate influence of some men on the development of public school systems but saw these men as conscious manipulators of the lower classes. Relatively few Canadian educational historians have published studies of the attitudes of the potential users of the systems which were organized.

Two Canadian historians who have done so are Cornelius Jaenen and Robert Gidney. Jaenen, in "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada 1897-1919," showed that Ukrainians in the prairie regions strongly resisted provincial government strategies to control the schooling of their children.[16] Gidney, using correspondence to educational officials in nineteenth century Ontario, has demonstrated that parents played a dynamic role in the development of the Upper Canadian school system.[17] Upper Canada had a high degree of literacy before public schooling and parents were generally able to make what they considered to be adequate educational provision for their children.[18] In the

latter half of the nineteenth century, the middle class put their children into public schooling and gave it their support because efficient voluntary schooling was too expensive to maintain without aid from the government or religious denominations.[19] The drive for bureaucratization in Upper Canada originated in large part from the users of the system.[20] When funding of community schools by government grants and local property taxes was introduced in the 1840s, individual schools were no longer the exclusive domains of special interest groups. All taxpayers had to agree on the running of local schools. Ryerson's education office spent much of its time monitoring local disputes about such matters as the location of the school, the free school vote, religious instruction, the curriculum, and the role of local officials.

> The demands expressed and the pressures exerted on both local and central authorities during the formative years of Upper Canada's school system . . . were . . . demands for what we now define as the classic modes of bureaucratic procedure--for the delineation of explicit, written rules and an orderly hierarchy of control; for specialization and expertise on the part of administrative officers; for universalistic rather than particularistic criteria for rule making; and for a style of decision-making which consists of applying general rules to specific cases. . . . If . . . the central authority was ultimately responsible for the increasing bureaucratization of the system, the pace was forced by the pressures rising up from the localities.[21]

Gidney believes that local communities retained considerable influence on the Upper Canada educational bureaucracy. In his 1977 essay, "Ryerson and the Ontario Secondary School," he focused on the efforts of Ryerson to preserve classical education by making the grammar schools exclusive specially funded academies.[22] Because local communities demonstrated their sustained opposition through letters of

protest, meetings and manipulation of regulations, Ryerson's academies were reduced to first quality English education high schools offering a classical option.

> To his chagrin, Ryerson found that institutional change could not be introduced by administrative fiat. Local consent and support were crucial for success. Indeed, local demands largely determined what secondary education became.[23]

Little attention has been paid to attitudes of parents in studies of the early development of the public school system of British Columbia. A doctoral thesis on public schooling in British Columbia presented by D. L. MacLaurin in 1936 is a comprehensive record of the process by which government established the system.[24] Because it quotes correspondence, minutes and legal enactments extensively, it is a valuable source of primary information, but it does not ask any questions of the material it so painstakingly recites. F. Henry Johnson published the only complete history of the public school system of British Columbia currently available.[25] Johnson, writing in the 1960s presented a classic Whig interpretation. The story of the eclipse of private schooling by public schooling is the story of educational progress. The British Columbia system resulted from the sustained efforts of men in positions of influence who were familiar with the existing public schools systems of Canada and the Maritime colonies. These were newspapermen Amor de Cosmos and John Robson, and educator John Jessop. Johnson believed that Jessop's role was so influential that he wrote the educator's biography and subtitled it, "Founder of the British Columbia School System."[26] The possibility

that the region may have had an educational tradition of diversity with which most parents were satisfied was not seriously considered.

More recent researchers are questioning whether early public schooling was acceptable to the total society. Some have investigated whether the culture conveyed through the public school curriculum was offensive to non-Anglo Protestants. Joan Townsend, in "Protestant Christian Morality and the Nineteenth Century Secular and Non-Sectarian Public School System," and Harro Van Brummelen, in "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925," conclude that the nineteenth century British Columbia system, while not offering doctrinal instruction, taught Christian morality with specific references to Christian assumptions.[27] Syed Aziz-Al Ahsan, in "School Texts and the Political Culture of British Columbia," shows that in the nineteenth century, textbooks failed to recognize a significant part of the population of British Columbia in that they included few references to or images of non-white persons.[28]

Mary Ashworth's The Forces Which Shaped Them demonstrates that minority group children who threatened the British Protestant cultural mainstream were not welcome in the public schools in the nineteenth century.[29] The schooling of Indians was left to missionaries who relied on boarding schools to create a "fresh beginning" teaching environment. Ashworth's premise that Indians were not served well either by the supposedly egalitarian public school system or by mission schooling is supported by the work of Jean Barman and Kenneth Coates. Barman, in "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls in All Hallows School, 1884-1918," found that a mission boarding school

established to promote equality between Indian and white girls by educating them together phased out the Indians after attracting a prestigious white clientele.[30] Coates, in "'Betwixt and Between': The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Choutla) Residential School, 1911-1954," showed that the training provided by well-meaning missionaries, with its culture changing Christian orientation, left Indian children unable to cope with either Indian or British-Canadian culture.[31]

Ashworth's The Forces Which Shaped Them also investigates the plight of the Chinese in nineteenth century British Columbia. In 1901, the Victoria school trustees received a petition against Chinese children attending a public school in the city. While discussing the petition, the trustees noted that there were 16 Chinese attending Victoria public schools and 108 not attending.[32] Since she tries to cover the educational experience of five ethnic groups in British Columbia in 213 pages, Ashworth gives only sketchy background for the plight of the Chinese. She fails to point out that, as in the case of the Indians, the only schools provided by the cultural mainstream that welcomed Chinese were Christian missions.

Jean Barman's Growing Up British in British Columbia investigates another group for whom public schooling was not acceptable.[33] At the opposite end of the British Columbian social scale to Indians and Chinese were settlers from the British upper class. Many British younger sons chose to emigrate to British Columbia because they had heard it was one of the places most conducive to maintaining a gentlemanly English lifestyle on what would be in Britain a limiting

income. Most of these immigrants expected their children would be educated, as they had been, separated by class rather than in a common classroom. Barman pays attention to the attitudes of parents in her study, asserting that parental expectations led to the survival and expansion of non-Catholic elite private schooling in British Columbia.

Barman's assessment of the attitude of parents to the public system is given in her 1986 article, "Transfer, Imposition or Consensus? The Emergence of Educational Structures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia."[34] Barman argues that by 1865 a consensus of opinion existed in British Columbia, including in Victoria, that the state should establish a free, non-sectarian school system. She states, however, that this consensus was outmaneuvered politically by Victorians who did not favour free non-sectarian schooling. Thus it is clear that a consensus did not exist at this point, as the definition of consensus is general agreement.

Britain rather than Canada shaped the thinking of many British Columbians until well after Confederation. Since British Columbia was accessible by sea and cut off from the East by mountains, its growth did not depend on the development of the rest of Canada. Until 1849, it was peopled largely by native Indians and by fur traders based in isolated forts serviced from the regional Hudson's Bay Company headquarters at Fort Vancouver. Some land was cleared so animals and crops could be raised for the use of the inhabitants of the forts but there were no actual settlers. In 1849, the headquarters were moved to Fort Victoria and given British protection as Vancouver Island was made a colony by Britain. In exchange for a monopoly of trade in the

Pacific region, the Hudson's Bay Company agreed to bring settlers to Vancouver Island. Schooling was provided for the settlers under the patronage of the Company, by a combination of voluntarism and government grant. After 1858, the British government terminated the trade monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company and declared Vancouver Island and the mainland of British Columbia separate colonies. While the new colonies now had many Eastern Canadian inhabitants, their public institutions were staffed by British citizens appointed in England. Common schooling continued to be provided by a combination of voluntarism and government grant, despite influential opposition. At the end of the colonial period, Victorians were appalled to see children loitering about town with nothing to do as economic recession and lack of enthusiasm for subsidizing free non-sectarian public schooling forced the closure of the city's common school. By the time British Columbia joined Confederation, a large segment of the population was ready to support the Canadian prototype of government providing schooling for all who could not or would not educate themselves. Public schooling did not, however, gain general acceptance in Victoria until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway brought the union of British Columbia with the rest of Canada into practical reality.

From 1849 to 1890, Victoria was the centre of educational developments for the region. It was the capital of Vancouver Island until Vancouver Island was merged into British Columbia in 1866. In 1868, Victoria was declared the capital of British Columbia. Its position was confirmed when British Columbia became a province of

Canada. Public schooling developed in Victoria under the supervision of school superintendents appointed by the successive governments. The system that developed on Vancouver Island was extended throughout British Columbia after it became a province.

The purpose of this study is to investigate the attitudes of parents in Victoria toward the development of public schooling in the Victoria area from 1849 to 1871. In Northern Europe and Scotland, some government involvement in mass education had resulted from the Reformation doctrine that every person should be able to read the Bible.[35] Prussia made schooling a state responsibility after it established dominance over the other German states in the eighteenth century.[36] But England, almost until the twentieth century, held to voluntary private schooling according to what parents or philanthropists would provide.[37] The liberalism of Adam Smith, reinforced by the idea of Herbert Spencer that a property tax to pay for schooling for the poor was an infringement of the personal liberty of property owners, provided theoretical justification for the lack of government involvement in schooling.[38] Religious non-conformists were opposed to state schooling because it likely would be controlled by the Church of England.[39] Thus the change from being able to decide with some precision the peculiar nature of the schooling that one's dependants would receive and paying for it directly, to entrusting one's dependants to a system which prided itself on eradicating peculiar differences and which would function without direct payment and despite the feelings of individual parents was revolutionary to the English everywhere. One must ask of British

Columbia, as Gidney did of Ontario, whether parents were willing partners in the shift from private to public schooling.

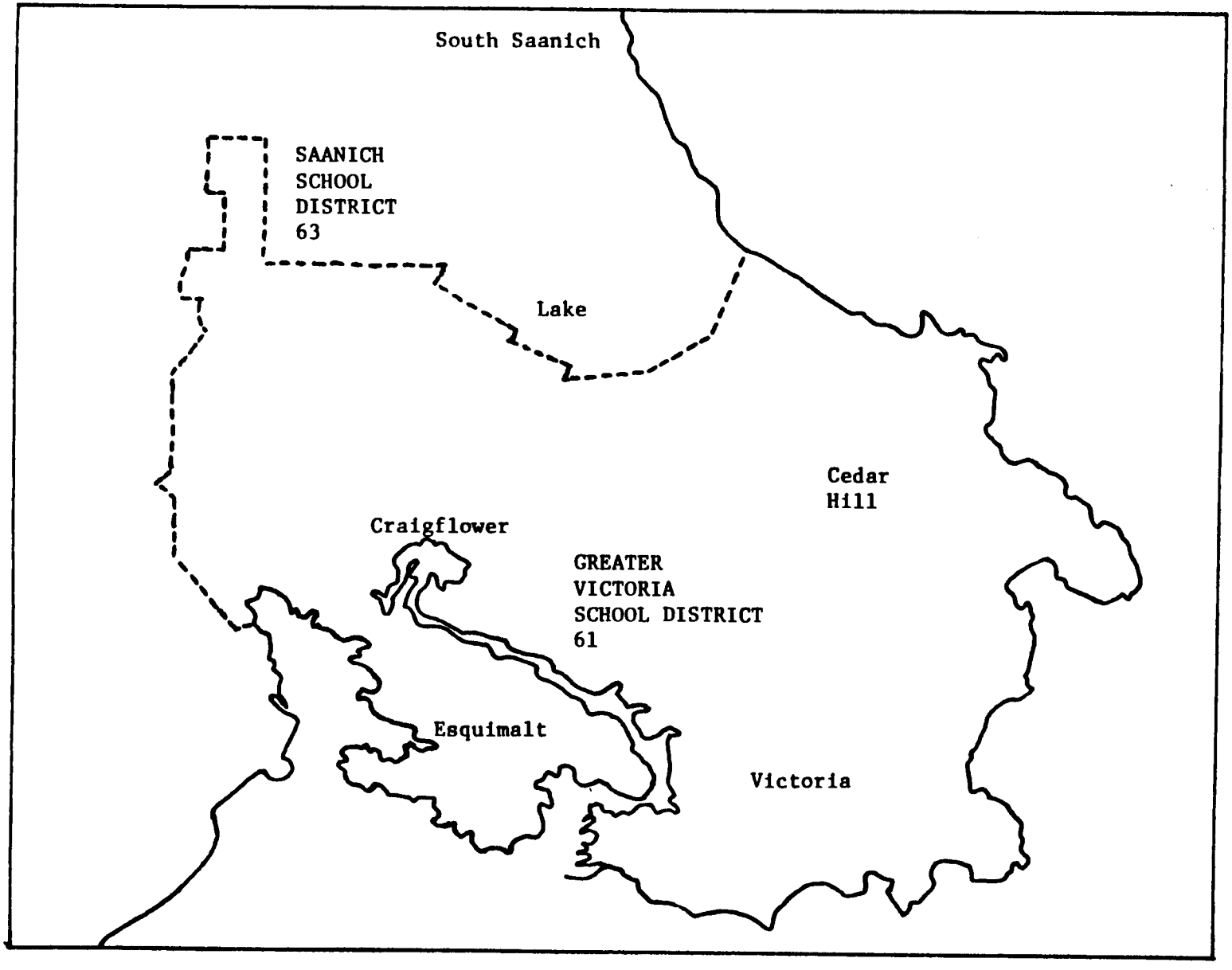
An examination of attitudes of government or church is easier to accomplish because these institutions are articulate and well-documented. An examination of attitudes of families is difficult because the majority of family communication does not survive in coherent organized records. Investigation of parental attitudes must be based partly on indirect evidence. This study will explore three indicators of how parents regarded public schools in Victoria. The first is indirect. A careful survey will be made of all schools in Victoria to try to determine support patterns for the different types of schools. The schools will be described in some detail to show the nature of the schooling being supported. Secondly, this study will investigate the use made by parents of channels of influence on the school, such as government officials and the representatives of the taxpayers, the school trustees. Thirdly, this study will look at who made complaints about the public schools and the nature of these complaints.

This investigation will show that, during the colonial period, parents for whom a choice was available did not accept public schooling readily. Acceptance of public schooling was related to the advancement potential it offered. Parents with expectations of elevated careers for their sons used private schools which prepared students for further training outside the colony. Expectations for girls were that they would make their contribution to society as wives and mothers. Most city girls were sent to ladies' schools. Rural parents, for whom a

choice was not available, petitioned for non-sectarian common schools and appear to have been satisfied with elementary instruction. Sectarianism was an important factor. If they could afford it, Anglicans and Roman Catholics supported sectarian schooling. Non-comformist denominations and non-Christians supported non-sectarian public schooling.

A tradition of schooling for all with government aid was established by James Douglas before 1858. After 1858, rural parents pioneered free schooling supported by the community. Colonial governments after Douglas were reluctant to support public schooling on the grounds it would drain the colony of revenue and parents of dignity. Entrance into Confederation guaranteed the success of public schooling in British Columbia. When they had a choice of private schools, city parents showed little actual interest in the public schools despite the constant articulate agitation maintained by the press in support of the eradication of class and religion in a state school system. Rural parents showed more interest in public school meetings and examinations than did city parents. Those who established and ran the public school system used private schools for their own children. The conclusion may be drawn that attitudes of parents to schooling were largely determined by class and religion during the colonial period. The consensus that Jean Barman asserts existed in British Columbia by 1865 in favour of public schooling was largely a rural phenomenon. In Victoria, the strength of the faction who did not want to subsidize non-sectarian schooling was such that the Victoria common schools were closed for the final two years of the colonial period.

Greater Victoria with Public School Districts, 1865, 1986



SOURCE: Greater Victoria School District 61 (Victoria: Greater Victoria School District 61 Community Relations Office, 1980).

The geographical boundaries of this study are those of British Columbia School District No. 61, Greater Victoria, which was established in 1946 by amalgamating the educational administrations of the city of Victoria and the surrounding municipalities of Oak Bay, View Royal, Saanich, and Esquimalt. Part of School District No. 63, Saanich, is included because the first schools in the Victoria area were scattered in and around the city. In the case of Victoria, rural patterns were crucial to the development of public schooling as it was in the outlying areas that the need for common schooling was the strongest and where settlers backed their demand for subsidized schooling by founding the first free school.

A school is defined in this study as any situation in which a teacher contracted to give formal instruction to one or more pupils over a period of time for a fee. The designation "teacher" is not used in the present sense as one with government certification to practice a profession but in the traditional sense as one who undertook to teach, regardless of what his or her credentials were. Three types of schools are identified in this study. Private schools, regardless of size, were those privately owned. Sectarian schools were sponsored by organizations, usually churches. Common or public schools were those under the supervision of the governing body of the community, first, the Hudson's Bay Company, then, the colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, and, finally, the province of British Columbia. Home schooling and parents sending children out of the colony to school will be mentioned where evidence exists. Sunday Schools for which there is no evidence of "secular" curriculum, and sources of specifically adult

education, such as the Mechanics Institute, are not included in this study.

Notes

[1]Herbert Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1931), p. 4. Herbert Butterfield used the term in 1931 to describe historians who saw the story of humanity as a linear advance toward individual liberty and fulfilment in a capitalistic parliamentary framework. Persons and events could easily be placed in the story of progress depending on whether they were judged to have aided or impeded progress.

[2]Whig histories of education usually were written by educationists for the purpose of reinforcing in their colleagues the sense of the greatness of their educational mission. Members of educational faculties who wrote influential histories for teachers included Ellwood Patterson Cubberley of the United States and Charles E. Phillips of Canada. See Ellwood Patterson Cubberley, Public Education in the United States (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1919); and Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1957).

[3]Neil Sutherland, in his introduction to Michael B. Katz and Paul Mattingly's Education and Social Change, uses the term "moderate revisionist" to describe historians who retain an essentially Whig view of social institutions while deploring the narrowness of Whig histories (Neil Sutherland, "Introduction," in Michael B. Katz and Paul Mattingly, Education and Social Change [New York: New York University, 1975], pp. xi-xxxi). Moderate revisionists are also characterized by recognition that other social institutions besides schools contribute to the education of the young. See Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1960).

[4]Michael B. Katz was the leader of this movement from the time of the publication of his first book, The Irony of Early School Reform, in which he states, "The diffusion of a utopian and essentially unrealistic ideology that stressed education as the key to social salvation created a smoke screen that actually obscured the depth of the social problems it proposed to blow away and prevented the realistic formulation of strategies of social reform" (Michael B. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968], p. 211). See also Michael B. Katz, Class, Bureaucracy and Schools: The Illusion of Educational Change in America (New York: Praeger, 1971).

[5]Radical revisionists see society as made up of groups whose class and cultural interests conflict. Social institutions are tools for whichever group holds power. Since the basis for power in the West

is the capitalist economic system, equality of opportunity and status by merit are not attainable except by economic revolution.

[6]J. Donald Wilson, "Some Observations on Recent Canadian Educational History," in J. Donald Wilson, ed., An Imperfect Past (Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984), pp. 7-29; and Geoffrey Partington, "Two Marxisms and the History of Education," History of Education 13, no. 4 (December 1984): 251-270.

[7]British studies of the effects of interlocking social institutions on education included Kenneth Charlton, Education in Renaissance England (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965); and Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (Markham, Ontario: Penguin, 1979). British studies which emphasized social control theory included John Hurt, Education in Evolution: Church, State, Society and Popular Education, 1800-1870 (London: Rupert, Hart Davis, 1971); and John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England (London: Methuen, 1973). In the United States, Bernard Bailyn was the first to remind historians that education is "the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations." Lawrence Cremin, his associate on the Committee on the Role of Education in American History, refined Bailyn's definition to "the deliberate, systematic and sustained effort to transmit or evoke knowledge, attitudes, values, skills and sensibilities." (Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society, p. 14; and Lawrence A. Cremin, "Notes Toward a Theory of Education," Notes on Education, 1 (June 1973): 4). The majority of American radical revisionist writing has been on the development of public school systems in urban areas. Noteable examples are Marvin Lazerson, Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870-1915 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971); Carl F. Kaestle, The Evolution of the Urban School System: New York City, 1750-1850 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); and David B. Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974). The most outspoken of the radical revisionists was Michael B. Katz. See Michael B. Katz, "The Origins of Public Education: Reassessment," History of Education Quarterly, 16 (Winter 1976): 381-407.

[8]Phillips, Development of Education in Canada; C. B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959); and F. Henry Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Publication Centre, 1964).

[9]J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet, Canadian Education: A History (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada Ltd., 1970).

[10]Neil Sutherland, Children in English Canadian Society (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1976).

[11]Sutherland, "Introduction," Education and Social Change, p. xviii.

[12]Alison Prentice, The School Promoters (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).

[13]Susan Houston, "Politics, Schools and Social Change in Upper Canada," Canadian Historical Review, 53 (September 1972): 249-270.

[14]Harvey J. Graff, "The Reality Behind the Rhetoric: The Social and Economic Meanings of Literacy in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Example of Literacy and Criminality," in Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, eds., Egerton Ryerson and His Times (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978), pp. 187-220.

[15]For an example, see John Calam, Parsons and Pedagogues: The S.P.G. Adventure in American Education (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971).

[16]Cornelius J. Jaenen, "Ruthenian Schools in Western Canada 1897-1919," in David Jones, Nancy Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp, eds., Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1979), pp. 39-55.

[17]Gidney's collaborator on these Ontario studies was his colleague at the University of Western Ontario, the late Douglas A. Lawr.

[18]Robert Gidney, "Elementary Education: A Reassessment," in Education and Social Change, pp. 3-26.

[19]R. D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "From Voluntarism to State Schooling: The Creation of the Public School System in Ontario," Canadian Historical Review, 66 (December 1985): 443-473.

[20]R. D. Gidney and D. A. Lawr, "Bureaucracy vs. Community? The Origins of Bureaucratic Procedure in the Upper Canadian School System," Journal of Social History, 13 (1980): 438-457.

[21]Gidney and Lawr, "Bureaucracy," p. 450.

[22]R. D. Gidney and D. A. Lawr, "Egerton Ryerson and the Origins of the Ontario Secondary School," Canadian Historical Review, LX (4 December 1979): 442-465.

[23]Gidney and Lawr, "Egerton Ryerson," pp. 456-457.

[24]D. L. MacLaurin, "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1936).

[25]Johnson, A History (see Chap. 1, n. 8).

[26]F. Henry Johnson, John Jessop: Gold Seeker and Educator (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1971).

[27]Joan Townsend, "Protestant Christian Morality and the Nineteenth Century Secular and Non-Sectarian Public School System" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974); Harro Van Brummelen, "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925," BC Studies, no. 60 (Winter 1983-84): 3-27.

[28]Syed Aziz-Al Ahsan, "School Texts and the Political Culture of British Columbia," BC Studies, no. 63 (Autumn 1984): 55-72.

[29]Mary Ashworth, The Forces Which Shaped Them (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1979).

[30]Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920," in Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert, and Don McCaskill, Indian Education in Canada: The Legacy (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), pp. 110-131.

[31]Kenneth Coates, "'Betwixt and Between': The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Choutla) Residential School, 1911-1954," BC Studies, no. 64 (Winter 1984-85): 27-47.

[32]Ashworth, Forces, pp. 54-55.

[33]Jean Barman, Growing Up British in British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1984).

[34]Jean Barman, "Transfer, Imposition or Consensus? The Emergence of Educational Structures in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia," in Nancy M. Sheehan, J. Donald Wilson, and David C. Jones, eds., Schools in the West (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1986), pp. 241-264.

[35]For a collection of documents on education by Protestant reformers, see Frederick Eby, Early Protestant Educators (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1931).

[36]Henry Barnard, National Education in Europe (New York: Charles B. Norton, 1854), pp. 2-33.

[37]The Forster Act of 1870 divided England into school districts. State elementary schools were to be provided in each district, after one year, only if a voluntary school had not been established.

[38]Herbert Spencer, Social Statics (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1888), pp. 360-363.

[39]Desmond Bowen, The Idea of the Victorian Church (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968), pp. 201-206.

CHAPTER II

1849-1859

Fort Victoria was built in 1843 as a fur trading post by the Hudson's Bay Company.[1] After the Oregon Boundary Treaty was signed in 1846, the fort took on new significance as a base for the defence of British territory north of the border. Eager to stabilize the jurisdiction of the region, the British government decided to make Vancouver Island a colony.[2] Richard Blanshard was appointed governor. Blanshard found when he arrived in Victoria in 1849 that the real power in his new jurisdiction was held by Chief Factor James Douglas. The British government had given the Hudson's Bay Company a monopoly of trade in the new colony with the provision that the Company would encourage independent settlement. Most of the workers in the new colony were employees of the Company. Blanshard had only one independent colonist, Captain Walter Calquhoun Grant, to govern. The government of the Company was in fact the government of the colony, and services that normally would be managed by the governor's staff were provided by the Company.

Schooling for the children of French-speaking servants of the Company was given by a Roman Catholic priest. The teacher, Father Honore Timothy Lempfrit, had been a chaplain in the French army before joining the Order of Mary Immaculate in early 1847. Sent to Canada in the fall of that year, he was assigned to the Oregon Missions headed by Rev. P. Ricard. Ricard sent Lempfrit to Victoria with James Douglas in June 1849 as a missionary to the Indians.[3] Lempfrit found that most

of the French Canadian servants lived outside the fort and that their children had had almost no formal schooling. In September, he added the instruction of the wives and children of the French Canadians to his missionary labours.[4] He does not appear to have had difficulty persuading parents to let their children attend as at least 20 were present when the school started. By November, six pupils were learning writing and arithmetic. James Douglas reported to the Company in London that the students "derive great benefit and are rapidly improving in respectability."[5] At first, the students came into the fort to a little shed Lempfrit had been given by Douglas to live in. Soon, however, Lempfrit made known his desire to live outside the fort, as the students would prefer it. The Company built him a house outside the fort and the school continued there until, in October 1851, Douglas reacted to allegations of immoral conduct against Father Lempfrit by dismissing the priest from Victoria.[6]

The Company's first initiative in providing schooling in Victoria was consistent with its practice of hiring a Church of England clergyman to serve as chaplain and schoolmaster for its English-speaking officers.[7] Robert Staines, a Cambridge graduate with English grammar school experience, was running a school in France with his wife, Emma, when, in 1848, he was contacted by the Hudson's Bay Company to teach at Fort Vancouver. The Company would hire Staines if he were ordained. The Staines hurried to England for the ordination and then, with nephew and servants, sailed for Fort Vancouver.[8] When they arrived, since that fort was being closed, they were sent on to Fort Victoria. Douglas gave them quarters in the fort but they were to

pay for their food out of their income from the Company and from school fees collected from parents.[9] After installing the Staines in the fort as comfortably as possible, Douglas set about making arrangements to gather children in from other forts for instruction.

At least one English-speaking servant claimed that his children were not being properly taught. John Work writing to Edward Ermatinger in 1846 mentioned that he had six girls and two boys who needed schooling badly. He was instructing them as best he could but wished for a school.[10] His children were among the students at the Fort Victoria school. Douglas reported in October 1849 that eventually 34 pupils were expected but 15 boys and girls were already making progress at learning under Mr. and Mrs. Staines.[11] The next year, students included children surnamed Anderson, Ross, McNeill, Pambrun, Kitson, Dodd, Tod, Forrest, Fraser, Yale, and Kennedy. Douglas's own daughters attended Mrs. Staines's school as day scholars.[12]

The girls attended with the boys at Victoria because Emma Staines was a superior teacher. According to Staines during the 1848 negotiations with the Company, she was "qualified to take every department of the usual course of a gentlewoman's education, including music and French and Italian and German."[13] Technically, Mrs.Staines ran a separate school for the girls, which was not under the supervision of the Company. In reality, the lines of responsibility between she and her husband for the girls and boys were not distinct. Mrs. Staines scrutinized all the students closely when they arrived at the school to note what civilizing changes needed to be made in their attire.[14] Then she gave the children a general examination to

ascertain the state of their learning.[15] The boys and girls were taught separately, the boys learning Latin and cricket and taking natural history canoe explorations of the Victoria Gorge, and the girls learning to put their past free life behind them with such deportment as holding their skirts to one side when walking out.[16] Mrs. Staines took care of the children out of class time. Douglas, and later one of the male students, noted that Mrs. Staines really was responsible for the schools in the fort.[17]

Mr. Staines was the official schoolmaster and the fort school could not remain credible if he did not retain his credibility. Staines set himself against the Hudson's Bay Company, which was his employer, from the day of his arrival in Victoria. First, he and his wife had to walk on planks laid in the mud to get to the fort, and when they saw their quarters, they were dismayed at the bare boards of the walls. Then Staines found that, contrary to Company assurances in London, he was paying the full mark-up on the goods his family used rather than receiving the servant discount.[18] His strident complaints could not have been received well by Company servants, who also noted his excessive reliance on Mrs. Staines to fulfil school duties. Staines's final loss of credibility with the Company and the fee-paying parents came as he gained a measure of independence from the Company as a landowner. He had early shown an interest in becoming a gentleman farmer and a sympathy with colonists who complained about Company land policies and charges for goods. Gradually, he let his land interests absorb his full attention.[19]

Staines was paid a salary by the Company for his services as schoolmaster but Douglas expected the fees paid by parents would cover the expenses of the school. By the spring of 1853, so many parents were withdrawing their children from the fort school that Douglas feared expenses would not be met.[20] In January 1854, the Western Board of Management for the Company received a petition for the removal of Staines as schoolmaster, signed by Charles Dodd, Roderick Finlayson, William H. McNeill, J. D. Pemberton, George Simpson, Richard Golledge, W. J. Macdonald, J. W. McKay, James Sangster, William Leigh, B. W. Pearse, W. H. Newton, and John Tod, Sr., among others.[21] The remaining subscribers made known their desire to give Staines notice of termination.[22]

Knowing that the chaplain-schoolmaster arrangement pleased the London management of the Company, Douglas asked their advice on how to deal with Staines.[23] The Company advised that the supporters of the school were free to take proper action.[24] On February 1, 1854, Staines was given notice that his services would be dispensed with from June 1, 1854.[25] Staines immediately deserted his duties as schoolmaster and chaplain altogether to sail to England to argue settlers' grievances at the Colonial Office. He failed to survive the wreck of his ship on the way. Emma Staines, who despite a critical attitude had been respected as a teacher, was given free passage to England with her party.[26]

Although, in 1855, the Company engaged a new chaplain-schoolmaster, Rev. Edward Cridge, the Staines-type school for sons of Company servants was never revived. Other schools had come into being that met the needs of the fur trade colony.

Douglas had chosen the site of Fort Victoria not because it was a good port but because the lands around it were suitable for agriculture. In addition to being head of the Pacific region for the Hudson's Bay Company, Douglas was agent for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company established in 1839 to develop farming in the Columbia region.[27] Douglas was able to use the agricultural subsidiary to bring out independent colonists who would develop the land and at the same time satisfy the requirements of the British government in granting Vancouver Island to the Company. Four farms run by gentleman bailiffs were planned for the Victoria area.[28]

While Lempfrit was still in Victoria, Douglas saw the need to subsidize elementary schooling for the children of labouring and poor parents. He included the children of settlers in his planning but since they were children of independent colonists, the authority of the governor had to be recognized. In January 1851, the Company informed Blanshard that it would build a house to serve as church, school and residence for the clergyman-schoolmaster but the governor would be responsible for its maintenance, using whatever funds he could raise.[29]

Blanshard was helpless to negotiate because he could not escape the pervading power of the Hudson's Bay Company. However, gradually, as Company men bought land and left the Company, Blanshard's position increased in importance.[30] The landowners, now dealing with the Company from outside, complained about its power and the prices that it charged.[31] They petitioned Blanshard to exercise his prerogative to set up an executive council. This Blanshard did but with the knowledge

that he had already been recalled as governor by the Colonial Office. His appointments showed the hopelessness of the colonists' position. James Douglas was the senior member, along with John Tod and Captain James Cooper. Only Cooper was strongly opposed to the Hudson's Bay Company's hold on Vancouver Island.

When, in May 1851, James Douglas was appointed to succeed Richard Blanshard as governor of Vancouver Island, he became directly responsible for the schooling of the children of independent colonists. Douglas decided to subsidize elementary schooling for the children of labourers and the poor.[32] He obtained the approval of the governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company and selected sites for a school at Victoria and one at Maple Point but could not proceed with building because the colony had no revenue to spend on services.[33]

The changing balance between Company and colony affected the financial resources Douglas could use to build the houses. Fort Victoria did a respectable business in furs for the Hudson's Bay Company but the real financial importance of the fort increasingly lay in its potential as a port and export centre for raw materials. Douglas wanted to levy import duties to pay for services such as schools in the colony but the Colonial Office refused to allow him to levy any taxes until a legislative assembly had been organized. Douglas then decided to control the liquor trade and raise revenue by asking the council to place liquor vendors under its regulation.[34] The debate in council took place March 29, 1853.[35] Douglas's proposal was strongly opposed by Captain Cooper, who was a liquor vendor. However, after a dinner recess during which Cooper's wine

glass was kept well filled, all the members were found to be in agreement.[36] The liquor vending regulations were passed and the colony had the necessary revenue to build the schoolhouses.

The council decided immediately to fund the schools at Victoria and at Maple Point. It appointed a commission consisting of John Tod and Robert Barr to oversee the construction of a building to house the Victoria District school, near Minies Plain, about a mile south of the fort.[37] The building was to consist of schoolrooms, a dwelling for the teacher, and several bedrooms for boarders, and was to cost no more than 500 pounds.[38] Classes had already begun under Charles Bayley. When Bayley arrived in 1851, Douglas saw in him a potential teacher. Engaged as an agricultural worker, Bayley had relieved the tedium of the voyage from England teaching the children on the ship. Douglas gave him charge of the boys in Victoria not served by the fort school, for a salary of 40 pounds a year to be supplemented by parents' contributions.[39]

When the house was ready, the school took boarding as well as day pupils. The rates for boarders were fixed by the council in December 1853 as 18 guineas per year to officers and servants of the Hudson's Bay Company and any sum agreed upon by both parties for non-residents of Vancouver Island and non-servants of the Company.[40] This school must have been the one to which Company officers disillusioned with Staines's school sent their sons. While a population survey taken by Douglas in July 1855 showed 36 white children living in Victoria town, of which 21 were boys, the Victoria school had 26 pupils.[41] The school was supervised by a committee of three council members who were

delegated to report on the state of the school and to hold quarterly exams to ascertain the progress of the pupils. The members of the committee were John Tod and Roderick Finlayson, longtime Company officers, and Thomas J. Skinner, the bailiff of Constance Cove Farm.[42] Public examinations were not held until the summer of 1855, when Craigflower school hosted one and Victoria District, not to be outdone, followed suit.[43]

The Craigflower school at Maple Point also opened before it received its house.[44] The bailiff and workers of the farm came to Vancouver Island from Scotland where national education had been firmly established during the Protestant Reformation by John Knox. They expected to have a common school in their settlement. The bailiff, Kenneth McKenzie, advertised in Britain in 1852 for a schoolmaster.[45] The successful applicant was Robert Barr, who had resigned from his position of superintendent of a large industrial school in Leeds because he had married the lady superintendent of the school against the wishes of the school guardians.[46] When Mr. and Mrs. Barr arrived in Victoria with the McKenzie party in January 1853, Douglas despatched Bayley to Nanaimo to teach the children of labourers there and installed Barr in the Victoria school.[47] When McKenzie complained to the London office of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, he was told that Douglas would not be disciplined but that the Company would find Craigflower a new teacher.[48] While they waited for their teacher and their building, the settlers established classes for children who had been at school before leaving Scotland. The schoolmaster, Charles Clark, arrived with his wife in the fall of

1854.[49] The house, which took six months and $4,300 to build, was ready for classes March 5, 1855.[50]

Families with school age children in the original party at Craigflower included the McKenzies, Stewarts, Weirs, Liddles, Andersons, Humes, Lidegates, Veitch's, Whites, Downies, and Montgomeries.[51] The Craigflower school was well supported by its community, having eight boys and six girls enrolled when it moved into the new schoolhouse.[52] Since the school had rooms for the teacher and for boarders, pupils from Colwood and Langford also attended. Douglas's census of 1855 showed 16 children of school age at Craigflower and 26 in the school.[53] Most of the pupils were children of labourers.

According to council minutes, both the Victoria and Craigflower schools were established in response to applications from the districts.[54] Who made these applications is not known as the applications are not extant. Douglas was convinced of the need for common schooling after observing the progress made by Lempfrit with his pupils. However, it is unlikely there was a popular demand at this very early stage in the life of the colony for common schooling in the Upper Canadian sense. Since the French Canadian labouring population was used to Roman Catholic control of formal schooling, it is likely that the application for the Victoria school came from Company servants who were dissatisfied with Staines's school and needed an alternative school for their sons. The Craigflower application is easier to explain because negotiations for their common school began before the Craigflower party sailed for Victoria.

Common schooling as an alternative to elite schooling in Victoria did not suit all the Company servants. John Work, in a letter dated March 14, 1853, wrote there were two schools besides Staines's to which he could send his son but he preferred to send the lad to England for the social advantages he would gain there.[55] In any case, the schooling available in the colony was mostly what today would be called elementary. Parents wishing their children "finished" or trained for careers were obliged to send them out of the colony to continue their schooling.

Common schooling was completely antithetical to the social expectations of the English gentlemen colonists who settled in Victoria in the early 1850s. Captain Edward Langford came with his wife and five daughters to develop Colwood Farm at Esquimalt. He was a distant cousin of Captain Blanshard's and had been a commissioned officer and the owner of a 200 acre estate in Sussex.[56] In early 1852, Langford asked Douglas for assistance from the Company in bringing out Miss Scott, the teacher he had chosen for the young ladies school he hoped to found. Douglas wrote the Company in London, recommending the schoolmistress be given free passage on a Company ship.[57] Evidently the London office complied as Douglas wrote again later in the year thanking them for the liberal encouragement they had promised to Langford's school.[58]

When the Hudson's Bay Company engaged the new clergyman-schoolmaster for Victoria to replace Staines, they asked him to oversee "a Boarding School of a superior class for the children of their officers."[59] However, Rev. Edward Cridge, who was both an earnest

clergyman and an experienced teacher, did not bring a schoolmaster to Victoria.[60] This breach of contract did not appear to overly concern the executive council as they appointed Cridge, in February 1856, to a committee to report on the common schools. He was to hold examinations and report on "all . . . matters connected with the District Schools which may appear deserving of attention."[61] The new legislative assembly representing landowners established later in the year did not raise any objections to Cridge's appointment. Thus, instead of overseeing an upper class institution for boys, Cridge found himself supervising the beginnings of a Vancouver Island school system with schools at Victoria, Craigflower and Nanaimo.[62]

The appointment of Cridge as inspector rather than schoolmaster indicates that Company officers were willing to use Victoria District to begin the schooling of their children. Cridge's first school report, dated November 30, 1856, noted that 17 boys aged six to 15 years were registered.[63] Nine were boarders. Only three of the boys were from the labouring class. Some girls had attended the school but they, not being of the labouring class, had left to go to a girls' school. The parental dissatisfaction Cridge spoke of in his report was not with the concept of the common school but with the behaviour of the schoolmaster. The parents wished their children could attend more regularly but Barr frequently took time off to attend to other business. There was evidence students were leaving the school and those who stayed were attending infrequently and consequently learning little. While the curriculum included reading, writing, arithmetic, history, geography, grammar, and Scripture, the master did not group

pupils according to ages and abilities so the younger pupils did not receive a proper grounding.

Barr resigned and Mr. Kennedy became the new schoolmaster.[64] Kennedy, whose father, Dr. Kennedy, and brother were both in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, had sat under Staines in Victoria before going to England to complete his schooling. Cridge had met Kennedy in England. When he was considering the Vancouver Island appointment, a friend introduced him to Kennedy, who told him something of conditions in Victoria.[65] After Kennedy took over Victoria District, the cost remained the same but the curriculum expanded. Children of Company servants and colonists still paid 18 guineas a year for boarding tuition or 20 shillings a year for day tuition consisting of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, Scripture, and industrial training. Higher subjects such as Latin could be arranged for.[66] At the first examination held by Kennedy, proficiency in botany and drawing were also demonstrated. Since the requirement that all students supply their own books and stationery inhibited progress in learning, a friend of the school announced he would have new books ordered for those who did not win prizes for proficiency. Prizewinners included Daniel Work, William Leigh, and James Pottinger.[67] Kennedy's superintendence brought many pupils to the school and the only complaints made during his term as teacher were not about the quality of the teaching but about the location of the school.[68]

In his 1856 report, Cridge found the parents happy with the condition of the Craigflower school.[69] While the majority of the pupils were from Craigflower, three were from Victoria, two from

Burnside, and one each from Colwood and View Field. There were three boarders. Ten boys and eleven girls were enrolled, of which six boys and five girls, all from Craigflower, were of the labouring class. Two girls had recently left to go to a girls' school at Victoria.[70] The cost and curriculum were the same as at Victoria District, having been set by the legislative assembly. The pedagogical system followed was that of the National Schools of England.[71] Cridge noted that the pupils were fairly grounded in the elements of the English education and that one boy had begun euclid and algebra. The public examinations of the school were enthusiastically attended by the Craigflower inhabitants. Governor Douglas also attended when he could, and presented prizes. In 1858, the governor's prizes were given to Jessie and Dorothea McKenzie, William Lidegate, and Christina Veitch. In return, the girls of the school presented Douglas with a present of useful needlework they had prepared.[72]

Except at Craigflower, parents did not use common schools for their daughters.[73] Lower-class parents had no choice. In 1856, Cridge complained that girls of the labouring class were not able to go to school in Victoria. "It seems greatly to be lamented that those who are likely hereafter to perform so important a part in the community in the capacity of wives and mothers, should be suffered to grow up without education."[74] The responsibility for the lack of schooling available to daughters of labourers appears to rest with Douglas. Lempfrit had taught wives and children. Douglas, when he was planning schooling for children of labourers, was particularly concerned with the boys, "who were growing up in ignorance of their duties as men and

Christians."[75] He seems to have taken for granted that the girls did not need schooling as Victoria District was opened as a boys' school. Then, as the school filled with children of Company servants and colonists, its clientele included few sons of labourers. Some daughters of non-labourers eventually began attending after Mrs. Staines left the colony.[76]

Upper-class parents did not keep their daughters in common schools when they had a choice. When Cridge came to Victoria, Douglas believed that Victoria District was adequate for schooling the colony's boys.[77] However, he arranged with Cridge that his young wife, Mary, would run a boarding and day school in the parsonage so daughters of Hudson's Bay Company officers and others could be "trained to intellectual and religious duties."[78] The Company gave Cridge's two sisters free passage from England to serve as governess and housekeeper, and a grant for the expenses of the school.[79] Boarding and tuition, not including books, cost $100 a year for daughters of Company employees and Cridge's parishioners, and $200 a year for others. When the parsonage ladies' school opened, upper-class parents withdrew their daughters from the common schools and placed them under the tutelage of Mary Cridge.

Some upper-class parents also were not satisfied with common schooling for their sons. Cridge, in his 1856 report, noted that three boys had quit the common schools in favour of a Roman Catholic school "lately established in Victoria."[80] The school was run by Modeste Demers, a veteran Pacific Northwest missionary who settled in Victoria after the Church named him the first Bishop of Vancouver Island,

British Columbia and the Yukon.[81] Bishop Demers had been charged by the Bishop of Quebec, Joseph Signay, in 1838 to "take particular care of the Christian education of children, establishing for that purpose, schools and catechism classes in all the villages which you will have occasion to visit."[82] In Victoria, Demers struggled to fulfil his mandate amongst white children. While his strong classical education enabled him to offer a superior curriculum, he had to carry on his school without any assistance, as he was the sole settled representative of the Church in the area.

Realizing that he could not meet the educational needs of Victoria without assistance, Demers left Victoria to recruit teachers in Quebec. When he returned in June 1858, he had with him three priests, Fathers Peter Rondeault, Charles Vary, and Cyrille B. Beaudry; two clerics of St. Viateur, Brothers F. G. Thibodeau and Joseph Michaud; and four Sisters of St. Ann, Salome Valois, Angele Gauthier, Virginia Brasseur, and Mary Lane; and their lay helper, Mary Mainville.[83]

The Victoria they found on their arrival was quite different from the Victoria Demers had left. The ingrown British society of about 300 whites, some black workers, and varying numbers of Indians dominated by gentleman landowners and professional men had involuntarily received an overwhelming infusion of different nationalities and races.[84] News of gold on the Thompson River had not unduly excited the citizens of Victoria but it was appreciated by fortune-seekers in California. When the citizens went to church as usual on Sunday, April 25, 1858, they were unaware they were living out the final hours of an era. As they streamed out of Cridge's church on the hill, they witnessed the arrival

of the American steamer Commodore with 450 men, including British, American whites and blacks, Germans, French, and Italians.[85] The majority were would-be miners who wished to provision in Victoria and catch the earliest possible transportation to the gold bars. Some brought capital to set up businesses to service the miners. Thirty-five were American blacks hoping to establish themselves in social equality under British rule.

As the number of miners passing through approached 30,000, Victoria grew into a sister commercial city of San Francisco.[86] Hundreds of businesses were founded and buildings, many impressive, built to house them. Victoria took on the appearance of a small city with a tent population at its fringes.

The party of Catholics assessed the new demography of Victoria and set to work. Bishop Demers put the lay brothers to work on a church and set apart one room in his small house for an elementary school for boys.[87] He advertised instruction in French or English under Father Charles Vary, and attracted upper-class Anglican boys by agreeing not to teach religion.[88]

The sisters moved into a two-room log cabin Demers had purchased from Leon Morrell in 1855.[89] It was in the sparsely settled Beacon Hill area across the James Bay mud flats from Victoria town. The Sisters occupied it immediately though it had no locks and they had to clean it out before they could spread mattresses on the dirt floor for the night. The next day, the sisters taught catechism after Mass and, on Monday, started their school.[90] The cabin convent school quickly became an orphanage as well as Emilie Morrell came back to the cabin after her mother died of consumption.[91]

The specific concerns of the Order of St. Ann were to teach girls who would not otherwise have access to schools, to take care of orphans, and to nurse the sick.[92] All the sisters chosen for Victoria were teachers and two had hospital training.[93] That they were not all fluent in English was not seen as a handicap because they expected to serve French Canadians and Indians.[94] After the opening of their school, the sisters were visited by whites, mixed-bloods, and Indians. Some spoke good English, some passable French, and some French and Indian jargon, likely Chinook.[95] From the beginning, there were few Indian students. The class the first summer were mainly mixed-bloods.[96] While the sisters occasionally were encouraged by white women like Mrs. Down and Mrs. Macdonald sending gifts of food and utensils, they found their work generally discouraging.[97] The sisters wrote their counterparts in Quebec that special grace was needed to persevere in teaching the mixed-bloods. The filth and vermin they left behind them increased the discomfort of routine in the cramped cabin.[98]

The St. Ann school gained more respectability in October when Brothers Thibodeau and Michaud finished a frame addition to the cabin and outfitted it with furniture.[99] The sisters, having practiced teaching in English, started formal classes in November with an expanded enrolment.[100] The school achieved further respectability when Governor Douglas decided to enrol his three daughters, Alice, Agnes, and Martha.[101] In December, Bishop Demers demonstrated that the focus of the school was shifting in the direction of upper-class white education by publishing a prospectus.[102] Though the original

pupils were mostly beginners, unschooled even in religious knowledge, the prospectus offered reading, writing, practical and rational arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, grammar, English, French, plain and ornamental needlework, and network. Music and drawing were to be added as soon as a competent teacher was found. Boarding students would pay $60 three times a year, day boarders $20.25, and day students $11.25. Music and drawing would cost another $4.50 a month. Destitute orphans could attend day school free and special arrangements could be made with poor parents. Altogether, from June 1858 to June 1859, 56 students spent some time in the school, of which eight were boarders and two were orphans. The sisters noted that 26 students were not Roman Catholic.[103]

The Douglas sisters remained at St. Ann's school little more than one month. As the daughters of the governor, they were accustomed to attending the social events of the colony. They attended a dance on a ship at Esquimalt without telling their father the mother superior of their convent school had forbidden their participation. When the situation was explained to Douglas, he advised the mother superior that his daughters must be free to attend social functions as his job required.[104] He withdrew them from the St. Ann's School and sent them to the young ladies' school at Esquimalt then being conducted by Captain Langford's sister.[105]

If the incident had happened in March instead of January, Douglas could have sent his daughters to a new seminary for young ladies established in town by Madame Petibeau. Madame Petibeau operated a girls' school in San Francisco for five years before coming to Victoria

at the beginning of the gold rush.[106] Although she came from San Francisco, one cannot assume she was American. Many teachers who came to Victoria were British or Canadians who had been in the United States but who wanted to settle under British jurisdiction. The concept of a female seminary where women could be given a classical education to develop the mind so they could achieve their full potential as wives and mothers was American, however, and was in its heydey when Petibeau was in San Francisco.[107] She imported the name to Victoria but not the institution as her seminary majored in the ornamental arts the American seminaries regarded as peripheral to a serious curriculum. According to Edith Down's history of the Sisters of St. Ann, Petibeau first taught at Bishop Demers's school.[108] However, she identified herself with the predominantly English community when she asked to be confirmed at Christ Church Cathedral a month before opening her school.[109] Petibeau likely was a competent teacher as she later also taught for John Jessop and was able to attract enough pupils to keep her school open for at least fifteen years.[110]

The gold rush also brought parents a private alternative to the Victoria common school. Victoria District School was located on the Victoria school reserve, where Yates Street meets Cadboro Bay Road. To get to school, children had to travel through forest. The trail constructed by the chain gang was impassible by buggy in wet weather. The school was too far from the homes clustered around Victoria harbour for the children to go home for lunch.[111] In 1858, Cridge publicly urged that the school be moved to the Anglican church reserve in town.[112] Since the gold rush had brought many Canadians and

Americans to Victoria who believed that church and state should be separate and that common schools should be non-sectarian, his suggestion was greeted with little enthusiasm. The colonial legislators first avoided any reference to Cridge's suggestion when they decided to recommend that the Victoria school remain on its ten acre site and furthermore be fixed up.[113] They based their decision on the growth of the town, since the beginning of the gold rush, toward the school reserve. When, in September, the legislators acknowledged Cridge's suggestion, they made the school rather than the Church the villain.

> The School not being in any way connected with the Church, has no right whatever to usurp her land, which ere long she might require for her own purposes, in fact it would appear unconstitutional to alienate the one or appropriate the other.[114]

Surveyor General Pemberton declared that the house should not change the location of Victoria District "unless required to do so by petition or by the voice of the people otherwise expressed."[115] There is no record of such a petition. Victoria District stayed on the neutral reserve outside the town limits. Thus the way was clear for Dr. J. Silversmith to open an elementary school for boys and girls in the town in October.[116]

The fact that no popular support was shown for Cridge's proposal indicates a fundamental shift in the social thinking of the population. Before the gold rush, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Vancouver Island government under Douglas, while hospitable to Roman Catholics, made provision for the Church of England as the state church of the colony. This relationship between the Church and the colony appears to have

been taken for granted until the gold rush. The change in the orientation of the population is also demonstrated by the fact that the appeal of Silversmith's school was that it was non-sectarian. With his assistant, Edward Mallandaine, Silversmith taught spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, elocution, singing, and drawing, and gave private tuition in modern languages and instrumental music.[117] His school, located apart from his residence at the corner of Broadway and Yates Streets, was equipped with books and a globe. Under Silversmith, the students progressed well. Many members of the large class he attracted were Jews who might have gone to the Roman Catholic schools if they had not insisted on adherence to routine set by their religious tradition.[118]

The gold rush brought the quiet Hudson's Bay Company colonial period to a close on Vancouver Island. Victoria, as part of the colony of Vancouver Island, had been governed by Douglas as chief of the Pacific region for the Hudson's Bay Company and its subsidiaries, and as governor with a small council and elected assembly. Douglas was forced by the gold rush to exercise his authority as protector of Hudson's Bay Company rights in the territory between the coast and the Rockies. He established transportation routes, townsites, and mining regulations to keep the area firmly under British control until London established the colony of British Columbia.[119] Douglas was offered the governorship of British Columbia in addition to the governorship of Vancouver Island on the condition that he sever his thirty-seven year relationship with the Hudson's Bay Company. Knowing that furs had been overtaken by other goods of trade, Douglas complied.[120] The

following year, 1859, the British government, which now favoured free trade over monopoly, failed to renew the Hudson's Bay Company's license to trade and the Company's claims over the far West ended. A British civil list was appointed to serve under the governor and five impressive government buildings were constructed across the harbour from the old fort.[121] The last of the fort was torn down and Victoria's growth into a thriving colonial free port was complete.

From 1849 to 1859, during the period of Hudson's Bay Company control, Victoria grew from a Company regional headquarters to a colonial capital. Its population changed from British, French Canadians, Indians, and mixed-bloods to a mixture of races and nations dominated by British and Canadians. Ten schools operated during this period: Lempfrit's, Mr. Staines's, Mrs. Staines's, Victoria District, Craigflower, Mrs. Cridge's, Bishop Demers's, St. Ann's, Madame Petibeau's, and Dr. Silversmith's. All the schools charged fees directly to parents. Until the gold rush, the schools, common and private, were subsidized by the Hudson's Bay Company. The Company and executive council under Douglas assisted schools according to request. The legislative assembly followed this policy also, as was seen in their sensitivity to the opposition of Victoria residents to changing the location of Victoria District schoolhouse.

While most schools were subsidized by the Company, only two were common schools, intended to serve the general population. Victoria District and Craigflower may be regarded as government schools because the physical facilities were provided, the teachers were paid a basic

salary, and the progress was monitored by the government. Parents did not oppose these schools but shaped them according to their purposes.

The Craigflower school reflected the community it served. Like the schools of the Scotland of the Craigflower settlers, it was patronized by all classes.[122] Furthermore, the settlers would not accept a teacher who did not meet their requirements. McKenzie personally selected Barr for Craigflower. When Douglas took Barr for Victoria, the Company promised to secure his replacement. The Company turned down the first candidate for the position, a Mr. Silver, mainly because the Craigflower settlers would not accept his Free Kirk affiliation.[123] The settlers finally were satisfied with Mr. Clark who, according to Cridge, was interested in but not committed to Anglicanism.[124]

Victoria District reflected the class-oriented schooling common to contemporary England and established in Victoria by the Company providing upper-class schooling by its chaplain and leaving lower-class schooling to missionaries. When their sons failed to progress in Staines's school, Company servants and colonists sent them to Victoria District. The result was that girls were excluded from the school and few lower-class boys attended. Upper-class parents preferred to keep their daughters out of the common schools, sending them to ladies' schools, when possible, to learn to be English gentlewomen. The two complaints parents made regarding Victoria District had to do with the behaviour of the teacher and with location. The teacher was replaced but the school remained in the District where it was more convenient

for the lower-class children for whom it was intended than for the upper-class children by whom it was patronized.

Some parents were not content to leave their sons to the common school, placing them when they could with the Roman Catholics. Since the Catholic school had an uneven existence, most parents relied on the Victoria common school for their sons.

Belief in the concept of classless schooling was not the reason most upper-class parents used the common schools. Diversity at this time was not to be satisfied by seeking the lowest common denominator in common schools but by choosing among specialized private schools. Upper-class parents used the common schools because they were the only reliable schools for most of the decade. The users were able to influence the common schools so that the quality of teaching and curriculum were comparable to upper-class private elementary schools. However satisfactory the common schools were, upper-class parents never regarded them as more than a choice. When new private schools opened which suited their purposes, they were ready to patronize them.

Lower-class parents showed they would patronize schools during Lempfrit's stay in Victoria but they either were unable to or did not use Victoria District until Cridge encouraged their participation after 1856. They do not appear to have used Demers's school as his clientele was upper-class. Many lower-class parents sent their daughters to the St. Ann convent school from its beginning in June 1858. By March 1859, girls were attending Victoria District but a Colonist report in January 1860 showed only two enrolled with 38 boys.[125]

Indian parents in the Victoria area did not have a choice of schooling. The Roman Catholics who came to Victoria, successively Lempfrit, Demers, and the Sisters of St. Ann, expected to teach Indians but soon found their pedagogical efforts focused on mixed-bloods and whites. James Douglas wanted to provide schooling for Indians so they could become useful members of the new society. He corresponded with the home government about establishing permanent Indian settlements and securing Church of England missionaries.

> I regret that the Missionary Societies of Britain, who are sending teachers to so many other parts of the world, have not turned their attention to the natives of Vancouver's Island; as by the aid of those Societies Schools might be established for the moral training and instruction of the Aborigines to the manifest advantage of the Colony.[126]

Douglas marked out reserves with the intention that part of each would be used for settlement and part would be leased out to generate income for the Indians. He planned that the income would be used to build the Indians houses, churches, and schools, and to provide them with teachers and ministers.[127] The Vancouver Island legislators endorsed Douglas's plan. When they discussed the relocation of the Songhees from Victoria, one of the benefits the Songhees were expected to derive from the move was better education.[128] However, no schools were built on reserves before 1859.

Notes

[1]I am indebted to the following histories for information on the local context of the changing configuration of schools in the Victoria area: Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Vancouver: Macmillan of Canada, 1971); W. Peter Ward and Robert A. J. McDonald, eds., British Columbia: Historical Readings (Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1981).

[2]Ormsby, British Columbia, p. 96.

[3]Mary Margaret Down, S.S.A., A Century of Service: A History of the Sisters of Saint Ann and Their Contribution to Education in British Columbia, the Yukon and Alaska (Victoria: Sisters of Saint Ann, 1966), p. 23.

[4]Lempfrit to Ricard, September 14, 1849; Lempfrit to Ricard, November 1, 1849; Lempfrit to Grey Nuns of Montreal, February 9, 1850, cited in Down, Century of Service, pp. 23-24.

[5]Douglas to Hudson's Bay Company, October 27, 1849, cited in Hartwell Bowsfield, ed., Fort Victoria Letters, 1849-1851 (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1979), pp. 54-69.

[6]John Webster Grant, Moon of Wintertime (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 125.

[7]Similar arrangements had been in effect at Red River and at Fort Vancouver. See F. Henry Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia (Vancouver: U.B.C. Publication Centre, 1964), p. 16.

[8]G. Hollis Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines: Pioneer Priest, Pedagogue and Political Agitator," British Columbia Historical Quarterly 14, no. 4 (October 1950): 188-194.

[9]Douglas to Finlayson, April 11, 1849, cited in Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 147.

[10]Work to Ermatinger, January 10, 1846, cited in Paul Chrisler Phillips, ed., Frontier Omnibus (Missoula, Mont.: Montana State University Press, 1962), p. 39.

[11]Douglas to Hudson's Bay Company, October 27, 1849, cited in Bowsfield, Fort Victoria Letters, pp. 54-69.

[12]James Robert Anderson, "Schooldays in Fort Victoria," in Reginald Eyre Watters, ed., British Columbia: A Centennial Anthology, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1958), p. 497.

[13]Staines to Hudson's Bay Company, March 7, 1848, cited in Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 193.

[14]Anderson, "Schooldays," p. 499.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid., pp. 500-502, 498; Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed., The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975), p. 120.

[17]Anderson, "Schooldays," p. 497; Douglas to Anderson, October 28, 1850, cited in Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 201.

[18]Roderick Finlayson, "History of Vancouver Island on the Northwest Coast," MS, Bancroft Library of the University of California, TS, Provincial Archives of British Columbia (hereafter PABC) A/B/30/F49.1

[19]Staines objected to paying for land on Vancouver Island because settlers in the American Northwest did not have to pay for their homesteads. He paid for his 46 acre farm near Mount Tolmie but not his 400 acre farm in Metchosin. Staines developed the Metchosin property into a pig farm which was employing four people at the time of his death. See Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 205-206.

[20]Douglas to Barclay, May 2, 1853, cited in Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 213.

[21]Petition to Western Board of Management, Hudson's Bay Company, January 1854, cited in Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 217.

[22]Douglas to Barclay, May 3, 1853, cited in Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 213.

[23]Douglas to Barclay, May 2, 1853, cited in Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 212-213.

[24]Barclay to Douglas, August 26, 1853, cited in Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 214.

[25]Douglas and Work to Staines, February 1, 1854, cited in Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 216.

[26]Slater, "Rev. Robert John Staines," 231.

[27]Ormsby, British Columbia, pp. 131, 76.

[28]These farms were later known as Viewfield, Constance Cove, Craigflower, and Colwood. The gentleman bailiffs were Donald Macaulay, Thomas J. Skinner, Kenneth McKenzie, and Captain Edward Langford.

[29]Barclay to Blanshard, January 1, 1851, PABC GR 332, vol. 1, pp. 303-305.

[30]During Blanshard's term of office, the number of settlers increased from one to about fifteen. If the settlers had grievances with Douglas, they had to express them through Governor Blanshard.

[31]Ormsby, British Columbia, pp. 105, 115-116, 119.

[32]Douglas to Barclay, October 8, 1851, cited in Bowsfield, Fort Victoria Letters, pp. 222-223.

[33]Douglas to Barclay, May 8, 1852, PABC A/C/20/Vi2.

[34]Douglas believed that allowing labourers and Indians free access to liquor would dissipate them and hinder the progress of the colony. See Ormsby, British Columbia, p. 117.

[35]Vancouver Island, Council Minutes, March 29, 1853, in James E. Hendrickson, Journals of the Council, Executive Council and Legislative Council of Vancouver Island, 1851-1866, Vol. I of James E. Hendrickson, ed., Journals of the Colonial Legislatures of the Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1851-1871 (Victoria: PABC, 1980), p. 9.

[36]Smith, Reminiscences, pp. 149-150; Ormsby, British Columbia, pp. 117-118.

[37]The Victoria District School was also known as the Victoria Colonial School. I have used one name only in the text to avoid confusion.

[38]Vancouver Island, Executive Council Minutes, March 31, 1853, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. I, p. 9.

[39]Douglas to Barclay, May 8, 1852, PABC A/C/20/Vi2.

[40]Vancouver Island, Council Minutes, December 2, 1853, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. I, p. 12.

[41]W. Kaye Lamb, ed., "The Census of Vancouver Island, 1855," British Columbia Historical Quarterly 4 (1940): 53.

[42]Vancouver Island, Council Minutes, December 2, 1853, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. I, p. 13.

[43]"On Saturday last McKenzie's schoolmaster Clark had an examination of his pupils, to which Circulars inviting attendance had been sent to everyone. . . . Barr, who never before thought of an examination of the kind for his pupils, when he saw how the affair went off . . . applied to Mr. Cridge to announce that an examination of his pupils would take place next Saturday and inviting all the present Company to attend." Work to Tolmie, July 30, 1855, PABC A/C/40/W89A.

[44]Kenneth McKenzie named the settlement at Maple Point Craig Flower after a farm in England owned by his friend, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, Andrew Colvile. The school is referred to in this text as Craigflower, as that is the name by which it is now commonly known.

[45]The British North Advertiser, 12 June 1852, page unknown, PABC Kenneth McKenzie Collection, Add. MSS 320, Folder A/E/M19.1.

[46]The Vancouver Daily Province, 11 March 1950, p. 9.

[47]Douglas to Barclay, September 3, 1853, PABC A/C/20/Vi2.

[48]Colvile to McKenzie, January 13, 1855, January 20, 1855, PABC A/E/M19/C72.

[49]Alice Russell Michael, "The Founding and Building Up of Craigflower," TS, PABC E/E/M58; Margaret Alice Beckwith, The Craigflower Schoolhouse (Victoria: Board of Trustees of the Old Craigflower Schoolhouse, 1958), p. 3.

[50]Robert Melrose, "Diary," August 21, 1854, PABC E/B/M49.1; Ormsby, British Columbia, p. 115.

[51]Beckwith, Craigflower Schoolhouse, p. 1.

[52]The Craigflower School 1855-1955, Victoria, 1955. Booklet.

[53]Lamb, "Census," p. 53.

[54]Vancouver Island Council Minutes, March 29, 1853, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. I, p. 9.

[55]Work to Ermatinger, March 14, 1853, PABC A/C/40/W89A.

[56]Ormsby, British Columbia, pp. 103, 113.

[57]Douglas to Barclay, March 18, 1852, PABC A/C/20/Vi2.

[58]Douglas to Barclay, December 8, 1852, PABC A/C/20/Vi2.

[59]Colvile to Cridge, August 12, 1854, PABC A/C/20/Vi8.

[60]Cridge graduated from St. Peter's College, Cambridge with a B.A. and went on to pass his theological exam there. After being ordained, he held positions in churches in Norfolk and London. He also taught in grammar schools in Northampton and London. See Edgar Fawcett, "Reminisces of Bishop Cridge," TS, PABC Add. MSS. 1055.

[61]Vancouver Island, Council Minutes, February 27, 1856, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. I, pp. 16-17.

[62]James Douglas established a common school in Nanaimo in 1853.

[63]Cridge to Douglas, November 30, 1856, Report of the Colonial Schools, PABC F395/1.

[64]Ibid.; The Victoria Gazette, 6 August 1858, p. 2.

[65]Edward Cridge, "Diary," September 6, 1854, TS, PABC Add. MSS. 320, Vol. 6.

[66]Public Schools Committee of the Vancouver Island House of Assembly, Proclamation, December 15, 1857, PABC C/AA/30.8.

[67]The Victoria Gazette, 6 August 1858, p. 2.

[68]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly Minutes, December 4, 1851, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. II, p. 33.

[69]Cridge to Douglas, November 30, 1856, Report.

[70]Kenneth McKenzie sent his daughter to board at Mrs. Cridge's parsonage school in Victoria. See Cridge to McKenzie, February 24, 1851, PABC Add. MSS. 320/Folder 7/E/B/Sch 1.

[71]In the early nineteenth century, non-conformists in England led by Joseph Lancaster pioneered the use of monitors for instruction which made the establishment of schools with limited means possible. To combat the success of the non-conformist idea, the Church of England founded a National Society to aid in the establishing of monitorial schools promoting traditional doctrine. In 1839, the National Society, recognizing the inefficiency of the monitorial system, organized a college to train teachers. The subjects the students were prepared to teach were Scriptures, catechism, church history, reading, English grammar and composition, penmanship, arithmetic, mechanics, geography, history, euclid, algebra, higher mathematics, physical science, drawing, and vocal music. Irish National textbooks were used on Vancouver Island because the English National system did not publish standard textbooks. See Mary Sturt, The Education of the People (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), pp. 27-29, 64-66; "The Official Syllabus for Training College Students, 1854," in P.H.J.H. Gosden, comp., How They Were Taught (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), pp. 195-200; "Organizing an Elementary School," in Anne Digby and Peter Searby, Society in Nineteenth-Century England (London: The Macmillan Press, 1981), pp. 155-158.

[72]The Victoria Gazette, 4 August, 1858, p. 2.

[73]The term "upper class" in this chapter refers to the managerial class, that is, Company officers and landowners. "Lower class" refers to the labouring class. There was no significant middle class during this period because the Hudson's Bay Company controlled trade.

[74]Cridge to Douglas, November 30, 1856, Report.

[75]Douglas to Barclay, March 18, 1852, PABC A/C/20/Vi2.

[76]Cridge to Douglas, November 30, 1856, Report. Cridge stated that girls of the non-labouring class had been attending the school.

[77]Cridge to Douglas, April 17, 1855, PABC Add. MSS. 320, Vol. 2, Folder 1.

[78]Edward Cridge, February 26, 1856, Notice, PABC Add. MSS. 320/Folder 7/E/B/Sch 1.

[79]Cridge to Douglas, April 17, 1855, PABC H/A/C865; Cridge, February 26, 1856, Notice.

[80]Cridge to Douglas, November 30, 1856, Report.

[81]Souvenir Booklet, The First Diocesan Congress at Victoria, B.C., June 5, 1938 (no publisher given). Archives of the Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria, B.C. This archives will hereafter be cited as ASSA-V.

[82]Down, A Century of Service, p. 19.

[83]Ibid., p. 32.

[84]A. J. Langley, A Glance at British Columbia and Vancouver's Island in 1861 (London: Robert Hardwicke, 1862), p. 36.

[85]Douglas to Laboucherre, May 8, 1858, in British Parliamentary Papers, Correspondence and Papers Relating to Canada 1854-58 (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1970) 21: 425.

[86]Langley, A Glance, p. 36.

[87]Van Nevel to Theodore, November 1, 1913, ASSA-V MSS. 30; The British Colonist, 16 April 1859, p. 2.

[88]Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper (London: R. Clay, 1860), p. 14.

[89]Down, A Century of Service, pp. 35-36.

[90]"Centenary Advent," Saint Ann's Journal 38, no. 1 (January 1949): 4.

[91]The 1858 register shows Emilie Morrell came to the school on June 21, 1858. See St. Ann's Convent School, Victoria, B.C., Register 1858-1923, ASSA-V Add. MSS. 9, Vol. 1.

[92]Bishop Demers, First Prospectus of the School of the Sisters of St. Ann, December 2, 1858, ASSA-V Add. MSS. 9, Vol. 1.

[93]Marechal to Bourget, November 4, 1857, cited in Marie Anne Eva, S.S.A., trans., and Marie-Jean de Pathmos, S.S.A., A History of the Sisters of Saint Anne (New York: Vantage Press, 1961), p. 137.

[94]Down, Century of Service, p. 39.

[95]Ibid., p. 35.

[96]Lumena to her parents, December 8, 1858, cited in Down, Century of Service, p. 37; St. Ann's Register, 1858-1923.

[97]"Centenary Advent," Saint Ann's Journal, 4; Cecilia Navarro, St. Ann's (Victoria: British Columbia Provincial Museum Educational Services, 1972).

[98]Lumena to novices at Sisters of St. Ann, St. Jacques, Quebec, July 19, 1858, cited in Pathmos, History, p. 139.

[99]Down, Century of Service, p. 37.

[100]Pathmos, History, p. 140; Lumena to her parents, December 8, 1858, cited in Down, Century of Service, p. 37; St. Ann's Convent School, Victoria, B.C., Register 1858-1923.

[101]The 1858 register shows the Douglas sisters enrolled November 29, 1858.

[102]Demers, First Prospectus, December 2, 1858.

[103]St. Ann's Convent School, Victoria, B.C., Register 1858-1923.

[104]Douglas to Mother Superior, March 17, 1859, cited in Down, Century of Service, p. 38.

[105]N. de Bertrand Lugrin, The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island, 1843-1866 (Victoria: The Women's Canadian Club of Victoria, 1928), pp. 88-89. The St. Ann register shows the Douglas sisters left the school January 7, 1859.

[106]Down, Century of Service, p. 27.

[107]See Leonard I. Sweet, "The Female Seminary Movement and Women's Mission in Antebellum America," Church History 54, no. 1 (March 1985): 41-55.

[108]Down, Century of Service, p. 27.

[109]Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, B.C., Parish Record, February, 1859, p. 47, PABC Add. MSS. 520, Vol. 1, Folder 4.

[110]Petibeau taught the girls in Jessop's Central School from September to December 1862. Her own school still had 36 pupils in June 1876, many of whom were children of former pupils. See The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 23 June 1876, p. 3.

[111]Edgar Fawcett Papers, PABC Add. MSS. 1962/Box 2/File 6.

[112]The Victoria Gazette, 19 August 1858, p. 2.

[113]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, August 17, 1858, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. II, pp. 50-51.

[114]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, September 17, 1858, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. II, pp. 53-54.

[115]Ibid.

[116]The Victoria Gazette, 13 January 1859, p. 2.

[117]Ibid.; The British Colonist, 23 May, 1859, p. 3.

[118]Edward Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 79, TS, PABC Add. MSS. 470.

[119]Ormsby, British Columbia, pp. 147, 159, 161-162.

[120]Ibid., p. 152. Ormsby shows Douglas understood the rate of immigration was such that the trade monopoly of the Hudson's Bay Company could not be maintained.

[121]Returns of all Appointments, Civil, Military, and Ecclesiastical, made and authorized by the Home Government, to the Colony of British Columbia . . ., March 18, 1859, in British Parliamentary Papers 22, pp. 103-105.

[122]The Craigflower settlers were recruited from the Lotharian District in Scotland. See Brian Charles Coyle, "The Puget Sound Agricultural Company on Vancouver Island: 1847-1857" (M.A. thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1977), pp. 88-89.

[123]Colvile to McKenzie, January 13, 1854, PABC A/E/M19/C72.

[124]Cridge, "Diary," June 1, 1858.

[125]The British Colonist, 21 January 1860, p. 3.

[126]Douglas to Gray, October 31, 1851, PABC GR 332/Vol. 1/376-381).

[127]Vancouver Island, Council Minutes, June 9, 1856, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. I, p. 18.

[128]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, February 8, 1859, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. II, pp. 71-72.

CHAPTER III

1858-1865

Though British Columbia was a separate colony from Vancouver Island, its political life was closely entwined with that of Vancouver Island. Much to the annoyance of the residents of the newly laid out capital of New Westminster, Victoria remained the focus of activity for the two colonies. Douglas, who was the governor of both colonies, continued to reside in Victoria. Most of the civil servants appointed by London for British Columbia settled in Victoria. Douglas and the colonial officers ran the business of the mainland as well as of the island from the "overgrown Swiss cottages" on the Victoria harbour.[1]

Victoria also became the centre of operations for the Church of England in the far West though the character of the Church's involvement changed with the end of the authority of the Hudson's Bay Company. Cridge was hired by the Company and colony and paid by them jointly to provide the services of the Church to servants and settlers.[2] In England during this period, the tradition-bound Church was being rejuvenated by the growth of an evangelical, social, mission movement. When the gold rush brought the expansion of the far West to the attention of the Church, Vancouver Island was declared a diocese.[3] This new diocese was considered as much a mission field as a settled Church. Its first bishop, Rev. George Hills, M.A., toured England gathering funds and workers. With the help of such friends as the fabulously wealthy Baroness Angela Burdett-Coutts, Hills was able to establish a lucrative Columbia Mission Fund and to secure the

clergymen needed to found counterparts to the Roman Catholic churches and schools in Victoria and beyond.[4] His appointment and those of two missionaries were included on the government civil list.[5] When Hills arrived in Victoria, however, he found public opinion hostile to the fact that a state church already existed on Vancouver Island through provision of land reserves and buildings for the Church.[6] He declined the assistance of the colonial government and henceforth all salaries and management expenses were borne independently, though the Church retained 30 acres of land on Church Hill in Victoria.[7]

The coming of the civil servants and the Church of England clergyman to Victoria intensified social differences in the area. Previously, the few real gentlemen who lived in Victoria found much of their social life with ship's officers coming in and out of Esquimalt. After 1859, there were enough highly educated British in the area to establish a tangible upper class based on strict convention as well as on income. The newly pronounced differences between classes showed strongly in provision for schooling. The colonial civil servants considered public schooling "poor man's schooling." The clergymen could not accept the necessity of non-sectarianism in common schooling. Traditional private schools flourished while the common school system established by Douglas barely survived through to Confederation.[8]

The first new Anglican school was inaugurated independently of Bishop Hills. Rev. Alexander C. Garrett, B.A., came to Victoria in response to the bishop's call for helpers in the colony. When he arrived with his wife and two children in April 1860, he found his services as a clergyman were not required. Garrett founded a boarding

schooling for boys as a means of employment.[9] Eleven boys attended Garrett's Collegiate School until in July, the Colonist newspaper, acting on information received from the family, publicized an alleged case of harsh treatment of a boarding student.[10] The five year old son of Widow Dodd had been in the school only one week when his sister discovered that he had been flogged, confined to his room, and not given meals. His family withdrew him from the school and the Colonist called for an investigation. When Dr. Tolmie called the report of his injuries exaggerated and Dr. Helmcken advised the mother to whip the boy and send him back, the Colonist accused Rev. Cridge of conspiring to hush the matter up.[11] Bishop Hills, when he returned from touring British Columbia, announced his intention of opening a boys' collegiate and a ladies' school under the control of the diocese and Rev.Garrett's school closed.

The bishop's schools were designed to please parents who would have objected to being in a colony in which English grammar schooling was not available.

> The want of a school, conducted on the principles of a superior English Grammar School, has long been felt by residents along the shores of the Pacific. . . . On the basis of sound Scriptural Instruction in accordance with the views of the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of America, will be raised a superstructure of Secular Education, calculated to fit the rising generation, as well for commercial and professional pursuits, as for the Universities.[12]

The curriculum offered was ambitious. It included religious instruction, a thorough English education, arithmetic, mathematics, bookkeeping, French, German, Spanish, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, elements of natural philosophy, landscape, figure and line drawing, and the

principles of architecture and design.[13] Fees were $5 per month for seven to 12 year olds, $6 per month for 12 to 16 year olds, and $8 per month for pupils over 16 years of age. The school year was ten months long.

Since the bishop's aim was to "plant here a germ of sound Religious learning, which might hereafter be the great Northern University of these Western regions; and which might send forth Missionaries onwards to lighten even China itself," it is not surprising that the school was dominated by clergymen.[15] The headmaster and principal teacher was Rev. Charles T. Woods, M.A., Oxon., who came to Victoria with his wife and three children as a missionary under Hills. Woods was a respected teacher, having supported his family in England coaching young men for university.[16] Much was expected of him in exchange for his 600 pounds a year and residence.[17] Since the school was held in the Congregational Church building which had no facilities for boarding, Woods opened a boarding school in his home on Vancouver Street, at which pupils could live and receive coaching while attending the Collegiate.[18] On Sundays, he travelled to Craigflower and Esquimalt to hold services.[19] The second master of the Collegiate school was Rev. Octavius Glover, M.A., who had distinguished himself at Cambridge in mathematics and Hebrew. Glover, a bachelor with independent means, offered his services for a short term free of charge.[20] He was extremely capable intellectually but relatively ineffective pedagogically. When he gave instruction to female classes, he shyly kept his eyes averted to the blackboard and

when he taught boys, he did not assert control over them.[21] Glover was also given Sunday clerical duties.[22]

The third master of the Collegiate School was Edward Mallandaine. Mallandaine was the son of a British career civil servant who held important posts in India and Singapore. He was educated in Paris and articled as an architect in London.[23] Though his previous teaching experience consisted of teaching Sunday School in England, Mallandaine supported himself after coming to Victoria assisting Dr. Silversmith with his school. When Dr. Silversmith got the idea that the two men could profit from publishing a Victoria directory, he went to San Francisco to sell advertising. Mallandaine bought Silversmith's school for $250, $40 of which was for books and apparatus.[24] He moved the school to Broad Street where he laid out another $27 to equip the playground with gymnastic apparatus and the schoolroom with proper furniture. Mallandaine offered both an elementary and advanced curriculum, professing himself ready to teach penmanship, declamation, arithmetic, French, English and French composition and grammar, English and American history, geography, euclid, natural philosophy, chemistry, and drawing. The pupils would be divided into classes according to their state of advancement and they could attend either during the day or at night. The fees were $10 per quarter or $4 per month. Private lessons in drawing, mensuration, elementary algebra, or architecture and design cost another $1.50 per month.[25]

Mallandaine's select school lasted approximately six months. He took over the school in January 1860 and hurried to advertise it because he had heard that Bishop Hills planned to open a boys'

collegiate. His day school attracted about 30 scholars, of whom a third were girls. Many of the scholars were Jews, who would not go to the Roman Catholic schools because these schools insisted on religious instruction. Though he was an Anglican, Mallandaine carried on Silversmith's non-sectarian policy. The Roman Catholic schools created problems for Mallandaine, however, because their low fees, which were made possible by funds coming in from Quebec and France, made it difficult for him to earn a living. He needed at least $3 per child to make a profit. The Catholics were charging $2. Mallandaine's night school kept his enterprise afloat. While not many children and adults in Victoria who had to work during the day showed interest in upgrading their schooling in the evening, the night school produced enough revenue to make Mallandaine think his school could survive.[26] The founders of the collegiate school had other plans, however. They approached Mallandaine with an offer of $1,000 a year to teach half time at the collegiate school and half time at the Indian school they were starting at the Songhees reserve. They would also give him $1 a month for every boy he brought with him into their school.[27] Mallandaine closed his school and, in September, began teaching languages and commercial subjects at the new collegiate.

Seventeen boys followed Mallandaine into the new collegiate. Most were Jews who were attracted by Rev. Glover's facility in their ancient language, and some were Roman Catholics.[28] The Roman Catholic boys' school suffered another closure around this time as the clerics Demers brought from Quebec quit the colony in discouragement.[29] The Anglican collegiate opened with 35 students.[30] By February, there were 46.

Woods described the composition of the student body in a letter to Garrett as sons of English parents who had received some education at home, sons of English parents born in British North America, American boys who were interesting in many ways, Jews who had some difficulties but who were encouraging, Germans who were not many in number but who were nice lads, and two "coloured" lads.[31] The English boys included sons of clergy, who attended free. Family names previously associated with the Victoria District School now found in connection with the collegiate were Anderson, Elford, Fawcett, Tolmie, and Work.[32]

Bishop Hills also opened a collegiate for young ladies in September 1860. He had a clear idea of the clientele he hoped to attract.[33] The bishop expressed concern that the only schooling available for upper-class girls was through the St. Ann convent.[34] He was appalled that Anglican parents were sending their children to Roman Catholic schools.

> The only way of meeting them is by a Female College, or Upper School, for the daughters of merchants and professional people. . . . The whole question of Female agency in the Mission is most important, in order to prevent the sapping of the very lifeblood of the future population with unsound religion and infidelity.[35]

Hills acquainted Angela Burdett-Coutts in England with his plans for the school.

> I hope to see it recognized as a blessing, not merely for these colonies, but for the many British subjects living all along the Pacific coast. We shall have children from California, Mexico, the Sandwich Islands, where English parents desire for their children English habits, feeling, refinement, and, above all, the pure and sober and evangelical religion of England's Church.[36]

The bishop rented Chief Justice Cameron's old house on Rae Street for the school and advertised for both day and boarding students.[37]

The first prospectus of the Ladies' College stated that the object of the school was to "provide careful religious training, in combination with a solid English Education, and the usual accomplishments."[38] Thus for $5 a month for under ten year olds, $6 a month for ten to 15 year olds, and $10 a month for over 15s, the pupils could receive instruction in English, grammar, geography, ancient and modern history, arithmetic, mathematics, natural philosophy, Latin, domestic economy, needlework, and so on. Instruction in French, German, Spanish, Italian, music and singing, and drawing and painting were $2 a month each extra.[39]

In the first year, the Ladies' College had a staff of four teachers. The school opened under the temporary principalship of Mrs. Lowe, wife of Rev. R. L. Lowe who had come to Victoria with the Garretts.[40] Within weeks, Mrs. Woods, wife of the principal of the Boys' Collegiate, took over. Sophia Cracroft described Mrs. Woods in early 1861 as "a bright, intellectual looking person, . . . accomplished as well as highly educated . . . [and] fully capable of the task she has undertaken."[41] She was assisted by Catherine and Anna Penrice, two elderly sisters who had served the poor under Hills in his parish in Yarmouth, England, and who had been sponsored by Angela Burdett-Coutts to follow Hills to Victoria. The Penrices told Cracroft that the poor class did not exist in Victoria so the bishop put them in the school. While they felt unqualified to teach school, they knew Mrs. Woods needed their help. Cracroft implied that the fact they were gentlewomen justified their placement when she commented in her diary that "they [were] doing an excellent work in training, no

less than in direct teaching."[42] The fourth teacher was Glover from the Boys' Collegiate who, the Douglas sisters said, kept his face toward the blackboard on which he illustrated his lectures in advanced subjects rather than look at the girls.[43]

The ages of some of the pupils were fairly advanced. The oldest Douglas daughter was 30 years old and had been engaged to be married for two years. The school opened with 21 pupils, a number that grew to 30 in the new year.[44] Though some came long distances to attend classes, they were all from the colony.[45] Almost half of the students were blacks. In 1860, the colony's schools were affected by Americans who threatened to withdraw their children if blacks were permitted to attend. Because Bishop Hills ignored this pressure, the Anglican schools did not suffer as the schools that yielded did. The Americans did not withdraw and English, Americans and blacks continued to study together.[46]

A third major educational effort launched by the Anglicans in 1860 was the reserve Indian school. A school for Indians was already being operated by John Hall, a businessman, but students came to his home on Chatham Street in Victoria for instruction. On Sundays, the students aged 12 to 20, were dressed in good clothes for the day, given lessons in religion, reading and writing, and sometimes fed rice and treacle as a reward.[47] Governor Douglas and Bishop Hills were influenced by William Duncan in June 1860 to go to the Indians rather than have the Indians come to them.[48] Rev. Garrett, whose principalship of the Boys' Collegiate had just ended, and Edward Mallandaine were placed in charge of the school. Garrett had brought a large bell tent with him

from England and this, improved by a floor and school desks built by two carpenters from a British ship anchored at Esquimalt, served as the premises.[49]

Garrett seemed to find his niche in his life with the Indians. He wrote in his memoirs that he developed a sympathy for them after some Indians were flogged and imprisoned for shooting a hole through a British flag. The incident made him realize that "they were being managed by 2,000 strangers who did nothing for their welfare."[50] The Garrett family moved onto the reserve. Garrett taught in the school, visited the sick, prepared lessons and sermons, watched legislative and judicial matters which might affect the Indians, and visited Indians in out-districts. On Sundays, he held services in the Indian school, and at Cedar Plains on the outskirts of Victoria, and preached at Christ Church in the evening.[51]

Garrett appears to have had many helpers at the reserve school. Mallandaine taught catechism until Christmas after which he worked at the Collegiate school full time. Mrs. Macdonald and her party, probably from the same church Dorcas Society that provided clothes for the students, assisted regularly. Anna Penrice came three times a week to spend two hours teaching the Indian women and children to work.[52]

The Indians do not appear to have objected strongly to the school. By December 1860, 250 boys and girls had spent some time in the school and average attendance was around 50 on weekdays and 150 on Sundays.[53] One hundred fifty students, representing at least three tribes, attended the December school exam.[54] Attendance was very irregular. Since their occupations were seasonal, the Indians

constantly moved in and out of the Victoria area.[55] Formal schooling was accepted when the circumstances were right but was not a high priority. Garrett complained the Indian students needed little excuse to stay away. However, his complaint that the students chose to attend their annual boat races rather than school seems somewhat unreasonable, even by nineteenth century standards.[56]

When they were in attendance, the students showed a willingness to "play the game" and an unmistakable ability to quickly learn and make use of the white man's curriculum. Garrett wanted to teach trades and occupations to equip the students to earn their living but, because funds were limited, had to be content with teaching religion, reading, writing, and needlework. Since the pupils spoke as many as five different languages, instruction was in Chinook.[57] School visitors were struck by how quickly the children learned. The bishop wrote Angela Burdett-Coutts about a nine year old girl who learned to repeat, recognize and write the English vowels in less than two hours. He had also seen a boy told to copy the word "pig" comply immediately and add an excellent drawing of that animal.[58] Sophia Cracroft commented that the children read some English, copied with wonderful neatness, and sang with pleasure the English hymns Garrett taught them.[59] The Daily British Colonist reported in 1860 that the students' copybooks showed better work than English children would have produced after a comparable time.[60] The following year, Commander R. C. Mayne wrote that:

> The most advanced class, who have been somewhat longer at school, read in their books, and satisfied the suspicions of the Chief Justice of British Columbia by reading backwards, thus showing they were not crammed like parrots, but that they thoroughly understood what they had learned.[61]

The Indians maintained their counsel as to what they would and would not accept from the Anglican reserve school. That they did not look on the school as being of long-range importance is shown by their disregard of the school facility. One morning, Garrett found the tent portion missing. The Indians could be seen on the horizon, their migration north being assisted by the new canvas sails on their boats. A thousand dollars was raised by the citizens of Victoria to replace the tent with a tent-shaped permanent building.[62] Indians continued to come for instruction but they did not leave their traditional training at the door. Children were seated in groups and the Hydahs and Songhees who were hostile to each other kept strictly apart.[63] While the teachers observed that their students absorbed instruction easily, they also noticed that the students viewed the instruction critically, weighing teaching about natural phenomena such as moon phases and tides against their own and deciding which one to believe.[64] The teachers were disturbed that the students generally were untouched by the religious instruction. They blamed the lack of spiritual result on the nearness of the town. "Heathen vices are intensified by the evil influence of wicked Christians by whom drunkenness and disease have been introduced to a terrible extent."[65] In late 1862, school attendance decreased. The Indian mission reported that the Victoria Indian population was decimated by disease, industrious boys and girls could easily find employment, the lazy boys came to school and the lazy girls over ten years old were prostitutes.[66] Still, Indians continued to patronize the Anglican reserve school until the Anglicans gave it up in 1868.[67]

Though the Anglicans expressed contempt for the style of "caring for the flock" of the Romanists, they were strongly influenced by Romanist momentum in education. Sophia Cracroft was told that the Catholics did nothing more for Indians than to baptize them, give them a crucifix to wear, and tell them they were to believe what the priests told them.[68] Their European congregation was taken for granted. Hills rejoiced in letters home in the spring of 1860, however, that he had come to Vancouver Island before the efforts of the sole representative of the Church, Rev. Cridge, had been eclipsed by the activities of Romanists and sects. As he laboured to establish Anglican schools in the colony, Hills showed a constant awareness of the progress of the Catholic schools. The Anglican anxieties were well founded as these schools took root in the early 1860s.

The staff at the St. Ann's convent school was bolstered in 1859 with the arrival of a new mother superior, Mary Providence, and sister, Mary Bonsecours. These two women of different backgrounds represented the two different directions Catholic female schooling would take in the colony. Mary Providence, a member of a wealthy Irish family whose reversal in fortunes brought them to Montreal to make a fresh start, had received an advanced education from governesses, tutors, and a finishing school. Appointed mother superior at the unusual age for St. Ann administrators of 22 years and serving in that position for decades, she had the ability and time to develop upper-class schooling.[69] Mary Bonsecours, who joined the order in Quebec at the unusually young age of 14 years because she wanted to wear the sisters' frilly cap, was content to serve orphans, natives, mixed-bloods, and

the sick.[70] After the coming of these two sisters, the schooling provided by their order divided into elite and non-elite streams.

Because the log cabin school was overcrowded, premises for a new school were rented on Broad Street next to the Driard Hotel for $20 a month.[71] Every Monday, Mary Providence and Mary Lumena moved to Broad Street and every Friday returned to the log cabin.[72] The school in the log cabin still taught Indians, mixed-bloods, orphans, and little boys.[73] The school on Broad Street was called the Select School and catered to students from middle and upper-class families. After the American parents threatened to withdraw their children if blacks were mixed with whites, the Select School was broken into two departments, the one for the whites called the Select School and the one for the blacks called the Free School.[74] The black parents, realizing that their children were being deliberately separated, tried to get them into the Select branch. Bishop Demers was willing but Mary Providence ruled in favour of her white clientele. The Free School was discontinued when the black parents withdrew their children.[75]

The charitable works of the Sisters of St. Ann gained them widespread respect and support in Victoria. Their segregation of the unfortunate appears to have been accepted by the white community as normal. The log cabin school operated for four years. In 1863, eight more sisters came to Victoria from the motherhouse in Quebec.[76] A new boarding school to which the sisters could send the Indians was opened in Cowichan. The log cabin served as a pre-school for young boys until it was closed in November 1864.[77]

Under Mary Providence, the convent school for whites developed a curriculum comparable to that of the Anglican ladies' college and at considerably lower cost to the pupils. In 1863, for instruction in orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and the use of globes, Grecian, American and English history, botany, natural philosophy, composition, French, plain and fancy needlework, and religion, day scholars paid $9 to $14 a quarter, depending on their state of advancement. Music was a further $18 a quarter, drawing $6, and painting $9. Boarders, who were kept completely separated from day scholars, paid $60 a quarter for board and tuition and a further $9 to have their laundry done. In addition, all the scholars had to have a specified uniform ready for use on Sundays and feast days.[78]

The lives of the boarders of St. Ann's were regulated closely according to the Rule for Pupils written by Mary Providence.[79] The recollection of one student, that she was slipped a note by a young man during a parlour visit but was unable to escape the scrutiny of the sisters long enough to read it until several days later, when the other girls surrounded her for a moment, becomes understandable on reading the Rule.[80] It strongly resembles the rule by which cloistered Roman Catholic nuns regulated themselves until the relaxing of tradition after Vatican II in the 1960s.[81] Boarders were to keep their thoughts on God as they rose and dressed at 5:15 in the morning. They were to spend a half hour in prayer before Mass at 6:15. The Rule stated that if they did not behave properly, they would draw the curse of God. Breakfast at seven was to be taken in silent meditation of the sins of gluttony and sensuality, the many children who were going

hungry, and of the gracious provision from God they were enjoying. After breakfast, they could converse for 15 minutes after which they were to spend a half hour diligently studying in silence lessons necessary to their salvation and sanctification. Then they went to morning class where they were to maintain a prayerful attitude, keep silent, and not resent correction. At 11:15, the pupils stopped to examine their consciences, repent, pray, and listen to the teacher read a pious book or give a reflective talk. Lunch was also a spiritual exercise. The pupils were to proceed to the meal at 11:30 in silence and pray to combat the sensual aspects of eating. They were to eat in silence, looking straight ahead, listening to a lecture to feed the soul given by a teacher. After the meal, two pupils would read Scriptures and, when the bell struck 12, the Angelus, the Gloria Patri and other prayers would be recited. After dinner, the students had a half hour recreation under the supervision of a teacher during which they were allowed to indulge in edifying modest conversation in English. They were not to seek privacy but always to remain in groups of no less than three people. At 12:30, they were to proceed to another vital part of their education: work duties. Work was to be accepted as an inescapable part of their earthly condition and as a penance. Plain work was to be preferred to fancy work. The afternoon routine began with religious instruction except on Thursdays when parlour visits were allowed. Since parlour visits might include frivolous conversations which distract pupils from their mind of prayer, the pupils had to have permission to go to the parlour and they were to approach the parlour with fear rather than happy anticipation.

In the parlour they were to be modest, pious, and happy so their parents would be pleased. All communications with the outside world were strictly censored. All messages and letters were written by permission and read by the directress before being sealed. Pupils were forbidden to speak of what took place in the convent, or of their companions or teachers. At 1:30, after religious instruction or parlour visits, depending on the day, afternoon lessons were held under the same regimen as morning lessons. At 3:00, there was a half hour break during which students could converse or eat a lunch in the refectory in silence. At 3:30, the students were to renew their souls after the combats and temptations of the day with a visit to the Holy Sacrament and the Blessed Virgin in the chapel. After another spiritual lecture, they were to occupy themselves with preparing lessons, doing useful work, and learning English until the afternoon ended at 5:00 with a group recital of the beads.[82]

At one point, parents so strongly opposed the strict Roman Catholic regimen that the sisters considered dropping it. Overworked and discouraged, the sisters took the advice of Bishop Demers and applied to quit Victoria altogether.[83] The motherhouse, on the advice of Demers who had changed his mind, encouraged them to stay. They carried on and their school prospered. The Daily British Colonist called it the most numerously attended school in the colony.[84] During the 1859/1860 school year, 67 students were enrolled, of whom seven were boarders and three were orphans. Only 32 were Roman Catholics.[85] The following year, an impressive two-storey brick convent was erected on View Street and the number of students rose to

97, with six boarders and three orphans.[86] After an addition to the View Street Convent in 1864, the school registered 142 students, including 39 boarders and 27 orphans. Seventy-six were Roman Catholics. Many of the boarders were Americans from as far away as San Francisco.[87] The school register shows that the majority of students after 1859 were not from prominent Victoria families although a few names like Cameron, Yates, Franklin, Langley, Dunsmuir, and Irving appear. According to the Colonist, school examinations were always enthusiastically attended by friends and relations of the pupils.[88] Governor Kennedy came regularly during his term in the colony with his wife, to present awards and make benevolent speeches beseeching the young women to be thankful for the watchful care bestowed on them by the bishop and sisters.[89]

The development of the St. Ann's school is fairly well documented. Little evidence is available from which to trace the development of the Roman Catholic boys' school. In June 1862, Bishop Demers applied to the Vancouver Island house of assembly for a grant for educational purposes.[90] Though he did not receive it, he advertised in August the opening of a boys' school on Humboldt Street to be taught by Rev. William Mearnes. The school offered an English curriculum for $3 to $5 a month with an additional charge for classical languages.[91] French was free because it was expected that parents desiring this educational opportunity for their children would send them to the school.[92] When the school did not succeed under Mearnes, Demers turned to the Oblate Fathers for help. The Oblates had been based in Esquimalt since 1858, working mainly with the Indian population of Vancouver Island and

British Columbia. Since Victoria was established as the permanent focal point of the colonies by 1863, the Oblates accepted the Victoria school and named it St. Louis College after their superior, Louis D'Herbomez.[93] They erected a slightly smaller brick building than that of the Sisters of St. Ann on Pandora Street, to hold classrooms, boarders, and the Oblate community.[94]

The Pandora Street school now advertised a curriculum including Greek and Latin classics, logic, metaphysics, ethics, astronomy, botany, chemistry, mineralogy, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, arithmetic, writing, bookkeeping, ancient and modern history, geography and the use of globes, French, Spanish, drawing, and vocal and instrumental music. The cost for day scholars was unchanged from that previously advertised, with boarders paying $18 for a year plus $43 for laundry, mending, and bedding.[95] The fact that the teachers, Fathers Baudre and McGuckin, and lay brothers, Edward B. Macstay, P. I. Allen and Alex Gibson, worked without remuneration helped keep costs down.[96]

The Oblates promised they would take in boys belonging to every religious denomination providing they were willing to conform to the general regulations of the College.[97] In an 1865 letter to Governor Kennedy applying for tax exempt status for St. Louis College and St. Ann's Convent, Father Baudre stated that the school was open to children of any creed, colour or class.[98] Bishop Hills noted in his Columbia Mission Report for 1863 that the Anglican Collegiate had lost four boys - two Jews, one Roman Catholic, and one other - to the new school.[99] Baudre claimed to have a student body of over 100, including many religious denominations.

One other sectarian school operated briefly in Victoria in the period from 1859 to 1865. The Methodists were active in the colony but their sympathies appear to have been with common schooling. It was the Presbyterians who opened a school in 1864 in the schoolroom of their church on Pandora Street. There, Rev. Hall and experienced female teachers taught spelling, reading, writing, grammar, geography, vocal music, knitting, and useful needlework to boys and girls for 25 a week for those under six years of age and 50 a week for those six to 12 years old. Instrumental music could be learned for an additional fee.[100]

In addition to the sectarian schools, parents could choose from among numerous private schools in the Victoria area. For girls, there were, besides Madame Petibeau's Seminary, Mrs. Wilson Brown's Church Bank House, Miss Faussette's Ladies' School, and Mrs. Hayward's Fort Street Academy. For boys, there was Mrs. Denny's Preparatory School for Young Gentlemen. Mixed schools were opened by Rev. Clarke, Mrs. Atwood, Mr. Templeton, Mr. F. J. Thompson, Miss Alsop, Miss Fernetell, Miss Lester, and Mr. Jessop.

Mrs. E.V.V. Wilson Brown opened her school for boarding and day students January 5, 1863, shortly after she arrived in Victoria from England.[101] With the help of such assistants as Miss Harebell and Miss Macdonald, she offered a thorough English education which could be supplemented by instruction in modern languages, use of globes, drawing, music, and dancing.[102] The school held regular public examinations at which Wilson Brown's pupils displayed facility in geography, arithmetic, English grammar, ancient, modern and Scriptural

history, the manufactures and products of different countries, and needlework. Wilson Brown's references must have been highly acceptable to parents seeking a gentle education for their daughters as prominent citizens such as Dr. Helmcken, then speaker of the legislative assembly, Allen Francis, United States consul, and Thomas Williams, registrar of the supreme court, enrolled their daughters and gave the school public endorsements.[103] Rev. Cridge regularly conducted the school examinations.[104]

Miss Faussette, also a recent arrival to the colony, established a day school for young ladies and boys aged six to eight years old in September 1863 in her residence on Douglas Street. For $3 to $5 a month, depending on state of advancement, the pupils received instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, French, and singing. Drawing and instrumental music were extra.[105] Thirty-five scholars were present at Miss Faussette's first school examination and their parents were satisfied with the proceedings.[106]

Mrs. Hayward founded the Fort Street Academy during the 1864/1865 school year. She taught basic studies while Miss Macdonald, the same piano teacher who had first assisted Mrs. Wilson Brown, gave instruction in instrumental music. Hayward's first school examination revealed that her 36 students were receiving a thorough grounding, especially in geography, grammar, and English history.[107] The fact that the school had a similar number of pupils to the other private venture ladies' academies suggests that the enrolment of these schools was limited by the extent of their facilities rather than by the size of the demand.

Mrs. Denny, claiming success as a teacher in London, advertised a day school for young gentlemen in February 1863. Boys up to 12 years of age could come to her premises on Kane Street near Douglas to learn reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, English, French, Latin, and dancing. Digby Palmer, a musician who worked part-time at many Victoria schools during this period, would teach singing and music. While the Denny family stayed in Victoria for many decades, the February advertisement is the only record of Mrs. Denny's venture.[108]

Rev. W. F. Clarke's school also lasted only a short time. For $10 for ten weeks, a limited number of boys and girls were promised a thorough English education. The morals of the pupils would be carefully guarded though no denominational tenets would be inculcated. The school opened in February 1860 in the Congregational lecture room.[109] The racial controversy that had affected the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools also affected Clarke's. When he observed his congregation did not care to worship with blacks, Clarke admonished them in a straight forward sermon that he would not allow racial distinctions. The whites responded by leaving the church. When the blacks saw they had been effectively segregated by this action, they followed the whites into the Anglican church. Clarke was left without a congregation. He closed his school and left the colony.[110]

In 1862, Mrs. Atwood began ten years as the mistress of a school for boys and girls in Victoria. She had studied for six years at a London clergy orphan school and articled for three years in preparation for earning her living as a governess. She left her first teaching position to marry and emigrate to Vancouver Island. Atwood started her

school immediately and continued it through the birth of four children. Eventually she was widowed and the school became her sole means of supporting her family.[111]

The year after Mrs. Atwood began her school, Mr. Templeton founded Victoria Academy at Fisgard Street near Government Street. He taught day and evening students reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, history, bookkeeping, mathematics, and classics, while a lady assistant taught sewing, knitting, and music. The fees were $2 to $4 a month depending on proficiency. The school followed the Normal System of Education established under government inspection in Scotland and England.[112] The Daily British Colonist was very impressed with Mr. Templeton's pedagogical ability, reporting that the discipline and teaching, especially in arithmetic, were far above average. However, Mr. Templeton's school quickly faded into obscurity.[113]

This was the case also with Mr. F. J. Thompson's Victoria Commercial School which opened in the fall of 1863. The day school taught reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, correspondence, grammar, composition, geography, ancient and modern history, Latin, French, and drawing for $3 a month and up, according to age and advancement. The school likely was well attended at first because a notice appeared in the newspaper in October advising that the school had moved to larger premises on Quadra Street between Pandora and Fisgard so as to be able to accept more scholars.[114] From that point, nothing more is heard of the school.

Newspaper advertisements and reports yield important information about major schools in nineteenth century Victoria but schools existed

which were not mentioned in the newspapers. Rev. Cridge, in his final report as government school inspector probably written in 1865, listed private schools run by Miss Alsop, Miss Fernetell, and Miss Lester.[115]

The most important private school in the context of the development of the public system was John Jessop's Central school. Unlike the teachers in almost every school in Victoria to this time, Jessop came from Canada. Though he had received his early schooling in English private schools, he had trained and taught under Egerton Ryerson in Upper Canada before coming to the Pacific coast in the gold rush.[116] Though Jessop worked as a printer in Victoria, the community was aware that he had experience in Ryerson's public school system. In 1861, members of the Jewish community who were unhappy about the religious instruction their sons were forced to attend at the Anglican Collegiate promised to finance the building of a school for Jessop if he would offer a non-sectarian curriculum.[117] Jessop, like Ryerson a practicing Methodist, could identify with the desire of religious minority groups to have their children receive general education from the school and religious education from the home.

> Our common school here is very inefficient, while two others, one under the control of Bishop Hills of the Established Church, and another for Young Ladies in charge of the Sisters of Mercy have so much of the Sectarian element in their government as to make them distasteful to non-conformists of all denominations.[118]

Jessop determined to develop a model school which would demonstrate to the community at large the practical superiority of Upper Canadian public schooling and which could lead to the establishing of a similar system in the West with himself at its head.

The building erected in the summer of 1861 on Fort Street between Douglas and Blanshard was the same size as that of St. Ann's though the lot was slightly larger. On two floors, it contained cap and cloak rooms, three teaching areas large enough for 150 pupils combined, and four rooms for the teacher. Maps and physiological charts obtained from Ryerson's Upper Canadian supply centre were hung on the walls. The back yard contained out buildings and playground equipment such as swings, merry-go-rounds, parallel bars, rings, and so on. Since it was divided in two by a wooden partition, so boys and girls could be kept separate, and floored completely with wood, so it could be used in all weathers, the students likely found it drab and confining.[119]

Jessop held day and evening classes from the fall of 1861.[120] The next year, he engaged D. B. Chisholm, a first class graduate from the Toronto Normal School, to be his first assistant, Madame Petibeau to teach French and needlework to the girls, and Mr. E. Vincent to teach drawing.[121] The curriculum included elementary subjects, single entry bookkeeping, mathematics, natural philosophy, and physiology.[122] The night school offered photography and singing as well.[123] Boys and girls were taught separately.[124]

Though the Central building alone had cost Jessop over $3,000, he attempted to undercut the fees of the denominational schools by charging less than $3 a month the first year. The denominational schools responded by slashing their fees nearly in half. Though the next year his expenses were increased by additions to his staff, Jessop set his fees at an average of $2.50 a month. This meant that with 75

pupils, he would clear only $100 a month after expenses, allowing for parents who did not pay their fees.[125]

When the Central School opened, Mallandaine's Collegiate School pay was cut by $17 a month as every one of his former Select School students left the Collegiate for Central.[126] However, Victoria parents were not as appreciative of Jessop's school as he thought they should be. The school, which could hold 150 children, never attracted more than 100. Jessop felt severely let down by the community. Public apathy towards the school was demonstrated by the low attendance of parents and guardians at school examinations.[127] When in January 1863, less than 60 students returned for the spring term, Jessop did not have enough students to cover his costs. He discharged the three assistant teachers and bared his feelings in the press. The public was an "ungrateful monster." Parents preferred to have their children experience consumption and pulmonary diseases rather than patronize a school which provided for their healthy physical and mental development. He was struggling under heavy debt and high interest charges to give Victoria a low cost public school.[128] No letters in support of Jessop's plight answered his tirade. Instead, a writer reminded him that Central School was not unique. Other city schools were non-sectarian and admitted children without regard to colour and creed, and they prospered.[129]

Jessop persisted with the Central School because of his dream of emulating Ryerson's career. He carried on alone with an average attendance of nearly 70 for fifteen months. Finally, in March 1864, Jessop announced that the strain of trying to provide a public school

for Victoria was too much for his health and put his building up for sale.[130] At the final examination, his non-conformist friends, Rev. Dr. Evans, Selim Franklin, Mr. McMillan, Mr. McClure and Rev. Macfie, made remarks regretting the end of the institution and hoping that the community would soon obtain a common school for the city. Jessop professed himself ready to serve as a common school teacher should the community do so.[131]

Jessop's action precipitated the passing of a School Act in 1865 and the conversion of Central School into the first government funded common school in the city. However, the districts surrounding Victoria were already supporting common schools. Victoria District and Craigflower had been joined by schools in Esquimalt, Cedar Hill, and Saanich. These schools resulted from parental involvement rather than from government imposition.

From 1859, the colonial legislators were content to fund Victoria District and Craigflower. At Victoria District, William Henry Burr took over from Kennedy in 1859. He had taught three years in Ireland and nine in Canada, where he held a first class certificate, before coming to Victoria at the request of Governor Douglas.[132] With no help, he taught up to 70 children a year in the old schoolhouse, at times coping with the numbers by sending half the students out for recreation while teaching the other half.[133] A strict disciplinarian, Burr was able to keep the children at their lessons by such punishments as unexpectedly cracking a stick across their knuckles and making them kneel on the floor for a half hour with a pencil under each kneecap.[134] The school held a cross-section of the community,

including the children of professionals, farmers, merchants, and labourers. Many Hudson's Bay Company veterans, including Douglas, continued to send their offspring to Victoria District.[135] That many of the students were black is known because the school register noted their colour rather than their fathers' occupations.[136] A few students were boarders from as far away as Yale.[137]

Craigflower also saw a change of schoolmaster in 1859. When his wife died, Clarke returned to England.[138] Henry Claypole, though not a teacher, was available. Cridge examined him and gave him a temporary appointment to Craigflower which lasted six years.[139] The school enjoyed a steady, quiet existence. While the population of the district had grown to about 59 British, seven Americans and three Europeans, the school enrolment stayed at around 20 to 30, of which a third were girls.[140] Few names other than those of the original settlers appear in the school records.

While they supported the maintenance of Victoria District and Craigflower, the colonial legislators were reluctant to approve the development of more common schools. Pressure for the formal organization of a common school system gradually was brought to bear on them by rhetoric and events in the Victoria area.

In 1859, Alfred Waddington, an Englishman who worked as a surveyor in the colony, published a pamphlet urging electoral reform. He argued that the liberty essential to material prosperity is expressed through an extended franchise and extended educational provision.

> The people demand knowledge, as necessary to self-government; and upon what broader base can a government exist, than on that of liberty and knowledge? But there are those who do not believe in man's capacity for self-government. How then is he to be made

> capable except by the dissemination of knowledge and of truth? It is from these sources that both the social and individual happiness of man must spring. . . . The interests of labour and education are closely interwoven in our form of government, and should make a part of our social system.[141]

The British Colonist edited by Amor de Cosmos and the British Columbian edited by John Robson tried to keep educational ferment alive by printing articles in favour of government regulated schooling. In 1860, the Colonist warned that sectarian schools were strengthening and asked the public to attend the Victoria District examination to show their interest in public schooling.

> [E]ducation is a state question. . . . The state should lay a broad foundation for its support, interdicting sectarian principles but ensuring a moral bias with a sound elementary education. . . . In a small community like ours, it is incumbent on government and people to further the establishment of a good common school system, in opposition to mere sectarian hotbeds.[142]

With his Educational Estimates for 1860, Cridge submitted the view that there were "no sufficient grounds for recommending any considerable extension of the organization of the schools."[143] The only improvement he recommended was the hiring of the wife of the schoolmaster of Victoria District to give elementary instruction to girls. While not criticizing Cridge, the Colonist began to complain he was not required to give taxpayers regular accountings of the state of the common schools or of the spending of the educational grants.[144] The Colonist suggested that teacher certification should be in the hands of a government board rather than a single superintendent.[145]

Cridge recommended in 1861 increasing the educational grants rather than pupil fees to make the common schools more efficient. "A blessing as precious as the light and air should be rendered as common

and free as possible."[146] The legislators approved yearly increases in the grants. Despite repeated urging from the newspapers, they did not acknowledge the need to plan for an extended system by creating school land reserves. In August 1860, the Colonist followed the opening of the legislature with an editorial entitled "Education."

> We naturally supposed some scheme for founding a common school system on a broad and sound basis, embracing a practical elementary education, free from denominational bias, would . . . [have] been submitted by the government, or would have been originated by some member of the assembly. We have waited in vain. . . . Glowing promises of patriotic candidates are forgotten. Even the vice-regal memory appears undisturbed on the subject.[147]

In July 1861, the Colonist wrote:

> Beyond voting a sum of money nothing at all has been done. Probably if not stirred up to do something, they will be prorogued without doing anything but vote another miserable pittance. . . . When the land proclamation was issued we all expected school reservations would be speedily named. . . . Not a word on the subject is hinted at in those documents.[148]

At Estimate time, the Colonist spoke out again.

> What must astonish every . . . well wisher of common school education is the want of substantial provision for the support of the schools. Beyond the annual pittance doled out from general revenue, nothing is provided. Nothing beyond the annual appropriations apparently comes within the purview of legislation of either Colony. We recall declarations in the addresses of sundry candidates for Assembly in favour of common schools but there these all-important questions ended.[149]

In November 1862, a select committee of the assembly, comprising Dr. Tolmie, J. J. Southgate and Robert Burnaby, reported it was unable to address the questions of extending the common school system,

> . . . until it shall be in the power of the Government to appropriate lands for the support of schools, and annually to provide funds for the same end from a school rate imposed by the legislature of the Colony.[150]

The Colonist reacted in an editorial entitled "The School Appropriation."

> The Government ought to be taking the initiative in the inauguration of a policy calculated to meet the want of the age. They have most sedulously given this question the go-by. . . . The public can see through the shuffling of the matter to a non-conclusive committee. . . . What does the ability of Government to appropriate land have to do with their report? Surely the Government has all the power it chooses to use.[151]

The inaction of the Victoria legislators meant that the new common schools in the area after 1859 grew out of grassroots initiative. Cedar Hill and Esquimalt started in 1860 with the assistance of the Anglican bishop. Hills invested heavily in land in the Cedar Plains district and selected a site for a church and school.[152] Rev. Garrett went to the house of John Irvine on Cedar Hill Road every Sunday to conduct a Sunday School which taught reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as catechism. When the St. Luke's church building, paid for by Miss Burdett-Coutts, opened in October 1862, a day school commenced with the same curriculum as before. The Bible was the only textbook.[153] The facilities were not conducive to learning as the building was unheated and there was no school furniture. When the teacher left the students alone, they pulled aside the curtain hiding the pulpit and conducted mock church services. Occasionally work was stopped so the children could chase the neighbour's pigs out from under the building. Still, parents from as far away as six miles sent their children.[154] They took up the bishop's suggestion that a committee be appointed to petition the colonial government for a grant for a teacher, whom they would select. John Irvine, E. H. Jackson and one other, named to the committee by Rev. Garrett, organized a successful settlers' petition for a grant and hired Thomas Nicholson as the teacher.[155] Nicholson, who held a second class Canadian diploma,

extended the curriculum to include grammar, geography, and modern history. The textbooks used were, like Victoria District's, Irish National and Sargeant's.[156] The school committee complained to the colonial secretary that the educational grant of $500 a year was insufficient to keep a competent teacher and buy school apparatus.[157] When no further money was voted by the government, Nicholson was given a salary supplement of $150 from the bishop. In addition, he received $2 a month from each of his 14 to 19 scholars.[158]

The Esquimalt congregation received its building in 1860. In 1861, an informal Anglican census showed 25 day pupils in the Esquimalt church.[159] As at Cedar Hill, this may have been a Sunday School, as a meeting of Esquimalt settlers was held January 23, 1863 to make plans for a community school. The settlers decided to establish a school supported by community subscriptions rather than pupil fees until government assistance could be obtained. A committee of Messrs. Wilby, Rothwell, Williams, Smith, and Hawkins was elected to collect subscriptions from property holders and friends of education in Esquimalt and Victoria. Rev. Charles T. Woods of the Collegiate School started the fund with a promise of $100 and the required textbooks.[160] When the settlers met again on January 31, the committee reported $250 had been raised and more was promised if the school proved satisfactory. Rev. Woods, supported by Captain Verney, then proposed that only students who were unable to pay be allowed to attend free. Each member of the committee spoke against the proposal. A Mr. Battle mentioned that he had seen a school fail in Canada because a small fee of 25¢ a month was levied. Woods withdrew his proposal and

accepted the position of chairman and treasurer of the permanent school fund committee, with members Hawkins and Wilby.[161]

The committee kept firm control of its school. They appointed Mrs. Partridge teacher, to be paid by the bishop.[162] They controlled admissions to the school and approved the textbooks supplied to the students. They required that pupils could not be given corporal punishment, or expelled without their unanimous consent, and that all complaints be addressed to them rather than to the church or the teacher.[163]

Classes began in the church on February 17, 1863, with 13 students.[164] While the room was dark and the textbooks old and of every kind, the students made satisfactory progress in reading, writing, and arithmetic. In October, Mrs. Fisher took over the school for a salary of $600 a year. When the Esquimalt settlers petitioned the colonial government for an educational grant for her salary, $500 was allotted. Esquimalt did not draw the funds until November 1864 when the local subscriptions ran out. Mrs. Fisher took a salary decrease to $500 a year but the school remained free to the students. By 1865, 14 boys and six girls, all under 13 years of age, were attending.[165]

The future common school begun at South Saanich also resulted from a settlers' meeting. A hint exists in the journals of the House of Assembly that some sort of school existed there in 1862 as 60 pounds was allotted to Saanich for school purposes.[166] However, it was not until June 1863 that the settlers gathered to "devise some means whereby education could be provided for the children of the district."[167] They asked Rev. Richard Lowe to advise Cridge of their

desire for a school. Cridge wrote W.A.G. Young, the acting colonial secretary, recommending attention be given this request as 17 children, aged five to 16 years, were resident in the district.[168] As a result, the Educational Estimates for 1864 included $500 for Saanich.[169] Charles Newton Young, who had been a professor at a Dutch university for eighteen months, was engaged to teach for $500 a year plus a $5 a year fee from each child. A schoolhouse was built at government expense and 18 boys and girls attended until an outbreak of scarlet fever reduced the attendance to around 12.[170]

The rhetoric and events in favour of the organization of a common school system for Vancouver Island began to move toward a conclusion in mid-1864. The country districts had convinced the government to support their schools to the extent that it was committed to building and maintaining schoolhouses and teacher residences and to subsidizing teacher salaries. In September 1863, James Duncan, member for Lake District, moved in the assembly that a committee on education be struck to "report on the adaptability of the System as now organized to the present wants and views of the Colony, and also to report what Districts need the introduction of Public Schools."[171] The resulting committee of Doctors Powell and Tolmie and Messrs. Duncan, Street, and Carswell had not brought in a report when Jessop announced he was closing Central in Victoria at the end of March 1864.[172] The Colonist saw Jessop's action as an opportunity to have a government supported common school established in the city.

> [D]uring the early part of the present session, . . . the House proceeded, we believe, for the fifth time, to appoint an Education Committee. This energetic and lively body . . . has never drawn up its report, has never discussed the question - has never, in fact,

> met. . . . The already long list of schoolless children in the city is to be increased considerably by those attending Central School. . . . Were City Council . . . to take advantage of the opportunity to inaugurate a good common school in the city, the laissez faire attitude of the House of Assembly would meet with practical rebuke and rising generations of Victorians would have their mental wants properly supplied.[173]

The week Jessop made his announcement, a momentous political change was taking place on Vancouver Island. The era of James Douglas's political authority was at an end. In 1863, the colonial office decided that the resentment of the British Columbians at being governed from Victoria could be resolved by giving the two colonies separate constitutions and separate governors. It gave Vancouver Island a constitution which guaranteed an executive council made up of heads of government departments, a legislative council made up of the executive council and four members appointed by the governor, and a legislative assembly made up of elected members. The colony was required to pay the expenses of the executive, which was still appointed from Britain. The elected assembly could decide how the colony's money would be raised but did not have the right to decide how it would be spent. The governor had the sole authority to issue money bills.[174] Arthur Kennedy took office as governor of Vancouver Island on March 25, 1864. He and the legislative assembly would soon develop a deadlock over the control of expenditures which would cripple the cause of public education. However, in the honeymoon days of his administration, Kennedy presided over the legal establishment of the free school system.

On Thursday, April 7, Selim Franklin, a member for Victoria City, gave notice of a motion to "establish and provide for the maintenance

and supervision of public schools within the limits of the City, the said Schools to be conducted upon strictly non-sectarian principles."[175] The next day, the education committee presented its report, which was tabled by the assembly.[176] Residents of Victoria gathered on Saturday night to express their views on public schooling. The Colonist reported:

> We had every element in the community pretty thoroughly represented - from the clergymen to the costermonger. . . . [T]he meeting on Saturday night was an indication of awakening vitality. . . . It is a warning note to our Members of Legislature. . . . We shall see no more four-year comatose committees.[177]

After considerable discussion about whether the schools should be non-sectarian, the meeting drew up a petition with six resolutions.[178] Resolution 1 demanded a free non-sectarian common school in a central location in the city, open to all classes. Resolution 2 regretted the slowness of the members in this matter and called upon them to take immediate action. Resolution 3 deplored Governor Douglas's recent request for $5,000 to rebuild Victoria District on the school reserve. Resolution 4 held that the $5,000 should be used to provide a school in the city. Resolution 5 called for a lay board of education to oversee a school system for the colony. Resolution 6 instructed a delegation to visit the governor with the resolutions to discuss their implementation.

On Monday, the assembly asked its education committee to bring in a bill based on its report.[179] That evening, the board of the First Presbyterian Church, which had just advertised a sectarian school, passed two motions.

> [T]hat a system of true secular education for the young on a non-sectarian basis would . . . be a great boon to the Colony and should meet with our united approval. . . . [T]hat pending the establishment of a public school system and esteeming it to be our duty to promote the interests of education and also believing that instruction of a cheap and elementary character should be made available in this part of the city, we offer the free use of the school room in the rear of the church for a primary school to be open to children of all denominations at the lowest possible charges.[180]

The delegation, which included John Cochrane, George Cruikshank, W. M. Searby, S. Hoffman, J. T. Little, J. E. McMillan, J. T. Pidwell, C. B. Young, and John Jessop, visited Governor Kennedy on Tuesday. Kennedy pleaded inability to act in diverting the school appropriation from Victoria District to the city. He was glad to see the community interest in education as he believed the state should educate those unable to educate themselves. Because the state could not afford multiple sectarian schools, he believed common education should be non-sectarian, though he would allow clergymen on the board of education. Kennedy asserted that his children would be educated in sectarian schools but if he could not afford these he would want a non-sectarian school.[181]

Governor Kennedy was delighted the colony meant to assume the expenses of education. On May 3, he wrote the assembly:

> I have received . . . a communication . . . bringing to my notice . . . that a Committee of the House had prepared a bill to institute and carry out a general system of education for this Colony. . . . As I understand . . . the bill in question contains clauses levying new taxes and permanently appropriating moneys out of general revenue . . . I beg to acquaint the House that I entirely concur in the policy of placing a matter so important to the community at large as education upon a sound and satisfactory basis.[182]

After receiving first reading on May 9, the Common School Act died.[183] A motion by Dr. Powell in June to establish temporarily a

common school in Victoria was defeated.[184] In his speech opening the fall session, Kennedy reminded the assembly, "The important subject of schools for the training of children whose parents are unable to afford them a higher class of education will doubtless receive your careful consideration."[185] The House promised it would and on September 28, followed through by appointing a select committee of Dr. Powell, Dr. Tolmie, and Charles Street to prepare an educational bill.[186] Their report, submitted October 7, went beyond the "poor schooling" envisioned by Kennedy to advocate community education such as already existed in the district schools.

> [T]here should be established in this Colony a system of common schools conducted by thoroughly competent trained teachers wherein the intellectual, physical and moral training would be such as to make the schools attractive to all classes of the people.[187]

The committee recommended the schools be non-sectarian, that they be paid for out of the general revenue of the colony, and that they be organized and regulated by an appointed board of education and an appointed superintendent.

The report, given force by an October 21 petition from the Victoria mayor and council supporting the non-sectarian clause, was adopted by the assembly and the new bill was given first reading in November.[188] "An Act Respecting Common Schools" was passed by the assembly in February and assented to by the governor and legislative council in May 1865.[189]

Educational events in the Victoria area from 1859 to 1865 show that parents desired at least elementary schooling for their children. No governesses were available so all classes needed schools.[190]

Rural parents supported common schooling because their communities were not large enough to support a choice of schools. The rural common schools were begun with assistance from the Anglican diocese. When the schools were established, the Anglicans withdrew their assistance and encouraged the settlers to apply for government subsidization. The parents supplemented the grants they received with direct fees. Esquimalt, where there is some evidence of influence from Upper Canada, established the only school which students could attend without paying a fee, raising the needed funds through voluntary subscription.[191] Almost all the rural teachers came to the Victoria area via Canada.

City parents supported a wide range of private schools. Unashamedly elite schools founded for girls and boys by Anglicans and Roman Catholics found a ready clientele. Since these schools were not totally dependent on parental support, being partially funded from outside the colony, they were able to manipulate the educational environment to some extent by lowering fees to match those of competing schools. The many schools for girls, which were dependent on parental support, enjoyed a steady patronage. Almost all the city teachers came directly from Britain. The notable exception was John Jessop.

Parents did not demand government subsidized schooling in the city. A form of private common schooling was financed by Jews whose desire for non-sectarian schooling for their children coincided with Jessop's ambition to found an Upper Canadian style school system on Vancouver Island. Jessop found support for common schooling disappointing. Parents appeared to prefer other schools, for whatever reason. The Vancouver Island legislators acted on public schooling

only when forced to do so by the closing of Jessop's facility. Throughout most of the period, they were able to stall the matter by passing it on to inactive committees.

The blacks in Victoria fought for equal educational opportunities for their children mainly by withdrawing them completely from schools which attempted to discriminate against them. The Indians took advantage of the schooling made available to them by missionaries who hoped to introduce them to Christianity and to western civilization, but on their own terms.

Notes

[1]Langley, A Glance, p. 9.

[2]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, September 13, 1859, in Henrickson, Journals, Vol. II, p. 133.

[3]Frank A. Peake, The Anglican Church in British Columbia (Vancouver: Mitchell Press, 1959), pp. 27-28.

[4]Stuart Underhill, The Iron Church (Victoria: Braeman Books, 1984), p. 3. By June 1860, Bishop Hills reported eleven missionaries recruited for work in the diocese. See Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, pp. 7-8.

[5]Returns, March 18, 1859, in British Parliamentary Papers 22, pp. 103-105.

[6]Alexander Begg, History of British Columbia (Toronto: W. Brigg, 1894), pp. 329-332. The House of Assembly sent the following message to the governor in May 1859: "With regard to the support and maintenance of Clergymen and places of public worship, the house has already resolved: That the House was averse to making reserves for the purpose of endowing or supporting any religious establishment, considering the same unadvisable and objectionable. So that the opinion of the House is, that the Church should support itself." See Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, May 17, 1859, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. II, pp. 101-103.

[7]Hills wrote the Church committees at Douglas and Lillooet that government funds for building should be refused because community and even clergy opinion was against government assistance to one Church. See Hills to Gentlemen, July 31, 1861, in Columbia Mission, 1861 Report, p. 34.

[8]After 1858, Americans had little influence in the area. An informal census taken by the Church of England showed few Americans in Victoria. American methods of schooling were deeply distrusted as producing lawlessness.

[9]A. C. Garrett, "Reminiscences," 14, TS, PABC E/B/G19.

[10]The British Colonist, 10 July 1860, p. 2.

[11]Ibid., 12 July 1860, p. 2.

[12]"Prospectus of Collegiate School for Boys, Victoria, Vancouver Island," September, 1860, in Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 20.

[13]Ibid.

[14]Woods to Garrett, February 22, 1861, in Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 13.

[15]Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 14.

[16]Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 83.

[17]Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 14.

[18]The Congregationalist church was closed temporarily in Victoria as a result of a racial discrimination controversy in 1860. Its whites objected to blacks attending. The whites left when the minister, Rev. Clark, preached that all were welcome; there would be no colour line drawn in the Church. The blacks, seeing themselves isolated by that action pressed their contention that blacks should be able to worship with whites by leaving to attend services at Christ Church. The Congregational Church was left without a congregation. Its one-room premises were rented by Bishop Hills for the Collegiate School. See Matthew Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865), p. 390; Sophia Cracroft, Letter begun February 24, 1861, PABC Add. MSS. 227. Woods's charge of $30 a month for pupils under 16 years old and $40 a month for those over 16 did not include school fees. See The Daily British Colonist, 27 May 1863, p. 1.

[19]Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 14.

[20]Ibid., p. 20.

[21]Cracroft, Letter; Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 83.

[22]Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 14.

[23]Lugrin, Pioneer Women, p. 152.

[24]Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," pp. 78-79.

[25]The New Westminster Times, 7 January 1860, p. 4; Prospectus, 1860, PABC NW/97158/P961.

[26]Ibid., p. 80.

[27]Ibid., p. 82.

[28]Ibid., p. 86; R. C. Mayne, Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island (London: John Murray, 1862), p. 341.

[29]Pathmos, History, p. 143.

[30]Hills to Burdett-Coutts, September 28, 1860, in Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, pp. 18-19.

[31]Woods to Garrett, February 22, 1861, in Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, pp. 13-14.

[32]The Daily British Colonist, 25 December 1860, p. 1.

[33]Ibid., 18 September 1860, p. 2.

[34]As has been shown, other schools for upper-class girls were in operation.

[35]Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, pp. 14-15.

[36]Ibid., p. 18.

[37]Ibid., p. 21; The Daily British Colonist, 18 September 1860, p. 2; Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 86.

[38]Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 21.

[39]Columbia Mission, 1860 Report (London: Rivington's, 1860), p. 21.

[40]Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 86; Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 20.

[41]Cracroft, Letter.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Columbia Mission, 1860 Report; Cracroft, Letter.

[45]Kenneth McKenzie of Craigflower sent his daughters to board at the Girls' Collegiate. See Reece to McKenzie, October 10, 1863, PABC A/E/M19/M19.1.

[46]Cracroft, Letter; Woods to Garrett, February 22, 1861.

[47]Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 81; Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 18.

[48]Memorandum by William Duncan, June 22, 1860, PABC F490/1.

[49]Garrett, "Reminiscences," p. 16.

[50]Ibid.

[51]The Mission Field, April 1, 1862, Vol. VII (London: Bell and Daldy), p. 92.

[52]The Daily British Colonist, 25 December 1860, p. 1; Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 19; Columbia Mission, 1860 Report, pp. 93, 95; Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 83.

[53]The Daily British Colonist, 25 December 1860, p. 1.

[54]Columbia Mission, 1860 Report, p. 93.

[55]The Mission Field, April 1, 1862, p. 90.

[56]The Daily British Colonist, 25 December 1860, p. 1.

[57]Garrett, "Reminiscences," p. 16.

[58]Columbia Mission, Occasional Paper, p. 19.

[59]Cracroft, Letter.

[60]The Daily British Colonist, 25 December 1860, p. 1.

[61]Mayne, Four Years, p. 345.

[62]Garrett, "Reminiscences," pp. 16-17.

[63]Cracroft, Letter.

[64]Columbia Mission, 1863 Report, p. 22.

[65]Columbia Mission, 1861 Report (London: Rivington's, 1861), p. 28.

[66]The Mission Field, March 1, 1863, Vol. VIII (London: Bell and Daldy), p. 62.

[67]Columbia Mission, 1869 Report (London: Rivington's, 1869), p. 79.

[68]Cracroft, Letter.

[69]V. Pineault, S.S.A., A Chaplet of Years: St. Ann's Academy to the Pupils Past and Present of the Sisters of St. Ann (Victoria: Colonist, 1918), pp. 16, 24; Down, Century of Service, p. 46.

[70]Pineault, Chaplet, pp. 14-15.

[71]Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria, B.C., Council Deliberations 1858-1903, December 10, 1859, trans. Mary Joan Bernard, ASSA-V.

[72]Down, Century of Service, p. 49; "Centenary Advent," St. Ann's Journal 33, no. 1 (January 1949): 5.

[73]Pathmos, History, p. 140.

[74]Blacks made up at least one-sixth of the population in 1860. Crawford Kilian, Go Do Some Great Thing (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1978), p. 60.

[75]Down, Century of Service, p. 49; Pineault, Chaplet, pp. 85-86.

[76]The Daily British Colonist, 26 August 1863, p. 3.

[77]Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria, B.C., Council Deliberations, February 28, 1864; ibid., November 9, 1864.

[78]The Daily British Colonist, 26 August 1863, p. 2; Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria, B.C., Council Deliberations, August 20, 1863.

[79]Down, Century of Service, p. 47.

[80]Mary Anna Frances Shepherd (nee James), Diary, ASSA-V, Add. MSS. 9, Vol. 3.

[81]See Karen Armstrong, Through the Narrow Gate (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1984).

[82]St. Ann's Convent School, Victoria, B.C., Rule for Pupils, ASSA-V, Add. MSS. 9, Vol. 2.

[83]"Centenary Advent," Saint Ann's Journal, 5; Pathmos, History, p. 143; Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria, B.C., Council Deliberations, July 22, 1862, p. 5.

[84]The Daily British Colonist, 26 August 1863, p. 3.

[85]St. Ann's Convent School, Victoria, B.C., Register, 1858-1923.

[86]Pineault, Chaplet, p. 63.

[87]Down, Century of Service, p. 51.

[88]The Daily British Colonist, 25 July 1861, p. 3; ibid., 31 July 1862, p. 3; ibid., 22 July 1864, p. 3; ibid., 20 July 1865, p. 3.

[89]Ibid., 22 July 1864, p. 3; ibid., 20 July 1865, p. 3.

[90]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, July 22, 1862, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. II, p. 374.

[91]The Daily British Colonist, 8 August 1862, p. 2.

[92]Frederick P. Howard and George Barnett, The British Columbian and Victoria Guide and Directory for 1863 (Victoria, V.I.: Office of the British Columbian and Victoria Directory, 1863), p. 135.

[93]Van Nevel to Theodore, November 1, 1913.

[94]The Daily British Colonist, 22 August 1863, p. 3.

[95]Ibid., 6 January 1864, p. 5.

[96]Baudre to Kennedy, May 10, 1865, PABC F133.1.

[97]The Daily Colonist, 6 January 1864, p. 5.

[98]Ibid. The application was unsuccessful.

[99]Columbia Mission, 1863 Report, p. 10.

[100]The Daily British Colonist, 6 April 1864, p. 2.

[101]Ibid., 1 January, 1863, p. 2.

[102]Ibid., 3 July 1863, p. 3.

[103]Howard and Barnett, British Columbian and Victoria Directory 1863, p. 24.

[104]The Daily British Colonist, 3 July 1863, p. 3; ibid., 2 July 1864, p. 3.

[105]Ibid., 30 September 1863, p. 3.

[106]Ibid., 12 July 1864, p. 3.

[107]Ibid., 15 July 1865, p. 3.

[108]Ibid., 25 February 1863, p. 2.

[109]The New Westminster Times, 2 January 1860, p. 1.

[110]Macfie, Vancouver Island and British Columbia, pp. 389-391. Strangely, the whites from the Congregational church did not challenge Bishop Hills when he welcomed the blacks to the Anglican church.

[111]Atwood to Board of Education, May 31, 1872, in British Columbia, Superintendent of Education, Correspondence Inward, PABC B-2017.

[112]The Daily Colonist, 27 May 1863, p. 1.

[113]Ibid., 24 April 1863, p. 3.

[114]Ibid., 26 October 1863, p. 2.

[115]MacLauren, History of Education, p. 46.

[116]F. Henry Johnson, "The Ryersonian Influence on the Public School System of British Columbia," in David Jones, Nancy Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp, Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West (Calgary: Detselig, 1979), p. 29.

[117]Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 85.

[118]Jessop to Ryerson, August 16, 1861, in G. W. Spragge, "An Early Letter from Victoria, V.I.," Canadian Historical Review 29 (1948): 54-56.

[119]The Daily Colonist, 24 December 1862, p. 3; ibid., 22 March 1864, p. 3.

[120]Howard and Barnett, British Columbian and Victoria Directory 1863, p. 137; The Daily British Colonist, 18 August 1862, p. 2. Jessop's announcement that the evening school would re-open indicates there was an evening school the previous year.

[121]Howard and Barnett, British Columbian and Victoria Directory 1863, p. 137.

[122]The Daily British Colonist, 1 April 1864, p. 3.

[123]Ibid., 18 August 1862, p. 2.

[124]Ibid., 24 December 1862, p. 3.

[125]Ibid., 10 January 1863, p. 3.

[126]Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 86.

[127]The Daily Colonist, 24 December 1862, p. 3.

[128]Ibid., 10 January 1863, p. 3.

[129]Ibid., 12 January 1863, p. 3.

[130]Ibid., 22 March 1864, p. 3.

[131]Ibid., 1 April 1864, p. 3.

[132]Vancouver Island, Board of Education, School Visits, June 16, 1865, PABC C/AA/30.8M/2.

[133]Cridge to Colonial Secretary, January 26, 1860, PABC F395/15.

[134]Agnes Carne Tate wrote in The Daily Colonist that her father remembered these punishments. See The Daily Colonist, 29 May 1860, pp. 6-7.

[135]Edward Fawcett, "Reminiscences," PABC Add. MSS. 1962/Box 2/File 6.

[136]Victoria District School, Victoria, B.C., Roll Book, PABC K/H/V66.

[137]Lugrin, Pioneer Women, p. 255.

[138]Michael, "The Founding and Building Up of Craigflower."

[139]Cridge to Young, May 16, 1859, PABC F395/9; The Daily Colonist, 13 May 1865, p. 3.

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[142]The British Colonist, 26 June 1860, p. 2.

[143]Cridge to Gossett, March 19, 1860, PABC F395/20.

[144]The Daily British Colonist, 18 July 1861, p. 3.

[145]Ibid., 26 March 1862, p. 2.

[146]Cridge to Young, August 27, 1861, PABC F39524.

[147]The Daily British Colonist, 26 August 1860, p. 2.

[148]Ibid., 18 July 1861, p. 3.

[149]Ibid., 29 January 1862, p. 2.

[150]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, Report of the Select Committee for Education, November 1862, PABC GR 1528/213.

[151]The Daily British Colonist, 28 November 1862, p. 2.

[152]Sentinel Elementary, Victoria, B.C., Fact Sheet, Greater Victoria School Board Archives F1100; Jackson to Young, March 28, 1862, PABC F826./1.

[153]"100th Anniversary, Saint Luke's Church, Cedar Hill - Victoria, B.C., 1860-1960," pp. 1-2 (Booklet), Archives of the B.C.

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[154]John Irving, "Reminiscences," p. 3, PABC ADD. MSS. 322 Irvine Family; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 17 October 1971, pp. 4-5.

[155]Board of Education, School Visits, August 27, 1865; Jackson to Young, September 2, 1863, PABC F826/2; Jackson and Irvine to Young, October 22, 1863, PABC F826/3.

[156]Board of Education, School Visits, June 21, 1865.

[157]Jackson to Young, October 27, 1863, PABC F826/4.

[158]Board of Education, School Visits, June 21, 1865.

[159]Christ Church Cathedral, List, pp. 6-7.

[160]The Daily British Colonist, 26 January 1863, p. 3.

[161]Ibid., 2 February 1863, p. 3.

[162]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 36.

[163]Board of Education, School Visits, June 30, 1865.

[164]The Daily British Colonist, 18 February 1863, p. 3.

[165]Board of Education, School Visits, June 30, 1865.

[166]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, January 9, 1862, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. II, p. 337.

[167]Lowe to Cridge, June 12, 1863, PABC F396/2.

[168]Cridge to Young, July 4, 1863, PABC F396/2.

[169]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, Minutes, p. 435, PABC C/AA/20.2A/4.

[170]Board of Education, School Visits, July 1, 1865.

[171]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, Motion Book, p. 35, PABC C/AA/20.2B/1.

[172]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, September 22, 1863, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. III, p. 15.

[173]The Daily British Colonist, 22 March 1864, p. 3; ibid., 23 March 1864, p. 2.

[174]James E. Hendrickson, "Introduction," The Journals of the Colonial Legislatures of Vancouver Island and British Columbia, Vol. I, XXXV-XXXVI (Victoria, B.C.: PABC, 1980).

[175]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, Motion Book, p. 67.

[176]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, April, 1864, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. III, p. 110.

[177]The Daily British Colonist, 11 April 1864, p. 2.

[178]Petition, "Citizens of Victoria to Legislature Assembly," PABC K/H/V66.9.

[179]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, April 11, 1864, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. III, p. 113.

[180]First Presbyterian Church, Victoria, B.C., Minutes, April 11, 1864, PABC Add. MSS. 1536, Reel A-970.

[181]The Daily British Colonist, April 13, 1864, p. 3.

[182]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, Minutes, pp. 507-508.

[183]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, May 9, 1864, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. III, p. 119.

[184]Ibid., June 2, 1864, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. III, p. 137.

[185]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, Minutes, p. 3, PABC C/AA/20.2A/6.

[186]Ibid., p. 10; Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, September 28, 1864, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. III, p. 184.

[187]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, Report of the Committee on Education, October 7, 1864, PABC GR 1528/213.

[188]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, November 29, 1864, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. III, p. 229.

[189]Vancouver Island, An Act Respecting Common Schools, May 15, 1865.

[190]Columbia Mission, 1860 Report, p. 18.

[191]See pp. 87-88.

CHAPTER IV

1865-1871

The board of education appointed by the governor held its first meeting on June 2, 1865. After its members, E.G. Alston, J. J. Cochrane, D. M. Lang, W. J. Macdonald, J. D. Pemberton, Thomas Trounce, John Wright, Dr. Powell, and Dr. Tolmie, elected Tolmie as chairman, the board began the business of organizing the Vancouver Island common school system.[1] From six applicants, they selected Alfred Waddington for recommendation to the governor as the superintendent of education.[2] While their immediate preoccupation was to establish a common school in Victoria city, over the succeeding months the board also selected or ratified teachers and arranged for textbooks, equipment and maintenance of facilities for the schools at Victoria District, Craigflower, Esquimalt, Cedar Hill, Saanich, Lake District, Saltspring, Chemainus, Sooke, Metchosin, Cowichan, and Nanaimo.[3]

The major result of the increased government regulation of common schooling on Vancouver Island under the new act was standardization. Teacher salary levels were set according to location of the school, with district teachers receiving less than town teachers, and sex, with women receiving less than men. The board looked to Canada rather than to England for direction regarding textbooks, passing a motion that Vancouver Island appropriate texts selected and used by the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada.[4] Teachers were given the responsibility of selling textbooks. Other than the costs of texts, the schools were free for all children. The board decided that no one

TABLE 1

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION, VANCOUVER ISLAND, FROM 1865 TO 1869

Name	Origin	Occupation	Religious Affiliation	Children
Powell	Upper Canada	H.B.Co., Doctor	Unknown	9
Tolmie	Scotland	H.B.Co., Doctor	Presbyterian to Anglican	10
Macdonald	Scotland	H.B.Co., Politician	Anglican	5
Trounce	England	Architect, Builder	Methodist	0
Alston	England	Lawyer	Anglican	5
Cochrane	Unknown	Civil Engineer, Real Estate, Auctioneer	Anglican	5
Lang	England	Banker	Unknown	0
Pemberton	Ireland	H.B.Co., Surveyor, Engineer	Anglican	6
Wright	Scotland	Architect	Presbyterian	4
Cameron	Scotland	Former Chief Justice	Presbyterian	2
Wood	England	Lawyer	Anglican	2
Garesche	United States	Banker	Unknown	Yes
Higgins	Nova Scotia	Publisher	Methodist	5
Franklin	England	Real Estate, Auctioneer	Jewish	0
Waddington	England	Surveyor, Superintendent of Education	Unknown	0

under six and over 18 could attend a common school.[5] A district could not receive a teacher unless it could guarantee the attendance of at least 12 students.[6] The board set school hours and decided what holidays would be given. Clergymen could obtain permission from the board to give religious instruction in common schools outside regular school hours to children who had written permission from their parents.[7] All expenditures relating to common schools had to be approved by the board.

The board showed complete confidence in making the educational decisions for the colony. The only recognition of parents in the first year of board records is a July 1866 letter from Waddington to the teacher at Saanich.

> As the time for the holidays is approaching, you will oblige me by enquiring of the parents and informing me when they think it would be most advisable to have them, so as to coincide with their labours in the field.[8]

Waddington then goes on in the same letter, however, to state when the holidays would be. The centralization and standardization of the common schools left parents with little opportunity to influence educational decisions. Political pressure on the board could only be achieved indirectly, through voting for assembly candidates sympathetic to public schooling. As events from 1859 to 1864 demonstrated, this was no guarantee of action. Parents could express their desires in letters to the board but could do little more than hope the board would take their letters seriously. In the first month of its existence, the board, sensitive to criticism, decided to bar the press and conduct business "in camera."[9] The result was that the Colonist, declaring,

"People are too concerned in educational matters to allow the best interests of their children to be trifled with," meticulously reported the actions of the board thereafter. Since private schools were readily available, it is likely during this period that parents with a disagreement with a common school expressed it by sending their children elsewhere.

One of the first concerns of the board was to have the long-awaited city public school ready to open for the 1865/1866 school year. Despite strong opposition from a faction on the board which appeared to be having second thoughts about establishing such a school in the city, John Jessop was hired as head master at $100 a month and his Central building was leased for one year at $60 a month.[10] Thomas Nicholson was hired from Cedar Hill at $60 a month to be second master.[11] Mrs. Elizabeth Fisher, who had been a certified teacher in England and who had recently taught in Mrs. Wilson Brown's school, was made head of the girls' department of Central, also at $60 a month.[12] Later, when enrolment in the girls' department grew to over 80, Louisa Macdonald, who had spent two years at Wilson Brown's as a pupil teacher, was taken on as Fisher's assistant at $50 a month.[13]

The boys and girls, though in the same building, were kept separated. The boys were taught reading, spelling, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, geography, English history, philosophy, and singing.[14] The girls were given instruction in reading, spelling, writing, grammar, dictation, composition, arithmetic, geography, English history, singing, and drawing.[15] The board of education records show that in the first year, the girls bettered the

boys in reading, grammar, arithmetic, and conduct.[16] Interestingly, the classes taught by Mr. Jessop generally made the poorest showing when tested.[17] After the 1866 examinations, the board decided the girls' proficiency in reading and composition and the boys' in geography, English history, geometry, and algebra, was superior to that in any other school in the colony.[18] They could make the statement with some confidence because the examiners were the same clergymen who acted as academic examiners for other schools.

On the day of the opening of Central as a common school, August 1, 1865, 102 boys and 80 girls arrived at the building which had been designed for a capacity of 150.[19] On August 4, Waddington noted the boys' department had to send the primary class away after the first lessons to make room for the bigger students. The girls' room was so airless, students were faint and bleeding at the nose.[20] A few days later, the Colonist reported the attendance had risen to 127 boys and 86 girls.[21] The board of education, under pressure to make alternative arrangements quickly, settled on renting the Congregational church on Fort Street for $30 a month for the boys.[22] The church building had one large room, in which Jessop's class rattled causing discipline problems, and one small room, in which the doors had to be kept open for air causing unhealthy drafts.[23] It vibrated so noisily in the winter wind that Jessop found it impossible to continue classes some days.[24] The lack of a playground brought threats from the neighbours that they would lay a complaint with the police if the injury and annoyance created by the boys playing on the sidewalks continued.[25] However, parents appear to have been willing to put up

with the difficulties with facilities as, at the end of the first year, enrolment at the boys' and girls' departments were almost identical to what they had been on opening day.[26]

The opening of Central in Victoria as a common school lowered the number of scholars at Victoria District, though most still came from within the city limits. The number enrolled in August was 55, dropping to 27 in November and rising again to about 45 in July.[27] In July, the students under William Burr, whose salary had been increased from $1,000 and 50 a month from each student to $1,200 in compensation for loss of fees, tested satisfactorily in reading, arithmetic and geography, excellently in writing, composition and bookkeeping, and poorly in history, grammar and mensuration.[28] The Colonist had printed a general invitation to the examination to clergy, magistrates, heads of government departments, and the public.[29] While Bishop Hills and three Anglican clergymen, the principal of the Collegiate School, two government officials, the superintendent of education, two members of the board and the two male teachers of Central came, only one parent attended.[30]

The circumstances under the new system were slightly different at Craigflower. Attendance was very irregular and progress generally only fair, except in dictation and bookkeeping.[31] Waddington noted that Thomas Russell, who had been appointed teacher at Craigflower in May 1865 at $1,000 a year, had expressed fear at the results of the examinations because the children had not been attending regularly and they were timid and stupid before strangers.[32] The enrolment

remained steady at around 30 throughout the year, however, and many parents attended the school's examinations.[33]

The parents of Cedar Hill, including James Tod, John Irvine, George Dean and James White, petitioned the government for a new teacher after the board of education hired Nicholson for Central.[34] When Waddington discussed the matter with John Irvine, he was told there were at least 14 children who would attend the school. Since the local people considered the Anglican church too uncomfortable and did not feel the Anglicans wanted to house a non-sectarian school, they were willing to help build and pay for a building and contribute towards the teacher's salary.[35] The board of education decided to ask the Cedar Hill residents to supplement their $500 salary so a competent teacher could be appointed.[36] They gave W. H. Parsons the job but it is unlikely Parsons received the supplement as the school continued to meet in the church and the number of students gradually decreased until, in July 1866, only three to five were attending.[37]

The enrolment at Esquimalt rose to 21 after the introduction of the Act and continued to rise to 28 by the end of the year.[38] The board of education kept Mrs. Fisher as teacher but, despite their earlier negotiations to augment Parson's salary, reduced her salary to $500 a year ostensibly to keep it "on par with the other rural districts."[39] Waddington praised the progress she produced in the pupils in the elementary subjects and noted that discipline was excellent. "The children appear happy and attentive."[40] Parents tolerated the use of the church building, which was comfortable and airy, for the school but some objected strongly to any suggestion of

religious instruction. After Mr. Wilby withdrew his four children because Mrs. Fisher kept them in for Rev. Reece's class after school, Waddington reminded her Reece must obtain written permission from the parents of his intended scholars.[41]

The residents of East Saanich regularly petitioned the government for a school, promising they would provide land and a schoolhouse and help pay for the teacher even if one could come only twice a week.[42] The board of education regularly postponed the requests of this black community while they kept the South Saanich school open with barely 12 students.[43] On his way to his first inspection of South Saanich, Waddington was told by a resident that the community considered the teacher, C. N. Young, negligent. The students tested very poorly except for one girl who had been to Madame Petibeau's.[44] C. N. Young considered grammar useless for farmers' children and read the Bible every day in school.[45] Perhaps that is why the board of education never discussed raising his salary above $500 a year. At any rate, after a year under the discipline of the requirements of the board of education, the children's learning was much improved, though Waddington still found it necessary to remind Young to confine his religious activities to Sunday School.[46] The parents apparently did not object to Young's religious activities. Many attended the end of year examination, in which Rev. and Mrs. Cridge and Rev. Gribbell, the Anglican district minister, were the chief participants.[47]

The common school at Lake District was a completely new venture for the small community. In the summer of 1865, Mr. Bailey donated a quarter acre near the Royal Oak Inn on which he and Mr. Von Allmon

supervised the construction of a schoolhouse to accommodate 42 pupils. The board of education complained that, while the lot was fenced, it had no playground and was objectionably close to the inn, the backhouses were not separate and the building had no room for the teacher.[48] When they hired Elizabeth Beattie, who had taught in a private school and in a Sunday School in Victoria, at $500 a month, they arranged lodging for her with the Stevens.[49] The Stevens lodged her free and boarded her for 50¢ a day but since their home was not quite respectable, being next to their bar, Mr. Bailey arranged to receive her during the winter.[50] On the first day, five boys and ten girls attended.[51] Quickly the parents, who had asked for a female teacher, realized that a female teacher could not handle the hitherto undisciplined children.[52] Within a month, the six Von Allmon children were gone because they would not behave.[53] That left eight, one boy and seven girls, out of the 15 children in the neighbourhood. Miss Beattie resigned at Christmas and Gribbell, the district minister, held classes on Wednesdays until the end of March when he left to visit William Duncan in the North.[54]

Gribbell recommended the board of education hire a male teacher to instruct the children of the district and some who would come from East Saanich.[55] When they received a letter from the inhabitants signed by Mr. Bailey and Mr. Von Allmon requesting a teacher, the board decided to offer the Lake school to Colin Campbell McKenzie, whose application they had on file.[56] McKenzie had gone through the Red River grammar school, earned a B.A. at Cambridge in England, taught a

year at the Red River school, and farmed in the Cariboo before coming to Victoria.[57] He accepted the Lake position though it only paid $500 a year. The Von Allmons came back to school and the students, who had been able to read well and do some arithmetic when the school first opened, now began to make regular progress in their studies.[58] Two Von Allmons were prizewinners in the 1866 school examination, which was well attended by parents.[59]

The free common school system was now organized according to law but it was by no means established. The timing of its organization was unfortunate for its wellbeing. Much of Victoria's prosperity depended on the economic health of the British Columbia goldfields. Surface mining on the interior gold creeks had long since given way to mining requiring capital for equipment. Since capital for gold mining became difficult to raise in 1865, miners from outside the colony did not return to the diggings. Victoria was left with warehouses full of goods for which there was no market. The feud between Governor Kennedy and the Vancouver Island assembly over the financial control of the colony paralyzed the business of the govenment over the winter of 1865 to 1866. Without an effective government, nothing could be done to relieve the economic recession which had settled over the colony.

At their September 1, 1866 meeting, the board of education read a letter from the colonial secretary which informed them:

> [T]hat there does not appear any probability of the ways and means being at the disposal of the government to meet the expenditure on account of education, and that His Excellency is therefore compelled at once to state, that he will not guarantee the payment of any further expenditure under that head, whether on account of salaries, rent or other matters beyond the 31st day of August Instant.[60]

The board voted to inform all teachers and persons with business related to their educational provisions of the governor's position so they could govern themselves accordingly.

Amor de Cosmos took the position that the union of Vancouver Island and British Columbia would improve the economic prospects of both colonies. Despite its fear of being overwhelmed by the mainland, the assembly passed a resolution asking the British government to arrange the union. The colonial office took its revenge on the assembly for failing to cooperate with Kennedy by merging Vancouver Island into British Columbia. Frederick Seymour's governorship now extended over Vancouver Island. In 1867, the islanders managed to ensure they could influence the enlarged colony by getting a resolution passed to have the British Columbia capital moved from New Westminster to Victoria. In the area of education, however, they had to contend with a governor who was not convinced of the necessity of state participation in schooling and who still had the authority to control expenditures.

In December, the board of education met with Seymour to try to convince him that the public favoured free schooling and that he should authorize the payment of the salaries of the teachers who were keeping their schools open and other educational expenses incurred since Kennedy's ruling.[61] Seymour asked for time to answer, saying that Kennedy had left his opinion that the present common school system was imperfect.[62] On February 28, 1867, he delivered his views to the legislative council.

> The Governor is of the opinion that the Colony is not yet old enough for any regular system of Education to be established. . . . He thinks that any man who respects himself would not desire to have his children instructed without some pecuniary sacrifice on his own part. The State may aid the parent but ought not to relieve him of his own natural responsibility, else it may happen that the promising mechanic may be marred, and the country overburdened with half-educated professional politicians or needy hangers-on of the Government. . . . The Governor conceives it to be the duty of the governing power to assist in the giving to all elementary instruction, and then to offer inducements to those who are able to come to the front in the intellectual struggle with their fellowmen. . . . In a Colony with which the Governor was recently connected he left the following School system. There was a public school open to all denominations, where the Schoolmaster did not presume to open to the children any sacred mysteries. . . . But there were Denominational Schools to which the Government contributed. . . . It was found that these Denominational Schools, though more expensive to parents, absorbed the greater number of children. Such is the system he would like to see in any concentrated community.[63]

The council appointed a select committee of Messrs. Crease, Young, Wood, Robson, and de Cosmos to draw up a general scheme of education but they neglected to meet.[64]

In April, Seymour tried to dismiss the board of education, questioning the legality of its existence because it had fewer members than called for by the Common School Act of 1865.[65] The board replied, affirming its legal position and suggesting that the governor make the necessary appointments to complete their numbers. Seymour complied, so that the board members now were Dr. Powell, Dr. Tolmie, David Cameron, T. L. Wood, W. J. Macdonald, F. Garesche, D. W. Higgins, Lumly Franklin, and Thomas Trounce.[66] After reading written submissions from executive council members A. Hawley, H.P.P. Crease and J. W. Trutch, which agreed with the February statement that public schooling was beneficial but too costly at present, the governor expressed the opinion that "the sooner the system was abolished the

better."[67] He placed $10,000 at the disposal of the board of education for the whole colony and advised them to judge the general principles upon which education could best be carried out in accordance with the feelings of the community.[68]

Seymour made it appear as though he was bowing to the wishes of the people by leaving the matter of public schooling with the board while at the same time he was starving the system by granting it insufficient funds. The board, realizing the $10,000 grant was not enough to cover arrears and carry on the system moved:

> That the Board is unanimously of opinion that the system of free education established in Vancouver Island is in accordance with the wishes of the community. . . . That the Board is further unanimously of opinion that every effort should be made to continue the system. That application be now made to His Excellency the Governor for such additional grant of money as may ensure the continuance of the system.[69]

Seymour's contemptuous reply was that should the self-reliance of the mainland leave a surplus of educational moneys, he would be glad to give them to the Vancouver Island system but not to count on it.[70]

Finally, in August 1867, the board decided that since Seymour had advised them to act in accordance with the wishes of the community, they must explain the position of the public system before a public meeting.[71] The governor's reply to the resolutions sent him by the public meeting was that no more pecuniary assistance could be offered as unforeseen circumstances necessitated the most rigid economy in every branch of the government. The board published a statement that they regretted that they could not satisfy the proper claims of teachers and others for educational services.[72] Waddington, who had been paying school coal bills out of his own pocket, resigned as

superintendent of education and went back to England. No new superintendent was appointed despite an offer from Jessop that he would take the position without pay.[73] The board carried on until March 1869 when the Common School Act of 1865 was repealed and An Ordinance to Establish Public Schools Throughout the Colony of British Columbia was passed.[74] The colonial executive gave the board enough money to pay off educational arrears to the end of 1868 and took the position it was not liable to pay any further expenses until local boards showed their districts really wanted common schools by meeting the requirements of the ordinance.[75] According to the ordinance, school districts would be established where inhabitants petitioned for a school for 12 or more children. Elected local boards would be responsible for maintaining school property and buildings, planning a budget for school funds, passing a bylaw to set and collect tuition fees, a local school tax or voluntary subscription, and reporting yearly to the colonial government. The government would control educational grants, teachers, textbooks, and academic inspection. In 1870, an amendment ordinance was passed to provide for an inspector of the schools and a board of examiners of the teachers.[76] Effectively, the Ontario-style free common school system was at an end. The common schools returned to a relationship with the government similar to which they had had under Douglas and Cridge.

After 1866, the common schools were maintained unevenly and, after 1869, they were no longer free in most districts. In July 1866, the board of education noted that the Craigflower teacher, Thomas Russell, was earning $1,000 a year rather than the $500 they had set for the

country schools. Faced with the necessity of discharging Nicholson at Central in Victoria, they decided to discharge Russell who could be considered less efficient than Nicholson because he was not a certified teacher, having been a teenager when he arrived with the original Craigflower settlers in 1852. They offered Nicholson the rural school at a salary of $750.[77] After the September notification of the governor's intention not to pay educational bills, Nicholson asked for a six-week leave of absence and went to California.[78] Russell, embarrassed by the common knowledge that the board had intended to dismiss him, abruptly closed the school and moved to Victoria to open a grocery.[79] The board of education then hired William Harrison, a bookkeeper in a grocery in Victoria who held a second class certificate from Upper Canada and who had taught in California. The board warned him that they could not be responsible for him and gave him a list of parents to visit with the news the board had approved him as teacher.[80] Seventeen children came to the school in October and the number grew to 36 by June.[81] The parents learned in April that Harrison was living on bread, potatoes, and milk. Rather than allow the school to be closed, they called a meeting to discuss how to assist the teacher.[82] Again, in December 1867, they showed their support by holding a soiree, and the $40 proceeds were given to Harrison.[83]

In 1868, support for the Craigflower school plummeted. In December, the board received a letter from Mr. McDonald complaining about the teacher. The board investigated the complaint and advised the parents that if the enrolment did not increase, the school would be closed.[84] When the 1869 ordinance was passed, Harrison, realizing a

local board must be constituted, tried to gather the residents for a public meeting. When they failed to respond, he understood his usefulness in the area was at an end. He sent the colonial government his resignation in May but was asked to remain until arrangements for Craigflower under the new ordinance could be completed. Harrison stayed but later became bitter when the government refused to pay him for the period between the passing of the ordinance and the constitution of the school board by the settlers.[85]

It was May 1870 before the school board of C. B. Brown, Peatt, and Henry Cogan notified the government that a bylaw had been passed at a public meeting to fund the school by a tax on resident householders and male residents over 20, and by pupil fees. The teacher they chose at $600 a year was Lyndon LeLievre, who had been an assistant in a grammar school in Jersey and who had taught French, writing, and bookkeeping at the Boys' Collegiate School for nine months.[86] Mrs. LeLievre was to teach the girls sewing.[87] By September 1870, 35 of the 46 district children between five and 18 years of age were attending again.[88] Enrolment remained at around 30 throughout the 1870/1871 school year.[89]

The school at Cedar Hill closed in December 1866. Attendance had been very irregular and Waddington hinted that the behaviour of the teacher may have been a reason. He wrote that Parsons had a stiff unyielding manner unlikely to please parents or children. Parsons considered the intellect of the children unequal to language skills other than reading but gave them satisfactory instruction in arithmetic and writing. Waddington decided in favour of the teacher when Mrs.

Stockand inquired why Parsons insisted her 14 year old son be moved down a class.[90] The result was that the school had to be closed as attendance fell from 14 in September to three or four small children in December.[91]

During the next two years, Mrs. Henry King taught as best she could in her kitchen. That she was serious about it is demonstrated by the memory of a pupil that when her husband slipped the children lollipops she was annoyed. The students, including John Irvine, George Deans, Peter Merriman, and Jim Tod, learned the alphabet and spelling from a Bible and sang hymns that Mrs. King played on her melodeon.[92]

The Cedar Hill residents gathered in July 1869 to elect a school board under the new ordinance. E. H. Jackson, Joseph Nicholson, and George Deans hired Colin Campbell McKenzie from Lake District and applied to the government for a $500 salary grant and help to build a schoolhouse. The school opened in the Anglican church in October and soon 30 out of 55 school-age children in the district were attending.[93] Not until December did the board realize it had to present a bylaw to the government before it could receive government assistance.[94] The settlers met again and decided to fund their school by a $2 tax on resident householders and males over 20 years, and by pupil fees. McKenzie gave the children a thorough grounding in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and took some students on to algebra. The enrolment remained at around 26 through the 1870/1871 school year.[95]

In Esquimalt, Mrs. Fisher greeted the news her pay could not be guaranteed with a cheerful promise to carry on.[96] Though she

received her pay for 1866/1867 in June 1867 and only a lump sum of $40.10 at Christmas in 1867/1868, she kept enrolment over 25 until March 1868 when the school closed.[97]

The school remained closed until November 1870. In September 1870, the settlers gathered and voted to pursue their former course of funding by subscription.[98] After gathering pledges amounting to $200 from 25 residents, they asked Rev. Gribbell to apply for the government grant.[99] When the grant was approved in October, they elected a school board.[100] Since the residents indicated by a vote of ten to five their preference for a female teacher, Miss Nagle, formerly a teacher at New Westminster, was hired.[101] The school opened November 16, and 27 out of the 52 children of school age in Esquimalt came to St. Paul's church for instruction.[102]

After October 1866, when many recession stricken families moved away, South Saanich barely managed to keep its school open. In the spring, only 12 children, some very young, were enrolled. The number rose slightly in June to eight boys and six girls, representing only five families.[103] The students progressed satisfactorily in their studies though the board of education still had to discipline the independent teacher.[104] Waddington had to ask for C. N. Young's fall 1866 report. When Young tried to order his own texts through a bookseller, Waddington cancelled the order and sent him the approved Irish National books.[105] In June 1867, the board informed Young that to keep the school open he would have to raise subscriptions from inhabitants to add to the small government allotment for South Saanich.[106] Young raised pledges of $236 from the people but

resigned to become vice-principal of the Boys' Collegiate School in Victoria.[107]

Mrs. Fanny Butler, who, with her husband, had been an early settler in Saanich, carried on the school on her own initiative.[108] The board of education acknowledged her efforts in March 1869 when they voted to give her $94.81, the balance of moneys in their account after they disbursed the government grant to clear off arrears in anticipation of the funding system under the new ordinance.[109] In 1871, the government inspector noted Mrs. Butler was still carrying the school, with an enrolment of over 20.[110]

In Lake District, attendance remained over 20 despite numerous departures. McKenzie brought the children along satisfactorily, especially in arithmetic.[111] After the schools came under the 1869 ordinance, he moved to Cedar Hill and the Lake school board hired William Harrison from Craigflower. Harrison resigned in April 1870 because he could not get along with a member of the school board.[112] Lake then hired W. Gibbs to teach the 26 children enrolled for the 1870/1871 school year.[113]

Despite complaints to the superintendent of education that Burr was too severe and even violent with the children and the school was too small with a stifling atmosphere, attendance grew rapidly at Victoria District.[114] In August 1866, attendance was 31, in December 46, in April 57, and in July 93.[115] Many parents attended the school examinations.[116] Burr, who used a pupil teacher for the younger children, was able to offer both elementary and advanced instruction.[117] The board of education rewarded his efforts by

suggesting he take a cut in pay and charge $1 a month per pupil. While Burr thought $1 a month too much for the parents, he complied when Waddington reminded him that he had often remarked that parents would appreciate the common schools more if they were obliged to contribute to their support.[118] Burr continued to carry a full course of studies. His students were examined in December 1867 in reading, spelling, arithmetic, natural philosophy, agriculture, chemistry, history, English grammar, composition, euclid, and trigonometry.[119] In July 1869, there were 78 on the roll when Victoria council decided to take responsibility for Central and Victoria District. The council decided to separate the boys' and girls' departments of Central School again, putting the boys in Victoria District.[120] Thus the earliest common school in the Victoria area ceased to exist as a distinct entity.

Attendance fell sharply at Central in 1866 as families moved away from Victoria in search of work. In the boys' department, the enrolment in August was 107, in December 95, and in June 55.[121] Jessop took a decrease in rent for the Central building and lost his second master, Nicholson.[122] He used a monitor for the junior classes and stimulated effort by introducing monthly written examinations.[123] In August 1866, Waddington investigated a complaint from the black parents of James and William White, William Scott, and John Corder that their children were being neglected in their studies. He decided it was unfounded.[124] Not many other parents showed an interest in what was happening in the department as few attended the public examinations.[125]

The enrolment in the girls' department fell from 97 in September to a low of 44 in January and leveled at around 50 in March.[126] The Colonist thought this partly a result of mothers who formerly did not have to go out to work now having to keep their daughters at home.[127] The low enrolment may also have been caused by the reaction of Elizabeth Fisher to having to work without pay. When Fisher was advised her pay could not be guaranteed, she asked for six weeks leave of absence.[128] After she returned, she displayed a lack of commitment to her duties, frequently being absent without telling the superintendent.[129] Louisa Macdonald kept the school going, with the help of her younger sister and a student monitor.[130] Finally, in March 1867, Waddington wrote Fisher saying her absences had become a cause for general complaint "at a time when public attention is more particularly turned toward the free schools."[131] Fisher resigned and Macdonald carried on until she emphatically gave the board to understand in April that she must have two weeks Easter holidays or resign. She had worked eight months without any remuneration. The board gave her the holiday because she had been faithful.[132] The fact that the students performed unevenly in their examinations suggests that the credibility of the girls department may have been damaged by the lack of consistent, well-organized teaching which resulted from the lack of payment to the teachers.[133]

During the year, two complaints came in from parents. Mrs. Fisher had desired to use Mary Barry as a pupil teacher against her father's wishes. When Fisher sent Barry to the bottom of the class for non-cooperation, Mr. Barry complained to the board of education.[134] The worry of many parents that a cattle market about to be opened in

the area would be improper near girls and small children was resolved when the proprietor promised the market would only open Saturdays.[135]

Agitation in Victoria against the common school was such that Waddington felt compelled to defend it in the Colonist in March 1867. He cited a note in the boys' department visitors book by W. E. Barnard, who had been president of Washington Territory University in Seattle. Barnard testified to the earnest labour of the teachers and the interest and aptitude of the pupils. "The people of Victoria may well be proud of having established a Free Public School and need only to visit the same to be convinced of its success."[136] The image of the school was not improved when a May gale caused the Congregational church building to settle nearly a foot on one side so that the spire was obviously leaning at an angle.[137] At the end of the school year, the lease was given up and the boys' and girls' departments were put together again in the Central building.[138] Jessop offered to carry the maintenance expenses of Central for $60 a month from the board of education and $1 a month fee from each child.[139]

The school reopened in August with Jessop the sole teacher for 52 boys and 40 girls.[140] The board was unable to give him anything except permission to run a night school.[141] During the fall, the board decided to close all the schools in December on the grounds they could not allow the teachers to work when they were unable to pay them. When the Victoria Dramatic Club received an offer from a troupe of travelling entertainers to give a benefit performance in aid of a local beneficial institution, it voted to accept the offer on behalf of the common schools. The Victoria city council endorsed the performance and said they would attend.[142] The proceeds of $434.10 provided the only

income the teachers received that year. Jessop was allotted $94.[143] A group of supporters came to Jessop's December examination to praise the free school system and Jessop for persisting while having to live on voluntary contributions.[144] Jessop began classes again in January with 33 boys and 20 girls, on the understanding that the school would be sustained by voluntary contributions until the government gave the board of education the funds to pay arrears due the teachers.[145]

During the 1868/1869 year, Jessop kept an enrolment of 80. Though by this time most of the country schools were teaching only reading, writing, and arithmetic, Jessop kept up instruction in history, grammar, geography, mensuration, and euclid.[146] At the end of the year, the Victoria city council took over Central as well as Victoria District under the new ordinance.[147]

The Victoria city council approached their new responsibility with good intentions. They decided to make their schools free. A tax would be levied on resident householders and males over 20. The girls would be taught by a female teacher at Central and the boys by Jessop and Burr at Victoria District. All teachers would be paid $75 a month.[148] The government approved the grants and the residents voted unanimously in December 1869 to approve the tax but the Victoria council neglected to have it collected. The government would not release its share of educational funds for Victoria so the teachers were not paid for most of 1869/1870.[149] In February, the council voted to rescind its earlier decision to give the teachers $75 a month.[150] Classes were still held at Central because Victoria District could not be refurbished without government funds.[151] In May, in response to the amendment ordinance, the council called another

residents' meeting to reconsider how the schools would be financed. As usual, a strong sectarian faction attended that favoured voluntary subscription to avoid paying for non-sectarian schools. The majority of the meeting voted for a general tax.[152] The government paid out Victoria's educational grant but the council did not complete their tax collection or pay the teachers. In July, Inspector Alston advised the government to withhold all educational moneys for Victoria because the council did not seem inclined to speed the collection or to prosecute non-payers.[153]

During the summer of 1870, at his own expense Jessop had the Central building moved to a larger lot, 60' by 120', on the north side of View Street.[154] While another community benefit was being arranged to pay for fixing up Victoria District, Jessop and Burr began classes in the Central building.[155] The council, realizing no more government funds would be forthcoming, now decided to see about collecting the school tax. Their collector, Edward Mallandaine, explained he could not collect because the stipendiary magistrate, Mr. Pemberton, had not issued the order.[156] The school teachers then decided to take action. On September 11, they closed the schools and released a statement of arrears and explanation that their drastic move was probably the only thing that would bring action from the council.[157] Alston agreed.[158] By now, with union with Canada in view, the colonial government was softening its stance on common schooling but the 1869 ordinance and 1870 amendment had given the residents of Victoria the means to block its success. Alston thought enough public opinion in favour of the system existed in the city to

compel the board to do its duties.[159] The Colonist warned the public of the dire consequences of not providing public schooling.

> Now the public school is closed, the children are on the streets. . . . It must not be supposed that education is at a standstill. If some of these children do not soon become worthy graduates of the School of Vice it will not be from want of opportunity.[160]

After the schools closed, Mallandaine began collecting the tax. The council began paying off arrears in January 1871.[161] By that time, Burr had gone to a school in New Westminster and Jessop had opened Central as a private school though he still wished to be considered a public school teacher.[162] The council decided to operate Victoria District as a boys' school under Mr. Walker.[163] Before applying again for the government grant, they called a public meeting to ascertain how Victorians wished to raise their share of educational expenses. The meeting voted overwhelmingly in favour of voluntary subscription.[164] The council advised the government the schools could not be reopened because they could not raise the necessary funds by voluntary subscription.[165] The governor replied that he was unwilling to depart from the provisions of the 1869 ordinance. The council then petitioned the legislative council for money to pay off the teachers.[166] On February 21, Henry Nathan, member for Victoria City, moved that a select committee be appointed to consider the council petition and gave notice he was prepared to move that the government pay off Victoria's educational debts.[167] In the ensuing discussion, Nathan learned that the Victoria council had taken so little interest in their educational responsibilities that they had neglected to collect $480 granted to them in 1870.[168] The Victoria council subsequently used the $480 to settle some educational accounts

but the Victoria common schools did not reopen while the 1869 ordinance and 1870 amendment were in effect.

During the period from 1865 to 1871, when the free school system was struggling for survival, new private schools were established in Victoria and many existing ones enjoyed steady support. The sectarian schools, St. Ann's, St. Louis College, Boys' Collegiate, and Girls' Collegiate, experienced some difficulties but their survival was not questioned. The Anglicans founded a school for mixed-bloods in town to complement their reserve school. The Methodists ran schools for Chinese and Indians. Mrs. Fellows joined Madame Petibeau, Mrs. Wilson Brown, Miss Faussette, and Mrs. Hayward in offering private schooling for girls. Mr. Vieusseux established a new private school for boys. Miss Cridge and Miss Barry opened infant schools while Messrs. Jessop and Harrison operated night schools. Other private schools were run by Mr. Bell, Miss Mills, Mr. LeLievre, Mrs. Atwood, Mr. Meachen, Mrs. C. S. Todd, and Miss Yardley. In 1867, Arthur Harvey's A Statistical Account of British Columbia stated that the four major sectarian schools and eight Protestant private schools in Victoria held between them 141 boys and 278 girls, 419 students altogether.[169]

Though its enrolment was temporarily affected by the economic recession, St. Ann's continued to be a popular school. Teacher turnover was fairly high as the work of the Order of St. Ann expanded in British Columbia. For example, in 1865, two teachers were sent to New Westminster to establish a school.[170] When the order's superior general came west in 1866 to set in place a western administration and arrange for branch schools at Nanaimo and St. Mary's Mission, she

brought five new sisters, including two teachers for Victoria. Two years later, Mary Providence went to the motherhouse in Lachine and brought back three sisters.[171] The expansion strained the convent facilities. Though Demers was complaining already in 1867 that the View Street building was too small, the log cabin was not used again until 1868 when it served as an isolation hospital for the smallpox victims from the school.[172] In 1869, the log cabin was used for classrooms.[173] The sisters had been buying lots as they became available since 1863 and the new building which still stands on Humboldt Street was started in 1871.[174]

Order was maintained in the school by a revised rule which was similar to the first but more detailed. The rule stated that "the marks of a good education are letting nothing immodest appear in looks, gait or gesture but having a serious, sweet and affable contenance, with an aversion to curiosity, and a modest carriage."[175] In the fall of 1871, women's rights activist Susan B. Anthony visited Victoria. She put her point across, that women could not expect to enjoy a life in which an aversion to curiosity was an asset, with provocative humour.

> Talk about women's sphere! Men [have] choked up all the avenues of employment formerly open to women. . . . Go and look at your Victoria dry goods stores where great, big, six-foot men are measuring off tape. . . . You ought to be ashamed of yourselves for crowding women out of work. Not a woman in Victoria is satisfied with her lot. If they say they are, don't believe them. The women are not satisfied.[176]

At the cornerstone laying ceremony for the new St. Ann's convent that fall, Father Seghers, the school chaplain, reiterated the Catholic view of women's education.

> There is a sort of education . . . which contents itself with imparting knowledge to the mind, and in some instances it becomes, when wielded by the wicked, a weapon most dangerous for the welfare of society. . . . [T]he education which it is intended to give in this institution . . . is one which both adorns the mind with knowledge and implants in the heart the seed of virtue, which, irrespective of creed or religion, renders woman both a useful member of society by her learning and requirements and a virtuous mother of family, a blessing in the household, a source of joy and happiness in domestic life.[177]

The practical truth was that many of the students would go on to work outside the home. Several would become teachers in the British Columbia public school system.[178]

In 1865/1866, the school attracted 136 students, of which 32 were boarders and 24 were orphans.[179] Governor, Mrs. and Miss Kennedy participated in the closing examination ceremony.[180] The crowd was so large, some left, unable to get seats.[181] The following year, the opening of the new facilities of the Girls' Collegiate and a decrease in the number of students able to pay left enrolment at 119, with 25 boarders and 32 orphans.[182] While the Colonist severely criticized St. Ann's for having its examination questions and answers memorized in advance, the paper urged the community to support the school, particularly in April when a soiree was held to raise funds.[183] The school's enrolment dramatically rose from 106 students, with 23 boarders and 32 orphans, in 1869/1870, to 145 students, with 27 boarders and 27 orphans, in 1870/1871. Approximately one-third of the student body was not Roman Catholic. Attendance remained high at school examinations.[184]

St. Louis College also appears to have had a ready clientele. It had more difficulty attracting teachers than students. In 1866, the

Oblates moved their administrative base to the mainland. Demers bought the school for $10,000, raised by selling the diocese farm. Because he could not attract another teaching order to take over the school, he assigned diocesan priests to teaching positions. These diocesan priests were mostly well educated Europeans from the American Louvain College in Belgium who had come to North America to be missionaries.[185] After the diocese took over St. Louis College, Father James M. McGuckin and Rev. J. Xavier Willemar were in charge. Willemar converted to Protestantism and became an Anglican missionary.[186] In 1867/1868, the school had five teachers led by the Very Rev. Joseph Mandart.[187] Mandart may have been somewhat eccentric, since when he later settled in Saanich as a missionary he made his home in the roots of a tree, but he stabilized St. Louis College.[188] From then on, the school, which was not really a college because the missionary fathers did not offer classical studies, enjoyed a moderately sized faithful following.[189] The building did not require expansion until 1931.

The Anglican Collegiate for Girls was very influential during the worst years of the recession but suffered a sharp decline near the end of the colonial period. A new building, financed by Angela Burdett-Coutts and the Christian Knowledge Society, was constructed during the 1865/1866 school year.[190] John Wright of the board of education designed the two-storey brick building to contain living quarters for servants, teachers and 18 boarders, and classrooms for 60 students, on a 120' by 76' lot on Burdett Street.[191] The cornerstone laying ceremony demonstrated the educational preference of the colonial

administration. Participating were the governor, colonial secretary, attorney general, chief justice, members of the legislative and executive councils and the speaker and some members of the legislative assembly.[192] The board of education was not officially invited though non-Anglican clergymen were.[193] Kennedy told the assembly that the education of girls was of vast importance to the colony because no race of useful people could descend from any but good and virtuous mothers. Bishop Hill seconded that by saying the consequences of the want of education in the female were visible in the character of the man. Kennedy also pronounced satisfaction that the school was not narrowly sectarian so that no student would have to sacrifice any religious feeling. Hills contradicted that by asserting the aim of the school was to keep up what was useful in private life, improve the taste, promote the feminine influence, and give the students increased powers to enjoy the works of God. Since a spiritual knowledge of Christ rather than a knowledge of history and science was needed to save the soul, doctrinal instruction was an essential part of the school.[194] Hills's statement shows that the Girls' Collegiate was clearly a narrowly sectarian school.

The Girls' Collegiate was also distinctly British upper-class in clientele. Mary James later recalled she had been a year at St. Ann's when her brother decided she should be in the Anglican school. Because one had to have connections to get in, her brother was unable to enrol her until he happened to meet his father's old friend, Dr. Tolmie, on the street. Tolmie went to Rev. Reese, the brother of the principal, who apologized and took her in immediately. Seventeen year old Mary had been brought up in an American fort and had received most of her

education at home. She found the other students ready to keep her in her place.

> At my first dinner, one of the young ladies remarked, speaking in French, that, "Miss James knew how to use her knife and fork." Now, while I was in the Convent, I had been a French student . . . so, like a pert child, I asked for the bread, also in French. The same lady remarked, in Greek, "Well, really!", and I, to keep the ball rolling, said in the same tongue, "Why so?" Then . . . everybody laughed. Miss Reese . . . said, "Pray, Miss James, what other languages do you speak?" "Chinook," I replied. . . . I once went with one of my teachers to buy a pair of shoes. There I met an old friend, a shoemaker, from Olympia. We shook hands and were glad to see one another. I presume the teacher told . . . Miss Reese, for that evening she called me into her office . . . and I was told that young ladies were not supposed to be familiar with that class of people.[195]

Mary also recalled that all the girls kissed the hand of one of the Misses Penrice because she had shaken hands with royalty.

The Misses Penrice returned to England in the summer of 1866.[196] The Girls' Collegiate moved into the new building and became known as Angela College. The principal, Miss Susan Pemberton, sister of J. D. Pemberton, and assistants, Miss Pitts, Mrs. Charles Hayward, and Edward Mallandaine, taught the approximately 60 day and boarding students elementary subjects, French, drawing, and religion.[197] The next year, Mrs. Nichols, Mrs. C. N. Young, Miss Thain, and H. O. Tiedeman, and music, German, and fancy needlework were added. The student body of about 100 now included at least 16 boys.[198] In 1868/1869, Pemberton, Hayward, Pitts, and Nichols were joined by Miss Macdonald teaching music, Madame Blum French, Mr. Coleman drawing, Rev. W. E. Hayman arithmetic, and Rev. P. Jenns, the rector of St.John's, botany, astronomy, and religion.[199] Miss Pemberton tried to retire to England at Christmas because of ill health but a successor could not be

found until the summer.[200] The enrolment climbed to about 110 girls and 30 boys.[201]

In July 1869, a new prospectus was published. It promised tuition in arithmetic, geography, use of globes, grammar, English literature, composition, moral philosophy, botany, astronomy, English, French, and Greek and Roman history. Day scholar fees were $3 to $5 monthly depending on advancement, and singing. French, drawing in pencil, and drawing in water-colours were each at least $1.25 monthly more. The orientation of the institution was unchanged. The 1869 Columbia Mission Report stated that Angela College existed for the education of the middle and upper classes. According to the prospectus:

> [T]he object [was] to ensure a sound religious, moral and secular education, and to place within the reach of the greatest possible number, in this our distant home, the means of forming the habits and character of an English lady.[202]

However, the year 1869/1870 turned out to be disastrous for Angela College. Though the school had no shortage of teachers, it had difficulty obtaining a suitable principal. Mrs. Cave began the year, Mrs. Sebright Green took over in January, and Miss Emily Crease, sister of Henry Pering Pellow Crease, finished the year.[203] The total enrolment plummeted to 55, with a low of 13 in May. There were no boys.[204] Left with fewer fees to pay expenses, Mrs. Green found herself petitioning the colonial secretary to have the government pay the cost of shipping coal for the school from Nanaimo, arguing as Baudre had in 1865 that a sectarian school is a public one when it is open to all. Her request suffered the same fate as Baudre's.[205] Miss Crease carried on as principal but enrolment dipped to 37 with

three boys the next year and did not rise above 50 again until 1878.[206]

The enrolment at the Boys' Collegiate fluctuated between 25 and 50 from 1865 to 1875. In 1866, the facilities were improved by the addition of the old girls' building to the side of the boys' building.[207] The principalship was steady, being held by Rev. Charles T. Woods until 1868 and Rev. Frank Gribbell until 1874.[208] Woods, assisted by Robert Williams, who had an M.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge, Edward Mallandaine, and, in 1868, C. N. Young, provided a curriculum which included military training as well as instruction in mathematics, classics, and divinity.[209] At the 1865 annual anniversary dinner, well attended by colonial functionaries, as were all the school's functions, Woods drew applause when he said that:

> He was bringing up the sons of those who now occupied prominent positions in the colony. He was educating them for God and for good. . . . He aimed at the highest education that would fit his young men for the shop, the store, the counting-house or for the highest calling of legislator, ruler or councillor.[210]

Parents were given an opportunity to directly influence the school in 1867. When Hills threatened in June that the school would have to close because he could no longer carry its costs, Dr. Helmcken, whose two sons were in the school, said the public would not allow it.[211] A meeting was held to decide how to finance the school. The parents made it clear they did not want English missionary societies to help and thus gain an influence on the curriculum. They suggested that the curriculum could be made more useful to their requirements.[212] When the school reopened in August, bookkeeping and commercial arithmetic had been added to the course of studies.[213]

This evidence of successful parental influence soon disappeared, however. Bishop Hills appealed to England to make up for the support Angela Burdett-Coutts was no longer willing to give, writing:

> The "secular system," non-sectarian education . . . is no sign of the strength or advance of skepticism; but it is a sign of the jealousy that leads many pious Christians, who have been trained in this or that one-sided system, to prefer that all religion should be excluded from the teaching of the school rather than any other system than their own should be taught. . . . It is the duty of the Church to protest in every place . . . against the establishment of such a system in any community. It is equally her duty to provide for her own children by the establishment of schools based upon the foundation of a sound Christian education, and . . . of a sufficiently popular character so as to gain the confidence and support of the community in . . . which they are planted.[214]

After fees were slashed from $5 to $2.50 a month, 25 new students came into the school. Average attendance for the year was 50.[215] Then Woods was transferred to New Westminster and Gribbell became principal. Under Gribbell's leadership, the Boys' Collegiate entered a period of prosperity. Enrolment climbed from 26 in August 1868 to 77 in June 1869.[216] Mallandaine and Young were replaced by Thomas Nicholson, who had returned from California, Lyndon LeLievre, Mr. Austen for singing, and Lt. Vinter for military drill.[217] The curriculum included mathematics, chemistry, French, and Latin. It did not include commercial subjects.[218] Colonial dignitaries continued to show a high interest in school examinations and enrolment remained strong.[219]

As previously noted, the Anglicans ran a school on the Songhees Indian reserve until 1868. In 1866, they opened a school in Victoria for Indian women married to white settlers, and their mixed-blood children.[220] Hills purchased a lot and house on Humboldt Street for

the school.[221] Rev. T. Reynard, assisted by his wife when she could get away from house and family, taught reading, writing, sewing, and knitting. The students tended to be Indians from the North as yet untouched by town life. When they left the city again with their husbands, Reynard presented them with New Testaments, hymnbooks, and readers. Evidently they were able to pick up enough rudimentary skills to encourage them to continue to learn as one group sent a letter to Reynard saying they met on Sundays to read and sing. Reynard, who did not approve of white-Indian marriages, interpreting them as master-slave relationships, wanted the women to leave their husbands and attend industrial schools where they could be counselled and taught by single women missionaries.[222] He did not have time to implement his ideas as the outbreak of smallpox in Victoria in 1868 closed the mixed-blood school.[223]

The Methodists of Victoria started a class for Chinese in 1865. Dr. Evans attracted a few orientals to the Pandora Street Methodist Sunday School for instruction in English. In 1869, the Methodists, inspired by William McKay and Mrs. A. E. Russ, rented an unused barroom at the corner of Government and Herald for an Indian Sunday School. The work of "rescuing lost sheep" was so successful that an Indian church was established on Herald Street. The barroom was taken over by the Chinese English classes which, in the 1870s, developed into a Chinese mission with a school and a rescue home for oriental women.[224]

The private young ladies' schools seemed to suffer little from the recession. Madame Petibeau managed up to four classes of young boys

and girls from five to 15 years on her well-equipped, five-acre Fairfield Academy campus on Fort above Cook Street.[225] Mrs. Wilson Brown and her assistants at Church Bank Academy continued to please the upper-class parents of 25 to 35 students.[226] Miss Faussette had nearly 30 girls and young boys in her school in 1867. Rev. Garrett, Rev. Somerville, Dr. Tolmie, and Roderick Finlayson participated in the school examination. The Colonist particularly praised Faussette for openly giving her students moral counselling.[227] When Miss Faussette married John Jessop in 1868, the name of her school was changed to Roseville Academy after the well landscaped grounds of her new home.[228] The religious affiliation of the examiners also changed as in 1869, the Presbyterian Rev. McGregor and the Methodist Rev. Russ helped her and Jessop test the students in reading, spelling, definitions, composition, writing, grammar, arithmetic, algebra, history, geography, astronomy, French reading and translation, Latin and Greek roots, vocal music, and piano.[229] Mrs. Hayward's school operated at least until 1871.[230] Susan Crease, daughter of Henry Pering Pellow Crease, wrote that around 1870, she and girls from other well known Victoria families, such as the Tyrwhitt-Drakes, Tolmies, Rhodes, and Harveys, walked past other schools to the corner of Quadra and Broughton to take tuition from the dignified Mrs. Fellows. The girls tried to crack the gravity of their teacher by bringing a gift box containing a mouse to class one day. Mrs. Fellows did not open it until after school and when she did she silenced the girls' laughter with a look of disgust.[231] The Fellows school operated at least until 1878.[232]

In 1867, Charles Edward Vieusseux, who had taught at the Boys' Collegiate, opened a school for boys in his residence in James Bay.[233] While very little is known about his school, it must have attracted a constant clientele because it was still operating in 1878.[234]

Little information is available on the other private schools that existed in Victoria in the period from 1865 to 1871. Parents could enrol their beginners in Miss Cridge's in James Bay or Miss Barry's on Blanshard Street.[235] Young people who were unable to attend during the day could study in the evening with Jessop at Central School or with William Harrison, after he resigned from Lake in 1869, in the Colonist building.[236] A Mr. Bell may have opened a school in 1867 since Waddington recorded a request from Bell for use of government school books.[237] Miss Mills gave over 20 pupils tuition in reading, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, and drawing at the corner of View and Douglas Streets.[238] After leaving the Boys' Collegiate, Lyndon LeLievre opened the Commercial and French Academy at Yates and Blanshard where he and his wife offered a thorough English and French education including reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, French, and bookkeeping in day or evening classes. Fees were $2 a month for up to seven years old and $3 for over sevens, with drawing and mapping an additional $1.50 a month.[239] Mrs. Atwood continued to give lessons in the usual English branches plus French, music, singing, and drawing in her school at the corner of Blanshard and Johnson and lessons in French, music, singing, drawing, and painting after school hours in pupils' homes.[240] Mrs. C. S. Todd

and Miss Yardley conducted schools on Frederick Street and Fort Street respectively.[241] Mr. Meachen, whose credentials were considered "very flattering" by the Colonist, opened a school on Yates Street in January 1871.[242]

The strength of the bias against public schooling in the Victoria area is demonstrated by the choices the members of the board of education made for their own children. Sitting on the board before it ceased meeting in 1869 were Dr. Powell, Dr. Tolmie, W. J. Macdonald, Thomas Trounce, E. G. Alston, J. J. Cochrane, D. M. Lang, J. D. Pemberton, John Wright, David Cameron, T. L. Wood, F. Garesche, D. W. Higgins, and Lumly Franklin. Lang and Franklin did not have children and no mention of any children of Trounce has been found.[243] Cameron's daughters married in 1858 and 1860.[244] J. J. Cochrane had five children but no records have been found of where his or Cameron's children attended school.[245] John Wright left Victoria in 1866.[246] Tolmie had sons in Victoria District before 1860. After 1860, Tolmie's children attended the Boys' Collegiate and Angela College and later the Reformed Episcopal schools started in the 1870s by Rev. Cridge after he and Hills could not resolve theological differences.[247] Dr. Powell's children went to Boys' Collegiate and Angela College.[248] Macdonald's sons and daughters took as much schooling as they could at Boys' Collegiate, Angela College, and Mrs. Cridge's before being sent to Ontario and England to complete their education.[249] Alston's son was enrolled in Angela College at the same time Alston was government inspector for the public schools.[250] The Pemberton children took their schooling under the Cridges.[251] T. L. Wood had daughters in Angela College.[252] The sons and

daughters of D. W. Higgins attended the Boys' Collegiate, Angela College, and the Reformed Episcopal schools.[253] F. Garesche's children attended St. Louis College and Mrs. Cridge's.[254]

The dominance of British colonialism with its emphasis on private schooling gave way in 1871 to union with Canada and emphasis on state schooling. As early as 1867, Amor de Cosmos took the position that union with Canada was necessary to give British Columbia economic stability. Though the thought of becoming one with the unrefined Canadians was distasteful to many British government officials in Victoria, businessmen were aware of the potential economic benefits. London wanted to secure Britain's position across the forty-ninth parallel. When Seymour died in office in 1869, Anthony Musgrave, who was sympathetic to confederation, was appointed governor. Musgrave promised pensions to the British civil servants who would lose their jobs and had the terms of union worked out through the executive and legislative councils. When the government in Ottawa accepted British Columbia's terms and even promised a transcontinental railway, Musgrave had London authorize a change of balance in the legislative council so a majority of elected members could ratify the confederation agreement. He then had the council pass a bill to make all the members elected so British Columbia could begin its history as a province with responsible government.[255] Thus from the time they formally entered confederation in July 1871, the people of British Columbia could organize their public educational system without any executive restraints. The provincial legislature chose to establish by the Public School Act of 1872 a system which was free and non-sectarian

but still effectively controlled by appointed educational officials in Victoria.

As in the period from 1859 to 1865, parents' attitudes in the period from 1865 to 1871 differed radically from district to city. Rural parents petitioned for schools under the 1865 Act and showed a willingness to sacrifice time and money to get them into operation. They showed interest in what was happening in the schools, attending school meetings and examinations. The level of enrolment in the rural schools tended to reflect satisfaction with the teacher. When the government disclaimed responsibility for common school expenses, some of the schools were taken over by mothers teaching without even a tenuous claim to remuneration. After the 1869 Ordinance, the rural districts petitioned once again for schools, showing their willingness to help pay for them through taxes and fees. The rural schools had respectable enrolments after 1869. The districts around Victoria had minimal adjustments to make under the 1872 Act.

There were strong feelings in the city for and against public schooling. In 1865, there was a petition from parents for a common school in Victoria. The board of education understood it to be part of their mandate to establish one. Central attracted a large enrolment in the first year. In 1866, when the governor lost sympathy for the system and the economic recession was at its height, enrolment at Central fell and the school never recovered. The system, when it was vulnerable being an un-British idea and a drain on public funds, came under public scrutiny and criticism in Victoria despite the efforts of the newspapers and champions of non-sectarian instruction to defend it.

Jessop showed extraordinary singlemindedness and endurance in keeping Central open. There were isolated incidents of community fundraising on behalf of the schools to encourage him. Enrolment remained low, however, and parents failed to attend school examinations despite public invitations in the press. There is no evidence of a petition from Victoria parents to establish the Victoria common school under the 1869 Ordinance. The Victoria city council assumed the role of school board. Its lackadaisical attitude toward public schooling finally made it impossible for the public school to continue. No parental hue and cry was raised when the Victoria school closed or when it remained closed for almost two years. One of the first responsibilities of the new superintendent of education under the 1872 Act was to re-establish public schools in the city.

To the end of the colonial period, parents in Victoria continued to choose to send their children to private schools. The members of the board of education put their children in private schools. Though parents had only limited influence on them because they were not wholly dependent on local fees, the upper-class schools held wide support. Angela College fell in popularity at the end of the colonial period but, since the other ladies' schools in Victoria flourished, this may be attributed to internal difficulties. Many small non-elite private schools also operated successfully while the public school, which offered a comparable curriculum to all but Boys' Collegiate, had to close.

None of the schools had a forced clientele since compulsory attendance laws were not enacted until 1876. This was especially true

of the schools for Indians and Chinese since most whites were not interested in their schooling. Some Chinese showed enough interest in learning English to attend Methodist mission classes. The Act of 1872 technically provided schooling for Chinese but they later had to force their way into the public schools. Indians attended the Anglican day schools in decreasing numbers until 1868. The Act of 1872 did not provide for Indian schooling as this was considered to be a federal responsibility. Ironically, Dr. Powell, who had been head of the board of education, became an Indian commissioner and helped form the federal government policy of leaving Indian schooling to missionaries. Missionaries in British Columbia tended to take Indian children away from their parents and bring them up in residential schools. The role of Indian parents in the schooling of their children was minimal during the residential school period.

Notes

[1]MacLaurin, "History of Education," pp. 49–50.

[2]Vancouver Island, Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 1–2.

[3]Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, Minutes September 12, 1864 – August 31, 1866, p. 352, PABC C/AA.20.2A/6.

[4]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 12.

[5]Ibid., pp. 15, 17.

[6]Ibid., p. 50.

[7]Ibid., p. 24; Waddington to Fisher, August 25, 1865, in Vancouver Island, Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 18, PABC C/AA/30.8J/1.

[8]Waddington to Young, July 28, 1866, in Board of Education, Correspondence, pp. 49–50.

[9]The Daily British Colonist, 28 June 1865, p. 3.

[10]Ibid.; Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 6–7.

[11]Ibid., p. 21.

[12]Vancouver Island, Board of Education, School Visits, May 25, 1866; ibid., April 10, 1866; Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 10.

[13]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 54; Board of Education, School Visits, April 10, 1866.

[14]Board of Education, School Visits, July 3, 1866.

[15]Ibid., July 5, 1866.

[16]Ibid., September 4, 1865.

[17]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 64.

[18]Ibid.

[19]The Daily British Colonist, 1 August 1865, p. 3.

[20]Board of Education, School Visits, August 4, 1865.

[21]The Daily British Colonist, 9 August 1865, p. 3.

[22]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 23.

[23]Board of Education, School Visits, May 21, 1866.

[24]The Daily British Colonist, 29 November 1865, p. 3.

[25]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 50.

[26]Board of Education, School Visits, May 28, 1866; Waddington to Colonial Secretary, June 18, 1866, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 46.

[27]Board of Education, School Visits, August 4, 1865; ibid., November 17, 1865; ibid., July 6, 1866.

[28]Ibid., June 16, 1865; ibid., July 6, 1866.

[29]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 2 July 1866, p. 3.

[30]Board of Education, School Visits, July 6, 1866. The Anglican Clergymen seem to have had a policy of attending public school examinations. Methodist Clergymen often participated as well.

[31]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 68; Board of Education, School Visits, July 20, 1866.

[32]Michael to Beckwith, October, 1927, PABC E/E/M58; The Daily British Colonist, 13 May 1865, p. 3; Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 59; Board of Education, School Visits, July 7, 1866.

[33]Board of Education, School Visits, November 6, 1865; ibid., June 16, 1866; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 21 July 1866, p. 3.

[34]Waddington to Parsons, September 12, 1865, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 20.

[35]Board of Education, School Visits, August 27, 1865.

[36]Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 22-23.

[37]Ibid., p. 69.

[38]Board of Education, School Visits, August 24, 1865; ibid., June 2, 1866.

[39]Waddington to Fisher, November 4, 1865, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 29.

[40]Board of Education, School Visits, August 24, 1865.

[41]Ibid.; Waddington to Fisher, August 25, 1865, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 18.

[42]Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 13-14, 17, 20, 61, 63, 69.

[43]Board of Education, School Visits, August 2, 1865; ibid., October 3, 1865; ibid., August 3, 1866.

[44]Ibid., August 2, 1865.

[45]Ibid., October 3, 1865.

[46]Ibid., July 2, 1866.

[47]Ibid., August 3, 1866.

[48]Ibid., July 8, 1865.

[49]Ibid.

[50]Waddington to Beattie, August 3, 1865, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 12.

[51]Board of Education, School Visits, August 2, 1865.

[52]Ibid., July 8, 1865; ibid., March 6, 1866.

[53]Ibid., September 30, 1865.

[54]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 44; Board of Education, School Visits, March 6, 1866.

[55]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 50.

[56]Ibid.; ibid., p. 35.

[57]Board of Education, School Visits, October 12, 1865.

[58]Ibid., November 15, 1865.

[59]Ibid., August 3, 1866.

[60]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 72.

[61]Ibid., p. 82.

[62]Ibid., p. 83.

[63]Vancouver Island, Council Minutes, February 27, 1867, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. V, pp. 43-44.

[64]Memorandum by Governor Seymour, April 18, 1867, PABC F152/9.

[65]Birch to Waddington, April 5, 1867, in Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 90.

[66]Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 90-93.

[67]Memorandum by Seymour, April 18, 1867.

[68]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 94.

[69]Ibid., pp. 101-102.

[70]Young to Waddington, July 24, 1867, in Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 104.

[71]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 110.

[72]Ibid., pp. 118-119.

[73]Ibid., p. 120; The Daily British Colonist and Chronicle, 5 February 1867, p. 3.

[74]British Columbia, An Ordinance to Establish Public Schools Throughout the Colony of British Columbia, March 13, 1869.

[75]Ibid., p. 131.

[76]British Columbia, An Ordinance to Amend "The Common School Ordinance, 1869", April 20, 1870.

[77]Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 59-60, 65; Waddington to Colonial Secretary, July 2, 1866, in Board of Education, Correspondence, pp. 46-47.

[78]Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 73, 79.

[79]Ibid., pp. 65, 76-77, 108; Michael, "The Founding and Building Up of Craigflower," TS, 8, 9, PABC E/E/M58.

[80]Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 76-77, 79; Board of Education, School Visits, September 11, 1866; ibid., December 10, 1866.

[81]Board of Education, School Visits, October 15, 1866; Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 96.

[82]Board of Education, School Visits, April 20, 1867.

[83]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 21 December 1867, p. 1.

[84]Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 129-130.

[85]Harrison to Seymour, May 29, 1869, PABC F729/1; Harrison to Good, August 2, 1869, PABC F729/2; Harrison to Musgrave, February 12, 1870, PABC F729/3; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 11 January 1870, p. 2.

[86]Brown, Peatt, and Cogan to Musgrave, March 22, 1870, PABC F209/2.

[87]E. Alston, Report on the Common Schools 1870, January 31, 1871, PABC F13a/19.

[88]Brown to Alston, September 19, 1870, PABC F209/1.

[89]Alston, Report.

[90]Board of Education, School Visits, September 28, 1866.

[91]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 83.

[92]Irvine, "Reminiscences," pp. 2-3. I have placed this school in 1868 to 1869 because Irvine remembers being in school with Jim Tod under C. C. McKenzie later.

[93]Jackson to Colonial Secretary, October 22, 1869, PABC F826/11.

[94]Jackson to Colonial Secretary, January 5, 1870, PABC F826/13.

[95]Alston, Report.

[96]Board of Education, School Visits, September 5, 1866.

[97]Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 96, 124; Waddington to Colonial Secretary, July 19, 1867, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 73; Journals of the Legislative Council of British Columbia from the 17th December, 1868, to the 15th March, 1869 (Victoria: Government Printing Office, 1869), p. 7.

[98]Esquimalt, Minutes of School Meeting, September 14, 1870, PABC F13a/12.

[99]Esquimalt, Minutes of School Meeting, September 19, 1870. The subscribers were Fred Williams, Isaac Fisher, Rev. F. B. Gribbell, Walter Brookman, T. Sydney Dobbin, J. Wakeman, C. E. Pooley, W. Guard, W. Farroll, James Bland, John McKinnon, Howard, William Arthur, H. W. Mist, W. Sellick, T. Babson, and Messrs. Spark, Yardley, Millington, McDonell, Michell, Smith, Everett, Elwyn, and Williams.

[100]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 16 October 1870, p. 3.

[101]Esquimalt, Minutes, September 14, 1870.

[102]Alston, Report.

[103]Board of Education, School Visits, March 30, 1867; ibid., June 25, 1867. The families were the Thomsons, Simpsons, Lidgates, Briants, and Verdiers.

[104]Ibid., December 21, 1866.

[105]Waddington to Young, November 13, 1866, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 57.

[106]Waddington to Young, June 29, 1867, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 72.

[107]Board of Education, Minute Book, pp. 103, 106, 109, 111.

[108]Mrs. Butler was listed as the teacher of South Saanich in the 1868 Victoria Directory. See Edward Mallandaine, First Victoria Directory and British Columbia Guide, 1868 (Victoria, V.I.: E. Mallandaine, 1868), p. 52.

[109]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 131.

[110]Alston, Report.

[111]Board of Education, School Visits, December 21, 1866; Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 96; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 3 August 1867, p. 3.

[112]Harrison to Musgrave, April 26, 1870, PABC F729/4.

[113]Alston to Hankin, June 10, 1870, PABC F13a/2; Alston, Report.

[114]Board of Education, School Visits, April 23, 1867.

[115]Ibid., August 31, 1866; ibid., December 20, 1866; ibid., April 23, 1867; Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 73.

[116]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 21 December 1866, p. 3; ibid., 4 July 1867, p. 3.

[117]Board of Education, School Visits, August 31, 1866; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 4 July 1867, p. 3.

[118]Waddington to Burr, July 30, 1867, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 76; Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 110.

[119]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 30 December 1867, p. 1.

[120]Ibid., 2 July 1869, p. 3; ibid., 5 August 1869, p. 3.

[121]Ibid., 22 December 1866, p. 3; Board of Education, School Visits, December 21, 1866; ibid., June 10, 1867.

[122]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 67.

[123]Board of Education, School Visits, December 7, 1866; Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 79.

[124]Board of Education, School Visits, August 24, 1866.

[125]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 26 December 1866, p. 3; ibid., 3 July 1867, p. 3.

[126]Ibid., September 1866; Board of Education, School Visits, January 9, 1867; ibid., March 4, 1867; Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 96.

[127]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 22 December 1866, p. 3.

[128]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 76.

[129]Ibid., p. 81; Board of Education, School Visits, December 7, 1866, January 9, 1867, January 29, 1867, February 5, 1867, March 18, 1867, March 27, 1867.

[130]Board of Education, School Visits, October 9, 1866, October 17, 1866, January 29, 1867, February 5, 1867, March 4, 1867, March 18, 1867, April 17, 1867.

[131]Waddington to Fisher, March 21, 1867, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 66.

[132]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 88; Board of Education, School Visits, May 3, 1867; ibid., April 17, 1867; ibid., April 18, 1867.

[133]Board of Education, School Visits, October 17, 1866; ibid., December 7, 1866; ibid., May 3, 1867.

[134]Ibid., August 14, 1866; ibid., August 15, 1866.

[135]Waddington to Mayor, December 13, 1866, in Board of Education, Correspondence, p. 62.

[136]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 13 March 1867, p. 2.

[137]Board of Education, School Visits, May 9, 1867.

[138]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 98.

[139]Ibid., p. 108.

[140]Ibid., p. 116.

[141]Ibid., p. 123.

[142]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 16 December 1867, p. 1.

[143]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 124.

[144]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 21 December 1867, p. 1.

[145]Ibid., 24 January 1868, p. 3; ibid., 22 January 1868, p. 1.

[146]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 1 July 1869, p. 3.

[147]Ibid.

[148]Victoria, B.C., Victoria School District, Board of Education, Minutes, pp. 2-6.

[149]Ibid., p. 11; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 11 September 1870, p. 2.

[150]Victoria, Board of Education, Minutes, p. 14.

[151]Ibid., pp. 10, 12. In December, P. J. Hall charged that his son had been ill treated by Burr. The board investigating committee decided Burr had not been unduly severe but recommended that the strap rather than the cane be used to correct young children.

[152]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 6 May 1870, p. 2; ibid., 11 May 1870, p. 3.

[153]Alston to Colonial Secretary, July 14, 1870, PABC F13a/7.

[154]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 22 July 1870, p. 3; ibid., 9 August 1870, p. 3.

[155]Victoria, Board of Education, Minutes, p. 21; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 9 August 1870, p. 3.

[156]Victoria, Board of Education, Minutes, pp. 22-23.

[157]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 11 September 1870, p. 2.

[158]Alston, Report.

[159]Alston to Colonial Secretary, September 14, 1870, PABC F13a/11.

[160]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 14 September 1870, p. 3.

[161]Victoria, Board of Education, Minutes, p. 29.

[162]Ibid., pp. 24, 28.

[163]Ibid., p. 28.

[164]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 22 February 1871, p. 3.

[165]Leigh to Musgrave, January 13, 1871, PABC F901/12.

[166]Victoria, Board of Education, Minutes, p. 28.

[167]Vancouver Island, Council Minutes, February 21, 1871, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. V, p. 416. The select committee motion was lost six to eight, with Nathan, Humphreys, De Cosmos, Bunster, Skinner, and Alston voting for and Helmcken, Phillipo, Carrall, Hamley, Nelson, Cornwall, Pemberton, and O'Reilly voting against.

[168]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 22 February 1871, p. 3.

[169]Arthur Harvey, A Statistical Account of British Columbia (Ottawa: G. E. Desbarats, 1867), p. 24.

[170]Down, Century of Service, pp. 60-61; Pathmos, History, p. 146.

[171]Down, Century of Service, p. 65.

[172]Demers to Bourget, May 10, 1867, cited in Pathmos, History, p. 155; Down, Century of Service, p. 66.

[173]Down, Century of Service, p. 66.

[174]Sisters of St. Ann, Victoria, B.C., Council Deliberations, February 12, 1863; ibid., May 17, 1865; ibid., January 9, 1870; ibid., July 27, 1870; Pathmos, History, p. 156.

[175]St. Ann's Convent School, Victoria, B.C., Rule for Pupils, Revised and Elaborated, ASSA-V, ADD. MSS. 9, Vol. 2.

[176]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 27 October 1871, p. 3.

[177]Ibid., 13 September 1871, p. 3.

[178]Some examples are Lizzie Smith who began teaching in the Victoria girls' department in 1881, Marcella Storey who was the principal of James Bay Ward School from 1884 to 1889, Nellie Wolfenden who began at Esquimalt in 1885, and Elizabeth Sylvester who started at the Victoria boys' department in 1889. See St. Ann's Convent School, Victoria, B.C., Register, 1858-1923; British Columbia, Superintendent of Education, Annual Report of the Public Schools, 1881-82, p. 219; ibid., 1884-85, p. vii; ibid., 1885-86, p. xi; ibid., 1889-90, p. xxvii.

[179]St. Ann's Convent School, Victoria, B.C., Register, 1858-1923. The enrolment figures given in this paragraph are from the register.

[180]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 20 July 1866, p. 3.

[181]Ibid., 21 July 1866, p. 3.

[182]Pathmos, History, p. 155.

[183]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 18 July 1867, p. 2; ibid., 27 March 1867, p. 3.

[184]Ibid., 21 July 1870, p. 3.

[185]Van Nevel to Theodore, November 1, 1913. See Chapter 2, note 87.

[186]The Daily Colonist, May 1925, p. 28; Columbia Mission, 1867 Report, p. 99.

[187]Mallandaine, British Columbia and Victoria Directory, 1868, p. 45.

[188]Souvenir Booklet, The First Diocesan Eucharistic Congress at Victoria, B.C., June 5, 1938 (no publisher given).

[189]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, July 1874, p. 3.

[190]Ibid., 13 October 1865, p. 3.

[191]The Victoria Daily Post, 15 October 1865, p. 3. This building still stands at 923 Burdett Street, Victoria. It belongs to the Order of St. Ann and is used for a retirement home for sisters.

[192]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 13 October 1865, p. 3.

[193]Ibid., 14 October 1865, p. 3.

[194]Ibid., 13 October 1865, p. 3.

[195]Shepherd (nee James), "Diary."

[196]Columbia Mission, 1866 Report, p. 67.

[197]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 24 June 1867, p. 3; Columbia Mission, 1866 Report, p. 71.

[198]Columbia Mission, 1867 Report, p. 103; Angela College, Victoria, B.C., Statement of School Fees, August 1867-February 1877, PABC K/H/An3.

[199]Columbia Mission, 1868 Report, p. 119.

[200]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 23 December 1868, p. 3; ibid., 30 June 1869, p. 3. The sister of Rev. F. Gribbell was expected to replace Pemberton in December but she never arrived.

[201]Angela College, Statement of School Fees.

[202]"Angela College, Victoria, Vancouver Island, for the Education of Young Ladies, July 20, 1869," Prospectus, PABC NW/97.58/A581.

[203]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 3 July 1869, p. 3; ibid., 7 January 1870, p. 3; Columbia Mission, 1869 Report, pp. 79, 76.

[204]Angela College, Statement of School Fees; "Angela College, July 20, 1869," Prospectus.

[205]Green to Franklin, February 25, 1870, PABC F/682/10. Perhaps the colonial administration was mindful that it had ignored a submission from Father Seghers to Dr. Helmcken arguing for assistance to denominational schools when formulating the 1869 ordinance. See Seghers to Helmcken, February 18, 1869, PABC A/E/H37/Se3A.

[206]Angela College, Statement of School Fees; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 23 July 1879, p. 3; Report of the First Session of the Second Synod Diocese of British Columbia, held in Victoria, August 5, 6, 1880 (Victoria, B.C.: McMillan and Son, 1880), p. 14.

[207]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 21 July 1866, p. 3; ibid., 2 August 1866, p. 3.

[208]Ibid., 14 July 1868, p. 3; ibid., 20 August 1874, p. 3; ibid., 5 July 1877, p. 3.

[209]Columbia Mission, 1866 Report, p. 71; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 10 August 1867, p. 3; ibid., 28 June 1867, p. 2; ibid., 19 September 1865, p. 3. At the 1865 anniversary dinner, Dr. J. S. Helmcken remarked he was glad to see military instruction had been introduced. He was not a soldier himself but would like to see everybody else one.

[210]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 19 September 1865, p. 3.

[211]Ibid., 28 June 1867, p. 2.

[212]Ibid., 11 July 1867, p. 3.

[213]Ibid., 15 June 1868, p. 3.

[214]Columbia Mission, 1868 Report, p. 113. Burdett-Coutts became disillusioned with colonial causes after a bishropic she financed in South Africa tried to separate from the Church of England. See Mallandaine, "Reminiscences," p. 86.

[215]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 25 June 1868, p. 3.

[216]Ibid., 1 July 1869, p. 3.

[217]Columbia Mission, 1869 Report, p. 79.

[218]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 19 July 1870, p. 3; ibid., 21 July 1870, p. 3.

[219]Ibid., 20 July 1871, p. 3.

[220]Columbia Mission, 1866 Report, p. 66; Columbia Mission, 1867 Report, pp. 23-24.

[221]Columbia Mission, 1867 Report, pp. 15, 98.

[222]Ibid., pp. 15, 23-25.

[223]Columbia Mission, 1868 Report, p. 94.

[224]Mrs. Thomas H. Johns, "History of Metropolitan Church, Victoria, B.C.," TS, PABC Add. MSS. 254.

[225]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 29 December 1869, p. 3; ibid., 24 June 1869, p. 3; Edward Mallandaine, First Victoria Directory and British Columbia Guide, 1869 (Victoria, V.I.: E. Mallandaine, 1869), p. 41.

[226]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 25 July 1867, p. 3; ibid., 29 October 1870, p. 3; Wilson Brown to Board of Education, April 4, 1879, PABC; British Columbia, Superintendent of Education, Correspondence Inward, 1877, 166/77.

[227]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 22 December 1866, p. 3; ibid., 2 July 1867, p. 3.

[228]Ibid., 31 March 1868, p. 3.

[229]Ibid., 2 July 1870, p. 3. Mrs. Jessop was still offering 45 pupils private schooling in 1884, six years after her husband ended his official involvement with the public school system. See ibid., 1 January 1884, p. 1.

[230]Alice Michael, "Reminiscences of Life in Victoria in the Days of Confederation," undated Daily Colonist article, c. 1927, PABC E/E/M58; Maria Lawson, "Victoria's Old Time Schools," The Daily Colonist, 15 June 1919, p. 20.

[231]Susan Crease, "Reminiscences," PABC A/E/C86/C864.

[232]Guide to the Province of British Columboa for 1877-8 (Victoria: T. N. Hibben & Co., 1877), p. 286.

[233]Mallandaine, British Columbia and Victoria Directory 1868, p. 48.

[234]British Columbia for 1877-8, p. 286.

[235]Mallandaine, 1868 Victoria Directory, p. 28; Mallandaine, 1869 Victoria Directory, p. 2; Mallandaine, 1871 Victoria Directory, p. 2.

[236]Board of Education, Minute Book, p. 123; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 6 September 1870, p. 3; ibid., 1 October 1870, p. 3.

[237]Board of Education, School Visits, June 4, 1867.

[238]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 1 July 1869, p. 3.

[239]Ibid., 23 September 1869, p. 3.

[240]Ibid., 8 October 1870, p. 2.

[241]Mallandaine, 1871 Victoria Directory, pp. 39, 50.

[242]The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 29 January 1871, p. 3.

[243]The Daily Colonist, 22 July 1956, p. 5; Ibid., 3 July 1955, p. 11, ibid, 5 August 1951, p. 11; ibid., 4 July 1948, p. 6.

[244]Ibid., 1 July 1960, p. 11.

[245]Christ Church Cathedral, Victoria, B.C., Register of Baptisms 1849-86, PABC Vol. 3, Add. MSS. 520, Folders 1, 2, pp. 41, 48, 57, 66, 82.

[246]The Daily Colonist, 18 December 1955, p. 10 mag. sect.

[247]Dr. Tolmie had ten children. William and Alexander attended Victoria District in around 1859 to 1860. See ibid., August 28, 1949, p. 11; Old Colonial School, Roll Call, PABC K/H/V66. In 1860, William and Alexander went to Boys' Collegiate. John, James, Henry, and Roderick also attended Boys' Collegiate. Simon began his schooling in 1875 at Mrs. Cridge's. Jane and Mary attended Angela College and Josette attended Mrs. Cridge's. See The Daily Colonist, 28 July 1929 ; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 25 December 1860, p. 1; The Daily British Colonist, 18 December 1863, p. 3; ibid., 24 June 1864, p. 3; The British Columbian, 1 July 1869, p. 3; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 18 December 1875, p. 3; Angela College, Statement of School Fees; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 19 December 1879, p. 3.

[248]Dr. Powell had nine children. See The Daily Colonist, 26 January 1915, p. 3. George Powell was in the Boys' Collegiate in 1880. Gertrude and Nonie Powell were prizewinners at Angela College in 1881. See The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 27 July 1880, p. 3; ibid., 30 June 1881, p. 3.

[249]Macdonald had six children. See Senator Macdonald, Notes by a Pioneer 1851 (no publication details), pp. 12, 14, 17, 22-23. Flora attended Angela College. Edythe and Lilias attended Mrs. Cridge's. Willie, Reginald, and Douglas went through the Boys' Collegiate. See Angela College, Statement of School Fees; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 14 December 1876, p. 3; James Bay New Horizons Society, "Beautiful British Columbia's Birthplace," Vol. 8, Stories the Houses Tell, TS, PABC Add. MSS. 382; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 21 July 1883, p. 3.

[250]Christ Church Cathedral, Register of Baptisms, p. 61; Alfred Alston was enrolled in Angela College in 1871. See Angela College, Statement of School Fees.

[251]Joseph Pemberton had six children. See Biographical Questionaire, PABC Vertical File/Joseph Despard Pemberton. Ada, Sophia, and Susan attended Mrs. Cridge's School. See Kane Street School, Victoria, B.C., Attendance Book, October 1882-August 1884, PABC E/C/Sch 1.

[252]Thomas Lett Wood had two daughters of school age when he lived in Victoria. See The Daily British Colonist, 12 January 1863, p. 3. Hannah and Helen attended Angela College. See Angela College, Statement of School Fees.

[253]D. W. Higgins had five children. See The Daily Colonist, 20 July 1958, p. 9. William and Frank started at Mrs. Cridge's and went on to the Reformed Episcopal Grammar School. Elizabeth and Maude attended Angela College and Mrs. Cridge's. See The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 18 December 1875, p. 3; ibid., 20 December 1879, p. 3; ibid., 19 December 1879, p. 3; ibid., 22 July 1882, p. 3; Angela College, Statement of School Fees; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 14 December 1876, p. 3.

[254]A. J. and G. Garesche attended St. Louis College. Clara Garesche attended St. Ann's School and Mrs. Cridge's. See The Daily Colonist, 30 January 1939; The Daily British Colonist and Victoria Chronicle, 1 July 1874, p. 3; St. Ann's, Victoria, B.C., Register, 1858-1923; Kane Street Scool, Victoria, B.C., Attendance Book, October 1882-August 1884.

[255]Hendrickson, "Introduction," x/vii, x/viii.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has examined the attitudes of parents in the Victoria area during the colonial period toward the development of public schooling. It has explored the kinds of schools parents supported, their interaction with these schools, and the use they made of possible channels of influence on these schools.

What kinds of schools did Victoria parents prefer? Before 1859, a strong separation in the perception of educational requirements for males and females is strikingly evident. Upper-class parents preferred private schools for their sons but were willing to use Victoria District when quality private schooling was not available. They were able to dominate Victoria District and shape it to their purposes. Upper-class parents sent their daughters to private schools or kept them at home. Lower-class parents in Victoria sent sons to Victoria District but kept daughters at home. Craigflower parents, used to the common school tradition of Scotland, sent sons and daughters to their common school.

The expansion of settlement in the Victoria area after the gold rush led to an increase in the choice of schooling available in Victoria and an increase in demand for schooling in the surrounding districts. Upper-class parents in Victoria put their children in private schools. The common characteristic of those who supported and campaigned for public schools was a desire for non-sectarian schooling. Rural parents were not demanding in their requirements for a school.

They patronized the Anglican community efforts and willingly supported their evolution into common schools.

After the public school system of Vancouver Island was organized under the Common School Act of 1865, the majority of Victoria parents continued to use private schools for their children. The common school which was established in Victoria appears to have been patronized by those who could not afford private schooling and those who desired non-sectarian schooling. When the colony went into economic recession, many of the parents of common school students lost their jobs and moved away. The Victoria school came increasingly under attack by citizens who resented paying for non-sectarian schooling, which they opposed. After the government made local districts responsible for raising a share of educational costs by the Ordinance of 1869, Victorians opposed to non-sectarian schooling were able to close the Victoria public school by leaving it dependent on voluntary subscriptions. Apart from some upper-class parents such as McKenzie of Craigflower who sent his children to private schools in Victoria, rural parents used the district common schools. They kept the district schools in healthy operation during the two years that the Victoria parents allowed the Victoria schools to remain closed.

The evidence suggests that more parents who could afford a choice preferred private schools than preferred public ones. To discover possible reasons, the schools have been analyzed as far as evidence permits, according to nine factors. These are length of operation, sponsorship and patronage, teaching staff, composition of student body,

TABLE II

LENGTH OF OPERATION OF SCHOOLS, 1849 TO 1871

	49/50	50/51	51/52	52/53	53/54	54/55	55/56	56/57	57/58	58/59	59/60	60/61	61/62	62/63	63/64	64/65	65/66	66/67	67/68	68/69	69/70	70/71	71/72
Staines	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓																		
Lempfrit	✓	✓																					
Craigflower				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Victoria District			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			
Langford			✓																				
Cridges Ladies							✓	✓															
Demers							✓				✓			✓									
Langford										✓													
St. Ann									✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Petibeau									✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Silversmith										✓	✓												
Garrett										✓													
Mallandaine											✓												
Clarke											✓												
Cedar Hill												✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Boys Collegiate												✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hall Indian											✓												
Girls Collegiate (later Angela College)												✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Anglican Indian												✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Central (Private)													✓	✓	✓								✓
Esquimalt														✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
Atwood														✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Woods														✓	✓								
Wilson-Brown														✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Denny														✓									
South Saanich																✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Templeton														✓									

Fausette (later Jessop)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
First Pres. Church		✓								
Lake				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
St. Louis Coll.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thompson		✓								
Alsop			✓							
Farnetell			✓							
Hayward			✓			✓			✓	
Lester			✓							
Central (Public)				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		
Anglican Town Indian				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Bell						✓				
Cridge						✓				
Jessop Evening Schl.						✓				
King (Cedar Hill)							✓			
Vieusseux						✓	✓	✓	✓	
Mill							✓	✓		
Barry								✓	✓	
LeLievre								✓		
Methodist Indian								✓	✓	
Fellows									✓	
Harrison Evening Schl.									✓	
Meachen									✓	
Methodist Chinese									✓	
Todd									✓	
Yardley									✓	

NOTE: Only the years for which existence can be proven are checked.

curriculum, services, location and facilities, costs, and operating philosophy.

Presumably parents would desire schools in which their children could progress from rudimentary to advanced learning over a period of years in familiar circumstances. The evidence does not make it clear that stability was a reason why parents preferred one type of schooling over another. Public schools could be expected to be stable since they were government supported, while the stability of private schools would depend partly on parental approval. A surprising number of private schools, particularly after 1859, managed to stay open five years or more. The smaller private schools for girls were more reliable than those for boys or mixed classes, probably partly because teaching was one of the few respectable occupations open to women at that time. Parents readily transferred their children between schools. Before 1859, Victoria District supposedly provided satisfactory schooling for the sons of prominent Victorians. When more private schools came into existence after 1859, many parents did not hesitate to take their sons out of Victoria District. Many parents of day scholars showed indifference to stability by condoning irregular attendance and even ceasing attendance altogether for reasons of weather, home demands or dissatisfaction with the teacher.

Parents may have been drawn to one school over another because of its image in the community created by its sponsorship and patronage. Awareness of class was an important factor in choosing a school. Staines's school was sponsored directly by the Hudson's Bay Company in London. Victoria District and Craigflower were founded by the colonial

administration essentially for the children of labourers. Parents who could afford to choose between the fort school and the district school were likely to choose the fort school unless circumstances made that choice objectionable. Parents of daughters given a choice between a district school run by the government which made no major distinction between its treatment of boys and girls and a private school run by a proper Englishwoman which emphasized learning to be a lady were likely to favour the latter. Given a choice between private schools like the collegiates, which were sponsored by the Anglican hierarchy and which regularly mustered the "cream" of the colony to their public occasions, and a public school, which was run by the fiery Methodist Jessop, and which received few visitors despite aggressive press coverage, many Victoria parents chose private schools. It was not only the children of the poor who were sent to public schools, however. Many of the parents of public school students held substantial enough property holdings to be on voters' lists in the 1860s.[1] The awareness of class as a factor was tempered by loyalty to religious denomination. The fact that religious affiliation sometimes overruled class concerns will be discussed in following pages.

The background and conduct of the teachers may have influenced parents to prefer private schools to public ones. The evidence suggests that background was of greater importance in the education of daughters rather than sons. Most teachers in public schools were equal in qualification to teachers in private schools. Even the English university graduates employed in the Boys' Collegiate were balanced by similar graduates like Kennedy and McKenzie in the public system.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF STUDENTS

	49/50	50/51	51/52	52/53	53/54	54/55	55/56	56/57	57/58	58/59	59/60	60/61	61/62	62/63	63/64	64/65	65/66	66/67	67/68	68/69	69/70	70/71
Staines	*27	*26	*22																			
Lempfrit	20-25																					
Craigflower				30		14-26	21				23	23		27	25	39	34	17-36			35	30
Victoria District						26	17			20	75-40	56		44		60	55	39-93	70	78		
St. Ann										*56	*67	*97	*102	*129	*143	*142	*136	*119	*114	*102	*106	*145
Garrett											11											
Mallandaine											30											
Cedar Hill												10				19	14-5	14-4			30	26
Boys Collegiate												40	30		60	50			50	77		46
Girls Collegiate												20-30						60	*100	*140	*55	*37
Anglican Reserve												50								12		
Esquimalt													25	13		20	21	25				27
Central														100	66				92-53	*80	*125	
Boys' Central																	102	107-63				
Girls' Central																	80	97-45				
Faussette															35			30				
South Saanich															17	12	14	14				23
Petibeau																36						
St. Louis College																100+						
Lake																	21	23				26
Wilson Brown																		33				
Mills																				20		
Ang. Town																				15		
Methodist Indian																					25	
Hayward																*36						

NOTE: Starred figures indicate enrolment; other figures indicate attendance.

Thus, parents could expect a similar pedagogy and concern for giving a solid grounding in both public and private classrooms. An examination of the schooling parents provided for daughters in the colonial period gives the overwhelming impression that social graces and home skills were considered as important if not more important than formal knowledge. Thus, a public school which offered formal knowledge from a male teacher and, possibly, needlework from his wife, would be less desirable than a private school taught by an Englishwoman schooled in the gentle arts. Most common school students were taught exclusively by males. The importance of the conduct of the teacher is uncertain. Teachers were censured more for lack of attention to duties than for improper pedagogy. The exercise of discipline rarely raised controversy. Despite a reputation for cruelty, Burr kept his clientele.[2]

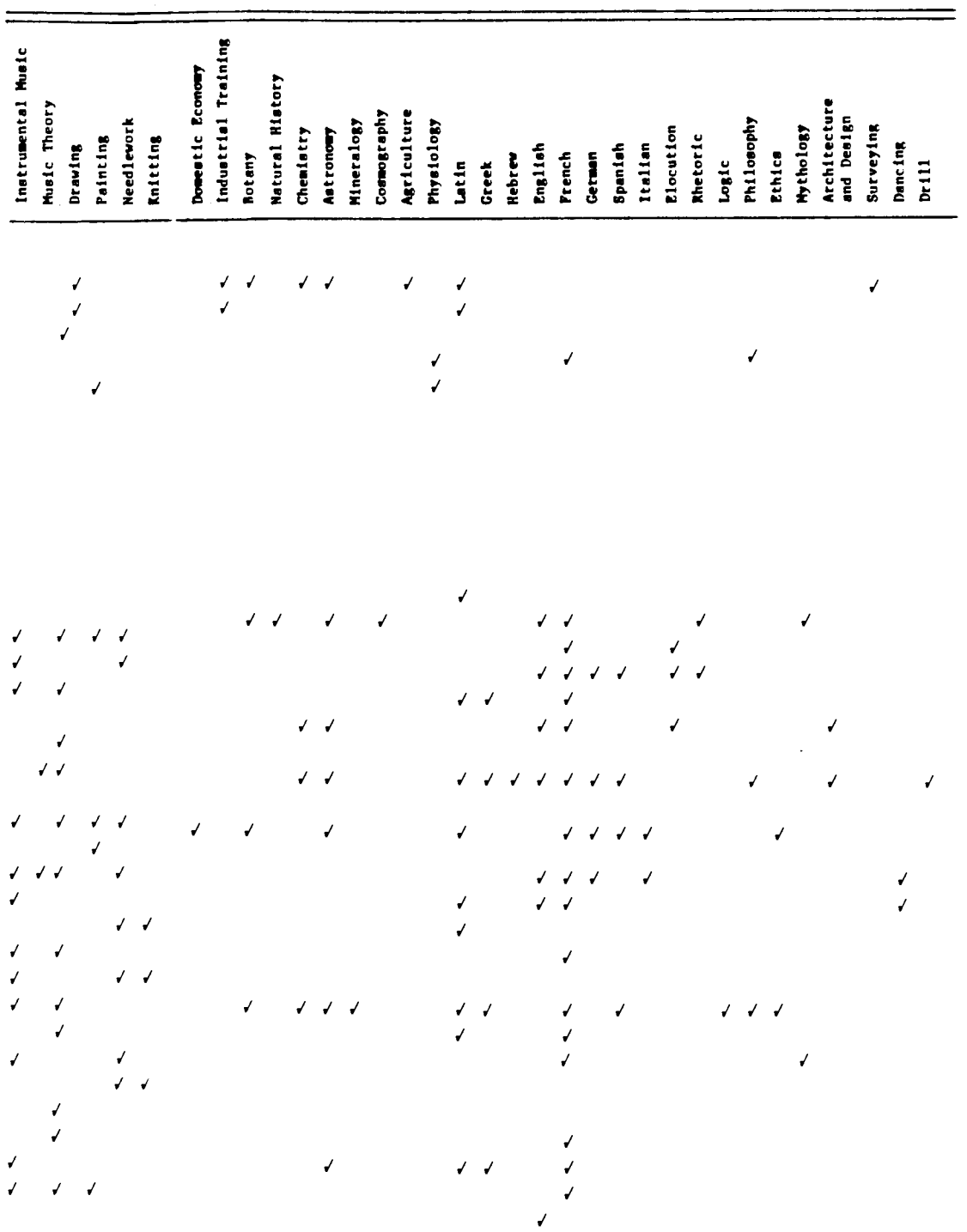
Another factor which may have affected parental choice of schools is the composition of the student body. The evidence shows that sentiment in Victoria was strongly in favour of teaching boys and girls separately. While mixed private schools occasionally surfaced and disappeared, the long-lasting private schools were for boys only, girls only, or girls with young boys. The public schools were mixed. While Central was at first a private school, it purported to be a model public school. Though boys and girls were taught separately, they took their lessons in the same building within sight of each other. When Central became a true public school, the boys were taught in a separate building until 1867 when economic realities forced the school to retain only one teacher and to put the boys and girls together. The fact that

TABLE IV

CURRICULUM

	Scripture	Reading	Writing	Penmanship	Spelling	English Grammar	French Grammar	English Composition	French Composition	Dictation	English Literature	French Literature	Correspondence	Arithmetic	Euclid	Algebra	Natural Philosophy	Menauration	Trigonometry	Geometry	Bookkeeping	History	English History	American History	Ancient History	Modern History	French History	Geography	Use of Globes	Vocal Music
Public Schools:																														
Victoria District	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓			
Craigflower	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓				✓				✓	✓	✓				✓	✓	✓	✓				✓			
Cedar Hill	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓								✓		✓										✓	✓			✓
Boys Central		✓	✓		✓	✓				✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓				✓			✓
Girls Central		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓				✓							✓	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓
Esquimalt		✓	✓		✓									✓																
Lake		✓	✓											✓							✓	✓						✓		
South Saanich	✓	✓	✓		✓									✓																
Private Schools:																														
Lempfrit	✓		✓																											
Staines	✓																													
Cridge	✓																													
St. Ann	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Petibeau		✓	✓											✓																✓
Silversmith		✓	✓		✓	✓								✓							✓							✓		✓
Demers	✓	✓	✓		✓									✓		✓	✓			✓	✓	✓						✓		
Mallandaine		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓	✓	✓	✓					✓	✓				✓		
Boys Collegiate	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓						✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓	✓	✓
Hall	✓	✓	✓																											
Girls Collegiate	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓			✓			✓			✓					✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Anglican Reserve	✓	✓	✓																											✓
Wilson Brown	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓		✓				✓								✓			✓	✓		✓		✓
Denny		✓	✓											✓								✓						✓		✓
Templeton		✓	✓		✓									✓							✓	✓						✓		✓
Fausette		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								✓								✓						✓	✓	✓
First Presbyterian		✓	✓		✓	✓																						✓		✓
St. Louis College			✓											✓		✓			✓	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
Thompson		✓	✓			✓		✓					✓	✓							✓				✓	✓		✓		
Hayward	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓								✓								✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓
Anglican Town	✓	✓	✓																											✓
Mills		✓				✓								✓								✓						✓		
LeLievre		✓	✓			✓								✓							✓	✓						✓		
Jessop		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓						✓		✓						✓						✓		✓
Atwood		✓	✓											✓								✓						✓		✓
Methodist Chinese	✓																													

NOTE: Schools may have offered more subjects. Not all subjects were given consistently.

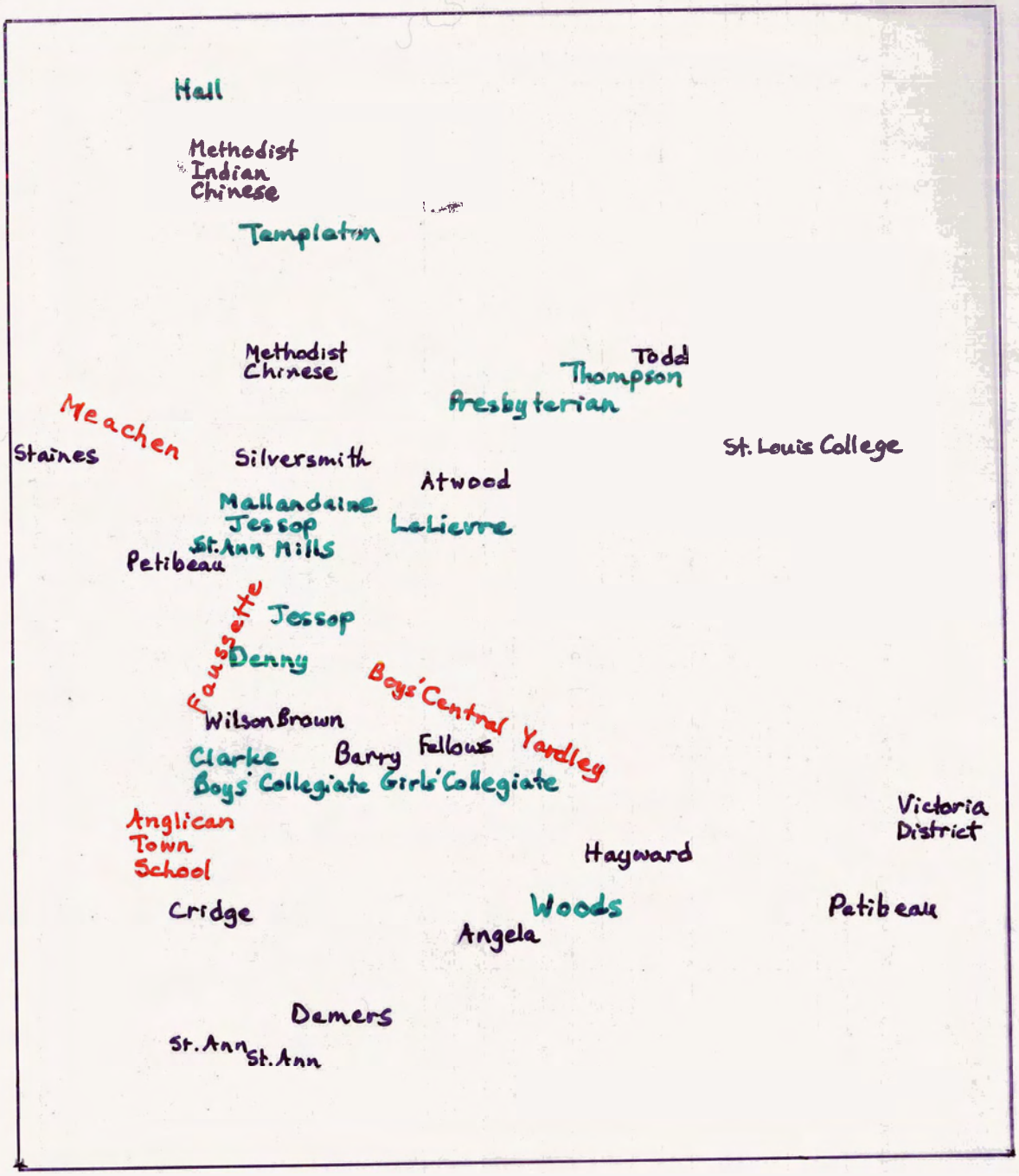

Instrumental Music
Music Theory
Drawing
Painting
Needlework
Knitting
Domestic Economy
Industrial Training
Botany
Natural History
Chemistry
Astronomy
Mineralogy
Cosmography
Agriculture
Physiology
Latin
Greek
Hebrew
English
French
German
Spanish
Italian
Elocution
Rhetoric
Logic
Philosophy
Ethics
Mythology
Architecture and Design
Surveying
Dancing
Drill

when Central was re-established after the colonial period boys and girls were again kept completely apart suggests that teaching boys and girls in one classroom was viewed negatively by parents choosing a school.[3] The evidence also shows that many parents objected to mixing students of different racial backgrounds in the classroom. The enrolments of some schools were affected by the open discrimination against the blacks in the early 1860s. Indians simply were not welcome in white schools. This was shown by the early decision of the Sisters of St. Ann to school by colour so as to build up a white clientele. Anglicans and Methodists also kept the schooling of Indians, Chinese and whites separate.

Curriculum might have limited importance as a factor in a society where only a minority of parents expected to send their children on to post-elementary formal education. The public school curriculum generally consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, and, for a few students, euclid and algebra. Some teachers added subjects such as bookkeeping, vocal music, drawing, needlework, natural philosophy, trigonometry, chemistry, botany, agriculture and, before 1861, Latin. Scripture lessons were commonly given before the 1865 Common School Act decreed that all public schools must be non-sectarian. Private schools tended to offer more subjects but this by itself does not answer whether the quality of the general education was better in private schools. The fuller private school curriculums tended to be more consistently maintained, especially after 1860. Parents of girls likely would be attracted to the wide range of subjects offered by the ladies' schools. Parents who were ambitious

for their sons were forced to use schools which offered classical studies, such as Staines's, sporadically Victoria District, Craigflower and St. Louis College, and, most consistently, Boys' Collegiate. For most parents, however, an adequate elementary education was available from public and private schools. As extra subjects such as music and drawing usually meant extra charges, private schools could offer the same subjects as public ones for poorer parents. Curriculum appears to have been a decisive factor only to parents who were comfortably off and who were convinced of the importance of an advanced education to their children's futures.

The appeal of a school might have been enhanced by the services it offered. Certainly Rev. Woods thought so when he established a boarding school for boys to complement the Boys' Collegiate which did not have boarding facilities. It seems that to be competitive, schools of the period required boarding as well as day facilities. Most long-lasting private schools such as St. Ann's, Angela College, Mrs. Wilson Brown's, and Madame Petibeau's took in boarders. The fact that Miss Faussette, later Mrs. Jessop, accepted only a limited number of students may have been the reason her school was the notable exception. Silversmith, Mallandaine, Jessop, Templeton, Thompson, LeLievre, and Mrs. Atwood all taught evening and/or private lessons to help keep their schools solvent. All but Atwood's school were very short-lived or ultimately unsuccessful. If boarding was a key factor in the success of private schools, it may have indirectly influenced Victoria parents to send their children to them. Boarding helped keep schools financially viable and able to offer the kind of teaching power


Hall
Methodist
Indian
Chinese
Templatron
Methodist
Chinese
Todd
Thompson
Presbyterian
Meachen
Staines
Silversmith
St. Louis College
Atwood
Mallandaine
Jessop
LaLievre
St. Ann Mills
Petibeau
Jessop
Lausette
Denny
Boys' Central
Yardley
Wilson Brown
Clarke
Barry
Fellows
Boys' Collegiate
Girls' Collegiate
Victoria
District
Anglican
Town
School
Hayward
Cridge
Woods
Patibeau
Angela
Demers
St. Ann
St. Ann

City of Victoria, Vancouver Island, School Locations*

SOURCE: William D. Patterson, Map of the City of Victoria, Vancouver Island (Victoria: T. N. Hibben and Company, 1872). PABC CM/B223.

Black = precise location

Green = approximate location

Red = correct street

*For the general locations of the rural schools, see map, page 14.

and curriculum that would attract students. Some public schools such as Victoria District and Craigflower had facilities for boarders. As this accommodation was limited, however, boarding at district public schools may be regarded as more of a practical matter than a competitive one.

The location and facilities of a school do not appear to have been a major consideration in parental choices. In the districts surrounding Victoria, as far as can be ascertained, the only choice parents who could not afford the cost of boarding in Victoria had was whether or not to send their children to the public school. Parents did make clear choices in Victoria but they do not appear to have made them on the basis of location or facilities. Most Victoria schools were concentrated in a relatively small area of the city. Victoria District, which was inconveniently located, was well attended by city children even after 1859. Jessop's Central, which was in the area of high concentration, was not filled to capacity. Central was also among the best equipped of all the schools, with textbooks, teaching aids and playground apparatus. Some private schools were conscious of the value of a healthy stimulating learning environment and others were not. The same was true of public schools. Few schools had ideal facilities. As far as the evidence suggests, only rural parents refused to send their children to school because of poor facilities. Cedar Hill parents complained the Anglican church was too cold for classes as wind blew snow in through the open steeple.[4] Therefore, it is difficult to draw the distinct conclusion that parents preferred any particular school because of its location or learning environment.

TABLE V

DAY FEES PER MONTH

	58/59	59/60	60/61	61/62	62/63	63/64	64/65	65/66	66/67	67/68	68/69	69/70	70/71
Public Schools:													
Victoria District*	.50	.50	.50	.50	.50	.50	.50	free	1				
Craigflower	.50	.50	.50	.50	.50	.50	.50	free				fees	
Esquimalt					free	free	free	free				free	
Cedar Hill							2	free				.50	
South Saanich							.50	free					
Central								free	1	1-free (donations)			
Private Schools:													
St. Ann's*	2.81	2 up				3-4.67 (Orphans free but given work duties.)							
Mallandaine*	4												
Clarke	4												
Boys' Collegiate			5-8		5-8					2.50 up			
Girls' Collegiate*			5-10								3-5 (Clergy children free.)		
Central			2.50 average										
Demers*			3-5										
Templeton			2-4										
Faussette*				3-5									
First Presbyterian*				1-2									
St. Louis College*				3-5									
Thompson				3 up									
Le Lievre*											2-3		
Barry												1.50	

NOTE: The fee calculations are based on a 10-month year.

* Extra charges for subjects outside a basic English education.

The fees charged may be taken for granted as a reason parents would choose public schools over private ones. Public schools were supposedly for the children of labourers. While public school fees were lower, a comparison of school fees and wages shows that the difference between private and public school fees was not as great and labourers' compensations were not as low as might be expected. Public school fees ranged from 50 to $2 a month with periods when fees were not charged but parents paid taxes or voluntary subscriptions. Private school fees ranged from $1 to $10 a month, the majority being from $3 to $5 a month according to age and advancement. According to Richard Mackie's "Colonial Land, Indian Labour and Company Capital: The Economy of Vancouver Island, 1849-1858," labourers in the 1850s earned $85 a year or $7 a month.[5] Margaret Ormsby in her history of British Columbia adds that Puget Sound Agricultural Company labourers were promised 20 or more acres of land after five years of faithful service. Since they also received their food and lodging, their real pay amounted to considerably more than $85 a year.[6] Brian Coyle shows in "The Puget Sound Agricultural Company of Vancouver Island: 1847-1857" that the above terms were not enough to hold many labourers in their contracts to the Company. While the bailiffs tended to be more generous than their contracts required, many labourers extracted more pay from their employers or deserted to work for themselves.[7] Receipts found in the McKenzie accounts show Craigflower labourers being paid about $30 to $50 for a month's work.[8] James Douglas asked the Company directors to increase the workers' pay rate, saying that, "[O]ur low scale of wages . . . is not quite equal to one-fourth of the

wages earned by any free labourers in this country, while carpenters can earn from three to five dollars a day at the former rate, with board."[9] When the contracts of Langford's first workers expired, the bailiff was allowed to offer them about $260 a year and a free house if they would stay in service. Only two out of 12 workers accepted the terms.[10] Economic and living conditions continued to be favourable for workers until the depression hit Victoria in late 1864. Since labour was at a premium after the gold rush, unskilled labourers in the early 1860s received at least $50 a month.[11] As more workers came to Vancouver Island and as the economy grew depressed, the rate of pay lowered until, in 1865, roadbuilders earned $1.50 a day or $30 a month.[12] The figures indicate that, after 1858, most workers could afford at least a few years schooling for their children in private schools, if private schools were their preference. After 1864, those at the bottom of the pay scale needed free schools for their children.

It is certain that operating philosophy was a key factor in the choice of a school. Too much must not be read into this factor. Not all the students at one school were of like faith. Any of the other eight factors might keep a child in a school not of his parents' religious persuasion. For example, St. Ann's took children who could not afford to pay fees. The prestige of the Boys' Collegiate would attract ambitious non-Anglicans. This factor must not be glossed over, however. During the colonial period, religious conviction was still a vital motivator in everyday life. Theological differences, however minor, were held dear because they had been suffered for. England had only recently accorded Roman Catholics and non-conformists their full

political rights.[13] The principle that parents had the right to make the school an extension of the home meant in England that schooling tended to be identified by denomination.[14] English settlement in Eastern Canada began with the same principle but found it impractical as each community needed more denominational schools than could be supported. A tradition of non-sectarian schooling developed in the eastern colonies which was a workable compromise between the principle and the circumstances.[15] In Victoria, proponents of non-sectarian schooling were usually people for whom it was impractical to support a school teaching their brand of belief; for example, non-conformists, Jews, agnostics, the poor, and those who had the use of only one school.

Perhaps parents yielded to the pressure of their clergy in the choice of schools. The Anglican and Roman Catholic clergy were outspoken in favour of sectarian schools and did their utmost to provide attractive educational institutions. The Methodist clergy did not found schools but openly encouraged Jessop's initiatives. The Presbyterians gave up their school in favour of the public system. Public statements for and against sectarianism in schooling originated as much from the clergy as from the citizenry.[16]

Enrolments in the city schools tended to follow sectarian lines. While many of the politicians acting on behalf of public schooling were more North American than British in background, they put their children in denominational schools. Their support of public schooling indicates a belief that every child had a right to schooling, whatever religious convictions his parents held. Governor Kennedy put the tension felt in

the colony regarding sectarian and non-sectarian schooling into words when he declared that his children would be given a sectarian education but if he could not afford to provide it, he would want a non-sectarian school.[17]

Rural parents, unable to choose between schools, insisted on non-sectarian instruction in their common schools. Anglicans seemed to bow to necessity in rural areas but maintained a religious influence which parents appear to have accepted. While they were barred by law after 1865 from actual religious instruction during school hours, Protestant clergymen could afford to retain a benevolent attitude because, as Townsend and Van Brummelen have shown, the public schools were non-sectarian but not secular.[18] Public school textbooks continued to take for granted that God was the creator of all things and the Bible was authoritative for everyday living.

Parents desired schooling for their children even if it meant putting their children in non-sectarian public schools. Where there was difficulty in obtaining schooling, parents petitioned for and helped establish these schools. After the schools were organized, they continued to show an active interest by attending examinations and meetings. In the city, private school functions were well attended by parents. However, hardly anyone, not even parents of students, demonstrated tangible interest in the progress of Central or Victoria District. While the Colonist repeatedly invited the public to school events, Victorians mirrored the indifference of legislators and city councillors toward public schooling. At the one examination for which the Colonist was able to report a large attendance of visitors, that of

June 1866, Governor Kennedy spoiled the effect by remarking that it struck him as strange that a community which could support 85 public houses could not support one free school or Mechanics Institute.[19] Jessop complained bitterly about the parental lack of interest and Burr expressed the view that parents would value public schooling more if they had to pay for it.

The reasons why parents failed to show an active interest in the Victoria public schools are not obvious. Central was a fee school in its first years when parental lack of interest was most apparent. Perhaps school examinations were social functions for rural and city private school parents while city public school parents could not afford to take the time off for this type of activity. As has already been noted, however, public school parents were not necessarily poorer than private school parents. Some schools encouraged visitors more than others. St. Ann's, for example, made a grand occasion out of examinations, with specially constructed stages, elaborate decorations, and prettily costumed students putting on day-long programmes. Jessop was eager to demonstrate his model of schooling, however, and the press kept Victorians well informed of public school events.

Parents may not have given attendance at school functions a high priority but they were willing to use what influence they had to have problems they perceived in the schools rectified. There are many instances of parental action on the public and private schools. In some cases, if the parents were unable to get satisfaction, they used their ultimate power, that of withdrawing their children from the school.

While Staines's school was not a public one, it originated, like the public schools, in the government of the time. John Work had written in a personal letter of his desire for a school. When Staines arrived, Work sent five of his children to the fort for instruction. After the Staines family moved out of the fort, Work persuaded Douglas to expand the school quarters to include those vacated by the schoolmaster.[20] Later, he, with Dr. Kennedy, led the parental delegation that asked for Staines's dismissal. The Craigflower and Victoria District schools were founded in response to petitions. As Colvile explained to Douglas in a letter, Kenneth McKenzie had been justly angry with Douglas for taking Robert Barr for the Victoria school. "Mr. McKenzie took much pains in the selection of him and had some right to expect that his family would have the benefit of his teaching."[21] Barr resigned from Victoria District when parents, upset with his irregular attendance, began withdrawing their children. The Esquimalt residents established the only free school before 1865, determining to pay its expenses by voluntary subscription. The Cedar Hill, South Saanich and Lake schools were organized by parents who formed committees and applied for government assistance. A citizens' petition for a common school in Victoria finally led to the formulation of the Common School Act of 1865. Cedar Hill residents who were unhappy with having their common school in the Anglican church offered to help construct a new building and help pay the teacher. Craigflower, South Saanich and Central parents held entertainments and pledged subscriptions to aid their teachers when they were not being paid by the government. At Cedar Hill and South Saanich, mothers took

over the teaching. Craigflower parents lost sympathy with their teacher in 1869. When a letter from Mr. McDonald to the board of education brought no satisfaction, they withdrew their children and the school closed. After the Ordinance of 1869 was passed, parents in all the districts surrounding Victoria held meetings to determine a method of support, elected boards, and re-established their public schools. Parents in Victoria attended meetings with a view to establishing a public school but were frustrated in their purpose by a lack of consensus due to the presence of a strong sectarian faction.

Parents occasionally made formal complaints about the way their children were treated by certain teachers. The parents of black students at Central charged that their children were being neglected. Mary Barry's father had two grievances. Mary was being used as a monitor against his wishes and she was put to the bottom of the class for a month in retaliation for having complained. While the board of education decided for the teacher in these cases, they did ask Burr to use a strap instead of a cane on young children after Mr. Hall alleged that his son had been beaten.

Since there is little documentation available it is impossible to say whether there was as much parental involvement in private schools as in public schools. When the widow Dodd publicized the beating Garrett gave her five year old son at his private boarding school, Garrett's Collegiate closed. Jewish parents for whom Christian teaching was unacceptable kept Mallandaine in business until he joined the Boys' Collegiate staff and then financed the building of Jessop's school. St. Ann's was at different times under pressure from black

parents to integrate classes and non-Catholic parents to eliminate Roman Catholic ritual from day schooling. Community support for St. Ann fundraising events was always high, however. Some influential parents of Church Bank House students were willing to let Mrs. Wilson Brown use their testimonials in the press. The demise of the Boys' Collegiate was prevented in 1867 by parents who met to ensure the school would survive.

How does the evidence of parental use of influence show parental attitudes toward the development of public schooling? Firstly, it shows parents wanted schooling for their children. They were willing to get involved with their children's schools if necessary. Since in Victoria there eventually was a good choice of schools, the question might be asked why public schools were needed. The evidence for parental use of influence answers the question. Parents needed public schools when there was not enough support available for a proper private school that would teach the philosophy upheld in their homes. The evidence also demonstrates that public school parents were not all apathetic; that public schooling could be as much a choice as private schooling.

Still, parents did not speak out as much as might be expected over a twenty-year period, indicating that parents were prone not to interfere with the running of the schools. Only the Esquimalt community exercised complete control over its school. Most parents appear to have accepted the learning conditions of the schools that suited their purposes, being most concerned that the school exist and that the teacher be faithful to his duties. The low level of expressed

parental dissatisfaction with the public schools may have been partly due to the lines of authority in the public system, especially after 1865. Before 1865, when parents reacted to a government school, change usually occurred. After 1865, though the educational bureaucracy was very small, it consistently found parents' complaints to be without foundation and little change resulted. Parents may actually have put the bureaucracy in a position to impose on them, desiring so strongly that the schools be kept open that they set a pattern of deferring to authority. Perhaps public school parents were unable to make articulate statements, but local newspapers were ever ready to articulate the concerns of the populace. The acceptance of school policy that did not strictly suit parents was not limited to public school parents. When the Boys' Collegiate asked parents how the school could be made more profitable, the parents replied that more practical subjects should be offered. As soon as the school overcame its financial difficulties, the practical subjects were dropped, seemingly without any parental protest. Perhaps the fact that there were relatively few complaints from parents about the schools means simply that parents were satisfied with them. While the social climate of the colony was British, there seems to be little reason why parents would not at least tolerate public schooling. If they had a choice, they could send their children to sectarian schools. If they had no choice, they needed non-sectarian schools. Public schooling had gained acceptance in Canada and the United States and, as the colony grew, pressure to accept it in Victoria would be hard to resist. The obvious community agitation against public schooling was rooted in the question

of whether taxpayers should be required to support non-sectarian schooling.

As most of British Columbia was rural, it seems inevitable that the British Columbia public school system should be non-sectarian. During the colonial period, however, in the major urban centre, when a choice of schools was available through which preferences could be demonstrated, parents chose schools that catered to their class and religious convictions. The uneven history of public schooling in Victoria, particularly in the 1860s, shows that the modern public school idea was far from being generally accepted. The wholesale acceptance by parents of public schooling for their own children would not occur in the Victoria area until public schooling was established under provincial law in 1872 and until it was seen to set the educational standard for advancement in Canada. The evidence suggests that before 1872, parents in the Victoria area supported public schools for two reasons: firstly, from necessity due to the size of the community, and, secondly, from a desire for non-sectarian schooling.

Notes

[1]By the Franchise Act of 1859, voters had to own freehold property worth 50 pounds or pay an annual rent of 12 pounds. Vancouver Island, House of Assembly, November 3, 1859, in Hendrickson, Journals, Vol. 2, p. 147.

[2]Of course, we cannot know how many parents did not choose a school simply because they did not care for the teacher.

[3]British Columbia, Second Annual Report on the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia for the Year Ending July 31, 1873, 10, 18.

[4]Board of Education, School Visits, August 27, 1865.

[5]Richard Mackie, "Colonial Land, Indian Labour and Company Capital: The Economy of Vancouver Island, 1849-1858" (M.A. thesis, University of Victoria, 1984), p. 239. The rate of exchange used to show British money in dollars is one pound equals five dollars and one shilling equals 25 cents.

[6]Ormsby, British Columbia, p. 102.

[7]Coyle, "Puget Sound Agricultural Company," pp. 83, 94, 97.

[8]Langford to McKenzie, October 3, 1857, PABC A/E/M19/M19.1/Folder 1; Weir to McKenzie, November 19, 1853.

[9]Coyle, "Puget Sound Agricultural Company," p. 95.

[10]Ibid., p. 87.

[11]Langley, A Glance, p. 8; John Emmerson, British Columbia and Vancouver Island (Durham: Wm. Ainsley, 1865), pp. 136-137.

[12]Anderson to McKenzie, June 2, 1865, PABC A/E/M19.1/Folder 1.

[13]Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1953), pp. 1179-1180, 1188.

[14]Digby and Searby, Children, School and Society in Nineteenth-Century England, pp. 13-17.

[15]Gidney, "From Voluntarism to State Schooling," 446.

[16]For examples, see Baudre to Kennedy, May 10, 1865; William Sheldon Reece, "Education," A Sermon Preached at Christ's Church, Victoria, V.I., on Sunday, October 9, 1864 (Victoria: The Evening

Express, 1864), PABC NWp/252/R322e; Seghers to Helmcken, February 18, 1869, PABC A/E/H37/Se3A; Barman, "Transfer, Imposition or Consensus?," pp. 247-248, 251.

[17]The Daily British Colonist, 13 April, 1864, p. 3.

[18]Townsend, "Protestant Christian Morality," and Van Brummelen, "Shifting Perspectives" (see chap. 1, n. 27).

[19]The Daily British Colonist, 2 August, 1865, p. 3.

[20]Work to Tolmie, March 29, 1852, PABC A/C/40/W89A.

[21]Colvile to Douglas, November 18, 1853, PABC A/C/20/Vi7A.

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