Public School Reform and the Halifax Middle Class
1850 - 1870

by

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Abstract

Public School Reform and the Halifax Middle Class, 1850-1870

In mid-nineteenth century Halifax a coherent and sometimes self-conscious middle class began to emerge. The new middle class slowly forged a common identity through the changing social relations of the international industrial economy and through an increasing attachment to a cluster of ideas that can collectively be called bourgeois progress. Between 1850 and 1870 diverse groups within the middle class banded together in associations and organizations to pursue their goal of moral and material progress. The role of the pursuit of moral progress in creating a middle class identity and consolidating middle class influence is the central subject of this study. The transformation of a loosely organized collection of varied public schools into a large modern, professional and bureaucratic school system forms the central core of the discussion of the process of middle class formation in Halifax. The success of middle class institutional development in Halifax rested on newly acquired mechanisms for intra-class collaboration. The development of new strategies for middle class collaboration was an essential step in the consolidation of bourgeois power and influence.

Abbreviations

ER	Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Province of Nova Scotia, appended to the *Journal of the House of Assembly* (Nova Scotia)
ER	*Report of the Superintendent of Schools for the Province of Nova Scotia*
JEd	*Journal of Education* (Nova Scotia)
JHA	*Journal of the House of Assembly* (Nova Scotia)
NSHQ	*Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly*
NSHS	Nova Scotia Historical Society
PANS	Public Archives of Nova Scotia
PEA	Provincial Education Association
SNS	*Statutes of Nova Scotia*
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

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Introduction

In December 1859 William Garvie, an ambitious twenty-two year old tutor at Dalhousie College, explicitly linked moral and material progress to Christianity in a speech to the Young Men's Christian Association entitled "The Light and the Shadows or Christianity the Ideal of our Race". The speech was so well received by the audience that it was printed for wider distribution.[1] Garvie's forum, the content of his talk and his florid and romantic style combine to make "The Light and the Shadows" a useful starting point in the pursuit of an understanding of emerging middle class values in Halifax. His forum, the Young Men's Christian Association, was one of a plethora of non-denominational Protestant organizations established in Halifax in the 1850s which manifested the faith in specialization and collaboration that were hallmarks of the middle class. An earlier gathering had prompted the Presbyterian Witness to exult that "a finer scene cannot be imagined than that of a large assemblage composed of all the evangelical denominations...united with one heart and one voice".[2] Garvie presented his audience with a highly teleological version of the history of the world, a version of history that culminated in the glories of mid-nineteenth Protestant culture.[3] He told his audience

> Freedom and improvement are identified with its cause, art and science are its handmaids...It has asserted the divine right of manhood, and

> proclaims freedom to the slave; it has triumphantly recognized the proper social sphere of womanhood; it has given expansion to the intellect, and opposed a barrier to moral wrong; and raising man to the vantage ground of its Ideal, it points through the glorious vistas of the future to a higher existence -- a happiness ennobling and immortal -- and having done this can it meet a rival in any age or clime?[4]

In mid-nineteenth century Halifax a coherent and sometimes self-conscious middle class began to emerge. The new middle class slowly forged a common identity through the changing social relations of the international industrial economy and through an increasing attachment to a cluster of ideas that can collectively be called bourgeois progress. Many within this group believed that both material and moral progress could be achieved through the application of scientific knowledge and the adoption of democratic political institutions and the replacement of aristocracy with meritocracy. Together these ideas fostered faith in professionalization and state intervention. At the same time new theological enthusiasms spawned by the religious revivals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century continued to spread a doctrine of optimism and faith in social perfectability. The combined forces of economic change and evangelical religion acted on the family to produce new social and familial roles for men and women.[5] While these changes threatened to disrupt existing social relationships and alliances, many within the emerging

middle class were enthusiastic promoters of the new order. Their efforts to direct and control the process of change were both a pursuit of their material interest and a reflection of their faith in their ability and their right to create a better society.

The process of middle class formation must, therefore, be analyzed as both an economic and an ideological or cultural phenomenon. The middle class made a close connection between material and moral progress. The identification of this relationship was central to the emergence of a common middle class identity and to the consolidation of middle class influence. Industrialization changed the social dynamic and produced new relationships which were manifested and enhanced by the new ideological and institutional forms. A shared vision of moral progress provided intellectual and emotional cohesion to the changing social relationships. The active pursuit of moral progress functioned to unite members of the middle class in the creation of a social and institutional infrastructure which they judged to be appropriate to an industrializing society. People within the middle class banded together in associations and organizations to pursue their goals. The role of the pursuit of moral progress in forging a middle class identity and consolidating middle class influence is the central subject of this study.

For William Garvie Christianity, unlike even the great classical cultures of Europe, provided the mandate for social improvement. He reminded his listeners that "there are no remains in ruined Thebes, or Sparta, or Pompeii, of hospitals, asylums, and those humane institutions which abound in countries blessed with Gospel light".6 The development of humane institutions played an important role in the emerging value system of the middle class. In 1851 the Christian Messenger regarded the lack of these institutions as a "standing reproach to Nova Scotia".7 Humane institutions stood as symbols for the colonial bourgeois admiration of metropolitan progress, for Christian philanthropy, and also for middle class status and privilege. After the flurry of institutional development in the next decade and a half both the religious and secular press recognized the new institutions as "signs of progress".8 Garvie's romantic style reminds us that the emerging middle class idealized the progressive nature of Christian compassion toward the less fortunate and sentimentalized the young and the weak, and the superior social role of women in Christian society. He addressed these themes explicitly.

> While the daughters of Islam pined prisoned in the harem, the slaves of sensual despotism, the Sovereign Lady of the West has poured beyond the Bosphorus a brave array of Champions to battle for the right; and the lady Florence Nightingale, actuated by Christianity's most vital element, Philanthropy, has...moved like a ministering angel, among wounded warriors,

> asserting the noblest right of womanhood -- the right to sympathize and so to confer encouragement and blessing and assistance.[9]

The romantic, idealized and sentimental attitude toward the special place of women was intensified for children. Girl children received special sentimental awe. A report of a Presbyterian Sunday School picnic in 1869 assured readers that the children had behaved as "model young Christians" throughout the day, but he reserved his special praise for the young ladies who "commenced their target practice always striking the heart no matter at what they aimed".[10]

The Victorian bourgeois pursuit of moral progress owed a great deal to "serious Christianity". Davidoff and Hall have argued that "religious belonging grew to be a central plinth of middle class culture".[11] It provided the English middle class with a sense of identity and of community, and provided them with self-confidence and a code of behaviour.[12] And it must be stressed that in Halifax "serious Christianity" did not mean only Protestantism. Middle class Catholics also absorbed and promoted the bourgeois values associated with Christian philanthropy, separate spheres for men and women, and the sentimentalization of children. Slowly, and with difficulty, the members of the Halifax middle class found the means to implement a shared vision of moral improvement. Often this meant a recognition of the state

as an agency that could be mobilized by the middle class to create the infrastructure for moral as well as for material progress.

The relationship between moral and material progress in a colonial city like Halifax has special and complex features. As in other areas the adoption of industrial production was very uneven.[13] However, the adoption of the ideas of moral progress and the mechanisms for them was, perhaps, even more uneven. The colonial propensity to emulate metropolitan activities and attitudes often led members of the Halifax middle class to introduce or attempt to introduce institutional innovations that expressed the quite different social relations of the metropole. The middle class of British and American industrial cities established new social institutions to protect their property and to teach the bourgeois values of respect for property, hard work and punctuality to a growing urban proletariat. Concern with juvenile crime, for example, led to the development of institutional innovations such as industrial schools to reform and punish young criminals. Middle class Haligonians followed these trends in the treatments of juvenile delinquency despite the fact that juvenile crime was a minor annoyance rather than a severe threat to property.

Some groups within the Halifax middle class, most notably members of the upper middle class and members of

evangelical Protestant churches and organizations and professions like medicine and teaching, formed the vanguard of those who promoted ideas of moral progress. Others within the Halifax middle class were more reluctant adherents, and took considerably longer to be persuaded that institutional innovations such as public schools and juvenile reformatories were useful. This unevenness often obscures the relationship between the adoption of the ideas and institutional forms associated with moral progress and economic change. It is possible, however, to establish the connection through an analysis of the economic interests of the individual promoters of moral progress.

Although the process had begun much earlier, in the two decades after mid-century disparate groups within the Halifax middle class found many new institutional forms through which to express both their ideas and the new social relations. These groups, which can be regarded as the building blocks of the middle class, learned, often painfully, that collaboration and compromise were necessary if they hoped to erect institutions to embody their vision of material and moral progress. Following the example of their contemporaries in Britain and North America they reformed political, educational and religious institutions, and created new associations and organizations. Their successes rested on the newly

acquired mechanisms for intra-class collaboration. The development of new strategies for middle class collaboration was an essential step in the consolidation of bourgeois power and influence.

The reform of public schooling in the city in the 1860s, which is the primary institutional focus of this study, provides an excellent example of the development of middle class collaboration and cooperation. In 1850 Halifax schoolchildren mingled with the lively crowds of buyers and sellers, soldiers and sailors, workers and idlers who filled the busy downtown streets on weekday mornings. Nearly all the city's schools were clustered around the Grand Parade, an open square sandwiched between the garrison and brothel district to the west, and the busy waterfront to the east. However, once the children reached their schools their experiences differed significantly. Some attended large monitorial schools conducted by religious and philanthropic societies, some went to smaller more exclusive academies, and others sat in still smaller schools in the schoolmaster's lodgings. Some were charity scholars whose parents paid no tuition at all, while others paid substantial tuition. Teaching styles and curriculum varied as widely as the school rooms themselves. While a brief period of schooling was shared by most Halifax children, schooling did not provide them with a common experience.

The adoption of a package of public school reforms, including a more centralized administrative structure and the elimination of tuition in the mid-1860s, quickly transformed the experience of public education in the city. School attendance nearly doubled in the next few years, far outstripping the rate of population growth in Halifax.[14] But in 1870 many fewer children set off to the city core each morning. A substantial building program provided square two-storey frame schoolhouses for the growing suburban neighbourhoods. The Board of School Commissioners was vested with new powers which it used to centralize control of the city's public schools.[15] For the new generation of school children the experience of public schooling, which has since become so familiar to urban children, was very different from that of their parents.

Public school reform provides an excellent example of the formation of the middle class for a number of reasons. Faith in public education was a key element in the cluster of ideas that comprised bourgeois progress. A comprehensive system of public education offered to promote the inseparable goals of material and moral progress. Nova Scotian school reformers argued that public education would promote economic development and prevent social disorder. The growth of state intervention in education was also closely associated with the idea and

practice of professionalization, and the struggle for school reform opens a window on aspects of the changing occupational structure of the city. Public education also involved very large numbers of people, almost every member of the community was likely to be touched by school reform at some point in their lives, either as children or parents, or as taxpayers. The close connection between families, the church and schooling permits an examination of the difficult process of letting go of old ideas about the role of the family and church as the state assumed more responsibility for traini g children.

An examination of the Halifax education system in the mid-1860s also demonstrates the stresses and strains inherent in the creation of new social relations and new ideas. Abandoning older ways of doing things proved difficult, even for those committed to progress. Issues of religion and traditional custom and privilege were created by claims to power based on professional expertise by new groups such as teachers and their professional supervisors. Parents struggled with the problem of how to provide the best future for their children in a changing world. For lower middle class clerks and marginal professionals like teachers it was an unsettling time. The promise of bourgeois progress held allure, while the fear of being excluded from its benefits menaced. As an occupational group teachers believed they were well

situated to face the future. They had attached themselves to the new order through their knowledge and skill. Yet their status, reflected in their wages and their lack of professional autonomy, remained very low. The struggle to control the school system involved a great many players. Parents often had ambitions for their children which conflicted with the practices of the reformed school system, and confused feelings about discipline, order and appropriate behaviour. Professional clergy of all denominations continued to regard moral and religious education as their special sphere. And politicians jealously guarded their jurisdictions.

The changes in Halifax, like those sweeping across North America and Europe in the nineteenth century, were part of a much broader social transformation that accompanied the creation of an international industrial capitalist economy.[16] In the past few decades historians of this process have been principally concerned with the impact of this transformation on the formation of the working class.[17] Recently the formation of the middle class has begun to receive greater attention, although there is still much to learn about the process. Some of this new work employs gender analysis, reflecting the interest in the history of the family and of women, and indicating the importance of changing gender roles and attitudes in the transition to an industrial capitalist

society.[18] In Canada the history of the formation of the middle class has received little attention. It has sometimes been implicitly included in studies of institutional development, and political and intellectual history.[19] The revival of interest in the history of public school reform in the 1970s showed a much greater sensitivity to questions of social class than had earlier treatments of the subject, particularly by directing attention to the role of public schools as institutions for the control of the emerging working class.[20] Two important new studies of public school reform in Ontario reflect the refinements of the central questions of the revisionist education historians in addressing the role of social class and gender in public education and through a consideration of public school reform as part of the process of state formation.[21] The relationship between the formation of the bourgeois state and the formation of the middle class is complex, but both timing and personnel suggest that the relationship is a close one. It is hoped that this study will make a contribution to our understanding of this relationship by analyzing the political dimensions of public school reform in Halifax and Nova Scotia. By placing the reform of public schooling directly within the context of middle class formation it is also hoped that further insight into the process of class formation can be gained.

An inclusive, fluid and highly variegated definition of the middle class has been adopted for this study. It is a definition shaped by the central lines of inquiry, the nature of the sources and local peculiarities. It assumes that class is a historical relationship rooted in the social relations of production, shaped by local and international influences, and expressed concretely through association.[22] The definition must be inclusive because this study is especially concerned with social relations within the middle class. It must be fluid because the period studied was one of social and economic transition. And it must be variegated because there was no monolithic middle class experience in Halifax during the period. The variety of middle class experiences in mid-nineteenth Halifax is a crucial factor in understanding the process of middle class formation. British historian Carol Dyhouse refers usefully to the need to consider the "degrees of middle classness" in examining the middle class experience.[23]

Halifax, as a colonial North American city, had no aristocracy. The upper levels of the city's middle class included imperial officials, British military officers, wealthy merchants, and some professionals who were associated with upper middle class families. By 1850 a few successful retailers had joined their ranks. Early industrial activity and the proliferation and

diversification of financial services would also swell the upper levels of the middle class during the period. The middle and lower ranks of the middle class also included merchants, retailers, an expanding range of professionals, and successful artisanal producers and small manufacturers. The inclusion of clerks and school teachers, occupations generally labelled petit bourgeois or lower middle class, is an important feature of the definition. Members of these occupational groups were often active participants in creating new mechanisms for intra-class collaboration.

Occupation has serious limitations as a guide to membership in the middle class if used in isolation. Artisanal occupations were often misleading. The owners of small manufacturing firms frequently continued to use an artisanal occupational designation. Two men who served as aldermen in the period of this study provide examples. George Drillio listed his occupation as sailmaker, John McCulloch, as jeweller. Yet both men had accumulated the property to stand as aldermen, and both lived in suburban comfort.[24] Retailers and merchants also present difficulties. The title "merchant" was not a designation of wealth but of occupation. Auctioneers, for example, often classified themselves as merchants, but they lacked the social prestige of other merchants, and were regarded as "ambitious men and pretty impudent".[25] Retailers

varied widely in wealth and social prestige, ranging from the smallest and most transient shopkeeper to those, like stationer and bookseller Andrew McKinlay, who was successful in acquiring wealth and establishing the good political and social relationships of a member of the haute bourgeoisie.[26] His membership in a variety of voluntary organizations, his elected and appointed political offices, his religious connections, and his philanthropic efforts all contributed to his rise in Halifax society.

Clerks provide another example of the ambiguities of occupation. Many Halifax clerks were young members of established mercantile families serving an apprenticeship in the family business, while others were permanent clerical workers who would remain in low paid, low status occupations throughout their lives. John Robert Willis, the clerk of Halifax Board of School Commissioners for the ten years following the introduction of free schooling in the city, provides an interesting example. Willis began his career as a teacher at the National School, later becoming its principal, and in 1864 he was appointed as principal of the Halifax Industrial School. He was appointed to the secure and relatively well-paid job at the school board because his friends worried about his ability to support his growing family. Willis' claim to historical interest, however, lies more with his avid

interest in natural science. In 1850 he began a life-long study of molluscs, and by 1855 he was exchanging specimens with the American Smithsonian Institute and corresponding with a number of scientists in other areas. In 1862 he was a founding member of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science. Harry Piers, the historian of the Institute of Science, tells us that "In character Willis was eccentric".[27] His eccentricity was manifested, in part, by his regular visits to local fish markets to check the contents of fish stomachs, "those rich treasuries to the shell collector".[28] In stark contrast to the Dickensian stereotype of the Victorian clerk, John Robert Willis was an enthusiastic amateur conchologist with a "merry disposition" and very little money.[29] His claim to middle class status rested more firmly on his avocation and his associations than on his occupation or wealth.

Sharp class delineations based on the ownership of the means of production are obscured by the unevenness of the process of industrialization, and the paucity of records. Specific local conditions, such as the role of Halifax as a colonial administrative centre and British garrison, and the ethnic and religious composition of the population also affect the class structure in the city.

The methodological approach to the identification of the middle class was determined by the central lines of inquiry of the study. The membership of organizations

which could be very broadly associated with the pursuit of middle class interests, especially those concerned with moral or social progress, has been analyzed. There are a number of useful precedents for using association as an important element in identifying the middle class. Paul Boyer discusses the role of voluntary organizations in creating middle class identity and Mary Ryan stresses the importance of association in establishing middle class status in her study of the middle class in Oneida County, New York, in the mid-nineteenth century.[30] Lenore Davidoff, in her innovative study of the role of etiquette in the formation of the middle class demonstrates the importance of following social rules to gain status through appropriate association.[31] American historian Karen Halttunen adopts elements of Davidoff's approach in her study of American middle class culture. She argues that the middle class were particularly concerned with following the rules of association in polite society, and that the American middle class sometimes actively weeded out associates (including friends and family) who did not follow the strict rules of etiquette.[32] Geoffrey Crossick argues that the British lower middle class has to be identified "through actual social relationships and commitments".[33] The lower middle class was "stridently conscious" of not being working class, and its members also resented their position of marginality in relation

to the bourgeoisie. Through their "commitments", ideological, behavioural and associational, the members of the lower middle class strove to establish their class identity. Because many members of the lower middle class lacked wealth and economic influence, the members of this group were especially concerned with respectability.[34] One way to address their concern and anxiety was through association with others equally intent on establishing their credentials as members of the middle class, and many of this group were very active in voluntary associations such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Sons of Temperance, and church groups.[35] Henry Veltmeyer echoes the special importance of ideology and association to the lower middle class in his study of the Canadian class structure.[36]

There is a further reason to give association considerable weight in both identifying and determining social class. It is crucial if women are to be included in the study. Both the ideal and the reality of separate spheres for men and women that accompanied industrialization obscure the relationship of women to economically defined classes. While the work of Davidoff and Hall and that of Mary Ryan demonstrate the economic and social importance of women's role in the industrial transformation of the nineteenth century, it was a task that could only be undertaken on a family by family

basis.[37] For more general studies association, through family, church and voluntary organizations, provides an especially useful indicator of the social class of women. Although the middle class of Halifax adopted an increasingly rigid definition of the separate spheres of men and women, women played a central role in the middle class pursuit of moral progress.

The approach adopted by this study, then, attempts to blend the importance of association with economic and social indicators of middle class status. It has been possible to develop profiles of many of the members of these organizations on the basis of the ownership of property, occupation, place of residence, religion, age, family connections, and membership in other organizations. The sources used for this analysis are discussed in Appendix 1. Neither association nor occupation provide reliable guides to membership in the middle class in isolation. In combination, however, they are very useful, particularly when supplemented with other biographical information. The patterns that emerge from a study of middle class organizations and activities permit the identification of overlapping groups within the middle class, and of increasing collaboration among the various groups.

The formation of the middle class has been examined through concrete actions and behaviour. Between 1850 and

1870 the broadly defined Halifax middle class was engaged in a process of institutional transformation which would permit it to redefine social organization in accordance with its material and ideological interests. It was a process in which association, class as a concrete social and historical relationship, was central to the historical experience.

The structure of the thesis is intended to demonstrate the process of the forging of new mechanisms for intra-class collaboration, and its importance to class formation. The first chapter paints a picture of the changing social geography of the city, and its shifting demographic patterns. Chapter Two considers voluntary activities in the 1850s and early 1860s. The emphasis is on the experimentation with new forms of institutional care by those who first identified their interests in terms of bourgeois progress. The three central chapters, three, four, and five, closely examine public schooling in the city. The changing decision-making apparatus receives particular emphasis. Chapter Three considers the operation of public education between the first Reform school act of 1850 and the passage of the Nova Scotia Free School Act of 1864. Chapter Four follows the transition from a flexible and voluntarist administration of public schooling to a more bureaucratic model of education. The heart of the story is the conflict between the Halifax

City Council, the provincial government, and the Halifax School Commissioners as they attempted to achieve a workable compromise on the question of public schooling. Chapter Five discusses public schooling during the first five years after the passage of the Free School Act. It focusses most directly on the relationships between School Commissioners, teachers, students, and parents. Chapter Six returns to take a broader look at middle class voluntary activity in the late 1860s. Here the main emphasis is on class based social and occupational organizations, an important trend in the 1860s. These voluntary organizations played an important role in the formation of the middle class. Members of the middle class joined voluntary organizations and associations and participated in institutional development in order to express their belief in progress, and to transform and control their society. Their actions suggest they increasingly identified themselves with a middle class interest.

Throughout this study the emphasis is on the concrete forms of collaboration within the middle class. The impact of the new institutions is of less concern than the mechanisms through which they were created, and on middle class attitudes toward them. The self-congratulatory tone of so many reports, both in the press and in the annual reports of institutions and associations, demonstrate the

allegiance of many within the middle class of Halifax to the concept of bourgeois progress. The proliferation of associations devoted to the pursuit of moral progress further demonstrates the techniques that were being developed to control the process of change in the interest of the middle class.

1. William Garvie, The Light and the Shadows or Christianity the Ideal of our Race, (Halifax, 1860).

2. Presbyterian Witness, 9 Dec. 1854.

3. Garvie's understanding of Protestantism is very similar to the new Protestant cultural consensus that William Westfall identified in mid-nineteenth century Ontario. See William Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario, (Kingston and Montreal, 1989).

4. The Light and the Shadows, 33.

5. For a discussion of the impact of these changes on family and gender see Mary L. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge, 1981); Catherine Hall and Lenore Davidoff, Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850 (London, 1987); J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1830-1940 (New York, 1987).

6. Ibid., 35.

7. Christian Messenger, 10 Jan. 1851.

8. See Presbyterian Witness, 16 Jan. 1864; Citizen, 30 Dec. 1869.

9. The Light and the Shadow, 35.

10. Morning Chronicle, 14 Sept. 1869.

11. Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes, 73.

12. Ibid., 75ff.

13. For the unevenness of industrial development see F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900 (London, 1988); Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789-1860 (1982, Illini Books edition, 1987), Introduction; Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, Mark J. Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge, 1982); Ian McKay, "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax, 1850-1889" (BA Honours Essay, Dalhousie University, 1975).

14. School enrolment in 1865, the last year public schools were allowed to charge tuition, was 1700. In October, 1870 enrolment had risen to 5130, but attendance was not keeping pace with enrolments, the average daily attendance in 1870 was 3270.2. JHA, App.21, Table F, 17.

15. Statutes of Nova Scotia (SNS), 1864, Chap.58, 1865, Chap. 28, 1866, Chap. 30.

16. For a discussion of the development of the international industrial capitalist economy see Eric Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital (London, 1976), Industry and Empire (London, 1975). Economic conditions in Halifax in the period are discussed in Chapter 1.

17. See for example, Eric Hobsbawn, Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour (London, 1964); E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (1963, Penguin edition, 1978); John Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns (London, 1974); Neville Kirk, The Growth of Working Class Reformism in Mid-Victorian England (Urbana and Chicago, 1985). Canadian social historians were strongly influenced by this work. See for example, Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892 (Toronto, 1980); Bryan D. Palmer, Working Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980 (Toronto, 1983); Bryan Palmer, ed., The Character of Class Struggle: Essays in Working Class History, (Toronto, 1986); Ian McKay, "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax 1850-1889", The Craft Transformed: An Essay on the Carpenters of Halifax, 1885-1985, (Halifax, 1985).

18. The most influential of these new studies have been Mary Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class. The Family in Oneida County New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Lenore Davidoff, The Best Circles Society, Etiquette and Season, (London, 1973); Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes Men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850, (London, 1987); Male gender roles of the middle class are discussed in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds, Manliness and Morality Middle Class masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940 (New York, 1987). See also F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900 (London, 1988); Karen Halttunen, Confidence Men and Painted Women. A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870 (New Haven, 1982).

19. A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence. Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Montreal 1979); Patricia T. Rooke, R.L.Schnell, Discarding the Asylum. From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English Canada 1800-1950 (Maryland, 1983); Wendy Mitchinson and Janice Dicken McGinnis, eds., Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine (Toronto, 1988).

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22. The definition of class used in this study has drawn freely on the work of a number of historians. Hobsbawm, The Age of Capital; Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class; Davidoff, The Best Circles; Hall and Davidoff, Family Fortunes; Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class; Haltunnen, Confidence Men and Painted Women, 29ff; Geoffrey Crossick, "The Emergence of the Lower Middle Class in Britain: A Discussion", Geoffrey Crossick, ed., The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870-1914 (London, 1977), 11-60; Henry Veltmeyer, Canadian Class Structure, (Toronto, 1986).

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24. For a discussion of the sources used in compiling biographical information see Appendix 1. An aldermen must "Be seised or possessed in his own right of Real or Personal Estate, or both, within the [Halifax],after payment or deduction of his just debts, of the value of Five Hundred Pounds, Currency". SNS, 1849, chap. 14.

25. Halifax Reporter, 6 Oct. 1864.

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27. H. Piers, "John Robert Willis, the First Nova Scotian Conchologist: A Memorial", Nova Scotian Institute of Science, 7 (1889-90) Part IV, 404-11, 410.

28. Ibid., 411.

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30. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class; Paul Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge, 1978).

31. Davidoff, The Best Circles.

32. Halttunen, Confidence Men and Painted Women, Chapter 3.

33. Crossick, "The Emergence of the Lower Middle Class in Britain".

34. Ibid.

35. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class; Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America; Caroll Smith Rosenberg, Religion and the Rise of American City The New York City Mission Movement, 1812-1870 (Ithaca, 1971).

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37. Hall and Davidoff, Family Fortunes; Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class.

Chapter 1

The City

Halifax was built on a boot-shaped peninsula that extends for five miles into the sheltered waters of a large deep harbour mid-way along the seaward coast of Nova Scotia. A hundred years after its founding in 1749, it still had a large British garrison and served as the summer station of the British North Atlantic naval fleet. The civilian population had developed an active import-export trade, and Halifax was an important centre for the coastal carrying trade. The city also played a political and administrative role as the capital of Nova Scotia. In 1851 Halifax had a population of 20,000, and had been incorporated as a city for ten years. Most of the population was sandwiched on the hillside between busy waterfront docks and the imposing Citadel of Fort George.[1]

Still largely a city of unpainted wooden buildings in 1850, it hovered on the edge of modern improvements. Already the downtown streets had been macadamized, some flagstone sidewalks had been laid, and gas lamps lit streets and most of the leading shops.[2] Between 1850 and 1870 the face of the city continued to change. The population increased from 20,000 to 30,000, and buildings spilled out to create new suburbs.[3] Destructive fires in the downtown area and the passage of a city by-law

requiring the use of stone building materials in the city centre produced new streetscapes. And the mid-Victorian enthusiasm for social institutions led to the construction of a variety of commanding new buildings.4 Residential suburban subdivisions extended the city further into the peninsula, more streets were paved, new sidewalks laid. The completion of a horse-drawn street railway system in the mid-1860s, as well as the adoption of uniforms for police, contributed to Halifax's new look.5

New economic influences and activities were also a part of the changes in Halifax between 1850 and 1870. Halifax was becoming more fully integrated into the emerging international capitalist economy, with mixed results. Britain's adoption of free trade in the 1840s had caused severe dislocations for the merchant community in Halifax, and throughout the period it struggled to create a new strategy for economic success and security.6 Generally, the 1850s and 1860s can be considered a relatively prosperous period for the economy of the city and the province. The international recessions of the late 1850s, exacerbated by failures in the local fishery, caused commercial difficulties, but the boom produced by the American Civil War in the 1860s brought significant financial gains to the city. With the end of the Civil War, the abrogation of Reciprocity, and Confederation with New Brunswick and the Canadas in the late 1860s the

Halifax economy began a more continental orientation, although both the international and coastal carrying trades remained important.7

Perhaps the most dramatic changes in the period were in the areas of transportation and communication, both of which drew the city more fully into the developing international economy. By 1870 the city was a port of call on international steamship routes, and it was linked with the United States and Europe by underwater cable.8 More rapid transportation and communication both facilitated local trade and created new forms of competition. It also promoted the rapid spread of new ideas and attitudes, and kept the citizens of colonial Halifax keenly aware of economic and social developments in Britain and the United States. Communication between Halifax and the rest of Nova Scotia was also improved by the reform of the postal service.9 The construction of the Nova Scotia Railway, a wholly government-owned project, was the clearest sign of the local concern with modern progress, but the establishment of a handful of factories in Halifax was also greeted in the press as a sign of modernization.10

Despite the new economic activities in the city, the salt fish trade, principally with the Caribbean, continued to be a mainstay of the local economy.11 During the nineteenth century Halifax emerged as a major Atlantic

seaboard entrepot, carrying on an important fish export trade, much of it to the West Indies, and a general import trade. The fish trade was especially important in the fall, although the coastal trade was conducted year round. Large wholesale merchant houses dominated commercial activity in the city, and there were also significant numbers of smaller trading houses.[12] By the middle of the nineteenth century the city had developed an important financial sector, including banks and insurance companies, to facilitate wholesale trade. The city's financial sector continued to expand during the next two decades.[13] The commercial activity of the port also created opportunities for ship chandlers, stevedores, and a wide variety of crafts ranging from sailmaking and cooperage to ship carpentry.[14] The wholesale merchants got their goods to the citizens of Halifax through a network of retail stores selling dry goods, groceries, coffee, tea and spices, tobacco, sugar and rum. Other retailers relied on local agricultural producers for their products. For the most part artisanal production in the city was geared to the local market, which included, of course, the British garrison.[15]

The garrison was another important pillar of the Halifax economy. At times, for example during the American Civil War, there were 5000 British soldiers stationed in the city.[16] A complex of services catered to

the many diverse needs of the military establishment. Supplying the garrison was a major industry, and stimulated food processing in the city as well as the construction business.[17] In the streets adjacent to the barracks taverns, cheap boarding houses, dancehalls and brothels, many of them multi-purpose businesses, served the personal needs of the soldiery.[18] Artisanal workshops and retailers catered to the wealthier officers, providing tailoring and jewellery, for example. Halifax was also the summer station of the British navy's North Atlantic fleet, and naval seamen created another market. Another set of shops and boarding houses along the waterfront served them and the merchant marine.[19]

Both of these key Halifax industries felt the impact of seasonal rhythms. Early fall was the peak season for the salt fish export trade, and each September the waterfront seethed with activity as merchants prepared to send the cargoes south. Winter shipping in the North Atlantic was very dangerous, and during the winter activities in the port slowed to a crawl. The British naval fleet also left the city each winter for warmer waters. Until the arrival of the first vessels in the spring carrying imports from Europe only coastal shipping visited Halifax.[20]

Between 1850 and 1870 economic activity in Halifax became more complex and varied. An examination of this

process requires a consideration of the relationship between provincial politics and the economy during the period of responsible government, from 1848-1867. The victory of the Reformers in 1847 expressed many of the ambitions of the emerging middle class. Britain's move to free trade had caused major dislocation for the Halifax business community in the 1840s and the merchants, especially, were anxious to find a recipe for economic success in the region.[21] Reform leader and Provincial Secretary Joseph Howe supported structural reform to promote economic development, and he encouraged his government to take a strongly interventionist position on the economy.[22] The Conservatives, also in government a number of times in the two decades between 1850 and 1870, pursued a very similar policy.[23] As a result the activities of the provincial government, like the economy itself, expanded and became more complex, and more costly.[24] Nova Scotia's per capita spending was the highest of any of the original four provinces at Confederation.[25] The two major economic initiatives taken by the provincial government were the promotion and building of the Nova Scotia Railway, and the development of coal mining in the province. These industrial ambitions were also an important factor for Nova Scotians in relation to Confederation.[26]

The Nova Scotia Railway was the largest undertaking

of the Nova Scotia government in the 1850s and 1860s. It represented a substantial departure from the laissez faire economic ideology of many nineteenth century political economists.[27] Not all members of Howe's cabinet supported the idea of a state-owned railway for the province. Herbert Huntingdon, an influential Reform leader and the member of the Nova Scotia Legislature for Yarmouth, on the southwest tip of the province, resigned from office over the question.[28] Regionalism and government ownership were both involved in his decision to resign from the government. Howe was anxious to link the province with rest of the continent, proposing a line that would head straight for New Brunswick through the Isthmus of Chignecto, bypassing entirely the southwestern part of the province, even though Howe himself recognized that it was the most populous and developed area.[29] Howe's plan triumphed and the Nova Scotia Railway was completely owned by the provincial government. By 1870 lines extended to New Brunswick, and to the mining district of Pictou County to the northeast of the main line and to Windsor. It was an extremely costly venture and it almost single-handedly created a ten fold rise in per capita indebtedness during the period of responsible government.[30]

The Nova Scotia Railway was closely linked in the minds of its promoters with the development of the province's coal reserves. In the late 1850s Nova Scotia

had its first major "mining craze". International markets for coal were strong during the period, especially with the opportunities presented by the American Civil War, and there was considerable expansion of the coal fields during the period.[31] The boom ended with the war, although provincial revenues from royalties on coal, slightly over $80,000 by 1868, did not fall off until 1869, when the province realized just $53,000 from coal.[32]

The shifting economic concerns in the province were demonstrated in the reports of the legislature's committee on Trade and Manufactures. In the 1850s most business-related petitions to the legislature reflected the dominance of the import trade in consumer goods, many of them for reshipment to other areas. By 1860 manufacturers were beginning to demand more attention, and requests were frequently made for exemption from customs duties on machinery and raw materials for manufacturing throughout the decade.[33] Business incorporations also provide an index of the changing economy. The number of incorporations increased dramatically over the period, from about half a dozen a year in the early 1850s to about two dozen in the late 1860s.[34] The types of businesses which were requesting incorporation also changed. In the early 1850s most of the companies incorporating were set up to provide for small local improvement projects like wharves. By the mid-1860s mining companies, both coal and

gold mining, led the way.[35]

While provincial government initiatives suggest that there was considerable enthusiasm in Halifax and Nova Scotia for the creation of an industrial economy, changes in the mode of production did not come quickly. Between 1850 and 1870, and throughout much of the nineteenth century, a variety of modes of production co-existed.[36] The commercial base of the city remained extremely important, and the port-based production activities underwent little modernization.[37] The waterfront workforce was important in the city, and industrial processes were to alter waterfront activities very gradually. About 1000 men were employed in waterfront trades during the period. Generally, the waterfront workforce was slow to change, and retained its preindustrial form throughout the century. The push for efficiency in the turn around of vessels, and the significant increase in the number of steam ships involved in the carrying trade resulted in some modernization.[38] Four large crafts and a number of smaller ones remained important to the port throughout the nineteenth century. There were the coopers who made barrels for sugar and fish, sailmakers, shipwrights, and caulkers. The three smaller trades were the riggers, blockmakers and mastmakers.[39] This pattern of the uneven transformation of the labour process was not unique to Halifax. Studies

of England, New York, and Hamilton, Ontario support the idea that continuing variety was very common in industrializing economies.[40]

By 1870 production in Halifax took place in small artisanal workshops, manufactories and a few factories. But it was the factories which captured contemporary imaginations. Newspaper editorials, like one in 1863, expressed the hope that mills and factories would "increase, multiply and prosper, until the eternal clanking of the steam engine, the din of machinery, and the busy hum of industry" would produce further expansion of the city.[41] By 1871 Haligonians had invested $1,622,394 in manufacturing, and 2,558 people were employed.[42] The few factories built in the 1860s reflected both new and old areas of the city's economy. Machine shops and foundries were stimulated by the railway. Some founders, such as William Montgomery, came to Halifax especially to take advantage of new business opportunities, and established an "extensive manufactory" which produced steam train engines.[43] Alexander Moir, another Halifax machinist and founder, was brought from Scotland by the Nova Scotia Railway as superintendent of locomotives, and later set up his own business.[44]

Some of the traditional industries in Halifax also stimulated the change to industrial forms of production. The demands of the garrison and the port had been an

important spur to the baking industry in the city and it was one of the first to adopt factory production. Until the 1850s bread for ships had been produced in small specialized ships' bakeries, but these were replaced by manufactories having over five employees in the next few decades. One large factory was established during the 1860s by William C. Moir, after he won the garrison contract for producing biscuits. In 1865 Moir built a new three-storey brick factory and added a flour mill. By 1871 the output of Moir's factory was valued at over $100,000 a year.[45] Again, the coexistence of different forms of production remained important, and throughout the century much of the bread for household use continued to be produced in small bakeries.[46]

The Halifax construction industry also adopted some industrial production. In the 1850s and 1860s Halifax simultaneously experienced a building boom and the reorganization of the construction industry.[47] Building was stimulated by a variety of factors. These included the great fires of the period, the expansion of military facilities, the modernization of city services which included the erection of new city and county jails, a new courthouse, and a public hospital, and free public schooling. The movement of the emerging middle class out of the central core of the city into new suburban homes also played a part in the construction boom.[48] In 1862

the Evening Express noted that there was considerable building going on in the area of the South Common, and commented the Spring Gardens area was "becoming an elegant suburb".[49] The Nova Scotia Benefit Building Society, formed in 1863, played an important role in the residential construction by providing mortgages. A second society was established in 1863 to meet the growing demand.[50]

Two changes were taking place in the organization of the construction industry. The significance of changes in this industry is underscored by the fact that it was the largest employer of artisanal workers in the city. In 1861 27.5 per cent of Halifax artisans were in the building trades.[51] One change was the emergence of large builders who integrated a variety of crafts, and acted as general contractors. The second was the introduction of pre-fabricated building materials made by local companies like the Halifax Acadia Moulding Factory.[52] The City Steam Mills produced ornamental wood work, pre-cut lumber for floors, and window and door sashes and another factory manufactured patent building materials.[53]

The economic life of Halifax, like that of many mid-nineteenth century cities, was dependent on large numbers of transient workers.[54] The three most important groups of short term residents were British soldiers and naval seamen, and merchant seamen. At peak periods, such as

during the American Civil War, there were as many as 5000 soldiers in the city.[55] There were, of course, clear class distinctions among those serving in the military. Officers were accorded high social standing in the city, and participated in the activities of other elite groups. The rank and file, while obviously essential to the economic well-being of the city, were seen as much less desirable temporary residents. Despite concerns about the social order of the city, clashes between the soldiery and the local civilian population were usually quickly quelled by the military authorities.[56] The British navy also provided a steady stream of transients to the city during the summer months, as did commercial shipping. Merchant seamen, who stayed in the city for varying lengths of time according to their ships' sailing schedule and the season, usually remained in the waterfront area, and in the streets immediately below the Citadel, where businesses clustered to meet their need for accommodation, food and entertainment.[57]

Other temporary residents included construction labourers. In the early 1850s non-resident workers were attracted to the opportunities created by the building of the Nova Scotia Railway. The construction of the Wellington Barracks in the late 1850s, which sometimes employed as many as 800 workers a day, also created employment for workers from outside the city.[58] Often

motivated by economic hardships created by the seasonal rhythms of outport life, these transients were a source of concern to both local craftsmen in the building trades who resented the competition of less skilled workers willing to undercut their wages, and to the municipal government and charitable organizations who felt a limited obligation to tide them over their periods of most dire poverty.59

Between 1850 and 1870 the population of Halifax grew steadily, but not dramatically. It increased from 20,000 in 1851 to about 30,000 in 1871. While the population growth rate of the city cannot be compared to the much higher growth rates of many North American cities, neither can the population of Halifax be considered stagnant.60 Halifax was not popular with immigrants to North America after mid-century. The relatively slow growth rate of the population affected both the age structure and the ethnic mix of the population. Between 1851 and 1871 the population was fairly evenly divided between those under 21 years of age and those over, giving it an older demographic profile than many North America cities.61

Throughout the period Halifax had a very high proportion of Nova Scotian born residents, although the percentage had declined from 71.7 per cent in 1861 to 64.6 per cent in 1871, suggesting that some immigrants did settle in the city during the period. The Irish-born population of the city also declined during these two

decades, from 15.4 per cent to 9.9 per cent.[62] As these figures suggest, Halifax did not receive victims of the Irish famine in the 1840s, a fact which played a major role in ethnic relations in the city after mid-century.[63] Denominational affiliation was more significant in social relations in Halifax than nativity. Catholics comprised about 40 per cent of the population of the city, and were the largest single denominational group in the city throughout the period.[64] Compared to other parts of British North America, Protestants and Catholics lived in relative harmony in the city. Although they were overrepresented at the lower end of the economic scale, Halifax Catholics were well integrated into the life of the city. The lack of an influx of famine Irish, the success of many of the earlier Irish immigrants, and the lack of a strong Orange Order in the city all contributed to the atmosphere of cooperation among the denominations.[65] The case for harmony should not be overstated, however. Denominational discord did surface intermittently. The most acute situation occurred in the late 1850s, a period when Catholic-Protestant antagonisms were running high in many parts of the world.[66]

The incident that triggered this episode was a violent skirmish between Protestant and Catholic railway labourers a few miles outside Halifax at a house called Gourlay's Shanty. The uncomfortable relationship between

Protestant and Catholic labourers was enflamed by a group of Protestant workers who mocked the mass. In retaliation a group of Catholic labourers attacked a Protestant home. Initially the local press reported the incident with little fanfare, and it might have passed quietly except for its timing. Reform politician Joseph Howe, acting on his own initiative, was in the United States on a recruiting trip for the Nova Scotia Regiment about to leave to assist the British military effort in Crimea. The Gourlay Shanty incident occurred just a few days before Joseph Howe's return. Howe's trip had triggered anger among Halifax Catholics, in part because many of his recruits believed that they were being offered work on the Nova Scotia Railway, not enlisting in the Nova Scotia Regiment. When a Halifax Catholic newspaper editor informed a sympathetic colleague in the United States of the purpose of Howe's trip, Howe was virtually driven out of the country. The international incident he set off resulted in the recall of the Britain's ambassador in Washington. When Minister Crampton visited Halifax on his return to London he was greeted by cheering Protestants and angry Catholics. The episode culminated in the loss of Catholic support for the government Liberal party in 1857. The Liberals had relied on the support of Catholics since the 1840s. The Catholic anger at Howe and his illegal bungling in the United States was so severe that a

number of Catholic Liberal members of the House of Assembly, as well as some sympathetic Protestants, crossed the floor of the House and joined the Conservative party. The rupture between Protestant and Catholic Liberals lasted a number of years, and Howe himself was very slow to offer any reassurance to his Catholic political allies.[67]

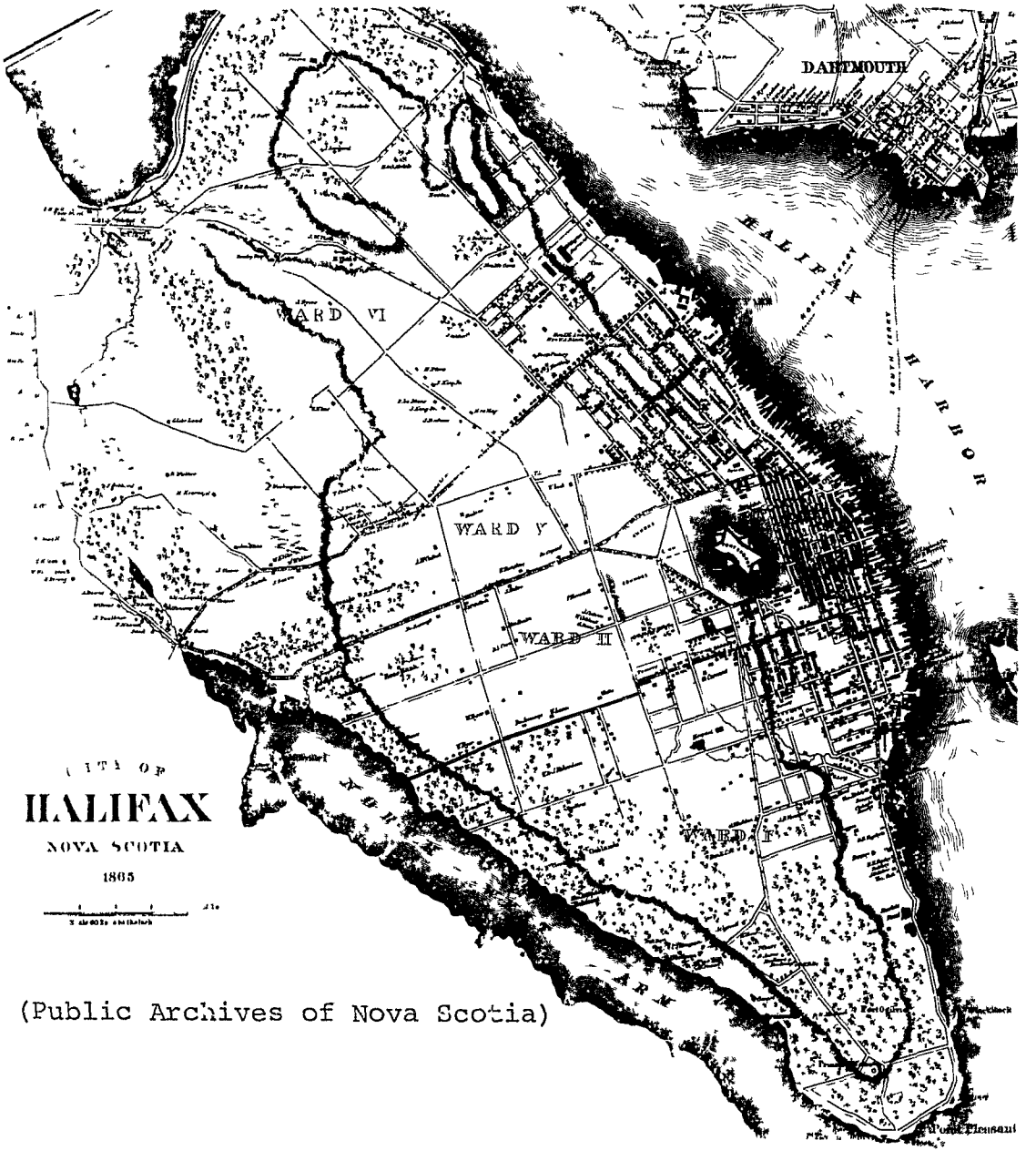
Militant Protestants responded with the formation of the Protestant Alliance established to curtail the influence of Catholics in the city and the province.[68] However, the rhetoric of the Protestant Alliance failed as a call to action. The city lacked a tradition of violent denominational hostilities, and powerful agencies for reconciliation were active in the city. Both the municipal government and the temperance movement, for example, included Protestants and Catholics.[69] Many Halifax Protestants refused to take part in the hostilities. Protestants patronized the Sisters of Charity Bazaar in July 1857, for example, to the disgust of the militant Presbyterian Witness.[70] Middle class Protestant parents also sent their daughters to the Convent of the Sacred Heart where the Sisters offered a good education for a lower price than their Protestant competitors.[71] While Catholics and Protestants continued to pursue separate institutional development during the 1860s, collaboration was also a salient feature of

denominational relations in the city.72

The changes in Halifax between 1850 and 1870 were also reflected in the geographical distribution of the population. Haligonians were increasingly likely to live their lives in specialized neighbourhoods. The Ward structure, used to administer city government, provides a useful way of looking at the social geography of the city. The layout of the wards reflected the older social organization of the city, when most of the people were settled in a narrow strip along the waterfront. (See Map 1-1). Ward 6, the largest, was at the northern end of the peninsula, and contained 2041 acres. Ward 1, at the southern end, with 1096 acres was also large. Wards 2 and 5, in the near south and north ends respectively, each had about 500 acres, while Wards 3 and 4, crowded under the Citadel, were very small, at 85.5 and 74.5 acres respectively.73 The population distribution among the wards demonstrates the way the city was changing over the period between 1850 and 1870. (See Table 1-1).

While between 1851 and 1861 the geographically smaller wards in the centre of the city continued to grow, the 1871 figures indicate a gradual move out of that area into the larger suburban wards. Population declined first in ward 3, and then the trend also reached wards 2 and 4. The concentration of commercial activity in the central area of the waterfront is demonstrated by the fact that

Map 1-1
Halifax in 1865



(Public Archives of Nova Scotia)

the real and personal property on Water Street represented 28.6 per cent of the total value of the city's assessment in 1863.74

Table 1 - 1

Halifax Population by Ward, 1851-1871

	1851	% of city	1861	% of city	1871	% of city
Ward 1	3038	14.6	4199	16.8	6634	22.4
Ward 2	2819	13.5	3656	14.16	3320	11.2
Ward 3	4380	21.1	3590	14.4	3277	11.1
Ward 4	1822	8.8	2526	10.1	2331	7.9
Ward 5	6696	32.2	8220	32.9	10,046	34.
Ward 6	2065	9.9	2815	11.3	3974	13.4
Total	20,769		25,006		29,572	

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Wards 3 and 4 were the location of the boarding houses and taverns of sailortown, which were situated side-by-side with merchants' warehouses and wharves and the workshops of an array of waterfront craftsmen and the shops of ships' chandlers. The streets immediately above Water Street were dominated by large retail establishments, and during the late 1850s and 1860s Granville Street became the most elegant shopping area in the city.76 The cluster of streets below Citadel Hill offered services to soldiers stationed at Fort George. Taverns, eating places, dance halls, brothels and cheap

boarding houses, many combining a number of services in one spot, densely covered the area. Between the waterfront and the upper streets churches, schools and government buildings were scattered among small retail and artisanal workshops and the houses of rich and poor.

By mid-century the slow, steady population growth was squeezing north and south into Wards 2 and 5, along the waterfront and around the Citadel. Immediately west of the Citadel a long strip of common land provided drill grounds for the military, and the southern section was slowly filling up with civic and religious institutions. A cemetery, a horticultural garden, a convent school, a hospital and the Poors' Asylum house were located on the South Common by 1870. Beyond the Common a broad ring of settlement developed steadily.[77]

Wards 1 and 6, still largely rural in 1850, began to fill up with suburban housing. The move had begun in the 1840s and 1850s when successful merchants, lawyers and politicians began to build villas on spacious grounds extending to the North West Arm on the western edge of the peninsula. In the 1860s new subdivisions provided space for the city's growing middle class to escape the crowded city core and to fulfill their new ideals of Victorian domesticity.[78] Wards 1 and 6 were, however, beginning to develop distinctly different characters. By the 1860s, Ward 1 in the south end was already regarded as the

"court-end of town". Provincial and imperial officials, and business men "as they acquired wealth" had built comfortable, and even lavish houses in that area.79 Although a number of factories located along the southern end of the waterfront area of the ward during the 1860s, for the most part it retained its residential character. Ward 1 had little commercial or industrial property, but it had the second largest average property assessment in the city in 1861 reflecting the value of the housing in the area.80

While many prosperous citizens had moved to suburban comfort in the northern Ward 6 by mid-century, especially along Brunswick and Gottingen Streets, several factors prevented it from becoming as prestigious an address as Ward 1.[81] Fashion, natural geography and economic developments all played a part. The south end had attracted more members of the city's elite by an earlier date. The tranquil North West Arm provided an idyllic rustic setting for estates and villas. But the Nova Scotia Railway played a larger role. Ward 6 was the centre of railway activity in the city, the site of the station and railyards. The facilities were expanded during the 1860s, and additional wharfage, maintenance shops and warehouses were built.82 Later the rail line was extended to North Street, the southern boundary of the Ward 6. The presence of the well established black

community of Africville on the shore of the Basin and the Harbour by 1850 discouraged the movement of affluent white families into the district.[83] In the 1860s the construction of the imposing new city prison, Rockhead, overlooking Africville further reduced the appeal of Ward 6 to the middle class. Instead of becoming a haven for the middle class, the railway encouraged the creation of a working class community in the area called Richmond in Ward 6.[84]

By 1870 the different character of Ward 1 and Ward 6 was the most extreme manifestation of the development of specialized neighbourhoods in Halifax, but it reflected the general pattern of change. Between 1850 and 1870 Halifax was in transition. The old order was still clearly stamped on the city. The port and the garrison continued to shape its life. Citadel Hill dominated the landscape, and the huge painted names of old merchant families on waterfront warehouses were a strong visual reminder of the traditional social order. Soldiers and sailors mingled with permanent residents, the majority of whom were native born Nova Scotians. But as Haligonians moved about their city, whether on foot, or aboard the gaudy, lumbering cars of the Street Railway, they watched the streetscapes changing. Impressive new stone buildings replaced older wooden ones. Large new institutions, Halifax's version of moral architecture, and smart new

suburban subdivisions were equally important visual symbols of the new order. The smoke of new factories mingled with the traditional smells of the waterfront. The evolving face of the city, as well as the shifting activities of its citizens, create an important backdrop for understanding the changing social relationships which form the focus of this study.

1. There is no modern history of mid-nineteenth Halifax. Useful older studies include Thomas Raddall, Halifax: Warden of the North, (Toronto, revised edition, 1971); Phyllis Blakeley, Glimpses of the Halifax, (Halifax, 1949). More recent scholarship has been on specialized topics. Among the most useful are Susan Buggey, "Building Halifax 1841--71", Acadiensis, X,1 (August, 1980), 90-111; Judith Fingard, Jack in Port: Sailortowns of Eastern Canada, (Toronto, 1982) and The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax, (Halifax, 1989); Ian McKay, "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax 1850-1889" (BA Honours essay, Dalhousie University, 1975), "Class Struggle and Merchant Capital: Craftsmen and Labourers on the Halifax Waterfront, 1850-1900" in Bryan D. Palmer, ed, The Character of Class Struggle Essays in Working Class History, (Toronto, 1986),17-36, "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry during the Last Half of the Nineteenth Century", Labour/Le Travailleur, 3, (1978) 63-108; Terrence Punch, "The Irish in Halifax, 1836-71. A Study of Ethnic Assimilation", (MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1976); David A. Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax, 1815-1850. A Commercial Class in Pursuit of Metropolitan Status", (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1975) and "Halifax 1871: A Poor Man's City?", Paper presented the Halifax History Group, 21 September, 1989. 75.6 per cent of the population lived in the four central wards. The western sections of wards 2 and 5 were still very sparsely populated in the 1860s. See Census of Nova Scotia, 1851, App.94, JHA, 1851-2 (1851 Census).

2. Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax, 1815-1850", 440-1.

3. The provincial population increased from 276,117 in 1851 to 387,800 in 1871. In 1851 7 per cent of Nova Scotians lived in Halifax, by 1871, 7.6 per cent. 1851 Census; Census of Canada, 1871 (1871 Census).

4. Buggey, "Building Halifax 1841-71".

5. An Act to Incorporate the Halifax City Railroad Company, Statutes of Nova Scotia (SNS), 1863, chap. 33; Acadian Recorder, 4 June, 1866.

6. Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax".

7. W.S. MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces The Emergence of Colonial Society 1712-1857, (Toronto, 1965), Chapter 10; Sutherland, "Halifax 1871: A Poor Man's City"; Delphin Andrew Muise, "Elections and Constituencies. Federal Politics in Nova Scotia, 1867-1878", (PhD Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1971); Ian McKay,

"Industry, Work and Community in the Cumberland Coalfields, 1858-1927", (PhD thesis, Dalhousie University, 1983). The debate on the state of the nineteenth century Nova Scotian economy is still ongoing. For a recent contribution see Julian Gwyn, "Golden Age or Bronze Moment?", Paper presented to the Atlantic Canada Workshop, Sept. 1989.

8. JHA, 1850, p. 131; Arthur L. Johnson, "Boston and the Maritimes: A Century of Steam Navigation", (PhD. thesis, University of Maine, Orono, 1971), Chapter 4; Howard Clayton, Atlantic Bridgehead. The Story of Transatlantic Communications, (London, 1968).

9. William Smith, "The Early Post Office in Nova Scotia, 1755-1867", NSHS, Collections, 19, (1918), 53-74.

10. See for example, Evening Express, 22 Sept. 1862; Morning Chronicle, 2 July, 1862, 3 Oct. 1862; Acadian Recorder, 17 April, 1867.

11. Exports from the port of Halifax to the British and foreign West Indies represented 59.9 per cent of the total value of goods exported through the port. The next largest destination for Halifax cargoes was the United States with 26.9 per cent. Exports from the Port of Halifax, JHA, 1852.

12. Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax".

13. Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax"; Sutherland, "Halifax 1871: A Poor Man's City?"; James D. Frost, "The `Nationalization' of the Bank of Nova Scotia, 1880-1910", Acadiensis, XII, 1 (Autumn, 1982), 3-38.

14. McKay, "Class Struggle and Merchant Capital".

15. McKay, "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax", 14-15.

16. Raddall, Warden of the North; Fingard, The Dark Side, 16.

17. Buggey, "Building Halifax"; McKay, "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry".

18. Fingard, The Dark Side, 17-20.

19. Fingard, Jack in Port, 93.

20. Judith Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor in Saint John, Halifax and St. John's, 1815-1860", Acadiensis V 1 (Autumn, 1975), 32-52.

21. Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax"; Rosemary Langhout, "The Government's Business: A Comparative Study of State Intervention in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Before Confederation", Paper presented to the Atlantic Canada Studies Conference, Halifax, May, 1985.

22. D.A. Sutherland, "Joseph Howe and the Boosting of Halifax", ed. W.A. Hunt, The Proceedings of the Joseph Howe Symposium, (Halifax, 1983), 71-86; Langhout, "The Government's Business".

23. Langhout, "The Government's Business".

24. The annual operating expenses of the provincial government increased from 295,976 pounds ($1,183,904.) in 1850 to $1,630,174 in 1866 the last year before Confederation. JHA, Estimates, 1850, 1866.

25. D.G. Creighton, British North America at Confederation A Study prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations (Ottawa, 1939. Reprinted, 1963) 66, 76.

26. In his analysis of the voting results in the federal election of 1867, D.A. Muise argues persuasively that it was voters in industrializing constituencies who supported Confederation, while those areas attached to the older wood, wind and sail economy opposed it bitterly. Halifax County was divided, the majority outside the city voted against pro-Confederation candidates, while most inside the city favoured them. McKay observed the same trend. He found that virtually all the leading spokesmen for Confederation had mining interests. Muise, "Elections and Constituencies"; McKay, "Industry, Work and Community".

27. Rosemarie Langhout, "Developing Nova Scotia: Railways and Public Accounts 1848-1867", Acadiensis, XIV, 2 (1985), 3-28 and Langhout, "The Government's Business".

28. Gene Morrison, "Herbert Huntingdon", NSHS, Collections, 29 (1951), 43-61.

29. JHA, 1850, 131, 1851, 144.

30. Langhout, "Developing Nova Scotia".

31. McKay, "Industry, Work and Community".

32. McKay, "Industry, Work and Community".

33. Report of the Committee on Trade and Manufactures, Appendix to the JHA, 1850 - 1869. After Confederation the national government took over the province's responsibilities in this area, and the reports for 1868 and 1869 merely lamented the usurpation of the committee's functions.

34. See SNS, 1850-1870 for annual lists of incorporations.

35. SNS, 1850-1870.

36. For a discussion of the coexistence of a variety of modes of production in one Halifax industry during the period see Ian McKay, "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry".

37. McKay, "Class Struggle and Merchant Capital".

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., 21, 29.

40. See for example, Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), and Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, Mark J. Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism, (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900, (Cambridge, Mass, 1988); Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York 1789-1860 (1982, New York, Reprinted 1987), Introduction.

41. Evening Express, 22 Sept. 1862. The Morning Chronicle was also enthusiastic about industrial development, and on 2 July, 1863, began a series of articles on "Our Manufactories". See also ibid., 3 October, 1863.

42. Census of Canada, 1871, v.3, Table LIV.

43. John MacLeod, "William Montgomery: Nineteenth Century Halifax Locomotive Builder", Paper presented to the Nova Scotia Historical Society, 1987; Acadian Recorder, 17 April, 1867.

44. Catherine Moir, "Moir Family History", unpublished paper in the author's possession.

45. McKay, "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry".

46. McKay, "Capital and Labour in the Halifax Baking and Confectionery Industry".

47. Buggey, "The Building of Halifax"; McKay, The Craft Transformed, Chapter 1.

48. Buggey, "The Building of Halifax".

49. Evening Express, 22 Sept. 1862. See also Morning Chronicle, 3 October, 1963.

50. Buggey, "The Building of Halifax".

51. Buggey, "The Building of Halifax".

52. Ian McKay, The Craft Transformed, Chapter 1.

53. Evening Express, 22 Sept. 1862; Morning Chronicle, 2 Jul. 1863.

54. See for example, Katz, The People of Hamilton.

55. Fingard, The Dark Side, 17.

56. A. Jeffrey Wright, "The Halifax Riot of April 1863", Nova Scotia Historical Quarterly, 4,3 (1974), 299-310.

57. Fingard, Jack In Port, Chapter 3.

58. Buggey, "The Building of Halifax".

59. McKay, The Craft Transformed, Chapter 1; Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor"; Fingard, The Dark Side, 17.

60. Sutherland, "Halifax, 1871: A Poor Man's City".

61. In 1851, 53 per cent of the population of Halifax was between 0-20 years old, in 1861, 46 per cent, and in 1871, 50 per cent. 1851 Census, 1861 Census, App.1; 1871 Census, v.5, Table F. For a comparison of the age structure of the American population in the nineteenth century see Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present (New York, 1977), 37.

62. 1861 Census, App.2; 1871 Census, v.1, Table III.

63. Punch, "The Irish in Halifax".

64. 1851 Census; 1861 Census, App.3; 1871 Census, v.1, Table II.

65. Punch, "The Irish in Halifax". I would like to thank Judith Fingard for her comments on an earlier version of this discussion of the relations between Protestants and Catholics in Halifax.

66. A.J.B. Johnston, "The Protestant Spirit of Colonial Nova Scotia: An Inquiry into Mid-nineteenth Century Anti-Catholicism", (MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1977).

67. For a fuller account of these events see Sir Nicholas Meagher, The Religious Warfare in Nova Scotia, 1855-60 (Halifax, 1927); Punch, "The Irish in Halifax"; Johnston, "The Protestant Spirit".

68. Johnson, "The Protestant Spirit".

69. In January of 1857, two months before the Protestant Alliance had been fully organized, the Sons of Temperance newspaper, The Abstainer carried a long and laudatory obituary of famed Irish temperance worker Father Matthew. Father Matthew had been an important formative influence on both Bishop Walsh and Bishop Connolly, and their support for temperance, an important cause to many Protestants, was a factor in maintaining the peace. The Catholics, in fact, were engaged in a temperance crusade in 1857. Father John Higginbotham, an Irish Catholic temperance priest from St. Louis, Missouri, attracted hundreds to St. Mary's Church. By July, 1857 2000 Catholics, including women and children, had taken the pledge. The Abstainer, 15 Jan., 1857, 16 Feb. 1857, 16 March, 1857, 15 August, 1860. See also David Flemming, "Archbishop Thomas L. Connolly Godfather of Confederation", The Canadian Catholic History Association Report, (1970), 67-84.

70. Presbyterian Witness, 1 August 1857.

71. Presbyterian Witness, 5 September 1857, 20 February 1858. Punch found that 40 per cent of the students of the Convent of the Sacred Heart, 1857-1877, were non-Catholic, Punch, "The Irish in Halifax", 309.

72. See Chapters 3 and 5 for a discussion on the resolution of the separate school question in the city.

73. Annual Reports of the Several Departments of the City Government of Halifax, Nova Scotia for 1871/2, (Halifax, 1872), Mayor's Report.

74. City of Halifax, Assessments, 1862, PANS RG35, Series A, No.4 (1862 Assessments). Unfortunately this is the only assessment list available for the two decades between 1850 and 1870.

75. 1851 Census; 1861 Census; 1871 Census.

76. Buggey, "The Building of Halifax".

77. Blakeley, Glimpses of Halifax, Chapter 1.

78. Evening Express, 22 Sept. 1862.

79. Evening Express, 22 Sept., 1862.

80. 1862 Assessments.

81. 1862 Assessments.

82. JHA, 1868, App.1, 14-16.

83. Donald H. Clairmont and Dennis William Magill, Africville The Life and Death of a Black Community (Toronto, 1974), Chapter 2.

84. For a discussion of Richmond in the 1920s see Suzanne Morton, "Working Class Lives in Transition: Changing Gender Identities in a Halifax Neighbourhood in the 1920s", (PhD thesis, Dalhousie University, forthcoming).

Chapter 2

Voluntary Organizations and Moral Progress in the 1850s

On Wednesday afternoon, 24 September, 1863, the patients at Mount Hope, the Nova Scotia Hospital for the Insane, and the pupils at the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Halifax were taken for a "delightful steamboat excursion" on Halifax Harbour. The Royal Artillery band provided music for dancing, and charitable ladies brought a picnic treat of cakes and fruit. The outing was the gift of "a few warmhearted friends" rallied by Major DeHavilland,RA, whose "commendable alacrity in well doing, has gladdened the hearts of many sorrowing ones".[1] The superintendents of both institutions were grateful for the kindness shown to their charges, and Major DeHavilland was admired by the local press.[2] Emily Kempton, a 19-year-old student at the School for the Deaf and Dumb, while politely appreciative, found the trip unsettling. She wrote

> We saw a tall man dancing on the deck, and we were astonished to see him a beautiful dancer, and then he danced with young insane ladies a long time. Mr. Hutton [principal of the school] told us that we must not laugh at the patients of the Lunatic Asylum because we must pity them. We heard that a black man had fainted and fallen on the deck and saw that his nose was bleeding and Dr. DeWolf bade some men to take him into the cabin and they did so. We saw some young speaking girls laughing at the man dancing a long time. We saw the tall man taking hold of Annie McKegan [an 18-year-old fellow student], but she would not dance with him, for she was

afraid, and she went away from him.[3]

The steamboat excursion provides a concrete image of the mid-century bourgeois ideal of social progress. It was also the product of more than a decade of middle class efforts to find the means to turn their ideas into practical institutional forms. This chapter will examine both the ideas that shaped the concept of social, or moral, progress and the mechanisms which the middle class developed to implement their ideas in the 1850s and the early 1860s.

Bourgeois progress is an inclusive concept which provided justification and ideological support for the transformation of all facets of social organization in the interest of the middle class. The goal of material progress was manifested in the adoption of new economic forms and the transformation of the social relations of production. The pursuit of moral progress can be understood as the method through which the emerging middle class sought to express those new social relations. Through the mechanisms created to express their concern with moral progress members of the middle class attempted to consolidate their power and influence, and also to reassure themselves of middle class status through association and through allegiance to a common middle class identity. For the middle class associational activity and institution building was a central response

to social change.

Moral and material progress shared a number of important features. Central to both was a new division of labour. While more obvious in the organization of factory production, the division of labour in the pursuit of moral progress was equally important. The separation of the workplace and the household and the refinements of the idea of separate spheres for men and women were important elements in the new division of labour. Women were assigned new tasks in the pursuit of moral progress. Their primary task was the improvement of the moral and spiritual tone of the family, the basic social institution. A corollary of this theory extended the role of women as moral improvers through religious and voluntary activities in the community. Their special concern was with the moral and social improvement of the condition of children and other women.[4] The new divisions of labour were also manifested in the expansion of the role of the state and in the increased influence of professionals.[5] Scientific justifications and explanations were also shared by the proponents of moral and material progress. Moral progress, however, was also defined in religious terms. The early promoters of moral progress in Halifax were influenced by the fervency of nineteenth century evangelical Protestantism, and frequently expressed their concerns in theological terms.

In its pursuit of moral and material progress the middle class of Halifax was an emulator, not an innovator. Haligonians adopted ideas and institutions borrowed from both the British and American metropoles. As British colonials and as neighbours and trading partners of the northeastern United States, middle class Haligonians were keenly aware of the material prosperity the British and the Americans had achieved through industrial development. They also recognized that economic success was accompanied by the adoption of new institutional forms to promote social order, improve the labour force and alleviate the distress of the poor, the sick, the dependent and the handicapped. Improved transportation and communication brought them books, periodicals, annual reports and pamphlets which described in glowing terms the success of these new institutions in solving social problems. Haligonians themselves travelled abroad on business, to study, or explicitly to investigate social developments, and returned to report their own admiration. The garrison brought a steady flow of British officers like Major DeHavilland, with modern ideas about social organization. Other middle class immigrants, including J. Scott Hutton, the principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, already had experience with modern social institutions, and actively promoted the new specialized facilities. This borrowing produced a very uneven adoption of both

economic and institutional forms. In the 1850s a handful of factories captured the imaginations and fed the aspirations of the promoters of economic progress. A few small specialized social institutions did the same for moral progress. In the language of modern bureaucracies these innovations were the pilot projects of bourgeois progress. Their promoters' claims for the prestige and efficacy of the transplanted metropolitan models was an important step in the process of the formation of the Halifax middle class.

A close examination of the steamboat excursion and its participants reveals not only the attachment of parts of the middle class to the varied elements that comprised the concept of bourgeois progress, but also the practical means by which their ideas could be realized. Enthusiasm for scientific progress, Christian sympathy, and approval of separate spheres for men and women were all manifested in the outing for the pupils and the mental patients. The excursion demonstrates the way the strands of thought and action were gradually being woven into the cloth of bourgeois hegemony.

The outing was organized for the inmates of two new specialized institutions established in the late 1850s. Specialization and segregation were central themes in the pursuit of moral progress, a manifestation of what Davidoff and Hall have called the "categorizing mentality"

of the middle class.[6]. The insane and the deaf and dumb had been scientifically judged to be deserving of public charity and capable of being helped to lead productive and morally upright lives. This scientific reassurance was important to middle class reformers, who were increasingly concerned with being able to distinguish the deserving from the undeserving. However, having been designated as deserving, the inmates of these institutions forfeited much of their right to independence, to receive care was to submit to care and to prescribed therapies. Whatever Emily Kempton's discomfort and unease about accompanying a crowd of dancing lunatics on a harbour cruise, and regardless of whether or not she could hear the music of the Royal Artillery band, it had been prescribed for her and she was obliged to attend and to be grateful.

Both institutions were managed by men who had the modern professional credentials to provide the approved specialized scientific treatment. Dr. James DeWolf, 1818-1901, was medical superintendent of Mount Hope. A native of the Annapolis Valley, DeWolf had begun his medical career with a traditional apprenticeship, but went on to earn a degree from the medical school in Edinburgh.[7] J. Scott Hutton, 1833-1891, principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, had also combined apprenticeship with professional training. He had begun his work with the deaf as an apprentice teacher at Edinburgh Institution for

the Deaf and Dumb, where his father, a self-taught educator of the deaf, also worked. Scott Hutton had supplemented this informal learning with courses at the University of Edinburgh.[8]

Although they worked with very different clients, the two men shared a similar approach to treatment, one which combined science and Christian sympathy. Dr. DeWolf employed "moral treatment" with the patients at Mount Hope. This therapy combined work and play, with more work than play, kind but firm care, and a regular routine. It was widely used in Europe and the United States. Patients at Mount Hope were also given tranquilizers, purgatives, assorted bathing techniques, and occasionally were still bled.[9] Everything at the hospital, from its location on the edge of town to the design of the building, was intended to promote the patients' return to sanity.[10]

Hutton's program for the pupils at the School for the Deaf and Dumb was very similar. Most of the children, as Hutton preferred, lived at the school, and followed a regular daily routine of schoolwork, domestic and garden chores, and outdoor recreation, under the watchful eyes of the professional staff and the matron.[11] The pupils were taught signing and the written language according to Hutton's scientific system of pedagogy.[12] However the participation of both groups in the afternoon cruise demonstrates the similarity of approach. The outing was

part of the treatment at both institutions. The organization of the excursion was inspired by kindness and as far as possible order and supervision were maintained. An afternoon's sail was physically and morally healthful. It was an opportunity to enjoy nature, instructive from a scientific point of view, and also a chance to admire God's handiwork in creation.[13]

Royal Artillery Major DeHavilland and his "warmhearted friends" were also important participants, although they did not accompany the patients and the pupils. The fact that they chose to direct their philanthropy towards the lunatics and the deaf was a validation of the institutions and the treatment they prescribed. The leadership of a major in the Royal Artillery was not unusual. In a colonial garrison town like Halifax the impetus for charity and reform often came from British army officers like Major DeHavilland.[14] While these men, busy in the public life of the city, did not attend the outing they had paid for, their female counterparts did. The presence of these charitable ladies with their baskets of treats was equally consistent with the increasingly rigid division of labour being adopted by men and women of the middle class.[15] The ladies demonstrated both their concern and their practical attention to detail, especially when it came to food.

Charity served a variety of functions for middle

class donors. It enhanced the prestige of the giver, and provided a satisfactory sense of social distance from the recipients. It also fulfilled Christian teachings. Generosity directed toward scientifically modern institutions had the additional benefit of providing the giver with the patina of progress. The desire to be associated with modern institutions often brought together both the traditional elite of the city and the upwardly mobile middle class, and provided a common ground for activity.

The steamboat excursion for the mental patients and pupils from the School for the Deaf and Dumb embodied a set of ideas, but its implementation rested on the formation of new relationships and new mechanisms for collaboration within the middle class. The Mount Hope Insane Asylum was a provincial government undertaking like the Nova Scotia Railway, and another example of expanded state responsibility. The Assembly assumed responsibility for treatment of the mentally ill because of the widespread enthusiasm demonstrated by influential elements within the middle class. The idea for an insane asylum was first publicly endorsed by the upwardly mobile shopkeepers and small producers active in city government during the 1840s. It received valuable support from well-known American mental health reformer Dorothea Dix in 1850. Her impassioned plea to the provincial Assembly

reassured members that they would be acting in the approved modern and progressive fashion with the asylum.[16] Evangelical Christianity, as William Garvie told his audience in 1859, was an important part of the ideology of many members of the middle class and it provided a solid rationale for the humane treatment of the insane, and for the role of government in supporting social services to deserving groups.[17] The appointment of James DeWolf, secretary of the Nova Scotia Medical Association, demonstrated the approval of the medical profession.[18]

The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb was a variant on the model of state support. The impetus for its establishment came from Anglican clergyman Rev. J.C. Cochrane, who had been influenced by British advocates of training for the Deaf and Dumb, and Andrew McKinlay, a successful Presbyterian stationer and bookseller active in a variety of public and philanthropic causes.[19] These two men were able to mobilize enough support among the middle class to establish the school. When they persuaded the Assembly to confer an annual grant on their new institution they were able to locate and hire a professional educator of the deaf and dumb.[20] Although the Institution was administered by an upper middle class male board of directors the school also used the specialized labour of women, most of them the wives and daughters of board members, to act as visitors at the

school.21

Both institutions relied on continuing informal charitable support, donations that came in the form of cash and in kind.22 DeWolf, secure in his provincial funding, spent relatively little time raising money, although sympathetic citizens donated many gifts, including books for the library. In addition, voluntary groups often provided special entertainments for the patients. Hutton's institution relied on a combination of government funding, tuition fees and private charity. He had a constant need for additional revenue, and became an able and imaginative publicist for his school. He annually toured the province with senior students looking for money and held both scheduled and impromptu public examinations in the city itself.23 The steamboat excursion in the fall of 1863 demonstrated the success these institutions had in attracting charitable donations. The givers of this charity, as well as those who served on the boards and committees of the institutions, also recognized the prestige and status their generosity attracted. By the 1860s the middle class had developed a variety of strategies to implement their vision of social progress in Halifax. They could use the expanding apparatus of the state, rely on semi-formal coalitions within the "serious Christian" community, professional associations and ad hoc committees of like-minded members

of their class.

While members of the Halifax middle class made considerable progress toward implementing their ideas about social or moral progress in the 1850s, it was a transitional period, neither the beginning nor the end of the process of middle class formation. Like the steamboat excursion for the lunatics and the deaf and dumb, the new institutions and organizations were small, and they affected few people. By mid-century Halifax already had a variety of institutions for maintaining social control and alleviating distress. These included churches, voluntary associations, a small police force, a jail and a provincial penitentiary, and a Poor's Asylum.[24] The new institutions did not replace these existing forms but were superimposed on them. In 1860 Mount Hope had only 70 patients, and Dr. DeWolf regretted the reluctance of family and friends of the mentally ill to send them to his hospital.[25] The School for the Deaf and Dumb had less than 50 students, and Hutton also found popular resistance to enrollment.[26] The struggle to find common ideological and relational grounds for cooperation, an important feature of the forging of a middle class, was a long and difficult one. But new institutions created in the 1850s served a useful symbolic role, and demonstrated an enthusiasm for social progress as well as a growing middle class solidarity.

The variety of voluntary associations and institutions that Haligonians had established earlier in the nineteenth century formed a solid base from which the middle class could pursue its goal of moral progress. In addition to the recently reformed provincial and municipal governments, there were churches, ethnic associations, and benevolent and reform organizations. Over the course of the 1850s some of the existing organizations changed both their programs and their membership base, and others withered away. New organizations were formed to promote a variety of reforms and to create new institutions.

Voluntary associations provided an important vehicle for the creation of new alliances as well as for performing essential social tasks. Hundreds of Haligonians already belonged to voluntary organizations by 1850, and there was considerable overlap in the membership of these organizations. Many men belonged to at least one of each type while women's organizational participation was largely confined to denominational groups, especially missionary and visiting societies and Sunday schools. Membership was broadly based, and drew from the social and economic elite as well as those in the respectable middle and working classes. The leadership, however, tended to be concentrated in the hands of the elite.[27]

The traditional ethnic benevolent societies such as Charitable Irish, North British, Highland, St. George's,

and African Societies, as well as Freemasons organized under the Grand Lodges of England and Scotland provided mutual support, charitable relief, and conviviality. For most of the century the ethnic organizations had committees of charity which aided immigrants and other members of the ethnic group who had fallen on hard times, ranging from firewood, food and clothing, to cash.[28] These societies provided important business contacts and acted as informal employment bureaus. They also provided a focus for the maintenance of cultural traditions and sociability through dinners and participation in parades and public events. While membership in these societies was broadly based the leadership came primarily from wealthy merchants and successful retailers. Their organization was paternal, and they helped to stabilize the social order of the city. As societies they did not support particular reforms, although some of their members did through participation in other organizations.[29] In the decade following mid-century these organizations retained the allegiance of many of their members, but they did not grow in size or importance. The role of ethnic organizations was no doubt weakened by the fact that fewer immigrants arrived in the city a er mid-century. The Freemasons actually experienced a decline in membership and activity in the late 1850s and early 1860s. In the mid-1860s, however, the Masons experienced a significant

revival, and their story will be taken up again in Chapter 6.

Denominational organizations, including individual church congregations and the societies attached to them, were a very important element in the institutional life of the city. In 1850 the city had well over a dozen established congregations, representing Catholics and Anglicans, and several varieties of Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, as well as Unitarians and a few very small denominations.[30] Leadership in churches was provided by the professional clergy and successful laymen, and members included both men and women. The churches provided regular worship services and prayer meetings, the traditional rituals of baptisms, weddings and funerals, and charity and often education.

Participation in religious life became an increasingly important feature of middle class life in the nineteenth century. In the wake of religious revivals in Britain and the United States the middle class increasingly drew on evangelical theology for a common middle class identity.[31] For many evangelical Christianity became closely associated with moral progress. Following the examples of their American and British counterparts, members of the Halifax middle class expanded and reformed the role of denominational and inter-denominational organizations. Evangelical

enthusiasms produced new initiatives in both religious and secular education as well as innovations in the administration of charity.[32] Most Protestant congregations operated Sunday Schools and many also conducted day schools.[33]

As providers of charity to the poor, many church members became increasingly concerned with separating the deserving poor from those judged unworthy of receiving charity. The example of the women of St. Matthew's Presbyterian Street on Pleasant Street illustrates the change. In 1845 these women organized a District Visiting Society. The St. Matthew's society, in common with several other denominational societies for the relief of the poor, was concerned with preventing the indiscriminate giving of charity. Its founders believed that too many housewives gave food to any who came to the door asking for it. The society discouraged this practice arguing that it eroded the morals of the poor. The Society sought a rational means to distribute material aid, and also a means to promote spiritual salvation and the habits and skills that would assist the poor to be self-supporting members of the community. It pursued these goals by assigning members, in teams of two, to visit the poor in a small area of the city. The teams reported on the spiritual and material condition of the poor and the group decided who would receive help. Most of the help came in

the form of an employment program. Deserving women and children were hired, at what the Society judged to be a fair rate of pay, to do rough sewing. The finished product was then given or sold to the poor.34

The Visiting Society demonstrated a number of goals consistent with the ideal of bourgeois progress. It was predicated on a division of labour, first by sex and secondly by task. Through employing the technique of social investigation the provision of charity was transformed from a random, irrational activity based purely on emotion and sentiment to a rational enterprise. This approach offered the benefits of both personal improvement and salvation for the recipient, and a broader social or moral progress. The separation of the deserving from the undeserving was consistent with the segregation manifested in the Insane Asylum and the School for Deaf and Dumb. There were also benefits for the middle class women who conducted the Society. They were performing tasks appropriate to their sphere by attempting to protect their homes from the visits of beggars, and at the same time they were assisting their less fortunate sisters. Through association with other women of their class they were reinforcing their claims to middle class status, and clearly demarcating the differences between themselves and those they regarded as below them in the social hierarchy. And at the most general level they were sharing in the

creation of a society shaped by the concerns of the middle class.

Halifax Catholics also adopted some of the new approaches. The Sisters of Charity, who came to Halifax in 1850 at the invitation of Archbishop Walsh, form an interesting counterpoint to their lay Protestant sisters. The importation of the American order offered Catholic women the alternative of full time community and religious service.[35] The Sisters of Charity provided professional workers to perform a wide variety of tasks. Its members taught school, nursed the victims of epidemics, looked after orphans, and trained local girls for membership in the order. They also organized sodalities for lay women and girls, and did fancy needlework to sell at bazaars to raise money for their work.[36] At a doctrinal level, the papal declaration of the immaculate conception of Mary in 1854 demonstrated a parallel affirmation of separate spheres for men and women among Catholics.[37] While there were obvious differences between the roles of the members of religious orders and their Protestant lay sisters the similarities are striking.[38] Both Protestant and Catholic churches served as important vehicles for the pursuit of moral progress in the 1850s.

At mid-century Halifax also had organizations explicitly devoted to social and economic reform. The two largest of these, the Mechanics Institute and the Sons of

Temperance provide an interesting contrast.[39] Their separate histories are helpful in understanding the direction of social and ideological change after 1850. The membership in both these organizations was entirely male, and it represented a broad range of occupations, and members of all religious denominations. Leadership roles in these organizations were more often taken by upwardly mobile retailers and successful artisans than was the case with the ethnic associations. Newspaper editor and Reform politician Joseph Howe was an active promoter of the Mechanics Institute, for example, and his Reform colleague John Sparrow Thompson, a printer, was very active in both organizations for many years.[40] Both aimed at personal self-improvement, but they also had reform goals. However, by the mid-1860s the Mechanics Institute had virtually disappeared, while the Sons of Temperance continued to play an important role in the associational life of the city.

The Mechanics Institute had a longer history in the city, and was associated with an auto-didact tradition of personal improvement and political reform. Many of its supporters were actively involved in the struggle for responsible government in Nova Scotia as well as enthusiastic promoters of economic development. The Institute had served an important role in nurturing political relationships in the 1830s and 1840s. Much of

the oppositional fervour of the Mechanics Institute in Halifax had dissipated by the 1850s, but it still offered public lectures on scientific and economic themes.[41] Early in the 1850s the Institute also conducted night classes for apprentices in practical and literary subjects.[42] It continued to be actively committed to industrial development in Halifax, and to promoting the products of local craftsmen and manufacturers. The Institute organized the city's participation in the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851 as well as local industrial exhibitions.[43] Although the Mechanics Institute was able to draw on a considerable base of support in the early 1850s for these activities, it all but vanished from the city during the decade as its functions were dispersed among other agencies.

Explanations for the erosion of the constituency of the Mechanics Institute must be sought in the convergence of changing social relations and changing class ideologies. In its heyday the Mechanics Institute embraced a wide variety of causes, including training in literacy and scientific skills, the promotion of industrial development and the unity of the producing classes Gradually the Mechanics Institute lost support to newer and more specialized institutions and organizations, further evidence of the "categorizing mentality of the middle class" noted by Davidoff and Hall.

For example, many who had earlier been members of the Mechanics Institute were active in the founding of the Nova Scotian Institute of Science in 1862. While some of the first members of the Institute were gentleman amateurs, others had a strong interest in the practical application of scientific developments, and its establishment presaged later developments in the professionalization of science and its separation from the workplace.[44] In the 1860s the training of adults and apprentices in the basic skills of literacy was taken over by the newly reorganized public school system.[45] At the same time, the auto-didact and democratic culture of the Mechanics Institute was not compatible with emerging middle class concerns for social control and middle class concepts of respectability, which were very closely tied to religious values. Organizations like the Young Men's Christian Association, with its culture of manly piety, moral training and business ambition became attractive to many upwardly mobile young men who a generation earlier would have been attracted to the Mechanics Institute.[46] The emergence of sharper delineations between middle class and working class interests in the 1860s, manifested most clearly in occupational associations such as early trade unions, also divided the traditional membership of the Mechanics Institute. The unity of goals and the diversity of membership that characterized the Mechanics Institute

in the 1840s and early 1850s had dissipated by the mid-1860s as its traditional membership became involved in new and more specialized organizations.

The Sons of Temperance survived the changes in Halifax society with greater success, by making changes in its program, and by associating its goals more closely with the new spirit of the age. The Sons of Temperance was imported from the United States in the 1840s, and used a fraternal organizational structure much like Masonic lodges. Membership in the lodges crossed class lines, but drew heavily on the upwardly mobile middle class.[47] Although dominated by Protestants, especially Presbyterians and Methodists, the Sons of Temperance also had support from local Catholics. Roman Catholic Archbishop Walsh and Rev. Thomas Connolly, his personal secretary in the late 1840s, and later Bishop of Saint John and Archbishop of Halifax, were both active temperance supporters. Connolly's education had been directed by the well-known Irish Apostle of Temperance Father Theobald Matthieu.[48] Halifax Catholics responded warmly to a temperance crusade at St. Mary's Cathedral in the 1850s, and hundreds joined the St. Mary's Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society.[49] Patrick Monahan, a Catholic real estate and employment agent, for example, was an active member of the Sons of Temperance at both the local and provincial level, and edited its newspaper <u>The</u>

Abstainer for many years. Temperance activities in the 1850s were dominated by the effort to win a temperance law similar to that passed in Maine. This campaign demonstrated the increasing tendency to turn to the state for the solution to social problems. The lodges also stressed education, especially for children, as a weapon in the fight against the use of alcohol, reflecting new, more sentimental middle class attitudes toward children.[50] During the 1850s the paramilitary Cadets of Temperance and the Cold Water Army were replaced by Bands of Hope as the main vehicle for children's education.[51] The Bands of Hope, which included both boys and girls, represented a different approach to children and broader support for the idea of children's innocence and its power to save and reform adults. The new groups were popular both with children and adults, and specialized in putting on sentimental and didactic entertainments at the Temperance Hall.[52] The Sons of Temperance maintained its appeal for Haligonians throughout the 1850s and 1860s. It provided a voice for many of the values associated with bourgeois progress, social and economic improvement and efficiency, upward mobility and respectability, and the sentimentalization of domestic life.

The major organizational innovation in Halifax during the 1850s was the proliferation of non-denominational Protestant organizations. These were modelled on similar

societies in Britain and the United States where they were at the centre of the process of middle class formation.[53] Halifax had had a branch of the non-denominational Bible Society since early in the century.[54] It was joined by a Sabbath Alliance, the Halifax City Mission and Ragged School, a House of Refuge for prostitutes, the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Protestant Alliance and an orphanage.[55] The formation of non-denominational Protestant organizations provided an important mechanism for cooperation within the middle class. It expressed a shared vision of bourgeois progress, of middle class control and concern for personal upward mobility. While the formation of non-denominational organizations played a part in consolidating middle class influence its role in Halifax must not be exaggerated. The anti-catholicism that formed an integral part of the ideology of the non-denominational Protestant organizations constrained and confined their importance.

The ideas and applications of evangelical Protestant reform were brought to Halifax by the improved means of communication in the period, but the role of recent immigrants was also important. Presbyterian Free Church minister Alexander Forrester was an interesting example of this group.[56] Forrester visited Halifax first in 1848 when he was sent by the Free Church in Scotland to help establish a theological college and academy in the city.

Soon after St. John's Free Church called him to its pulpit. Forrester had trained for the ministry in Glasgow, and as a young man had been deeply influenced by David Stow, a pioneer in teacher training who used methods which drew heavily on the principles of evangelical Protestantism. He had also served for a number of years as minister of a congregation in the Scottish industrial city of Paisley. He was very impressed by the material progress that resulted from industrialization, and he had no trouble reconciling industrial and scientific progress with his religion. But his work among urban industrial slum dwellers convinced him of the need for active moral and social reform. Forrester was firmly convinced that industrial progress was inevitable, and that Halifax would experience an industrial future. But he also believed that Halifax had a unique opportunity. Because its citizens could know the shape of the future, they could take early steps to ensure that they created a social and moral infrastructure to prevent the catastrophic distress industrialization had created in Great Britain. Forrester was not able to persuade the majority of Haligonians to act on his vision and his warning, although throughout his life in the province he continued to promote moral progress. He was active in many organizations and institutions which were devoted to the pursuit of moral and material progress. In the early 1850s he taught

natural philosophy at the Free Church College and Academy and in the Mechanics Institute classes for apprentices, served as a Halifax School Commissioner, wrote articles about the importance of progress in the Presbyterian Witness, and promoted organizations such as the Sabbath Alliance and the City Mission.

These new organizations found support from a variety of elements within the middle class.[57] The initiative in the formation of these groups came from the evangelical Protestant clergy, and the clergy continued to occupy important roles within them. The Protestant clergy recognized their common interests in evangelism and reform, and the network of groups they established served in part as an occupational organization for them. Wealthy merchants and retailers and successful lawyers were also attracted to the new organizations. They offered the opportunity for new leadership roles in modern societies closely modelled on metropolitan activities, and they appealed to some upwardly mobile clerks and artisans who had pinned their hopes for success on bourgeois progress. Some of these men, many of them young, were actively recruited by wealthier members who hoped to expand the influence of their vision of society. In the 1850s the non-denominational organizations offered little scope for women. Women could join the Ladies Committee of the Nova Scotia Bible Society or the Visiting Committee of the

Protestant Orphan's Home.

The first of the new non-denominational Protestant organizations was the Nova Scotia Sabbath Alliance, formed in 1851 to promote better sabbath observance. It was soon followed by the City Mission.[58] Separately the Protestant denominations despaired of their ability to reach the poor and depraved in the city. Collectively they were able to raise enough money to support a full time missionary. The original managers of the City Mission were clergy, but by 1857 the Committee consisted of both laymen and clergy, and included Presbyterians, Baptists, Methodists and Anglicans, and the Mission was on a firm financial footing.[59] The Bible Society cooperated with the Mission by supplying Bibles. The organization was so strongly influenced by British city missions that in 1855 it asked a London city mission to recommend an experienced candidate to replace the Halifax City Missionary.[60] The missionary's job was to visit all the poor of the city in their homes, and to bring them the message of salvation, to hold worship services and conduct prayers and to report on the conditions he found. The City Mission also established a Ragged School for the children of the poor taught by a qualified woman teacher. The school survived until 1865 when it was absorbed into the public school system in the city.[61] The City Mission, on the advice of its missionary, also established a House of Refuge for

repentant prostitutes in 1854.[62] The aim of the institution was to save women from a life of sin through a combination of salvation and the inculcation of good habits and domestic skills.[63] The refuge attracted few prostitutes and most left after a very short stay. The Refuge closed in 1856, apparently because of lack of public support.[64]

The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), formed in 1853, was established to serve a completely different clientele. The purpose of the association was to provide facilities and support for the spiritual, moral and intellectual improvement of young men facing the temptations of the modern city. In particular, it was established to meet the needs of young clerks and aspiring professionals. These young men, many of whom were recent arrivals to the city, were deemed especially vulnerable to temptation. The allure of taverns, brothels and the theatre to young men whose moral habits may not yet have been formed had to be offset by suitable entertainments and spiritual nurture.[65]

The Halifax YMCA, modelled on the British association formed in the 1820s, was organized by successful middle-aged merchants and lawyers, most of them Presbyterian and Methodist, to provide support for younger men.[66] The paternalism of its goals was underlined by the choice of Henry Hezekiah Cogswell as president. Cogswell was an old

man in 1853, an Anglican, a wealthy merchant and long-time member of the appointed Legislative Council.[67] Within a few months the association had reading rooms, held regular lectures, and conducted weekly prayer meetings.[68] During the 1850s the YMCA remained a small organization, attracting under fifty members, but it espoused a variety of causes and created a nucleus of men active in middle class evangelical philanthropic activity.

In addition to holding lectures and prayer meetings the YMCA promoted the early closing of local retail businesses. Again it was the older, more successful members of the Association who took the lead. Arguing that young men needed more time for uplifting recreational activity, the YMCA endorsed a resolution calling for five o'clock closing on Saturdays. They also promoted a change in payday from Saturday to Friday. Presbyterian elder and temperance promoter Charles Robson argued that this practice would promote the cause of temperance, presumably because the young men would be more likely to take their pay home to their families if they had to go to work the next day. Perhaps on Saturday night, the traditional free night for working people, the temptation to spend their pay in the barrooms of the city would be greater. The YMCA's request was supported by 150 clerks.[69] The support for early closing went beyond the question of free time. It also involved the dignity of the young clerks. While

there is no evidence that the movement achieved any success in the 1850s it won the support of the Provincial Wesleyan. The newspaper described the difficult life of this group

> ...the alacrity with which they are expected to respond to every customer and even of every idly sauntering visitant who daily makes the tour of the fashionable streets to meet a beau or relieve an afternoon of ennui, the patient endurance which they are required to cultivate of the calling of capricious dames, to say nothing of the sweet delight they must simulate in seeing the gay throng flaunting in their freedom, while they linger from early morn to dewy eve and often into the deep shades of night at their unvaried employment hour after hour.[70]

The attitude toward the clerks was different than attitudes toward other workers. Implicit in the description of the conditions of their work is an assertion of middle class consciousness. It expresses a contempt for wealthy shoppers that was echoed in criticisms of the failure of the elite of the city to abide by middle class rules, and to demonstrate leadership in charitable activities. Through the YMCA the middle class was finding a voice for its concern for dignity and status.

In 1858 and 1859, impressed by news of American revivals, the Halifax YMCA attempted to promote a religious revival in the city.[71] The "great religious awakening" seems to have been manifested in a few reasonably well attended, but apparently fervent prayer meetings.[72] Paul Boyer suggests that the American revival

of the 1850s was hardly a mass affair, and claims that "the whole phenomenon appears to have been an expression of middle class longings for emotional closeness and social cohesion".[73] The revival involved very few people in Halifax, and was certainly much more important as an idea than as an event. Its timing, during an economic recession and the period of intense denominational activity is significant. One of the purposes of revivalism was to provide a greater Protestant unity against the Catholics. The efforts to stimulate a revival in Halifax were simultaneous with the formation of the Protestant Alliance, a fiercely anti-Catholic organization.[74] The reform impulse was also a factor. Personal salvation and social improvement were seen as inseparable by many of the middle class evangelical reformers in the 1850s. In terms of mass participation the Halifax revival was a failure, but it served to strengthen the bonds among an important segment of the city's middle class.

The YMCA was an imported organizational form. It can be argued with considerable justification that it was introduced and took root in Halifax because a group of middle aged, middle class evangelical Protestant men admired metropolitan forms of religious organization and wanted to emulate them. But within a few years the YMCA had begun to rival the Mechanics Institute and it

continued to flourish and attract more members during the 1860s. At least a part of the explanation for its success lies in its value in serving changing social relations and values in the city. One contemporary observed that the YMCA suited "the temper of the times" because it was a Protestant organization.75 In the context of the denominational conflict both locally and internationally in the late 1850s his argument had some immediate explanatory value. But the YMCA became more significant as denominational hostilities waned. Its success suggests that the route to upward mobility was being perceived differently in the second half of the nineteenth century. The YMCA emphasized the cultivation of the habits and attitudes that produced a good character. Membership in the YMCA and conformity to the behaviour endorsed by the asscciation produced a good reputation. American historian Mary Ryan has argued that for the members of similar organizations in Oneida County, New York in the middle of the nineteenth century, good character and a good reputation were regarded as capital.76 Lenore Davidoff and Catherine Hall support her argument with evidence from their study of the British middle class. A reputation for sound bourgeois habits improved a young man's credit rating and his chances for promotion.77 During this period of class formation in Halifax members of the growing middle class, especially

the peripheral young clerks, found institutional expression for class membership in the YMCA. The paternalism of the older and more successful founders of the association encouraged and reassured them, and helped them to understand the worldview of the bourgeoisie.

Another thrust of non-denominational Protestant activity was the establishment of special institutions for dependent children. A Protestant Orphan's Home was opened in 1857.[78] Evangelical Protestant attitudes toward children were undergoing a significant change in the years leading up to the founding of the orphanage, and although they had by no means abandoned the idea of original sin, many denominations were prepared to concede the innocence of young children, and to believe that saving them from evil influences would help them achieve salvation and a life of productivity and virtue.[79]

The orphanage was organized under the direction of a prestigious, male Board of Directors who represented several Protestant denominations, wealthy merchants, and professionals.[80] The day to day care of the children was carried out by women. A volunteer ladies committee met monthly to oversee the general operation and to select residents. The selection process was important. The orphanage was too small to take in all the children in need of care and protection and there is some question about whether this was in fact the intention of its

founders. In its first report, the institution claimed to have taken in some orphaned children, to have rescued some from dens of iniquity and vice, and to have taken some whose families were temporarily unable to take care of them.81 Throughout the 1850s there were always more children in the Poor's Asylum than in the Orphanage, and no effort was made to recruit those children.82 The object of the Orphan's Home was to train children for a self-supporting future and to bring them to God. The selection committee was evidently reluctant to bring in children who would subvert these goals and disrupt the strict routine of work and schooling. The Orphanage was very small, it opened with twenty children, and during the 1850s the institution cared for an average of 35 children, but the organizational model it used became a very popular one for institutional development in the city. The Orphanage received no government support but it generated "warm interest from all classes" in the form of donations in both cash and goods and services.83

The non-denominational Protestant organizations played an important role in fostering the ideas of bourgeois progress in Halifax, and they contributed to the formation of a middle class consciousness. They did this in both positive and negative ways. They brought together people who identified themselves as sharing common values and behaviour but part of their common outlook was the

identification and condemnation of those who were different, particularly the undeserving or "vicious" poor and Catholics. While these distinctions between "us and them" served to unite some members of the middle class, they were too exclusive to provide a solid basis for middle class activity and cooperation in Halifax. The narrowness, religious intolerance and moral rigidity espoused by the non-denominational Protestant groups were unattractive to many in the city's emerging middle class. Members of the Catholic middle class of Halifax participated in the new economic forms, municipal and provincial politics, temperance reform, and institutional formation. But they could not and did not participate in exclusively Protestant movements. The importance of the Catholic population in Halifax meant that reforms based on middle class power could not be achieved without its support. Other groups within the Halifax middle class, including many small retailers, tradesmen and small producers, also spurned the non-denominational Protestant organizations, especially those whose business was the service of the port. These men participated in the ethnic associations, Masons, and the institutions of municipal government, where conviviality included banqueting and drinking.[84] Many of the men who had promoted the political reforms of the 1840s were not involved in the Protestant organizations either. Political Reformers like

J.R. Willis and J.S. Thompson, who both espoused a variety of causes including temperance, public education, and economic development through the application of science remained active in the organizational life of the city in groups like the Mechanics Institute and the Sons of Temperance, but did not join non-denominational organizations. The non-denominational Protestant organizations could attract only a limited base of support in Halifax in the 1850s.

The 1850s was an important decade for the middle class of Halifax, however. Its members had expanded the role of the state in providing social services, transformed a number of existing voluntary organizations and formed new ones. The new institutions like the orphanage, the lunatic asylum and the school for the deaf and dumb created new opportunities for professionals, and these people were anxious to prove their own value and the value of the institutions which employed them. The new institutions and the expanded role of the state were also good for the local economy, creating new opportunities for non-professional employment and new markets for a wide variety of goods and services. All of these factors enlarged the constituency of support for middle class reforms.

The presence of a large, well established Catholic population in Halifax created special conditions for

middle class formation in the city. The Catholics had unequivocally demonstrated their political importance by toppling the Reform government late in the decade.85 The espousal of social progress by middle class Catholics, including both clergy and laity, through societies like the St. Mary's Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society, undercut the claims of evangelical Protestants to speak as the only voice of bourgeois progress. The parallel development of Protestant and Catholic institutions would remain an important feature of nineteenth century social development in Halifax, and created a situation quite different from that in many other Canadian cities.

When examining the successes achieved by groups within the middle class in pursuit of moral progress it is important not to overstate the case for change in the 1850s. There were few dramatic turning points. The new institutions and organizations were, for the most part, very small and they did not replace institutions like the Poor's Asylum or ethnic associations. The creation of new social institutions during the 1850s was due in large measure to the desire of many within the middle class to emulate metropolitan progress, rather than to a major and rapid change in the social relations in the city. Few were absolutely persuaded of Alexander Forrester's utopian vision of a society that simultaneously achieved moral and material progress, but many did believe that the two

should go hand in hand. A common middle class interest and identity was being formed. Many of the building blocks of middle class solidarity and control were put in place in the 1850s. The next three chapters will consider middle class efforts to create a genuinely mass institution in public schooling.

1. Acadian Recorder, 26 Sept. 1863.

2. Acadian Recorder, 26 Sept. 1863, Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Halifax, Annual Report (Halifax, 1864).

3. Emily Kempton, "Our Steamboat Excursion", Sixth Annual Report of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Halifax (Halifax, 1864), p. 30.

4. See Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: Women's Sphere in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven, 1977); Barbara Berg, The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism: The Woman and the City 1800-1860 (New York, 1978).

5. For a discussion of the formation of social institutions as part of the expansion of the state see Curtis, Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871.

6. Hall and Davidoff, Family Fortunes, 26.

7. F.A. Dunsworth, "James Ratchford Dewolf (1881-1901): His Rise and Fall. First Superintendent of the Nova Scotia Hospital", Nova Scotia Medical Bulletin (April, 1983).

8. Janet Guildford, "James Scott Hutton", DCB, XII, 285.

9. Francis, "The Development of the Lunatic Asylum".

10. Daniel Francis, "The Development of the Lunatic Asylum in the Maritime Provinces", Acadiensis, VI, 2 (Spring, 1977), 22-38.

11. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Halifax, Annual Reports, 1858-1870.

12. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Halifax, Annual Reports, 1858-1860.

13. For a discussion of mid-nineteenth century Canadian attitudes to science and religion see A.B. McKillop, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era (Montreal,1979) Chapter 2.

14. Major DeHavilland was also active in other charitable ventures. He served on the management committee of the Protestant Industrial School founded in 1864, for example. Protestant Industrial School, Annual Report, (Halifax, 1864).

15. See Hall and Davidoff, Family Fortunes for an excellent discussion of the importance of gender in middle class formation.

16. Francis, "The Development of the Lunatic Asylum".

17. Hall and Davidoff, Family Fortunes, Part One; Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order; Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada" in W.L. Morton, ed., The Shield of Achilles. Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age (Toronto, 1968), 15 - 35. For a discussion of the influence of evangelicalism in a Maritime Canadian setting see T.W. Acheson, Saint John The Making of a Colonial Urban Community (Toronto, 1985), Chapter 6.

18. For a discussion of the activities of the local Medical Society see Colin Howell, "Reform and the Monopolistic Impulse: The Professionalization of Medicine in the Maritimes", Acadiensis, XI,1 (Autumn, 1981), 3-22 and "Elite Doctors and the Development of Scientific Medicine: The Halifax Medical Establishment and Nineteenth Century Professionalism", Charles G. Roland, ed., Health, Disease and Medicine: Essays in Canadian History (Hamilton, 1984), 105-122.

19. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Annual Report, 1858.

20. Ibid.

21. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Halifax, Annual Reports, 1858-1870. See Appendix 1.

22. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Halifax, Annual Reports, 1859-60; The Provincial Hospital for the Insane relied on private philanthropy for special projects, and maintained a "Recreation Fund". See JHA, 1860, Appendix, Hospital for the Insane, 348-379. For a list of donors see 378-9.

23. Annual Reports, Provincial Wesleyan, 11 Mar. 1858.

24. See Fingard, The Dark Side of Victorian Halifax.

25. JHA, 1860, Appendix, Hospital for the Insane, 348 - 379.

26. Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Halifax, Annual Report, 1860.

27. See Appendix 1.

28. See Appendix 1.

29. In 1859 the ethnic societies included the St. George's, Charitable Irish, North British, Highland, African. Belcher's Almanac, 1859.

30. JHA, 1851-2, Appendix 94, Census Returns.

31. Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order; Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, Hall and Davidoff, Family Fortunes.

32. Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order, Smith Rosenberg, The City Mission Movement; Berg, The Remembered Gate.

33. See Appendix 1; Records of the Board of Commissioners of Schools for the City of Halifax, PANS RG14, #29, Commissioners Minutes, 12 June, 1850.

34. St. Matthew's District Visiting Society, Annual Report, 1850. The Society had 22 visitors, many of them the wives of wealthy local merchants, including Mrs. G.P. Mitchell, Mrs. W.H. Creighton, Mrs. David Allison, and Mrs. W.B. Fairbanks. St. Paul's Anglican Church had both a men's and women's visiting society which operated in much the same way. St. Paul's Parochial District Visiting Society, Annual Report, 1854-55.

35. Sister Maura, The Sisters of Charity in Halifax (Toronto, 1956).

36. Ibid.

37. J.B. Hanington, Every Popish Person: The Story of Roman Catholicism in Nova Scotia and the Church of Halifax (Halifax, 1984), Chapter 9.

38. For a discussion of the role of women's religious orders in Quebec see Marta Danylewycz, Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood in Quebec 1840-1920 (Toronto, 1987).

39. There were also smaller societies devoted to the improvement of agriculture in the province, to supporting the Horticultural Garden in Halifax and to promoting choral music. See Appendix One.

40. See Appendix 1.

41. Martin Hewitt, "The Mechanics Institute in the Maritimes 1831-1889", (MA thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1986), 153.

42. Presbyterian Witness, 18 Dec. 1852.

43. Presbyterian Witness, 18 Dec. 1852.

44. Harry Piers, "John Robert Willis, the First Nova Scotia Conchologist: A Memorial", Nova Scotian Institute of Science, 7, (1889-90), Part IV, 404-11.

45. See Chapter 5.

46. See Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class.

47. See Appendix 1.

48. David B. Flemming, "Archbishop Thomas L. Connolly: Godfather of Confederation", Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report, 1970, 67-84.

49. Rev. John Higginbottom, Constitution and By Laws of the Halifax Catholic Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society (Halifax, 1858).

50. Neil Semple, "'The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord': Nineteenth Century Canadian Methodism's Response to Childhood", Histoire sociale/Social History, XIV, 27 (mai-May, 1981), 157-75.

51. The Cadets of Temperance was for boys aged 12 - 18. Members promised not to make, buy, sell or use as a beverage any spiritous or malt liquors, wine or cider, or use tobacco. Constitution of Windsor Section, no.7, (Windsor, 1851).

52. Presbyterian Witness, 10 April 1852, The Abstainer, 15 Oct. 1856, p. 5, 16 Feb., 1857, 15 May 1857.

53. Hall and Davidoff, Family Fortunes, Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class.

54. Judith Fingard, "'Grapes in the Wilderness': The Bible Society in British North America in the early Nineteenth Century", Histoire sociale/Social History, V,9, (April 1972), 5-31.

55. See Appendix 1.

56. Judith Fingard, "Alexander Forrester", DCB, IX, 270-2.

57. They had the support of the Protestant press in Halifax. Both the Presbyterian Witness and Provincial Wesleyan greeted every initiative for the creation of hospitals, schools and orphanages with approval and enthusiasm. In 1850, for example, the Presbyterian

Witness, reproached the city for the "absolute destitution of everything in the shape of public institutions for the amelioration of those physical, social and moral ills to which every community is heir". Presbyterian Witness, 16 Mar. 1850.

58. First Annual Report of the General Committee of the Sabbath Alliance (Halifax, 1851).

59. Halifax City Mission, Annual Reports, (Halifax) 1852, 1857. PANS Micro H173 M678. The Reports for 1853-6 are missing.

60. Halifax City Mission Minutes, PANS, MG4, #42, 10 Mar. 1855.

61. Halifax City Mission, Annual Report, 1852, 1857; JHA, ER, Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax (Halifax, 1866).

62. Presbyterian Witness, 19 Aug. 1854.

63. In the House the repentant women read and sewed under the direction of the Matron, Mrs. Wilson and received religious instruction from the city missionary. Presbyterian Witness, 23 Dec. 1854.

64. At the end of the first year of operation ten women had entered the House. Four women had left the house permanently, one had been rejected for insubordination, three others had found work, and one had left to go to the Poor's Asylum, but had returned. Annual Report, 1854; Presbyterian Witness, 2 Aug. 1856.

65. Presbyterian Witness, 28 Jan. 1854.

66. YMCAs were also popular in American cities. See Boyer, Urban Masses.

67. F.F. Moriarty, The Young Men's Christian Association 1854 - 1929, (Halifax, 1929); D.A. Sutherland, "H.H. Cogswell", DCB, VII, 167-9.

68. Presbyterian Witness, 4 Mar. 1854.

69. Presbyterian Witness, 18 April 1857.

70. Provincial Wesleyan, 18 June, 1857.

71. The Presbyterian Witness was solidly behind this effort, and throughout the spring and summer of 1858 it carried detailed reports on revival activity in the United

States. Presbyterian Witness, 3 April 1858, 5 June 1858, 17 July 1858, 31 July, 1858, 21 Aug. 1858, 28 Aug. 1858, 4 Sept. 1858, 11 Sept. 1858.

72. YMCA, Annual Report, (Halifax, 1859).

73. Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order, 80.

74. For a discussion of the Protestant Alliance see Chapter 1.

75. Presbyterian Witness, 30 Jan. 1858.

76. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class.

77. Hall and Davidoff, Family Fortunes.

78. Protestant Orphans Home, Annual Reports, 1857-9, See also Patricia T. Rooke and R.L.Schnell, Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English Canada 1800-1950 (Maryland, 1983).

79. Semple, "`The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord'".

80. See Appendix 1.

81. Protestant Orphan's Home, Annual Report (Halifax, 1858).

82. Protestant Orphan's Home, Annual Report (Halifax, 1858, 1859, 1860); Poor's Asylum, Inmates Register, PANS RG 35-102, Series 33A.2.

83. Protestant Orphan's Home, Annual Reports, 1858-70.

84. See Appendix 1.

85. See Chapter 1.

Chapter 3

Between Acts: Halifax Schools, 1850 - 1864

In 1850 when Pictou County geologist and bookseller J. William Dawson accepted the superintendency of schools for Nova Scotia he believed that the introduction of free public schools supported by local taxation was imminent.[1] He was wrong. It was not until 1864 that a Nova Scotian government was willing to pass the necessary legislation. The long intermission between school acts must be addressed within the context of the process of middle class formation. The reform of public schooling was closely associated with the ideas of bourgeois progress and many historians of education have argued that the creation of state supported and controlled public schooling reflected the new social relations that accompanied the transition to an industrial capitalist economy.[2] Public school reform was a manifestation of the concerns of the emerging middle class with economic development and the maintenance of social order. But in Nova Scotia between 1850 and 1864 school promoters failed to attract a sufficiently large constituency to their cause. The tenacity of voluntarism and paternalism in education suggests that the middle class had not developed a clearly defined consensus about school reform or the mechanisms for intra-class collaboration necessary for its

implementation.

Social relations in Halifax played an important role in the process of school reform in the province. Chapter Two demonstrated that the ideas of bourgeois progress were attracting an increasing middle class following in Halifax in the 1850s. But the middle class collaboration achieved in the decade was largely limited to the Protestant denominations in the city. School reform required much broader middle class consensus and co-operation. The leadership of Halifax's large and influential Catholic population was firmly committed to the continuation of separate confessional schools.3 Between 1850 and 1864 the tension between religious loyalties and attachment to middle class aspirations for progress were not resolved. This tension was revealed each time school reform appeared on the political agenda, and was only resolved with difficulty with the passage of the free school acts of 1864-66. The separate school compromise achieved for the city of Halifax through the negotiations between Halifax Archbishop Connolly and Provincial Secretary Charles Tupper marked an important step in the process of middle class formation in the city.

This chapter will examine the operation and organization of schooling in Halifax between 1850 and 1864, and the attempts at school reform in the period. Despite the efforts towards reform the institutional

structure of Halifax public schools remained essentially unchanged between the passage of the school act of 1850 and the free school legislation of 1864-66.

In the spring of 1850, while politicians sat in the Legislature debating educational policy, 3000 Halifax children, half the school-aged children in the city, were busy with their lessons.[4] For the past fifty years Haligonians had been active in creating a network of schools where their children could be taught moral values and the three Rs by full-time teachers. But schooling was not a unifying experience for these children, nor did their parents think it should be. Schools were organized by religious denominations, charitable societies or operated as private businesses. Religion and family wealth and status determined which schools children would attend, how long they would remain in them, and what they would learn. Although enrolment never amounted to more than half the school-aged population during the decade, Superintendent Dawson believed that most children spent some time at school.[5]

Financial support for the wide variety of schools, academies and colleges in Halifax was provided by parents, religious and charitable organizations, individual donors, and the Nova Scotia Assembly. Collectively the educational institutions in the city were characterized by paternalism, voluntarism and variety. The variety was

manifested in the schools themselves, in their size, their method of support, and their curriculum, which might range from a little reading, perhaps with denominational religious instruction, to mathematics, geography and natural philosophy, and even practical skills like navigation and bookkeeping. Enrolment and attendance were entirely voluntary. Paternalism infused decision making at all levels of school administration, and was particularly evident in the emphasis on charity in many public schools in the city.

While Halifax schools functioned quite autonomously, they operated within a framework of provincial legislation. The Nova Scotia Assembly had first passed school legislation in 1766, and throughout the first half of the nineteenth century provincial politicians had debated and amended the school laws a number of times.[6] By the late 1840s the Assembly licensed teachers and determined eligibility for financial support. Denominational considerations made education an especially sensitive political issue in Nova Scotia. Generally the Reform Party was unsympathetic to the claims of the denominational institutions for financial support, and the Conservatives, many of whom were strong backers of the Baptist Acadia College, took the opposite view. This question featured prominently in the debates over Responsible Government, and caused the collapse of a

coalition government in 1843.[7] The Reformers adopted a policy of free schooling supported by compulsory local assessment in the late 1830s. Reform leaders such as Joseph Howe, William and George Young, Herbert Huntington, W.A. Henry and Samuel Creelman based their support for free schools in an ideology of democracy and economic development.[8] After the victory of the party in the 1847 provincial election work began on framing new education legislation. The free school question, however, had two major liabilities for the party. The first and most troublesome was the popular attachment to religious education; the other, which in fact prov d much less contentious, was the question of local taxation in support of schools.

The 1850 Act for the Encouragement of Education was a compromise bill, and was regarded by the party as an interim step.[9] Howe took pains to explain to the Assembly that the proposed bill would have no impact on the denominational colleges and academies that dotted the province, and would affect only primary education.[10] With these assurances the Conservatives agreed to support the bill.[11] The legislation created a new position, a provincial superintendent of education, and retained the government-appointed regional Boards of School Commissioners introduced in 1842. But it sidestepped the controversial issues of free schooling, local assessment,

centralized control of provincial schools and denominational education. The Superintendent's principal responsibilities were the promotion of public education, the collection of school statistics, and policy recommendations to the Legislature. The local Boards of School Commissioners were to determine the eligibility of schools to receive provincial support and to distribute the funds to local school trustees.[12]

The appointment of J.W. Dawson as Superintendent of Schools was indicative of the thinking of the promoters of the bill. A young Pictou County geologist and son of a bookseller who had long backed the Reform cause, Dawson was an enthusiastic amateur, not a professional educator or a clergyman. He was persuaded to take the job as superintendent in part because he thought he could combine his travels on behalf of education with his geological research. He and his Reform backers had a naive optimism about the willingness of Nova Scotians to adopt school reform, and Dawson looked on the appointment as a short-term contribution to the life of his province. He agreed to spend some time investigating American education, to explain the advantages to Nova Scotians, and to draft the necessary legislation.[13] Dawson's reports reflect his optimism. He felt that Nova Scotians had done much already to establish a public school system in the province, and his meetings in rural communities convinced

him that they were ready to accept free schools and local assessment. By 1852 he felt he had accomplished his task. Dawson drafted an education bill, modelled closely on the Upper Canadian school legislation, which would provide the framework for a provincial system of free common schools supported by local assessment. He presented his proposed legislation and his resignation to his employers.[14] Neither was accepted.

Despite more than a decade of rhetoric and promises, and Dawson's conviction that the people of Nova Scotia were willing to pay school taxes, the Reformers did not want to re-open the education debate in the Assembly. There were a number of reasons for this. Reform strength in the Assembly had been weakened by the 1851 election, and the party had been diverted and divided by the problem of the Nova Scotia Railway.[15] These issues do not fully explain the decision to ignore school reform, however.

While government ownership of the Nova Scotia Railway suggests that there was considerable support for the idea of expanded state activity in Nova Scotia, this approach should be considered cautiously. Government ownership of the railway was very divisive within the Reform party, and the government may have had reservations about a second major state initiative following so soon after the railway decision. This conjecture gains credence within the context of the continual denominational antagonism

surrounding educational questions in the province. The Reformers depended on the electoral support of a substantial majority of the Catholic voters, for whom non-denominational public schooling would have been unacceptable. The question of separate schools would have been especially important in Halifax, where nearly a third of the population was Catholic. The Conservative opposition had clearly demonstrated its concerns about denominational education in the 1850 school debate. While the Reformers had long endorsed free public schooling, in the early 1850s there was no significant school reform lobby. The decision to ignore Dawson's advice and maintain the educational status quo suggests that support for public school reform was not strong enough to override concerns about rekindling denominational rivalries which could tear apart the Reform party and result in electoral defeat. Dawson reluctantly stayed on for another year, and when he left the government replaced him with two regional superintendents who did little but collect school statistics and disburse provincial funds.16

The 1850 School Act had little impact on the day to day operation of schooling in Halifax. The appointment of a Board of School Commissioners did mean that for the first time there would be an agency for general oversight of the city's schools, but it had little power to intervene in the operation of schools. The Board was

given the responsibility for administering the provincial grant allocated to public schools in Halifax by ensuring that the schools which received funds met the minimal qualifications laid down by the provincial government. The provincial grant to Halifax was divided among the public schools in the city.[17] In practice a public school was one in which school funds, including tuition, and government and charitable contributions, were administered by a Board of School Trustees or a school society. A private school was one that was run by the teacher or principal as a private business.[18]

The diverse interests of the new School Board, appointed in April 1850, helped to ensure that individual schools would be left alone. Collectively the new Commissioners represented all the major religious denominations in the city and both provincial political parties. All were solidly middle class, most were middle aged or older. A few had experience in municipal politics and most of them had been involved in existing educational institutions as teachers, school trustees or members of college or academy boards.[19] When they first met in mid-May their immediate concern was for their own autonomy. They sent a representative to tell Provincial Secretary Joseph Howe of their objections to being bound by "such Rules and Regulations as shall be laid down for their guidance by the Provincial Superintendent of Education".

Howe quickly agreed to delete the offending words from their commission and they got down to business.20 The Superintendent's job was to persuade, not to coerce. His primary responsibility was to enlist support for further legislation. Satisfied with this ruling, the Board members got down to work.

They began with a survey of Halifax schools. Commissioners John S. Thompson and Rev. Alexander Forrester, both experienced professional educators, conducted the research with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Thompson already had years of experience in reform circles in Halifax when he was appointed to the school board. He had been active in the Sons of Temperance and the Mechanics Institute, and his support for the Liberals was rewarded with his appointment as Queen's Printer. He was strongly committed to the party's educational policy, and as a former teacher, he was interested in professional improvement. Forrester was a newcomer to Halifax, but a man long interested in educational reform, although in a different tradition than Thompson. Forrester, a Scottish-trained Free Church minister, had arrived in Halifax with a vision of an industrial future. A key part of that vision included a public school system where children could be scientifically and systematically taught the skills and virtues they would need in the new society.21 In the early 1850s Thompson and Forrester were the most

active members of the School Board. The two men constituted virtually every committee, and conducted most of the inspections. With the exception of the chairman, Archdeacon Robert Willis, few of the other members regularly attended meetings.[22]

The inventory Thompson and Forrester produced provides an excellent picture of the state of education in Halifax in 1850. While their findings distressed the reformers, they confirm the strength of popular support for schooling in the city. The Commissioners established the number of school-aged children who were enrolled in school, and despaired to find only half of them there. We know very little about where the other half were, but it would be wrong to conclude that none of them would ever spend time in school. The average age of Halifax school children was between nine and eleven, and while we cannot assume a bulge of children in this age range, few children were likely to have started school at five and remained there until fifteen.[23]

Many of the schools these children attended had been in operation for years, including the four largest public schools. These schools used the monitorial system, which permitted a large number of students to be taught by very few teachers through the use of older students as monitors, or teaching assistants. The substantial stone Royal Acadian School on Argyle Street had been established

by Walter Bromley in 1813 as a charity school taught on the Lancastrian monitorial system. In 1850 the school still used the monitorial system, and 141 boys and 43 girls were enrolled. The smaller brick and frame National School on Hollis Street used the Madras system to teach its 200 students. It, too, had a long history, having been opened in 1816 by local Church of England clergy with the support of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. While they advertised themselves as non-denominational, these were Protestant schools, the Royal Acadian basically non-denominational evangelical Protestant, the National, Anglican. Both charged one dollar tuition per quarter, but about one half the students attended free. The schools segregated free students from those who paid fees, and girls from boys. The Acadian School became popular with the middle class, and was attended by the children of Baptists and Presbyterians. The National School was still largely a charity school, because Anglican parents could send their children to the elite Halifax Grammar School.24 The other two large schools were Roman Catholic. St. Mary's School on Barrington Street was organized by Bishop Burke in 1820, and had over 400 students by 1850. St. Patrick's School in the basement of the church on Brunswick Street was much newer, having been in operation for only five years. It was attended by 200 children from the poorer

classes, reflecting the neighbourhood in which it was located. Like their Protestant counterparts the Catholic schools kept tuition low and admitted about half their students free.[25]

There were also four smaller denominational public schools, each with about fifty students. St. George's Anglican Church on Brunswick Street established a school for Protestant poor children in 1828, and after 1845 the Society also supervised the Colonial Church and School Society's new Three Mile School in the Dutch Village area. The Methodists began operating the Wesleyan Day School on Argyle Street in 1839, and St. John's Free Presbyterian Church opened a school in connection with the Free Church College and Academy in 1845. There were also three entirely free charity schools. The African School on Albemarle Street was operated by the British Bray Associates in cooperation with the local Anglican Bishop. The Infant School, founded by the wives of local clergy and prominent business men in 1832, had rooms in the basement of Dalhousie College on the Grand Parade. And a school had been held in the Poor's Asylum since 1823.[26]

These schools were financed from a variety of sources. Most relied on tuition fees, and all but the poorest parents were expected to pay some fees. Most of them received some funding from the Nova Scotia government, and they all professed to be open to children

of all denominations and appealed for government aid on the grounds of serving the poor. None depended solely on charitable donations, but the majority of them relied on the support of members of sponsoring denominational bodies and societies. Both the National and Royal Acadian Schools had supporting societies, and members were encouraged to pay an annual subscription of one pound which financed a poor child for a year.[27]

These quasi-public institutions represented only the tip of the iceberg of Halifax schools in 1850 -- just eleven of an estimated sixty. There were private schools of every description as well as Sunday Schools. Some were small, cheap and short lived but other private schools were not so marginal. The select schools, as they promoted themselves, attracted a clientele able to pay enough in fees to provide a reasonably comfortable livelihood for their teachers.[28] Other alternatives for the middle class included denominational academies and colleges and the Halifax Grammar School. These again were quasi-public institutions, but they received their government funding directly from the Assembly and were not under the supervision of the Halifax Board of School Commissioners. The colleges and academies taught quite young children. At Dalhousie Collegiate School for example, the average age of the 100 students was just eight.[29]

Thompson and Forrester were very critical of the educational facilities in the city, and proposed a reorganization of public schooling in the city designed to create "a uniform system with thorough public inspection".[30] While their suggestions were met by general indifference on the part of the School Board, local politicians and the general public, their efforts provide a useful barometer of attitudes toward public schooling in Halifax in the early 1850s. Initially they found encouragement. In the fall of 1850 provincial Superintendent Dawson called a public meeting to muster support for free schools financed by local school assessment. The meeting endorsed free schools, but it was only attended by the Commissioners, a handful of senior teachers and a few provincial politicians. Its decisions did not have the force of policy.[31] Forrester and Thompson, however, were greatly encouraged, and spent the fall preparing a grand plan for Halifax schools.

The plan highlights the difference between the existing situation and the reformers' ideal. It recommended that the city support twelve public schools, two per ward, and 48 teachers -- three male and one female at each school. These schools would accommodate 3600 students, leaving another 1000 to continue in "private adventure" schools. This acknowledgement of the role of private schooling in the Halifax education system suggests

that Forrester and Thompson were principally concerned with the state's responsibility for the education of the children of the poor and labouring classes, and recognized that well-to-do families would still prefer to send their children to private schools and academies. For the majority who would attend the public schools centralization would not only provide better education, but it would reduce the cost. They estimated L6800 was spent on public schooling in 1850. The proposed system would cost only L6400 -- an annual saving of L400.[32]

The magic ingredient in the plan was a municipal assessment of L3000 which required the approval of the City Council, a group which showed absolutely no interest in educational reform or new taxes. All efforts to arrange a meeting between Councillors and Commissioners failed. Even in October, when School Commissioner Andrew McKinlay was elected mayor, the Council took no action.[33] The Council's complete refusal to engage in an education debate revealed the general satisfaction with the existing school services in Halifax, and the weakness of the voices for reform in the early 1850s, even among the School Commissioners themselves. The educational ideas that Forrester and Thompson espoused had very little support. City Council saw no need to become involved, and educational reform did not become a public issue.

Forrester and Thompson did not pursue their reforms.

While they continued to be active members of the Board, performing many of the school inspections and administrative duties they obviously recognized the futility of pressing for more substantial change. In its second year of operation the School Board settled into a routine of meeting twice a year to distribute the provincial grant.[34] They developed a practical and flexible style which reflected their paternalism, their commitment to voluntarism, and an acknowledgement of popular support for the education of the city's children.

Their approach was clearly demonstrated by the response to problems that arose at the African School in the fall of 1852. The Commissioners became actively involved in the issue when 24 parents from the Bray Associates' African School asked to meet with them. The school their children attended was supervised by the Anglican Bishop, who also owned the building. It had been established in the late eighteenth century, and by the mid-nineteenth century it taught about 70 children by day and almost as many adults at night. But when Forrester and Thompson had inspected it in 1850 they reported that the black population was very poorly served by the school under the direction of its teacher, Mr. Gallagher. Despite their misgivings the Board paid Gallagher his share of the provincial grant, but refused to give any extra money to his wife for teaching needlework to the

girls. In 1851 the Commissioners noted a slight improvement, but they showed no surprise when parents complained. What is surprising is that the commissioners backed the parents in their efforts to have the school improved. The combined efforts of the commissioners and the parents had little effect on Gallagher's performance, and a year later the parents were still unhappy with the situation. The Commissioners, on the parents' behalf, brought the problem to the attention of Bishop Binney. Binney was unsympathetic. He told the Commissioners that he was unconcerned with the complaints, and that Dr. Bray and his associates would provide Gallagher's salary. Both the parents and the Commissioners persevered, however, and for several months during 1853 the School Board acted as go-betweens for the parents in their dealings with Bishop Binney. Finally, in February 1854, Binney offered to reorganize the school to train only girls. The Commissioners regarded Binney's offer as a sign that he was finally willing to address the parents' complaints, and believed that a "conciliatory spirit" prevailed. The parents' committee was less inclined to trust the Bishop, and asked to see his offer in writing. They also decided to take independent action. They raised 275 pounds to buy Zion Chapel on Creighton Street, hired a teacher, and opened Union School. By the summer of 1854 both Union School and the Bishop's African School were in operation.

With 48 students Union School had a substantially larger enrolment, the African school had only 34. The Bishop made a further concession by replacing Gallagher with Francois Duparte, a black teacher.[35]

The story of the black parents and their efforts to ensure an adequate education for their children reveals the depth of the commitment and determination of the parents to ensure the quality and control of their children's education. They were prepared to risk both debt and the wrath of the Bishop to see their children educated to their own satisfaction. But the story also reveals a number of elements of the Commissioners' approach to public schooling. The Commissioners' behaviour displayed a characteristic paternalism toward the lower classes and a strong commitment to voluntarism over professionalism. Many of them would have agreed with the Free Church Record that "...the state has not only no monopoly in the work [of education] but its authority is properly inferior to that of both the parents and the church."[36] The paternalism was evident in the continuing support the Commissioners gave to Union School. As soon as the school was in operation it began to receive its regular and fair share of the provincial education grant. Their encouragement did not end there. In 1861 when the Union School trustees petitioned the provincial government for help in liquidating the school's debt Andrew McKinlay

signed the request along with two of the parents. The success of the petition no doubt owed a considerable debt to McKinlay's influence, and for several years Union School received a supplementary grant of $120 a year from the provincial government.[37] But the Commissioners also recognized the right of parents to challenge the professional competence of the teacher, and they stood by the parents during the three years it took to establish Union School. The role of the state and of professionals was minimal in the provision of schooling. They themselves were volunteers, and they expected parents, and public-spirited citizens like themselves, to take the lead in supporting schools. Throughout the 1850s the provincial government allowed the Halifax School Commissioners to function without interference.

For six years the Nova Scotia Assembly continued its very cautious approach to educational issues. Each year the terms of the 1850 School Act were extended. The one change the legislature did make had no direct impact on local school administration. In 1854 the Assembly established a provincially supported Normal School in Truro. Halifax School Commissioner Rev. Alexander Forrester was appointed to the dual position of Superintendent of Schools and principal of the new teacher training school.[38] However, with the establishment of the Normal School the Assembly paid only lip service to the

idea of creating a professionally trained teaching staff. Attendance was entirely voluntary. Teachers continued to prepare for licensing in a variety of ways, and the government provided neither compulsion nor incentive in the matter of encouraging local school boards to hire trained teachers.

In 1856 the Liberal government attempted more substantive change when it introduced a bill calling for the adoption of free schools supported by local property taxes. The fate of this bill demonstrated unequivocally that religious loyalties were a greater obstacle to school reform than local assessment. The principle of assessment easily passed the House by a majority of 37-9, but the bill foundered when a member introduced an amendment calling for separate schools.[39] Timing for the amendment could not have been worse, coming as it did during the furor caused by the Gourlay Shanty incident involving Protestant and Catholic railway workers and Joseph Howe's illegal recruiting trip to the United States.[40] Provincial School Superintendent Forrester suggested that the government accept the separate school amendment, but in the midst of denominational crisis his advice was ignored.[41] The proposed legislation was referred to a committee for consideration, and circulated to School Boards throughout the province, but it was never re-introduced in the House.[42]

Superintendent Forrester was frustrated by the lack of action, but he was unable to keep school reform on the provincial agenda. He lacked Dawson's personal charm, and as a recent immigrant from Scotland, his solid Nova Scotian connections. But more importantly he was very strongly identified with the ultra-Protestants and their opposition to separate schools. Although Forrester had gone on record a few years earlier as willing to accept separate schools rather than forego public school reform, and although he did not join the Protestant Alliance, as a member of the Free Church clergy in the province he was closely associated with many who were members. He also advocated the use of the Bible as a textbook in provincial schools, an issue which was adamantly opposed by Catholic on the grounds that it was a Protestant version that was being promoted. Under his principalship the Normal School in Protestant Truro was identified with the Presbyterian Church, and no Catholic students enrolled.[43] His influence was confined to predominantly Protestant counties like Colchester, Pictou and Kings, where supporters of school reform made good use of the free school petition forms he circulated.[44] The late 1850s and early 1860s saw the rapid rise and fall of a series of weak provincial administrations, none of which wanted to tackle the sensitive question of school reform. Again, year after year the Assembly agreed to extend the 1850

School Act.

The Halifax School Commissioners took no part in the political debates, and continued to allow the schools under their care considerable autonomy. The day to day operation and administration of public schools changed very slightly in Halifax in 1850s. The large public schools continued to be crowded with children, although the 1861 census showed that enrolment was not quite keeping pace with population growth. The census showed 2,438 children in school, and 3,530 not registered.45 After Alexander Forrester's departure for Truro the Commissioners developed their own guidelines for dispersing the provincial grant which reflected their commitment to maintaining voluntarism and variety. The 1850 legislation specifically excluded private schools from participation in a share of the provincial school revenue, but in 1854 the Board began to support some private schools. In the next years it extended the practice, until by 1862 the provincial money was divided among six public schools, which received the largest share, and ten private schools.46

Support for private schools offered the Commissioners a number of advantages. It absolved them of the primary responsibility for providing schools, which was well beyond their financial means under the existing legislation, and it maintained the variety of schooling in

the city at very little cost to the public purse. Population growth and suburbanization produced demands for new schools which could often be met by offering small subsidies to private schools.[47] It was also compatible with their educational philosophy, and helped to keep tuition low. The large public schools charged their paying students a dollar per quarter, and other schools had to compete with their tuition. Three dollars a quarter was probably the maximum that an ordinary common school could charge without losing students. Most schools used a sliding fee scale based on the parents ability to pay, and the number of scholars in the family. Fees also varied with the level of instruction, beginners paid less than advanced students. A fairly good elementary education probably cost $6.00 to $8.00 a quarter while select schools and academies charged $10.00 or $15.00, plus additional fees for music, drawing and foreign languages.[48] By spreading the grant around the Commissioners could keep small marginal schools in operation and help keep tuition down.

By the mid 1850s teachers were the only people in Halifax to demonstrate any interest in school reform. Certainly the low tuition offered them no benefits, and many earned less than unskilled workers. In 1850 the average teaching salary in Nova Scotia was L37 ($148), but it is impossible to generalize about teachers' incomes. A

few Halifax teachers, like the principals of the large, well-established Acadian and National Schools, received more than L110 ($440) a year. Even their female colleagues were above the provincial average at L80 ($320) a year. Twenty to twenty-five pounds a year was probably more typical for qualified women teachers, and about a third more for men.[49]

Class distinctions and separate employers made collective action difficult for the teachers. In 1855 22 public school teachers did combine to ask their trustees for an increase in tuition, but it was not until the formation of the Halifax and Dartmouth Teachers' Association in 1862 that sustained organization was achieved by the teachers. The membership of the Association represented the teaching elite, drawn for the most part from among teachers and principals of the larger schools and academies.[50] The activities of the Association focussed on professional improvement rather than directly on the question of wages. They did feel that both could be accomplished through the adoption of free schools supported by local taxes, and in 1864 the members petitioned the Assembly for a new school act.[51] They argued for centralized control and supervision of the Halifax school system, which they felt was necessary to improve efficiency. They complained that the majority of teachers were underpaid, and consequently left the

occupation to find more money and greater financial security, and deplored the fact that teachers "are a body of public servants unsettled in locality, condition and employment, subject to privations and annoyance, and that such circumstances have very disastrous effect on the great interests of Education generally".[52]

The Commissioners did recognize the importance of experienced teachers, altnough they generally avoided direct interference in school operation. In 1864, when the Board learned that the Royal Acadian and National Schools were appropriating provincial funds intended for salaries to other purposes they began to pay all the teachers directly.[53] This action was not a prelude to increased centralized control on the part of the School Board, and a voluntary approach to education flourished well into the 1860s. Schools continued to be supported by a combination of tuition, donations, bazaars and provincial grants. The Commissioners continued to use their discretion in supporting schools, and ensured that a variety of educational opportunities were available to Halifax children.

In 1864 the Assembly again took up the difficult question of school reform. The Conservatives, under the leadership of Charles Tupper, had won a solid majority in the 1863 election and could proceed from a position of strength. Tupper himself had endorsed free schools

supported by taxation for many years, and had voted in favour of the principle of school assessment in 1856.[54] Tupper may also have been influenced in the timing of the introduction of free schools to Nova Scotia by the Confederation Conference planned for the summer, where he would be meeting with politicians from the Canadas who had legislated free schooling a decade earlier. However, despite his personal commitment to educational reform and his party's strength in the House, Tupper moved very slowly and cautiously, and took three years to introduce the full package of legislative reforms.

The first, the Free School Act of 1864, introduced a significant administrative reform with the creation of a Council of Public Instruction (CPI). The act stipulated that "The members of the Executive Council shall form a Council of Public Instruction" and the Council was given the power to appoint the Superintendent of Education and county inspectors, and it also assumed close supervisory control of the Normal School.[55] The 1864 legislation also required all schools receiving financial support from the provincial government to eliminate tuition by 1 November of that year, but it did not require local school sections to levy school assessment. Sections were permitted to continue to raise money for schools by voluntary subscriptions. In an attempt to pave the way for the adoption of compulsory assessment, the 1864 Act offered a

financial incentive to those sections which voluntarily adopted assessment. The next year an amendment to the School Act did make local assessment compulsory, and the third year voluntary subscriptions were eliminated, and adjustments were made in the provincial funding and local assessment formula in order to equalize the financial burden between rich and poor areas in the province.56

The School Act of 1864 did not make provision for separate schools for Protestants and Catholics. Tupper was firmly opposed to the idea of separate schools but he knew he had to manoeuver carefully around the issue. Roman Catholic Archbishop Thomas L. Connolly warned Tupper that Catholic parents would insist on separate schools as soon as the bill was introduced in the Legislature in February 1864. It was not a warning to be ignored. Conservative electoral support had been heavily dependent on keeping the allegiance of Catholic voters since the late 1850s. Tupper told Connolly that the Council of Public Instruction, which consisted entirely of the members of the provincial cabinet, would guarantee the rights of Catholics. Connolly reluctantly accepted Tupper's guarantee and gave his qualified support to the school bill, although he continued to worry about the weakness of the CPI.57

While the school legislation safely passed the House it was not without its critics, both inside and outside

the government. The most controversial feature of the 1864 Act was the composition of the CPI. While Tupper hoped that the CPI would prevent religious differences from disrupting the administration of education, it increased the direct political control of educational policy and practice. Liberal MLA A.G. Archibald attacked the political make-up of the CPI in the House on the grounds that political control of education was not compatible with educational reform, and his criticisms were echoed in the Halifax press.[58]

The Conservatives stood firm on the issue, however, and immediately following the passage of the Free School Act the CPI fulfilled predictions of political interference by demoting the Liberal-appointed Provincial Superintendent Alexander Forrester. Under the terms of the new legislation the Superintendency was separated from the principalship of the Normal College. Forrester, who had discussed the education bill a number of times with Tupper, had assumed that he would retain the superintendency.[59] Instead the Council appointed Theodore Harding Rand, a teacher at the Normal School, as Superintendent, and assigned Forrester to the much less prestigious job at the Normal School.[60] Forrester's long and close association with the Liberals was undoubtedly his undoing, but his personality may have been almost as great a liability as his politics. Many of his

contemporaries considered him over-ambitious and autocratic. He was mistrusted by Catholics, a stern opponent of separate schools, and an advocate of the use of the Bible in the schools.[61] His sense of personal humiliation was completed by changes for the licensing of teachers which undercut the Normal School's right to grant licenses to its graduates. Every teacher in the province would have to be re-examined, whatever his or her qualifications or experience.[62] Without making any further decisions the members of the CPI set out for the Confederation talks in Charlottetown.[63]

Alexander Forrester was outraged by his demotion. Forrester had recognized his vulnerability as an appointee and supporter of the Liberals, and in 1859 he decided to "walk warily" with the Conservatives in office.[64] However, at the time of his demotion he complained to Tupper of his "utter unpreparedness for the announcement".[65] Before taking any action Forrester turned to his political patron Liberal politician William Young for advice. An exchange of letters between the two revealed both Forrester's sense of outrage and the extent of political intervention in senior education appointments. Forrester wrote

> I make no doubt that you have already noticed the gross injustice done me by Dr. Tupper in placing a subordinate over me as Superintendent...I have never been more perplexed about the path of duty.[66]

Forrester also worried about his relationship with Rand. While he believed he had "thoroughly inoculated him with my views" he believed it was hard to predict Rand's course of action once he got into office.[67] Young was very sympathetic about the "affront", and regretted that there was no place for Forrester at the newly reorganized Dalhousie University. He advised Forrester to "show no feeling for the present and bide your time", and reassured him that when "your friends are again ascendent you will receive redress".[68]

Forrester took Young's advice. Although he admitted to Tupper that he "felt very keenly the disappointment of not receiving the office of Superintendent of Education" he agreed to "bow calmly and submissively" to the CPI, and reassured Tupper of his willingness to work with "my esteemed friend Mr. Rand".[69] Forrester also reassured the uneasy Rand personally. Forrester visited Rand and "placed himself in a befitting position in reference to myself. He seems disposed to settle quickly into the position assigned him and will in a short time, I doubt not, labour harmoniously in the education field".[70]

In Halifax reaction to the Free School Act was mixed. There was considerable opposition to the composition of the CPI, especially from the Presbyterian Witness, which remained loyal to Alexander Forrester.[71] The local press, however, was agreed on two points. Free schools were

highly desirable, and the Act was not suited to the special needs of the city.72 Prolonged attention to education in the provincial legislature drew the interest of the Halifax papers to the state of public schooling in the city. The criticisms printed in the local press suggest that school reform had a wider constituency in the mid-1860s than it had had a decade earlier. The editor of the Acadian Recorder admitted that he had changed his mind. When the 1864 School bill was before the House of Assembly he had "no disposition to see any radical change in the common school education", but a year later, with free schools in operation in the Nova Scotian countryside, the paper advocated their adoption in the city.73 The opinion expressed in the Acadian Recorder that Halifax was "notorious...for the most contemptible means of educating its young", was shared by the Presbyterian Witness which commented that there was "not a thoroughly good common school" in the whole city.74

The unsuitability of the 1864 School Act in Halifax stemmed from differences in the organization of Halifax schools and that of schools in rural parts of the province. Rural schools drew from a defined geographical area based on the distance that children could be expected to walk to school. It was unusual for one rural school section to have the population or the financial resources to support more than one school. In Halifax support for

schools was based on other factors, principally religion, and residents supported a variety schools which reflected a diversity of special interests. The 1864 legislation provided for neither explicit recognition of denominational schools nor the election of school trustees. The provincial government recognized that the situation in Halifax required special handling, and in the summer of 1864 the Council of Public Instruction granted Halifax a year's exemption from the provisions of the school act.75

Denominational schools were a key feature of the educational landscape in Halifax, and had to be addressed. In 1865 Connolly, convinced that the CPI could not provide adequate protection for Halifax Catholic schools, persuaded the government to amend the school act to recognize the right of denominational schools to receive financial support from the government. A single Board of School Commissioners administered all the schools.76 The second obstacle proved more difficult to remove. The new school law continued the practice of treating the city as one school section under the supervision of the appointed Board of School Commissioners. This measure had the advantage of administrative simplicity, but it also denied Haligonians the opportunity to elect school trustees, which rural ratepayers had under the act. The absence of a mechanism for democratic decision-making on local

educational matters remained a sore point in Halifax for the next several years.

After November 1865 Halifax schools had to comply with the provincial schools acts of 1864 and 1865. If the city's schools were to receive financial support from the government of Nova Scotia they would have to be free and supported by local property taxes, and the schools themselves would have to accept much closer supervision from the Halifax Board of School Commissioners, and be open to professional inspection. There was evidence, in the form of increased school enrolment and comment in the local press, that many Haligonians were pleased with these changes. However, the School Commissioners discovered, when the City Council repeatedly refused to levy the school tax, that support for school reform was not unanimous. In the debate which ensued politicians, professional education administrators, the School Commissioners and the local press discussed the appropriate organization of public schools. For the next few years the struggle over the implementation of school reform tested the Presbyterian Witness's claim that "It is of no use resisting the inevitable march of progress. Thank God, the tide of progress cannot by stopped by all the old fogies in the universe."77

1. J. William Dawson, Fifty Years of Work in Canada: Scientific and Educational (London and Edinburgh, 1905), Chapter 5.

2. See for example, Prentice, The School Promoters; Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform.

3. David B. Flemming, "Archbishop Thomas L. Connolly, Godfather of Confederation", Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report (1970), 67-84.

4. The years from 5 - 15 were considered school age by the Halifax Board of School Commissioners and the Superintendent of Education for Nova Scotia in 1850.

5. J.W. Dawson, Preliminary Report of the Superintendent of Education, Appendix 53, Journal of the House of Assembly, (JHA) 1851.

6. A Documentary study of early educational policy, PANS Bulletin, vol.1, no.1. (Nova Scotia, 1936). Most of the work done on early Nova Scotian education policy was done by provincial archivist D.C. Harvey and his students such as E.D.Logan, "Educational Achievement in Nova Scotia 1840-1865", (MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1936), who was probably the main author of the PANS Bulletin. See also Patricia Ann Emeneau, "The SPG in Nova Scotia: A Survey of a System of Parochial Education", (MA thesis, Dalhousie University), 1967.

7. Conservative leader J.W. Johnstone, in 1843 claimed that the real issue was not responsible government, "but the right of a free people to enjoy the education system of their own choosing". David A. Sutherland, "J.W. Johnstone and the Metamorphosis of Nova Scotia Conservatism", (MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 1967).

8. The party's 12 resolutions in 1837 endorsed educational reform, and the party pledged itself in the election of that year to compulsory local assessment in support of public schools. Howe and Huntington had both voted for school assessment in the Assembly in 1841, when it was defeated by a vote of 30-12. The Legislature did create a Central Board of Education for the Province in 1841. Joseph Howe was already committed to educational reform when he became leader of the Reform Party in 1836, and made explicit connections between political and education reform. Herbert Huntington and Samuel Creelman both taught school early in their careers and maintained a life long interest in public education. In 1850, for example, Creelman delivered a paper on School Discipline to the Upper Stewiacke Teachers Association. Huntington

and George Young both resigned from the Reform cabinet over railway policy, Huntington in December, 1850, Young in April, 1852. Gene Morrison, "Herbert Huntington", Collections, Nova Scotia Historical Society,(NSHS) vol. 29, (1951), 43-61; Gene Morrison, "Assessment and Education in Nova Scotia"; Collections, NSHS, Vol. 34,(1963), 55-80; Shirley Elliott, The Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia 1758-1983. A Biographical Directory (Nova Scotia, 1984). See PANS RG1, vol. 199, Executive Council Minutes; William B.Hamilton, "Joseph Howe and Education An Overview", in Wayne A.Hunt,ed. The Proceedings of the Joseph Howe Symposium (Halifax, 1983), 29-51; Report of the Schools of Nova Scotia for the year 1850 by the Superintendent of Education (Nova Scotia, 1851); George Young Papers, PANS MG2, vol.722; J. Murray Beck, "Sir William Young", Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol.XI, (Toronto,1982), 943-9.

9. An Act for the Encouragement of Education, SNS, 1850, chap. 39.

10. Howe felt that no government could regulate colleges without tumbling to pieces within an hour. J.Murray Beck, Joseph Howe: The Briton Becomes Canadian 1848 -1873, Vol. II (Montreal and Kingston, 1983), 27.

11. E.M. Saunders, Three Premiers of Nova Scotia. The Hon. J.W. Johnstone, The Hon. Joseph Howe, The Hon. Charles Tupper (Toronto, 1909) 210ff.

12. The Act also created school districts, each responsible for the support of one school. Each district was to hold an annual meeting of ratepayers which would elect three school trustees who would have the practical responsibility for hiring the teacher and maintaining the school buildings. SNS, 1850, chap.39; Logan, "Educational achievements in Nova Scotia 1840-1865",30.

13. J. William Dawson, Fifty Years of Work in Canada, Chapter 5; D.C. Harvey, "Letters of our First Superintendent", Journal of Education (Jan.1936), 56-62.

14. Harvey, "Letters", 55-62; Report of the Schools of Nova Scotia for the year 1850 by the Superintendent of Education (Nova Scotia, 1850); Report of the Superintendent of Education, JHA, 1852, Appendix 11; Report on the Schools of Nova Scotia for the year 1852, JHA, 1853, Appendix 10; J.W. Dawson, "The Railway and Education", Journal of Education, vol.1, no.2 (Oct.1, 1851), 7.

15. Beck, Joseph Howe, vol II, 30-50.

16. ER, JHA, 1853, 1854.

17. Minutes Book of the Halifax Board of School Commissioners (Commissioners' Minutes) Records of the Board of Commissioners of Schools for the City of Halifax, PANS, RG14, 1850-2.

18. Commissioners' Minutes, 12 June, 1850.

19. Commissioners' Minutes, 13 May, 1850, 20 May 1850, 12 June 1850. The Commissioners were: Chairman, Archdeacon Robert Willis, Anglican; John W. Ritchie(1808-1890), Anglican, lawyer; Rev. E.A. Crawley(1799-1888), Baptist, Conservative, active in Baptist Education Association and the Bible Society; Andrew McKinlay(1800-1867), Presbyterian, successful bookseller, former and future mayor of Halifax, and alderman, governor of Dalhousie University; Rev. Thomas Connolly, Catholic, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Halifax, (and future Archbishop), actively involved with St. Mary's College; John Naylor, alderman, governor of Dalhousie College; William Annand, journalist, publisher, Reformer, and future premier of the province; J.S. Thompson, Wesleyan, teacher and printer; Alexander Forrester(1805-1868), Presbyterian Minister, Professor at Free Church College, and future Superintendent of Education and Principal of the Normal College. See App.1.

20. Commissioners' Minutes, 13 May 1850, 20 May 1850.

21. Alexander Forrester's background and ideology are treated more fully in Chapter 2. For further biographical information on Forrester and Thompson see Judith Fingard, "Alexander Forrester", DCB, IX, (Toronto, 1976), 270-2; Robert Harvey, "From Pulpit to Platform: Alexander Forrester", NSHQ, v.2,4, (1972), 349-65. Forrester was greatly influenced by Scottish educator David Stow. A useful account of Stow's philosophy and activities is Thomas A. Markus, "The School as Machine: Working Class Education and the Glasgow Normal Seminary", in Thomas A. Markus, ed., Order in Space and Society. Architectural Form and its Context in the Scottish Enlightenment, (Edinburgh, 1982) 201-62. A statement of Forrester's educational philosophy in the early 1850s is contained in his pamphlet Duty of the Legislature of Nova Scotia with Respect to Collegiate Education (Halifax, 1852); Peter Waite, "John Sparrow Thompson", DCB, IX, 785-7.

22. See Commissioners Minutes, 1850-53.

23. Robert Willis, Scheme Proposed by the City Commissioners of Schools with the view to bringing about a better regulated and more uniform system of education in Halifax by means of assessment. (Halifax, 1851).

24. Commissioners' Minutes, 1850; Halifax School Returns, 1850, Halifax School Papers, PANS RG14, v.70; Annual Report of the Royal Acadian School, (Halifax, 1850); Annual Reports of the Halifax Branch of the Colonial Church and School Society (Halifax, 1850), Judith Fingard, "Attitudes toward the Education of the Poor in Colonial Halifax", Acadiensis, vol. II, no.2, (Spring, 1973), 15-42.

25. Commissioners' Minutes; Sister Maura (Mary Power), The Sisters of Charity, Halifax (Toronto, 1956), 25.

26. Commissioners' Minutes; Halifax School Returns.

27. Judith Fingard, "Attitudes toward the Education of the Poor".

28. Records do not exist for most of the private schools, but in the late 1850s when half a dozen Halifax teachers received 100 acre land grants in reward for 20 years of teaching none of their names had appeared in the list of nearly 200 Halifax teachers drawn from official reports and newspapers. Their names appear in PANS RG14, V30, #387, Halifax School Papers. For other information on private schools see Commissioners Minutes, 12 June 1850; Robert Willis, Scheme Proposed by the City Commissioners of Schools.

29. Records of the Board of Commissioners of Schools for the City of Halifax, PANS, RG14, Halifax School Returns, 1850,51, Halifax School papers, PANS RG 14, v.30, #325, #329. Dalhousie College Returns, Appendix 33, JHA, 1850.

30. Willis, Scheme.

31. Report of the Schools for the year 1850 by the Superintendent of Education (Halifax, 1851), 82-3.

32. Willis, Scheme.

33. Commissioners' Minutes, summer and fall, 1850.

34. Commissioners' Minutes, 1850-54.

35. Commissioners' Minutes, 8 July, 1850, 8 November, 1850, 3 October, 1851, 5 November, 1852, 3 August, 1853, 3 December, 1853, 23 January 1854, 15 February, 1854, 5

April, 1854, 15 May 1854, 18 July, 1854; Report of the Central Board of Education, (Halifax, 1842); Halifax School Papers, PANS RG14, v.30, #31; Fingard, "Attitudes".

36. Free Church Record, 1852.

37. Halifax School Papers, PANS RG14, V.30, #413, 425, 427.

38. Statutes of Nova Scotia (SNS), 1854, chap.5.

39. See the JHA, 1856, 112, 114, 152. A Bill, Entitled, An Act for the Better Encouragement of Education (Nova Scotia, 1856).

40. For a full discussion of this episode see Chapter 1.

41. Documents relating to the 1856 School Bill, PANS MG 17, vol.17, #143, Alexander Forrester to William Young, 12 Mar. 1855.

42. The Assembly published 1000 copies of the bill to be distributed throughout the province during the recess. A Bill, Entitled, An Act for the Better Encouragement of Education.

43. Fingard, "Alexander Forrester".

44. Logan, "Educational Achievements in Nova Scotia, 1840-1865", 127.

45. Commissioners' Minutes, 5 December, 1862.

46. Commissioners' Minutes, 19 July, 1854, 3 November, 1858, 9 May, 1862.

47. Commissioners' Minutes, 1854-64.

48. Commissioners' Minutes, 12 June, 1850; Annual Report of the Royal Acadian School (Halifax, 1850); Acadian Recorder, 7 September, 1850; Presbyterian Witness, 22 December, 1855, 1 October, 1857; Journal of Education and Agriculture, v.1, no.1 (July, 1858); Halifax School Papers, PANS RG 14, V.30, #419.

49. Commissioners' Minutes, 12 June, 1850; ER, 1850; Annual Report of the Halifax City Mission for 1852 (Halifax, 1853); Annual Report of the Protestant Orphan Asylum (Halifax, 1860).

50. Presbyterian Witness, 22 December, 1855; Constitution of the Halifax and Dartmouth Teachers Association (Halifax, 1862). See also J. Willoughby, The Land of the Mayflower: or, the Past and Present of Nova Scotia contrasted with a glance at the probable future (Halifax, 1860), 55ff for a teacher's comments about the need for school reform.

51. Petition from the Office Bearers of the Halifax Teachers' Association, PANS, RG5, Series P, V.76, 1 February, 1864.

52. Ibid.

53. Commissioners' Minutes, 5 December, 1862.

54. JHA, 1856, 112.

55. Revised Statutes, 1864, chap. 58, sections 1-5.

56. Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1864, Chapter 58, Of Public Instruction; An Act for the better encouragement of Education, SNS, 1865 chap. 28; An Act to amend the Act for the Better Encouragement of Education, SNS, 1866, chap.30.

57. Flemming, "Archbishop Thomas L. Connolly, Godfather of Confederation".

58. Halifax Citizen, 18 February, 1864, 3 March, 1864.

59. School Papers, Superintendent of Education, Superintendent's Correspondence, PANS RG14, vol. 81, Alexander Forrester to Charles Tupper, 19 May 1864. See also John Burgess Calkin, "Free Schools in Nova Scotia" in Old Time Customs, Memories, Traditions and Other Essays (Halifax, 1918), 113-188.

60. Margaret Conrad, "Theodore Harding Rand", DCB, XII, 879-883; A. Laidlaw, "Theodore Harding Rand", Nova Scotia Journal of Education, vol.xv, (March, 1944), 207-18 and ibid., (April-May, 1944), 325-34.

61. Forrester was "a forthright supporter of the Liberal party" and participated in the behind-the-scenes machinations for the defeat of Tupper in the Cumberland County election of 1857. The efforts were fruitless, but they earned Forrester Tupper's enmity. See Fingard, "Alexander Forrester"; R.P. Harvey, "The Teacher's Reward: Alexander Forrester at Truro", NSHQ, v.5, (1975), 47-68.

62. Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia, 1864, Chap.58.

63. Rand advised the CPI to meet before they left for Prince Edward Island because there was so much pressing business. Superintendents' Correspondence, T.H. Rand to Charles Tupper, 27 Aug. 1867.

64. PANS School Papers, Superintendent of Education, Superintendents' Correspondence, RG14, vol.81, Alexander Forrester to Hon. William Young, 1859.

65. Superintendents' Correspondence, Alexander Forrester to Charles Tupper, 19 May, 1864.

66. Superintendents' Correspondence, A.F. Forrester to Hon. William Young, 17 May 1864.

67. Ibid.

68. Superintendents' Correspondence, William Young to Alexander Forrester, 21 May 1864. The letter was marked "Private".

69. Superintendent's Correspondence, 19 May 1864.

70. Superintendents' Correspondence, T.H. Rand to Charles Tupper, 19 Aug. 1864.

71. Presbyterian Witness 23 July, 1864; Halifax Citizen, 18 February, 1864, 3 March, 1864.

72. Presbyterian Witness., 23 July, 1864, 12 Nov. 1864. See also Christian Messenger, 19 Oct. 1864, 9 Nov. 1864.

73. Acadian Recorder, 20 January, 1865.

74. Presbyterian Witness, 23 July, 1864; Acadian Recorder, 1 February, 1865; See also Christian Messenger, 19 October, 1864.

75. Minutes of the Council of Public Instruction, PANS Micro, 1864-65.

76. Flemming, "Archbishop Thomas L. Connolly".

77. Presbyterian Witness., 12 Nov. 1864. See also Christian Messenger, 19 Oct. 1864.

Chapter 4

School Reform and the Politics of Middle Class Cooperation

Under the terms of the Nova Scotia School Act of 1865 the Halifax City Council was assigned the responsibility for collecting a school tax based on property assessments.[1] Implementation of the new legislation, therefore, demanded collaboration between the municipal and provincial governments. Most of the aldermen supported free schooling in principle but they were very reluctant to accept the terms of the legislation.[2] Their immediate objection was that the new law required them to collect a tax over which they would have absolutely no control. The Assembly had vested full control over the expenditure of all school monies in the hands of its appointees, the Halifax Board of School Commissioners.[3] At a meeting in April 1865 one of aldermen asked "Who runs Halifax? The City Council or the Assembly?"[4] The aldermen passed a resolution protesting that the "the portion of the school bill which refers to Halifax is arbitrary in the principle of assessment and unapplicable[sic] to the requirements of the city".[5] The provincial government disregarded the Council's objections, but the next May when the School Commissioners asked the City Council to levy the school assessment, the aldermen balked.[6] Veteran

Alderman Joseph Jennings called the new school law arbitrary, and said that it reminded him of "despotic Russia".7 A few days later Alderman John McCulloch returned to the same theme, claiming that "the emancipated serfs of Russia enjoyed greater privileges than the citizens of Halifax".8 These comments were the opening round in a power struggle between the provincial government and the City Council that revealed a great deal about the consolidation of middle class power in Halifax.

The members of both levels of government could broadly be defined as middle class, but they represented different elements within the middle class.9 The members of the Legislative Assembly, the appointed Legislative Council and the Halifax School Commissioners were much more likely to be members of the traditional elite of the city. The aldermen, on the other hand, were most often upwardly mobile shopkeepers and successful artisans.10 The property qualification of 500 pounds for aldermanic office ensured that they were men of some standing in the city, but few could claim either the wealth or status of the provincial politicians or their appointees.11 Although both groups accepted the benefits of free public schooling in promoting social order and economic prosperity, neither was willing to surrender power to the other. The achievement of a compromise on the school question reached in 1868 dem strates the process through

which different groups within the middle class learned to collaborate and to share power rather than forego progress. The compromise was contained in an amendment to the provincial school act in 1868 which restructured the Halifax Board of School Commissioners. The Assembly retained the right to appoint seven members, and the City Council was granted the right to appoint the remaining six.[12]

The road to this compromise was a rocky one. The school debate, in some respects, was the climax of nearly two decades of conflict between the two levels of government.[13] Negotiations over public schooling were bitter, and twice aldermen voted to go to jail rather than to accept the demands of the provincial government without representation on the school board. For many of the aldermen the conflict was more than a simple political power struggle. It was also about their claims to middle class status and influence. The 1850s and 1860s were a period of significant expansion and reorganization of municipal services.[14] By 1865 City Council was almost unanimous in its commitment to the idea of bourgeois progress. Its members could see the benefits of improved water and sewerage service, streetlighting, well-maintained streets and sidewalks, modern fire protection, policing, and courts, and even a modern education system. Collectively these innovations would serve the material

interests of the alderman, and foster the general economic well-being of the city. Modernization also had a symbolic importance for the aldermen, demonstrating that their city was not a colonial backwater.

The aldermen encountered many difficulties as they began to implement their program of modernization. Each step toward creating modern city services set off unforeseen consequences, and threatened old alliances and traditional interests. The price of modernization was high. It was impossible to create the new ways and new institutions without abandoning the old. However, during the 1860s Halifax City Council showed it was willing to pay the price because its members believed that modernization would ultimately serve them better than maintaining institutions that no longer seemed to serve their class interests and their attachment to progress. The Council also experienced constant difficulty in asserting its right to control the process of the modernization of government services in the city. The aldermen's claim to power rested on their election to office and their social position as respectable members of the middle class.

The aldermen's middle class status was regularly challenged, and they felt besieged from above and below. The elite members of the appointed Legislative Council often blocked legislation for city improvements, and the

provincial government as a whole kept a close rein on city spending. The press implicitly attacked the social status of the aldermen in its frequent laments about the unwillingness of the members of the city's wealthy elite to assume civic office.[15] The members of City Council felt especially vulnerable to these criticisms following the election of master caulker Thomas Spence as alderman for Ward 5 in 1862.[16] Spence, who had a police court record of summary convictions for drunkenness and abusive language, did not conform to the other aldermen's standards of bourgeois respectability. Spence's election also demonstrated the potential of a working class challenge to the power of the aldermen.[17]

The case of the Halifax Street Railway illustrates many of their difficulties. It presented City Council with all that was most flashy and most difficult about modernization. When plans were made for the horse-drawn street railway in 1863 it looked like a great boon to the middle class aldermen.[18] It would improve transportation in the city, carrying both passengers and freight quickly and efficiently through the city and would conveniently link urban transportation to the Nova Scotia Railway depot at Richmond. For aldermen who had moved their families to new suburban homes in the north and south ends of the city it offered inexpensive, rapid transportation to and from the downtown business district. And in common with other

innovations, the symbolic value of the Street Railway as "an example of the rapid strides on the road to material progress" added allure to the project.[19] So did the design of the cars. One side wore the city coat of arms in "gorgeous colours, interwoven with blue and gold, and surrounded by glittering splendours", the other was decorated with the Nova Scotia ensign surrounded by mayflowers.[20] A week before the June 1866 opening of the line excitement mounted.[21]

But just two days later trouble erupted in City Council. James O'Brien, the proprietor of the railway, complained that the city's truckmen were secretly conspiring to sabotage his new line.[22] While the aldermen were unable to prove the existence of a conspiracy among the truckmen rumours circulated, and the idea was not implausible.[23] The truckman would obviously resent the competition from the street railway, and that resentment could only have been heightened by the special privileges granted to the street railway by the City Council. O'Brien's charges triggered a defense of the truckmen among some of the aldermen. O'Brien was called a "mere speculator", and the idea of a conspiracy dismissed as ridiculous. One alderman protested that O'Brien, as an outsider, "should not be supported and defended at the expense and inconvenience of the truckmen and citizens generally".[24] Another complained that O'Brien had

violated the law in laying railway tracks across some of the city's newly laid sidewalks. After a heated but inconclusive discussion the complaint was referred to a committee for further study. What was clear from the aldermen's discussion was that modern improvements did not come easily, but they were attractive. The next item of discussion was O'Brien's invitation to attend the inaugural ceremonies of the railway. The aldermen showed their willingness to sacrifice traditional community loyalties to progress and voted unanimously to accept the invitation.[25]

The opening was a great success. At noon on Monday, June 11 a huge crowd gathered at the provincial building to watch the five cars filled with local dignitaries pull out, while the band of the 8th regiment played the National Anthem from a platform car. An admiring crowd "showed with what delight our people hailed the undertaking".[26] The trip ended at the Richmond terminal where the guests enjoyed "a sumptuous luncheon" and many fine toasts.[27] Despite their outstanding grievances against O'Brien the alderman obviously believed they would have lost face had they not been among the dignitaries at the event.

Further problems with the street railway surfaced a number of times in the ensuing weeks and months. Modernization in the form of the street railroad had not

yet taken its full toll. Less than two weeks after the opening ceremonies Peter Conlon, proprietor of the Omnibus Line, was arraigned at the Police Office on a charge of having willfully damaged a Horse Railway car by colliding with it at Richmond.[28] Conlon's deliberate sabotage of the street railway expressed the resentment of the traditional transportation industry in the city, and there were some on Council who sympathized with the protest. Aldermen expressed concern about the company's monopoly, and asserted the Council's right to regulate the service.[29] There was also the question of Sunday operation of the line to be resolved. A group of local clergy objected to the Corporation about Sunday running, an issue which was settled when O'Brien agreed to suspend Sunday service.[30] The coming of winter exposed another problem when the Street Railway Company plowed and salted its tracks making the running of sleighs impossible on streets where tracks had been laid. On this issue the City Council supported the cab and truckmen, and passed a bye-law prohibiting plows and salt and the Street Railway had to switch to sleighs along with everyone else.[31]

Except on days when the streets were too muddy the sight of the gaudy street railway cars lumbering through the lower streets of Halifax presented the citizens with a constant material symbol of progress. But like so much of nineteenth century progress, it was progress for and by

the middle class. With fares set at seven cents a ride and no Sunday running the working class had little access to the line.[32] The cab and truckmen, although they won concessions about winter driving, which were shared by those wealthy enough to operate their own carriages, had to compete with a modern transportation service that was granted special privileges by the city. For the City Council the street railway demonstrated the pitfalls of the progress they so warmly embraced.

While the street railway provides the most colourful example of the process of modernization in Halifax, even what seemed like mundane changes could cause unexpected difficulties. This was the case with both the introduction of steam operated fire engines and the abolition of statute labour on the streets. After the disastrous fires in downtown Halifax in 1857 and 1859 City Council and the volunteer fire protection companies agreed on the need for buying steam-operated fire engines. Nearly all of the aldermen in the 1860s had served as members of fire protection companies and as firewards, in fact it seemed an almost obligatory apprenticeship for civic responsibility. And since the 1840s relations between Council and the fire companies had been cordial and characterized by cooperation.[33] Both groups expressed satisfaction when the first four steam engines arrived in the spring of 1861, but they could not agree about who

should control them. City Council took great pride and a proprietorial interest in the new steam engines, and passed a resolution which gave the aldermen the power to choose the members of the Union Engine Company.[34] A few days later, however, the whole company "rolled down its trousers" and refused to serve under the new regulations.[35] The Company had functioned as the firemen's private club, it had chosen its own members and elected its officers.[36] City Council refused to budge, and Ward 5 Alderman Jeremiah Conway proposed that the city switch to a paid fire department.[37] For a while the city was without fire protection, but the situation was resolved when the City Council appointed a full complement of new members to the Company. The old members refused to cooperate with the new, but instead formed the new Union Protection Company.[38] City Council's committment to modernization was not weakened by the problems created by the addition of steam engines to the fire department. But over and over again the Council would find that the implementation of their program was painful and divisive, threatening old alliances and creating new ones.

The abolition of statute labour for the maintenance of city streets, while immediately and immensely popular, created one of the Council's major controversies during the 1860s by broadening the municipal franchise. In 1861 statute labour was replaced by a vehicle tax and a poll

tax of $1.50 to be paid by every male resident over 21. Not only did the introduction of the poll tax free the men of Halifax from the odious duty of statute labour, it also extended the right to vote in civic elections to all who paid it.[39] Two difficulties with the new system emerged over the next few years. The first was the City Assessor's inability to collect the tax. Revenues from the fines paid by those who bought their way out of statute labour amounted to over L2000 in 1860, but in 1861 less than L1500 was collected from the poll tax. Of 2610 people rated, only 178 paid.[40] The problem remained acute and each year the street committee had to turn to Council for additional funds.[41] The second difficulty was a bigger problem in theory than in practice. Some members of the City Council deeply feared that the wrong sort of voters would control civic elections, a fear no doubt fed by the election of Thomas Spence in 1862, but certainly not one which was ever justified by large turnouts of working class voters.

The controversies surrounding the modernization of city services compounded upon one another and intensified the frustrations and anxieties of the aldermen about their ability to control the process of change. The period between October 1862 and June 1864 deserves special attention. During that time two circumstances significantly exacerbated an already difficult situation.

The first was the election of Thomas Spence, the second the provincial government's request that the city charter be overhauled. Together they created endless months of hostility and wrangling among the aldermen and between Council and the branches of the provincial government.

The election of Thomas Spence, with his working class background and a record of summary convictions in police court, as alderman for the city's populous working class ward 5 shocked City Council.[42] His lack of respectability played on many of the upwardly mobile aldermen's own anxieties about respectability and status. They were so outraged that they refused to let Spence take his seat on Council. They justified this action by supporting the accusations of a group of Ward 5 residents, led by the defeated candidate, William Roche. Roche, a former alderman and lumber merchant, accused Spence of committing election irregularities, and charged that his police record rendered him "not a fit and proper person" to serve as alderman and magistrate.[43] The Council's actions backfired when Spence became a popular hero. Throughout the investigation of Roche's allegations large cheering crowds attended Council meetings in support of Spence.[44] Once unseated by Council Spence took his claim to the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia which upheld his election in July 1863. With ill grace the Council accepted the judgement, although no one spoke to him at meetings for

several weeks.[45]

Spence did have a colourful background. Some years earlier, for example, he had called his neighbour Alderman McKay "Alderman Shit", and had thrown a fish into his house. He had earned his record for drunkenness and abusive language.[46] But it is important to consider Council's reactions to the election of Thomas Spence in the context of the process of class formation in Halifax. Spence was much less significant as an individual than as a symbol of nascent working class consciousness in the city. Thomas Spence represented the pre-industrial artisanal traditions which were being transformed into the basis for early industrial working class identity.[47] In personal style and in ideology Spence was at odds with many of his upwardly mobile colleagues on Council. His appearance, from his face, "wrinkled and brown as a sea slug", to his outdated greatcoat, was a testimony to his outdoor life of skilled manual labour.[48] Although he had a comfortable and well furnished home, his Irish-born and illiterate wife, Catherine, lacked bourgeois refinements.[49] He was a founding member of the craft-conscious Shipwrights and Caulkers Union, one of the very first groups to take advantage of new trade union legislation in the province.[50] Strongly attached through his occupation to the traditional wood, wind and sail economy, he was highly suspicious of modernization.

Unpersuaded of the value of segregating the deserving from the undeserving poor, he indiscriminately helped all who came to his door in need.[51] On Council he also regarded himself as a spokesman for the poor, and resisted increased taxes to support expanded city services.[52]

Spence's presence on City Council was significant. It represented the threat of class polarization, and at the same time it revealed the insecurities of the upwardly mobile aldermen. Their concept of respectability entailed a rejection of the glorification of manual labour and the adoption of the values of the white collar work of the middle class.[53] Their record of support for modern institutional innovation demonstrates their abandonment of methods of charity and social control based on traditional informal customs and personal authority. Their adoption of the habits and attitudes of bourgeois respectability was an important element in their claim to middle class status and influence. Ironically, it was their insecurities about this status, displayed so strikingly over the Spence affair, that earned th aldermen the satiric epithet "Civic Comedians".[54]

Early in 1863, while Council awaited the judgement of the Supreme Court on Spence's fitness for office, the Provincial government asked for a major revision of the city charter. The changes in municipal services had produced a steady flow of requests for legislation, and

provincial politicians, most of whom represented rural constituencies, found them an annoyance. The aldermen discovered, however, that they were not to have a free hand in rewriting the charter. In taking on the task the Council not only found itself embroiled in internal debates but also in struggles with both the Assembly and the Legislative Council for the next eighteen months. The last major revision of the City Charter had been made in 1849 when municipal services were much simpler and the population of the city a third smaller.[55] The comprehensive revisions forced the aldermen to consider the practical implications of their commitment to progress. They discussed taxation and borrowing, the municipal franchise, the structure of the Council, and the modernization of policing and the city courts.

When the revised charter finally got to the provincial Legislature in February 1864 the City Council had to get the approval of the Committee on Halifax Bills, the Assembly, and the appointed Legislative Council.[56] For the next several months aldermen were called in by the provincial government again and again to defend their new charter, and a number of times they had to concede defeat. When the lower house was satisfied with the charter they sent it to Legislative Council. On May 6, after three weeks of deliberations, the appointed House returned the charter to the Assembly with over twenty amendments.[57]

Although the Assembly turned down most of them time was quickly running out in the session. The Legislative Councillors felt they were in a strong bargaining position because the Assembly had invested so much time and effort in getting the charter passed. They tried to hang on to five of their amendments, including one to prevent poll tax payers from voting. The Assembly agreed to three, although not the one to disenfranchise poll tax payers.[58] On the last day of the session the Legislative Council approved the new city charter.[59]

By the time the new charter received royal assent at the close of the 1864 legislative session City Council had developed a seige mentality. Tempers were frayed, stress and anxiety levels were high. The City Council had struggled long and hard to achieve revisions acceptable to the majority of its members, and then had lost a number of rounds with the Assembly and the elite Legislative Council. Alderman Thomas Spence became a focus and a scapegoat for the aldermen's anger. The new charter gave the Council the right to eject members on the vote of two thirds of the aldermen. Alderman John D. Nash determined to use the new clause to get rid of Spence.[60] Nash, the most vocal spokesman for progress on the Council, had begun his career with a small grocery store. By the 1860s he had become a prominent auctioneer and real estate agent with extensive property holdings of his own. Always in

financial difficulty, he was very anxious to establish his respectability.[61] He deplored the presence of Spence on the Council, and he had had a number of run-ins with him during the Charter debates. Nash's anger was heightened by a suit Spence was taking against Council demanding damages for the time he had been denied his seat on Council.[62]

Nash led the attack on Spence in May by alleging that he had personally seen Spence drunk and involved in a street brawl with a notorious ex-convict. Spence refuted the charges, and the Council appointed a committee to investigate.[63] Spence's only defender was fellow Ward 5 alderman William Roche. In contrast to Alderman Nash, Roche had grave reservations about modernization. He had served on City Council in the 1850s, reoffered unsuccessfully in 1862 and was re-elected alderman for Ward 5 in October 1863. His objective in returning to Council was to try to stop increased city spending.[64] He had spent most of the previous winter sustaining a personal vendetta against the city assessor, and stirring up working class resentment against the poll tax.[65] Roche and Spence had voted together a number of times to try to stop tax increases, and he refuted Nash's accusations somewhat melodramatically, stating that if it were "sought to offer Ald. Spence an unjust indignity he would rise to defend him as soon as he would Queen Victoria".[66]

The meeting at which the "Spence Intoxication Investigation Committee" reported back to Council was the climax of nearly two years of frustration. The proceedings caused embarrassment for the aldermen when a local newspaper commented that Spence did not "appear in violent contrast to some of his official brethren".[67] Nash's constant ally, Ward 1 Alderman Peter Imlay, was the star of the day when he performed the "Great Intoxication Walk Round". Four times he staggered around the Council board in imitation of Spence's alleged behaviour in the streets, to loud cheers.[68] Nash and Roche entered the fray by threatening "to disarrange each other's anatomical structure by pulverizing the most prominent bones."[69]

Order was restored before the meeting deteriorated into a brawl. The Spence Intoxication Investigation Committee reported that the charges against Spence were fully sustained, but the Council did not expel him.[70] The Council's decision, in this case, is less important than the fact that many aldermen lost control of their emotions and their behaviour. Powerless to control the actions of the provincial government, they had let off steam by attacking Thomas Spence in a bizarre and counterproductive effort to restore their reputation for respectability. The unfavourable press attention the episode received in a number of local papers probably restrained Council from taking further action, and Thomas Spence's death in an

industrial accident in October, 1864 put an early end to his aldermanic career.71

The Halifax Reporter dealt explicitly with the intra-class conflict surrounding city government in its post-mortem of the 1864 civic election. The editorial laid the blame for the apathy surrounding municipal elections firmly at the feet of "what is usually considered to be the higher order of society, supposed to represented by the mercantile community".72 The editorialist claimed that this group "growl[ed] incessantly" about the city debt, but were always ready to "accept the security of the Corporate Body for thousands of pounds". The conflict between the mercantile community and the civic government dated back to the period of incorporation in the 1840s.

> It will be fresh in the recollection of many persons in this city that the act of Incorporation was forced upon the very class of citizens whom the rate-payers would now fain to elect to city council. No conclusion can consequently be arrived at other than that the class in question having opposed the incorporation of Halifax by all the means and influence at their disposal are not yet reconciled to what they a quarter of century since objected to as a most mischievous measure.73

The writer argued that it was time to put these old grievances aside for the good of the city, commenting that "every improvement that has been introduced into our now happily rising city has had its origin and progress within the past quarter of a century".74 After listing the many improvements in city services the writer insisted that the

City Council had earned "a measure of approval on the part of the press". The time had come, in other words, for a broader collaboration among the upper and lower levels of the middle class in the conduct of municipal government.

The time may have been at hand in 1864, but it had not come. In 1865 the provincial government extended the provision of the Free School Act to include the city of Halifax. Relations between the Council and province were still severely strained and there was no sign of improvement. City Council had its own agenda for the reform of existing municipal services, and schools were not on it. Financial responsibility for public schools was thrust on them by the Free School Act of 1865. The Act required the city to establish a system of free schools supported by municipal assessment, and administered by a provincially appointed Board of School Commissioners.75 While every alderman was in favour of educating children to be productive law-biding citizens, the majority of them believed that other groups in Halifax already had the job well in hand. Furthermore, because the relationship between the Council and the provincial government was already so strained the alderman were not disposed to meet any legislative interference in the city with favour, especially one which required the imposition of new taxes. Public school reform also lacked the glamour of a street railway or steam-powered fire engines,

and it was freighted with emotional baggage, because it affected the private and religious lives of families. Despite their objections and reservations the City Council was persuaded, or perhaps persuaded itself, to fully endorse free public schools supported by city taxes less than three years later. The process of accommodation, of threats and counterthreats, during those three years strikingly illustrates the problems inherent in middle class collaboration as well as its success.

Shortly before the 1865 School Act was passed Alderman William Gossip, a publisher and bookseller, and a man whose own livelihood depended on a literate public, raised the alarm in City Council. His first complaint was the failure of the provincial government to consult with the Council before preparing the bill.[76] Gossip entirely side-stepped the issue of free schooling and concentrated on the question of political control. At the heart of his objection, which was shared by virtually all the aldermen over the next few years, was that the provincial government had given a provincially appointed body the right to tax in violation of a "grand constitutional principle".[77] The aldermen were also quick to point out that the situation in Halifax was vastly different from that in the countryside where school trustees were annually elected by the ratepayers. A few aldermen still had serious reservations about the idea of free schooling,

and were not sure that the public should be compelled to pay for the education of the children of the rich.78

The City Council were right in their assessment of the 1865 School Act amendment. It offered no opportunity for democratic decision making in any aspect of the administration of Halifax schools. The composition of the new School Board was also an affront to the upwardly mobile mechanics and shopkeepers who sat on City Council. It was dominated by successful merchants and professionals, traditionally the elite of the city. Its only virtue was that it provided equal representation to Protestants and Catholics.79 The new School Commissioners, on the other hand, felt they did not have enough power, especially after Nova Scotia School Superintendent T.H. Rand told them that the city schools were filthy, ill-equipped and below the standard of many rural schools.80 The Commissioners asked the provincial government to extend their financial powers to enable them to embark on a major building program.81 Early in 1866 the Assembly granted the Commissioners the right to set the school assessment and to issue debentures for capital costs. They were also given the power to select and purchase sites for school buildings, and were invested with the title of all public school property, real and personal, within the city, with the exception of the Halifax Grammar school.82

City Council, already resentful of the power vested in the appointed Board of School Commissioners, became increasingly uncooperative and intransigent. In May 1866 the Commissioners asked the Council to raise the school assessment from $6000 to $22,000 for the coming year.83 Council's first response was to send the request to its Committee on Laws and Privileges. A number of aldermen felt that the new powers given to the School Board violated the terms of the new City Charter.84 After hearing the report of the committee the aldermen voted narrowly, by a vote of 8-7, not to levy the assessment. Alderman Stephen Tobin, who also served as a School Commissioner, told them that their decision meant "breaking up the whole school system of Halifax and shutting the doors of every public school in the city."85 Alderman John Tobin countered that he did not believe that the government would dare to close the schools. It would just have to come up with the money itself.86 Stephen Tobin gave notice of a motion to reconsider.87 Aldermen Stephen Tobin and the School Commissioners narrowly won the next round. By a majority of one vote the Council voted to levy the school tax. But the decision was not final. Alderman John Tobin gave notice of a motion of reconsideration.88 By the end of June the anti-assessment faction had swung the Council over to its position, and a larger majority of the Council voted

against accepting the Commissioners' assessment.[89] The provincial cabinet, meeting as the Council of Public Instruction, backed the Commissioners with a resolution insisting that City Council levy the assessment.[90] Still the Council refused to budge.

At the end of July the provincial government put the "vexed school question" back on Council's agenda with the threat of a writ of mandamus against the mayor and aldermen, which would have sent Council members to jail until they agreed to the assessment. The Council could take no action, however, because too few aldermen attended the meeting. According to the Acadian Recorder some of the aldermen deliberately stayed away.[91] The Council meeting held 1 August also ignored the school question but less than a week later the aldermen decided to stand firm on the decision not to levy the school tax.[92] As the Acadian Recorder commented a few days later, "[t]he Aldermen are ready and willing to go to jail".[93] In fact the pressure being brought to bear by the provincial government seemed to harden the Council in their position.

On 27 August the Council approved the estimates for the coming year. The school tax was not included, and no mention was made of the school question at the meeting.[94] At the next meeting, two days later, Mayor Richey handed in the mandamus that had been served on him by the Court. Alderman J.D. Nash, who had continually advocated

accepting the Commissioners' request, moved that the Council agree to pay. His motion lost by a vote of 7-10. The majority of aldermen remained firm in their resolve. Nash, however, apparently did not want to go to jail. He moved that the Council send the results of the vote to the provincial government. Exactly the same aldermen voted against both motions.95 The provincial government did not act precipitately in the weeks that followed. If it was gambling on the possibility that a new and more cooperative Council would be elected in October, the gamble paid off. The new Council quickly approved the 1866 school budget without debate, and the next spring again agreed to levy the school tax for 1867.96 However, when they approved the 1867 school assessment the aldermen unanimously agreed to ask the provincial government to amend the school act at its next sitting. The lack of representation of the School Board still rankled.97

The School Act was not amended until after another summer of conflict between the City Council and the provincial government. The School Commissioners continued to kindle the aldermen's concern with their expensive building program. By 1868 they had acquired two large new schools in the north end of the city. A third new school, destroyed by arsonists in December 1867, was being replaced. Two other new schools were planned.98 The

Commissioners' enthusiasm for new buildings raised many fears at City Hall. In March, 1868, before the School Board presented its annual request for the school assessment, the Council appointed a committee to thoroughly investigate the question of education and to recommend the best course of action.[99] On 18 April the committee condemned the school law as unjust. The School Board members were not elected and should not have the power to tax.[100] Consequently, when the School Commissioners requested a $14,000 increase in the school assessment Council refused.[101]

At a meeting on 3 June the Provincial Cabinet attempted to mediate between the competing factions. The Council's School Committee represented the civic government, and Chairman A.M. Uniacke the School Commissioners. Uniacke based his case on popular demand for public schools, arguing that the Commissioners had to build new schools or resign. The Council attacked both the law and the extravagance and mismanagement of the school board. They were particularly outraged that the Commissioners had continued to sell school debentures during the negotiations with the Council, which led to discounting the bonds, and consequently to higher costs for tax payers.[102] They argued that this kind of behaviour by a non-elected body justified their demand for reform. Provincial Secretary W.B. Va. told the Council

that it did not have the power to interfere with the assessment, and suggested further negotiation.[103] The intransigence of both groups produced fruitless negotiations and frayed tempers.[104]

By the end of June the two sides had been stalemated for a month. The School Commissioners then raised the stakes by threatening to close all the public schools and fire all the teachers on 15 July, 1868.[105] This was probably an empty threat as the Commissioners continued to carry on business as usual.[106] However, the provincial government again backed the Commissioners with the threat of a writ of mandamus against the aldermen. When City Council met three days later only four of the alderman were prepared to be conciliatory. After a heated debate Council reaffirmed its decision not to levy a school tax until the law had been changed.[107]

City Council had been resisting the School Act for over two years on the basis of constitutional principle. Opposition to the School Act, in fact, was probably their most defensible position in the multitude of issues over which they confronted the provincial government. Their claim to righteous indignation over the Commissioners' arbitrary powers did not, however, protect them from barbs in the local press, and once again the aldermen had their status questioned. The Novascotian accused the City Council of endangering a popular school system over a

question of "wounded dignity"[108] and an editorial in the Morning Chronicle claimed that the aldermen were turning children into the street "to learn vice and prepare themselves to become pests of society" against the wishes of the "vast majority" of the people.[109] On this issue, however, the Council had a strong defender. Alderman Hugh Blackadar, a member of the Council's School Committee was the editor of the Acadian Recorder. He used his paper as a platform to rail against the "despotic power" given to the commissioners, and he urged Council to "peremptorily refuse" to levy the assessment.[110]

By the middle of August the Council's School Committee had drafted a new school bill. Although its principal thrust was to give more power to elected representatives, it included a combination of modern and traditional attitudes toward public education. It introduced compulsory attendance for all children between seven and 13, a step that the appointed Board had not contemplated, but it also proposed the reintroduction of tuition fees for children whose parents' property was assessed above $2000. Assessment rates and fines for non-attendance and non-payment of school fees were also tied to the value of the parents' property. City Council would have complete control of public schools. Aldermen would appoint a School Board responsible for day to day administration, and would retain direct control of school

property.[111] The aldermen were so confident of its passage in the provincial legislature that they agreed to accept the School Commissioners' budget.[112]

The Halifax Board of School Commissioners led the opposition to the bill. The bill was also opposed by 131 Haligonians who petitioned against it.[113] The petitioners argued that the law would introduce class distinctions to public schools, that the tax system was too complicated to work, and that the assessment scale was unfair. Their final argument may have been the crux of their opposition: the new bill vested too much power in the City Council, and divided control of schools by putting the School Board in charge of running the schools, but gave the Council authority to decided how many and what kind of school houses to build.[114]

Anti-Catholicism clearly played a part in their opposition. Separate schools, not Halifax school reform, was the hot educational issue of the late summer sitting of the House of Assembly, although once again the provincial government succeeded in having a decision on the question deferred.[115] The petitioners were middle class Protestants, a number of whom were associated with conservative reform causes like the Protestant Industrial School, and non-denominational Protestant groups like the YMCA.[116] Some, including G.W. Anderson, whose name appeared at the top of the petition, were active promoters

of the Protestant Alliance in the late 1850s.[117] While the petitioners feared that the City Council would give more power to Catholics in the administration of the schools, they were committed to the ideas of bourgeois progress with its attachment to the state, its belief in the right of the middle class to rule, and its commitment to professional control of specialized institutions for social control and material progress. The fact that they did not persuade the provincial government to adopt their recommendations demonstrates that support for progress was still tempered by traditional religious loyalties.

While Alderman Blackadar praised the bill in the Acadian Recorder, other papers supported its opponents.[118] The British Colonist called it a "ridiculous jumble" and criticized the regressive nature of the school assessment, pointing out that a man rated at $400 would pay 50 cents for every $100 assessment, while one with a mansion valued at $40,000 would pay only 2 cents.[119] The Presbyterian Witness called the bill "raw and clumsy" and opposed "the false economy which would sacrifice the intelligence and morality of the community for the sake of saving a few dollars in taxes."[120]

The crisis ended with a compromise that gave more to the provincial government than to the city council. The Council's School Bill went to the Committee on Halifax bills and came out substantially revised. The new version

passed with little debate. The alderman were given the right to appoint six members to the School Board, and an extra member was added, keeping the balance of power with the seven provincial appointees. It also limited the Board's power to assess to $36,000 a year, $2500 less than it had requested in May.[121]

At the end of its first year of operation the Commissioners reported considerable satisfaction with the arrangement.[122] The provincial appointees to the new School Board demonstrated the government's concern with making the new compromise work. Former Mayor M.H. Richey, Phillip Thompson, W.H. Keating and James Flinn, all of whom had been very active on the Board during the hostilities of 1866 and 1868 were not reappointed. In the case of Richey, especially, the removal may have been an attempt to ease relations between the appointed and the elected members. Chairman Andrew Uniacke, Very Rev. M. Hannan, and Dean Bullock, who had also been active members, retained their positions, probably because they represented important religious constituencies. Patrick Power, James Thomson and A.W. West, who had been very inactive, also remained on the Board.[123] The six aldermen appointed to the School Board represented the two poles of the debate over the new school act. H.W. Blackadar, a strong supporter of an elected school board, joined J.D. Nash, a constant opponent of change on the Board.[124]

Blackadar, Nash, and the other alderman on the School Board took their responsibilities seriously, and their average attendance at meetings was substantially better than that of the appointed members.125

The compromise of the 1868 School Act amendment demonstrates a growing, if sometimes reluctant, acceptance by both the traditional elite of the city, represented in the Legislative Assembly and Council and the Board of School Commissioners, and the upwardly mobile middle class aldermen that new alliances must be forged to institutionalize their vision of progress. School reform was an important element in the ideology of bourgeois progress, and reformed public schools were important mechanisms for the establishment of bourgeois hegemony. The emergence of a working class challenge represented by Thomas Spence's aldermanic term was met by a closing of the ranks of the middle class. Intra-class differences had to be resolved to permit the new forms of institutional development demanded by the changing social relations of Halifax.

1. SNS, 1865, chap.28.

2. Acadian Recorder, 30 May 1866.

3. SNS, 1865, chap. 28; Acadian Recorder, 12 Apr. 1865.

4. Acadian Recorder, 12 Apr. 1865.

5. Ibid.

6. Acadian Recorder, 21 Apr. 1865, 30 May 1866.

7. Acadian Recorder, 30 May 1866.

8. Acadian Recorder, 4 June 1866.

9. For a discussion of the use of the term middle class in this study see Introduction.

10. See Appendix 2. Of the 36 aldermen who served between 1865-1870 13 were master craftsmen or small manufacturers, 9 were retailers, 8 were merchants, 3 were auctioneers and 3 were lawyers.

11. An Alderman must have resided in the city for 12 months before the election and must "be seised or possessed in his own right of Real or Personal Estate, or both, within the said City, after payment of deduction of his just debts, of the value of Five Hundred Pounds, Currency". SNS, 1849, Chap.XIV, Section XVIII.

12. SNS, 1868, chap.9.

13. Sutherland, "The Merchants of Halifax".

14. City of Halifax, AR, 1857-58 - 1870-71.

15. See for example, Acadian Recorder, 27 Sept. 1862; Morning Chronicle, 8 Oct. 1864; Unionist, 27 Sept. 1867; Citizen, 11 June 1367.

16. Evening Express, 3 Oct. 1862.

17. For a discussion of Spence's election as a manifestation of working class political development see McKay, "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax", 71-72. I would like to thank Ian McKay for sharing his research on Thomas Spence.

18. SNS, 1863, chap. 33.

19. Acadian Recorder, 13 June 1866.

20. Acadian Recorder, 30 May 1866.

21. Acadian Recorder, 4 June 1866.

22. Acadian Recorder, 6 June 1866.

23. See McKay, "The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax, 172.

24. Acadian Recorder, 6 June 1866.

25. Ibid.

26. Acadian Recorder, 12 June, 1866.

27. Ibid.

28. Acadian Recorder, 20 June, 1866.

29. Acadian Recorder, 27 June 1866.

30. Acadian Recorder, 3 Aug. 1866.

31. Acadian Recorder, 16 Feb. 1867; Evening Express, 15 April, 1867.

32. SNS, 1863, chap. 33.

33. See Rudachyk, "The Most Tyrannous of Masters", Chapter 4.

34. Acadian Recorder, 11 May 1861.

35. Ibid.

36. Rudachyk, "The Most Tyrannous of Masters", 122-129.

37. Acadian Recorder, 11 May 1861.

38. I am grateful to Brad Rudachyk for sharing his knowledge of this episode.

39. SNS, 1861, chap. 39.

40. Evening Express, 3 Feb. 1864.

41. Morning Chronicle, 31 Oct. 1863, 5 Nov. 1863; 10 Nov. 1863; Evening Express, 3 Feb. 1864.

42. Morning Chronicle, 2 Oct. 1862; Acadian Recorder, 4 Oct. 1862.

43. The Evening Express, 3 Oct. 1862, printed the petition from the residents of ward 5. For a discussion of the use of the term "fit and proper persons" as it was applied to the elected members of municipal councils see E.P. Hennock, Fit and Proper Persons Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth-Century Urban Government (Montreal, 1973), Book I, Part I, Chapter 1.

44. Morning Chronicle, 4 Oct. 1862, 7 Oct. 1862, 9 Oct. 1862.

45. Acadian Recorder, 11 Oct. 1862; Morning Chronicle, 25 Dec. 1862, 30 Dec. 1862; Nova Scotia Law Reports, 1860-65, vol. 1, In re Spence (Halifax, 1870), 333-353; Morning Chronicle, 23 Jul. 1863, 1 Aug. 1863, 29 Sept. 1863.

46. The Evening Express, 6 Oct. 1862, printed Spence's Police Court Record as it was presented to City Council by the Assistant City Clerk. William Compton, editor of the Evening Express, was one of the aldermen for ward 1 at the time. He was very anxious that Spence be removed from office.

47. See Palmer, Working-Class Experience, Chapter 2.

48. Citizen, 9 June 1864.

49. Court of Probate, no. 1246, Thomas Spence.

50. Petition of Shipwrights and Caulkers of City of Halifax and Dartmouth, PANS, series P, v.126 #102, 15 Feb. 1864; SNS, 1864, chap.33; McKay, "Class Struggle and Merchant Capital", 26.

51. Evening Express, 5 Oct. 1864.

52. See for example, Morning Chronicle, 29 Sept. 1863, 17 Oct. 1863, 24 Oct. 1863, 19 Nov. 1863; Evening Express, 20 Jan. 1864; Aug. 24 1864.

53. For a discussion of bourgeois respectability see F.M.L. Thompson, The Rise of Respectable Society.

54. Citizen, 3 May 1864.

55. SNS, 1849, chap. XIV.

56. Evening Express, 24 February, 1864.

57. Evening Express, 11 May 1864.

58. Evening Express, 11 May, 1864.

59. JHA, 1864.

60. Citizen, 3 May 1864; Christian Messenger, 11 May 1864; Evening Express, 11 May 1864.

61. See Appendix 1.

62. Evening Express, 14 Mar. 1864.

63. Evening Express, 20 May 1864.

64. Halifax Reporter, 30 Sept. 1862; Morning Chronicle, 3 Oct., 1863; Appendix 1.

65. Evening Express, 20 Jan. 1864, 8 Ap. 1864, 4 May 1864; Citizen, 3 May 1864.

66. For examples of Roche and Spence voting against higher taxes see Morning Chronicle, 17 Oct. 1863, 24 Oct. 1863, 19 Nov. 1863; Evening Express, 20 Jan. 1864, 24 Aug. 1864. Roche's defense of Spence was reported in the Evening Express, 4 May 1864.

67. Citizen, 9 June 1864.

68. Citizen, 11 June 1864.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid.

71. Evening Express, 5 Oct. 1864.

72. Halifax Reporter, 8 Oct. 1864.

73. Ibid.

74. Ibid.

75. SNS, 1865, chap. 28.

76. Acadian Recorder, 12 April, 1865.

77. Ibid.

78. Acadian Recorder, 30 May 1866, 6 June 1866.

79. See App.1. The members of the Halifax Board of School Commissioners appointed in 1865 included Andrew M. Uniacke and Rev. Dr. Hannan, M.H. Richey, Philip Thompson,

W.H. Keating, James Flinn, Rev. J. Pryor, J. Thompson, Augustus West. In 1866 Stephen Tobin was appointed. He was also an alderman, but he was not appointed in that capacity.

80. T.H. Rand, Outline of a system of Public Schools for the City of Halifax (Halifax, 1866).

81. Petition of the Halifax School Commissioners, PANS RG5, Series P, vol.77, 1866, #134, Feb. 1866.

82. SNS, 1866, chap.30, section 19.

83. School Commissioners' Letter Book, Halifax Board of School Commissioners to Mayor Richey, 18 May, 1866.

84. Acadian Recorder, 30 May, 1866.

85. Acadian Recorder, 4 June 1866.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Acadian Recorder, 6 June 1866.

89. Acadian Recorder, 18 June 1866.

90. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis, Clerk of the School Commissioners, to A.M. Uniacke, Chairman, 20 June 1866. I would like to thank Jim Phillips for his help in understanding the legal implications of this process.

91. Acadian Recorder, 27 July 1866.

92. Acadian Recorder, 1 and 6 Aug. 1866.

93. Acadian Recorder, 8 Aug. 1866.

94. Acadian Recorder, 27 Aug. 1866.

95. Acadian Recorder, 29 Aug. 1866.

96. Council agreed to pay school assessment: Yeas: Nash, Conway, S.Tobin, Murphy, Cullen, Gossip, Chipman, Starr, Dunbar; Nays: Ackhurst, Trenamen, McCulloch, J. Tobin, Jennings, Roche, Richardson. Acadian Recorder, 6 June, 1867.

97. Ibid.

98. ER, 1867, 63-4; School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to A.M. Uniacke, 10 Dec. 1867. The school burning was not politically motivated. The arsonists were Charles Mason and Catherine McNamara, who shortly before had burned a suburban barn. Catherine McNamara is one of the recidivists at Rockhead Prison included in Judith Fingard, The Dark Side of Victorian Halifax. See also Morning Chronicle, 26 June 1868, 1 July 1868.

99. The members of the committee were Aldermen Gossip, Graham, Mahoney, Blackadar, Leahy, and Drillio. Morning Chronicle, 1 April, 1868.

100. Ibid., 18 April 1868.

101. The Commissioners requested an assessment of $38,468. Morning Chronicle, 12 May 1868, 13 May 1868; Morning Chronicle, 28 May, 1868; Unionist, 29 May, 1868.

102. Acadian Recorder, 5 June, 1868.

103. Morning Chronicle, 6 June 1868.

104. Letter from Halifax School Commissioners to Hon. W.B. Vail, Provincial Secretary, Letter Book, PANS RG35-102(53A); Morning Chronicle, 13 June, 1868; Halifax Citizen, 16 June, 1868.

105. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to the Provincial Secretary, R.B. Vail, 23 June 1868. Willis enclosed a resolution passed at their most recent meeting to say that they planned to close the schools and dismiss the teachers on 15 July 1868. Morning Chronicle, 20 June, 1868; Notice in Commissioners Letter Book, 20 June, 1868.

106. School Commissioners' Letter Book, Willis to Vail, 23 June, 1868. The only indication that the Board may have seriously been contemplating carrying out their threat was their letter to Rev. G.W. Hill, a trustee of the National School, telling him that "under the present uncertain aspect of Educational affairs they are unable to decide whether it will be possible for them to undertake any of the required repairs", School Commissioners Letter Book, Willis to G.W. Hill, June, 1868.

107. The Morning Chronicle, frustratingly reported "Here a scene occurred between several of the Alderman such as we have never seen before witnessed in a public body, such as we hope never to witness again, and which for the credit of Halifax we pass over". Morning Chronicle, 27 June, 1868; Acadian Recorder, 29 June, 1868.

108. Novascotian, 6 July 1868.

109. Morning Chronicle, 1 July, 1868.

110. Acadian Recorder, 15 June 1868.

111. Assessment scale:

Under $1000	$2.00 per year
$1000-2,000	3.00 per year
$2000-4,000	5.00 per year
$4000-10,000	7.00 per year
$10,000 and upwards	8.00 per year.

Acadian Recorder, 21 August, 1868. The Commissioners claimed that school enrolment in the city had grown to 4472 in 1868, and that the cost per pupil, including tuition, furniture, books and stationary was $8.50 a year, "small indeed compared to past and present prices for private tuition", ER, 1868, 62.

112. Acadian Recorder, 21 August, 1868.

113. Commissioners' Letter Book, Halifax Board of School Commissioners to Hon. W.B. Vail, Provincial Secretary, 26 August, 1868.

114. Petition from 131 inhabitants of Halifax City Against the Education bill proposed and published by City Council, PANS RG5, Series P, v. 77, 1868, #192, 31 Aug. 1868.

115. Debates, 15 Sept. 1868, 296-7; 16 Sept. 1868, 297-300.

116. See Appendix 1.

117. Booksellers, who had been conducting a campaign to break the McKinlay's monopoly on supplying school books and materials to the province's schools also signed the petition. See Petition from Halifax Booksellers and stationers, PANS, RG5, Series P, V.77, 1868, #164, no date, approximately April 1868. Petition was signed by William Gossip, alderman and petition, M.A. Buckley, who also signed the anti-council petition, and Z.S. Hall, another signer. Other names on the petition were Pat Donahoe, Robert Muir, A. Creighton, M.J. Katzman, Connolly and Nell, and one illegible. The McKinlay monopoly was not broken until 23 November 1870. Journal of Education, 35, February 1871, 554.

118. Acadian Recorder, 21 Aug. 1868.

119. British Colonist, 25 August, 1868.

120. Presbyterian Witness, 29 August, 1868.

121. SNS, Chapter 9, 1868; JHA, Debates, 16 Sept. 1868, 301-2.

122. ER, 1868, 59.

123. School Commissioners' Letter Book, Attendance Record of School Commissioners 1 November 1867 - 31 October, 1868. Mayor Stephen Tobin and Rev. Dr. Pryor, who had seldom attended, were also dropped, and one new Commissioner, the wealthy Catholic merchant Daniel Cronan, was appointed.

124. Halifax School Report (Halifax, 1869). The other aldermen appointed to the School Board included G.J. Troop, R. Richardson, John Flinn, and R. Davis.

125. School Commissioners' Letter Book, Attendance Report, 25 October, 1870.

Chapter 5

New roles and new rules: Halifax Schools from 1865-70

The reorganization of public schooling in Halifax in the late 1860s required the collaboration of many elements within the middle class. It also demonstrated the enthusiasm of these groups for material and moral progress. Public education was very closely associated with the idea of progress to a growing number of middle class Haligonians. They believed it provided the foundation for scientific discovery, economic development, democratic citizenship and moral enlightenment. The transfer of primary responsibility for education from voluntary coalitions of parents and religious and charitable organizations to the state was an important step in the realization of this ideology and it helped to consolidate the power of the emerging middle class. Immediately following the passage of the 1865 amendment of the Nova Scotia Free School Act the Halifax Board of School Commissioners began to introduce educational innovations that went well beyond the provision of free schooling called for by the Act.1 By 1870 they had created a highly centralized education system which included provision for close supervision and careful classification of teachers and students. Several new schools were added to the system, enrolment doubled, and

the teaching staff quadrupled.2 The reforms proceeded quickly despite the disagreements between the Board of School Commissioners and the City Council, and as increases in enrolment suggest, the reforms met with considerable public approval.

This chapter will examine the changes in public schooling and the social relationships that were embodied in the new institutional forms. Traditional attitudes and relationships were not replaced entirely, however, and they continued to influence public education policy. The continued support for separate Protestant and Catholic schools in Halifax was an important feature of the new middle class compromise over state-supported public education. The success of this compromise suggests that both Catholic and Protestants members of the emerging middle class shared many of the values of bourgeois progress, including a strong sense of the importance of "serious Christianity" and denominational loyalty. Another important relationship within the school system, and a much rockier one, was that between professional educators and politicians. It, too, will be explored in this chapter. Professional educators in Halifax had a difficult time persuading politicians of their right to direct public schooling, reminding us, yet again, that the Halifax middle class in the 1860s was not a monolithic group, but rather a collection of groups with many

overlapping and some competing ideas.

School reform touched the lives of many Haligonians. It directly involved groups given specific responsibility for the provision of schooling, including municipal and provincial politicians and school officials, and teachers. Children, as consumers of education, were also very directly affected by the changes. Families felt the impact as public schooling penetrated the home with a new insistence, and more children stayed in school longer. The expansion of public schooling in Halifax, and the imposition of property taxes to support it, as well as the controversy these issues generated, raised the profile of education in the city. Many citizens and taxpayers took a proprietorial interest in schools, especially the large, conspicuous new school buildings. In the late 1860s the local press paid more attention to public schooling than it had in previous years. Especially in the two years following the 1868 school act amendment, newspapers provided detailed accounts of day to day classroom activities, and commentary on educational developments. Middle class support for the expansion and reorganization of public schooling provides strong evidence of the spread of new attitudes in Halifax and the creation of new alliances to bring those ideas to life.

Primary responsibility for the implementation of the provisions of the 1865 School Act was given to the

provincially appointed Halifax Board of School Commissioners.[3] The new Board closely resembled the one appointed in 1850. Its members, all of them male, were drawn from the major religious denominations, and from the upper echelons of Halifax society. A narrow range of occupations, including professionals, several of whom were clergymen, and merchants, were appointed.[4] While the socio-economic profile of the personnel of the Board had changed little, their responsibilities and the attitudes they brought to the job had changed significantly. The new School Board reflected the changing attitudes among middle class Haligonians. Its members were more confident of the value of centralized control and demonstrated that they had been persuaded of the value of a specialized professional workforce. Most had acquired experience in the new specialized institutions and organizations which had been established in Halifax during the 1850s and were willing to apply a similar approach to public schooling. Their confidence also stemmed from the greater power they had been given by the provincial government and from the fact that the legislation contained a workable compromise between Protestants and Catholics. Denominationalism was integrated into the ideology of the School Board, but it was not an obstacle to reform. The changing attitudes of the members of the School Board remind us that middle class formation was both an economic and an ideological

and cultural phenomenon.

The 1865 amendment to the school act also gave the Commissioners much greater responsibility. Under its new mandate the Board of School Commissioners was required to provide accommodation and to hire, pay and supervise teachers for all free schools in the city.5 Most of the schools that had been receiving provincial funds quickly agreed to eliminate tuition in order to continue to receive financial support, and the Commissioners began operation with a nucleus of existing schools that formed the basis for a free public school system in the city.6 The new Board did not share the voluntarist, laissez-faire approach of its predecessor. The Commissioners chose to go beyond providing free schools, and used the power they were granted under the new legislation to alter fundamentally the kind of education offered to Halifax children. They wanted to apply the latest scientific pedagogical theory to the schools within their jurisdiction. They wanted small carefully supervised classes of children segregated by age, attainment and sex, taught by professionally trained teachers in large, bright, healthy classrooms equipped with the latest furniture and apparatus.7 Such schools would not only serve the function of training children in appropriate skills and attitudes, they would also, like the Street Railway, be visible signs of progress. Imposing new

school buildings located throughout the city would provide a daily reminder to Haligonians of the progress in their city.

With the implementation of the amended school act and their own agenda for reform the Commissioners faced an enormous job. Both the local inspector and the provincial Superintendent of Schools, T.H. Rand, openly despaired of the situation in Halifax. Shortly after they had been appointed Rand told the Commissioners that he and his predecessors had long considered the schools of Halifax a "millstone around their necks".[8] They lacked both system and adequate buildings and equipment. Halifax County School Inspector John R. Miller concurred.

> ...many of the school rooms were dens of filth, without ventilation. They were in some cases crowded with children, without desks, maps, blackboards, or anything that modern science recognizes as necessary to the proper management of a school.[9]

Rand offered the Commissioners a detailed plan for the modernization of Halifax schools. The central feature of the plan was the construction of large graded schools throughout the city.[10] The scope of the plan was well beyond the immediate financial ability of the Commissioners, but over the next five years they were able to implement many of the ideas it embodied. Despite the magnitude of their task and the political and financial obstacles they faced the Halifax School Commissioners retained a sharply focussed vision of the kind of school

system they wanted to create. Their decisions reflect a remarkable consistency.

The most compelling evidence of change in the public schooling in Halifax between 1865 and 1870 was the large increase in both the number of students and teachers shown in Table 5-1. The increases in enrolment demonstrated the popular appeal of free schooling, and reflected an appreciation of education on the part of parents and perhaps even children. The increases in enrolment were roughly paralleled by attendance patterns. School attendance continued to be entirely voluntary throughout the period so increases in enrolment and average daily attendance reflect the impact of greater accessability rather than compulsion.

Table 5 - 1

Enrolment and attendance at Halifax Schools 1865-70

	Enrolment	Av./day	Att as % Enr.	No of teachers
1865	1700			18
1866	2670	1780.96	66.70%	35
1867	3719	2236.41	60.13%	45
1868	4472	2890.57	64.64%	60
1869	5065	3345.70	66.06%	76
1870	5130	3270.20	63.75%	80

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The increased political attention to public education would certainly have impressed parents and children with

the importance of schooling. Without enrolment lists it is impossible to know precisely who the new students were. In part they reflect the trend to longer years of schooling for children. Among the lower ranks of the middle class an appreciation for the role of education in the upward mobility of their children, especially with the steady increase in the clerical workforce, was also a factor. Attendance figures support this contention. Attendance in public schools in wards with high percentages of middle class and skilled working class residents was significantly higher than in poorer areas of the city. This distinction is very apparent in the attendance rates at Morris Street School in the suburban south end and Inglis School located in the area immediately below the Citadel, an area of cheap boarding houses and brothels. In 1870 Morris Street School had an average daily attendance of 78.14 per cent of students enrolled, while the figure for Inglis School was a low 30.89 per cent. Brunswick Street School, which drew from a more mixed population in Ward 5, was closer to the city average at 61.8 per cent.12

The numbers reveal the magnitude of the change in Halifax schools, but the changing ratio of teachers to students is of equal significance. Enrolments more than doubled during this period, while the number of teachers quadrupled, significantly changing the relationships in

the classroom. The abolition of tuition and the imposition of school tax were the most controversial aspects of school reform, but they made less difference to what went on inside the schools than smaller classes. Between 1866 and 1870 average class size based on enrolment decreased from 76.28 students to 50.88 students. Calculations based on average daily attendance, however, probably come closer to revealing average class size. On the basis of attendance, most Halifax teachers probably faced a class of just over 40 students, not far off the size of some late twentieth century Nova Scotian classes.13

The higher teacher-student ratio was crucial to changing the experience of schooling to conform with new values and attitudes. The Commissioners wanted to introduce greater classification of students, not only by age and attainment, but also by sex. They wanted to introduce pedagogical innovations such as more oral teaching, and to supervise children's learning and behaviour much more closely.14 These goals could be advanced through hiring more teachers, and hiring continued even after enrolment had begun to level off in the city. The teachers themselves experienced the implementation of these new attitudes in a similar way to their students. Licencing was rigidly enforced, finely graded salary scales were developed and implemented, and

supervision was increased, to include not only principals and vice-principals, but also, by 1870, a City Supervisor who visited all classes semi-monthly and provided detailed performance reports of both teachers and students.[15]

The reformers were much more concerned with form and technique than with content. The content of the curriculum of Halifax public schools received relatively little attention. The Council of Public Instruction had laid down general guidelines for the common school curriculum. It suggested that reading, writing, arithmetic and the "science of common things" be taught, along with "supplementary knowledge which would lead to the student's personal welfare and as a citizen of a free country".[16] Another probable reason for the lack of discussion about curriculum among the School Commissioners was the fact that they administered separate schools for Protestant and Catholic students. The fact of separate schools implied that the two groups had at least different religious ideas they wanted to impart to children.

Most schools, Protestant and Catholic, offered male and female students the same fare. This consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, history and geography. There were variations in the material covered in history and geography, but these were well within the scope of the Council of Public Instruction's guidelines. In 1867 and 1868 the Board broadened the curriculum by appointing a

music teacher to serve all the city schools.[17] After January 1868, however, music teacher J.B. Norton was given permission not to teach the black students at Zion School on Gottingen Street.[18] In 1868 another form of standardization was introduced when the Commissioners agreed that the classics should not be taught in the public schools.[19] While it did ensure a more uniform curriculum, the motivation for the change reflected more traditional views. It had become accepted wisdom that the state owed all students the basic skills of literacy and the knowledge required for citizens in a democratic society, but it was not acceptable to provide what were regarded as elite subjects at public expense. Reports of school curriculums in the period suggest that this measure would have affected extremely few students in public schools, and the measure functioned primarily to reassure critics. In 1870 only a handful of teachers offered courses beyond the basics. A few classes of older boys and girls were taught geometry and algebra, even fewer, all boys, learned bookkeeping, and some of the girls' schools had introduced needlework. City Supervisor J.K. Rouselle, who made virtually no comment at all on the curriculum of most of the city schools, looked upon these additions with considerable approval.[20]

Technique and form, on the other hand, warranted the closest scrutiny by the City Supervisor. He rated

teachers on a scale of one to five on their oral teaching methods, the neatness and order in the classroom, and the proficiency of the students in the subjects they were offered.[21] Approval of modern technique and close supervision was not confined to professional educators. Newspaper reporters were also impressed by quiet, orderly classrooms, and in 1869 St. Mary's Boys School was singled out for admiration not only because of the absolute quiet that reigned, but also because of the machine that produced a small "click" to announce the change in classes.[22]

The Halifax Board of School Commissioners administered separate schools for Protestant and Catholic children, but Protestant and Catholic Board members were in complete agreement about the form schooling should take in the city. They agreed that children should be segregated on the basis of religion, age and attainment, and sex. Parents seem not to have been so rigorous in their demands for separation. Two of the Catholic Schools, the Convent of the Sacred Heart and St. Mary's Boys School, had significant enrolments of Protestant children throughout the period.[23] No evidence about parents' attitudes to sex-segregation survives, but it was an extremely important issue to the School Commissioners. They, in fact, preferred to have separate school buildings for boys and girls. By 1870 nearly all of the city

schools had sex-segregated classes, and the Catholic schools had nearly achieved same-sex teachers for all their pupils.[24] Only in one of the Catholic schools were some of the littlest boys taught by women, a Sister of Charity and her assistant, and no girls were taught by men.[25] By 1870 only four schools continued to have mixed classes. One of these was Three Mile School on the far western edge of the city, where it must be assumed that the number of students did not warrant separate classes for girls and boys. The other three cases presented a different case. Two of them were schools for black children, the third, Inglis School in Albemarle Street, served a rough poor area.[26] It seems reasonable to suggest that the School Commissioners' racism and class bias led them to believe that the students in these schools did not deserve to be treated with the same concern for middle class notions of sexual propriety as students in the rest of the school system.

The Commissioners justified their insistence on separating girls and boys by claiming that they were responding to "frequent complaints" about the mixing of boys and girls, especially on the playground at recess.[27] No evidence from their own correspondence, or from the local press, sustains their claim. It is obvious, however, that the Board believed separation of the sexes was extremely important. When they first assumed the

coordination of city schools there were a number of mixed classes, especially in the primary departments.28 These mixed primary classes were eliminated as soon as accommodation could be provided. To the Commissioners the rigorous separation of the sexes was a part of the modernization of the school system. It was consistent with their ideas about classification and grading, and it also reflected the growing importance of separate spheres for men and women which accompanied industrialization and the removal of the workplace from the home. This attitude was also manifested in the assigning of same sex teachers. The only exception was the occasional use of female teachers to teach very young male students. This practice suggests that the intensification of mothering that occurred with the acceptance of the idea of separate spheres could be extended to the classroom. The nurturing that female teachers could provide was appropriate for very young boys, but not for older boys, for whom male discipline and intellectual rigour were required.29

School administrators did not want to put this new wine into old bottles. Between 1865 and 1870 renovations and new construction changed the landscape of public education in the city. When the Commissioners took over responsibility for schools in 1865 they shared Halifax County Inspector Miller's assessment of the deplorable conditions of school rooms in the city.30 Only the newly

constructed Catholic St. Mary's School won their complete approval. St. Mary's School was built to provide separate rooms for students of the same age and attainment, and it was supplied with the latest styles of school furniture and teaching equipment. It was "in all respects, a model of arrangement".31 Most of the older schools were in the centre of the city, and even the Royal Acadian and the National Schools, the two largest, were not constructed to permit the grading of students by age and attainment. In order to accommodate the increased demands for enrolment in free schools, and to introduce as much classification of students as possible the Commissioners rented an assortment of space above shops and in church basements.32 The financial constraints caused by the dispute between the Commissioners and the City Council described in Chapter 4 made the immediate implementation of a major building program impossible. Archbishop Connolly's practice of building new schools and renting them to the Board at the cost of the interest was greatly appreciated. In addition to St. Mary's School at the south end of Barrington Street Connolly built another modern school in the north suburb of Richmond.33 After the Board was granted the right to issue debentures in 1866, the Commissioners were able to proceed slowly, and added new schools in the south end, in the near north suburbs, and another in Richmond.34

When the newly built Albro Street School opened in September 1870 the Commissioners believed they had accomplished the major objectives they had set in 1865.[35] The new Protestant school was located in Ward 5, the largest in the city, just a few blocks north of the central business district, and it replaced three older facilities rented by the Board from churches in the area. The school had eleven departments or grades, all equipped with patent desks and seats, "and all other modern improvements", and a large fenced playground.[36] The school also satisfied the Commissioners' preoccupation with separating girls and boys. All 541 students were male. Five of the eleven licensed teachers were female, but these women taught the younger boys.

Albro Street School completed the Commissioners' plans for Protestant schooling in Ward 5.[37] In 1866 they had purchased a large building nearby on Brunswick Street, and had spent over $2600 converting it into a modern eight-room school with space for 500 children. It, too, had patent desks and seats, and modern teaching apparatus.[38] When Albro Street opened all the boys were moved out of Brunswick Street and into the new school. The children who had been attending school in the temporary rented church classrooms were divided by sex and sent to the appropriate modern school.[39] Although under the law children in Halifax were permitted to attend any

free school, the location of schools in suburban neighbourhoods was an important part of the new system. In the 1850s the significant majority of classroom space had been located in the centre of town, but by 1870 this was no longer the case. When one compares the distance rural children in this period were expected to walk to school, the geographic reallocation of schools in Halifax appears to have been driven by ideology as much as space. Halifax was still very much a "walking city" in 1870, and suburban expansion was largely confined to a narrow ring around the city core. Neighbourhood schools, however, gave both practical and symbolic expression to concerns about the segregation and supervision of children. Also, the sight of the imposing new buildings reminded all of their importance. The site for Morris Street School, opened in 1868, was chosen because it was "as conspicuous and convenient as could be desired."40

The Commissioners' building program was a very important element in the modernization of public schooling. It permitted the specialization and segregation they wanted to introduce, as well as the application of modern ideas about health and child development. Successive provincial superintendents of schools, for example, had argued that children needed an adequate air supply and light and comfortable furniture in order to obtain the maximum value from their time in

school.[41] Education reformers also insisted on the need for a professionally trained and licensed teaching staff to conduct the schools.[42] In theory the Commissioners endorsed this idea, and they devoted considerable attention to developing a strong teaching staff. They were, however, much more reluctant to hand over substantial control to teachers.

As key players in the process of school reform teachers deserve special attention. Their careers and their lives were closely bound to the institutional development of education, and they encouraged the identification of education with bourgeois progress. The few organized teachers in the province, including those in Halifax, had promoted the adoption of free schools supported by compulsory taxation.[43] They argued, of course, that the expansion of education would be good for the province and for the city. It would promote economic development and provide social control, propositions shared by the politicians who legislated the change. But they also believed it offered particular advantages to teachers. It would improve financial security, expand opportunities for employment and enhance the status of the occupation, or profession, as they preferred to call it.[44] In the first two of their hopes they were correct, the third was much more difficult to achieve. The public school workforce grew dramatically in the first six years

of free schooling. Government-paid salaries offered a security many of the older teachers had not known. However, their pleasure in the change was tempered by the low salaries they received, the increased supervision they experienced at work, and their continued difficulties in controlling the conditions of their work.

The first of the teachers hired by the School Board were those already teaching in public schools in the city, or those operating small private schools.[45] Teachers in academies, colleges, and elite schools did not move into the public school system, no doubt because they received both more money and more status in their current situations. The city rapidly developed a strong staff. By 1867 the majority of Halifax teachers held first class licences, putting them well above the provincial average.[46] Licensing and professional training, however, were not synonymous, and the educational backgrounds of teachers varied significantly. This variety may have been one of the elements that made higher wages and professional control so difficult to achieve. Few of the city's teachers were graduates of the Provincial Normal School in Truro, and had thus prepared themselves for writing the provincial licensing examinations in a variety of ways, many of them very informally. Prior to the establishment of the provincial Normal School a number of Halifax schools had offered teacher training programs and

some of the teachers were probably graduates of these. Some had attended local academies and elite private schools, others had apprenticed in family-run private schools, while others arrived in Halifax already trained, like the Christian Brothers invited by Archbishop Connolly to teach in the Catholic boys schools. All teachers were obliged to confirm their qualifications by taking the provincial licensing examination. The examinations themselves principally tested academic knowledge, although they included a section on school management.47

Licensing, then, did not guarantee a uniform standard of professional training, and it certainly did not ensure high salaries. A male teacher with a first class licence was paid $600 a year, $800 if he were the principal of a school. A woman with a first class licence received $400, with an extra $200 if she were the principal of a girls' school. With a second class licence a man received $400, a woman $240 - $300, the same amount earned by a man with a third class licence. Assistants were paid between $200 and $240 a year.48 In 1870 the Board introduced a program of small annual increments for the first five years based on experience, although shortly after this they reduced starting salaries.49 While teachers regarded themselves as middle class professionals male salary levels more closely approximated the middle levels of skilled workers.50 In 1868 the Evening Express estimated that

$1200 a year was the bare minimum needed for a "genteel" life, and certainly none of the city's teachers could qualify.[51] Women teachers were even further from the middle class ideal, and as Danylewycz and Prentice have argued the bureaucratization of school systems promoted and institutionalized inequalities between the sexes.[52] An anonymous woman teacher writing in 1874 complained bitterly of the fact that after room and board were paid she had less income than a domestic servant, and yet she was expected to live like a "lady".[53]

Although salaries were not high the change to free, tax supported schools meant that teachers were paid regularly, and this was an important consideration for some of them. J.K. Rouselle, for example, had known difficult times as the teacher at a small private school. In 1866, just before he became an employee of the Board, he twice wrote to a sympathetic parent asking for an advance toward his sons' tuition. In the second letter, written during the school summer holiday, he stated that "my school is so limited and my family so large that I am at my wits end and this present moment I have not a cent in the house."[54] Rouselle, in fact, was one of the winners in the process that created a school system in Halifax. In December, 1869 he was appointed Supervisor of Public Schools for the City of Halifax at a salary of $800 a year.[55] Teachers in small private schools were quite

willing to give up their entrepreneurial freedom for a regular pay-cheque. Teachers Keleher and McDonnell, who operated a very modest private school, agreed to keep enrolment below sixty students per class and take only male pupils in return for a salary of $400 each, and the rent for new schoolrooms.56

The increased supervision introduced by the School Board was a part of the creation of a modern bureaucratic school system. For some it added new layers of authority and control, while for others, like J.K. Rouselle, it provided opportunities for professional advancement. For example, a female teacher, who had begun her career by teaching children in a room in her own home, would find her situation greatly changed if she became a teacher in a graded public school. She became answerable to the principal of the girls' department, the principal of boys' department who also had responsibility for the overall management of the school, the city supervisor, the county inspector, and the School Board. At the same time, her relationship with the parents of her pupils was weakened or even eliminated. For women like her the creation of a public school system offered no chance of promotion beyond "lady principal", while for a few of her male colleagues it offered excellent prospects. The Board's decision to consolidate the smaller schools in the city and to build large graded schools created several $800 a year jobs for

senior male teachers. These jobs were very attractive and competition for them was intense. In making the appointments the Board tried to accommodate both community loyalty and professional aspirations. The Commissioners preferred to appoint local candidates even if their professional qualifications were lower than out-of-town applicants.[57] Teachers with ambitions for promotion within the school system were very often active members of the Halifax-Dartmouth Association, and appointments suggest that this practice was regarded with favour by the School Commissioners.[58] In January 1870 a new administrative layer was added, with appointment of a supervisor of city schools.[59] At the top of the chain of command the School Commissioners retained very close supervision of all levels within the school system, and did not hesitate to intervene in the routine administration of the school.[60] They did all the hiring for city schools, and did not permit principals even to reassign teachers within a school.[61]

Despite their divisions of rank and sex some Halifax teachers attempted to change the conditions of their employment and their professional status through collective action. A permanent Halifax Teachers' Association was formed in 1862, through which members asked the School Board for changes like shorter pay periods and increased wages.[62] Although they had no

success in the matter of salaries, the Association had the qualified approval of the School Board which gave them permission to use the Acadian School Room for meetings.[63] Halifax teachers were also instrumental in establishing the Provincial Education Association (PEA), in 1862.[64] Its success in influencing government was no greater than the local group's. The PEA's lack of power was clearly demonstrated when the provincial government fired Cumberland County Inspector F.W. George in 1869.[65] The Association, backed by Provincial Superintendent T.H. Rand, strongly protested George's dismissal, but their complaints fell on deaf ears.[66]

F.W. George, a founding member of the Provincial Association, was appointed to the inspectorate on the advice of Rand. George was a Scottish-trained professional teacher, and a university graduate with nearly twenty years experience as teacher and principal in academies in Nova Scotia.[67] The opposition to his appointment came from party members in Cumberland County who preferred a local partisan for the job. After a few months on the job George was dismissed.[68] Rand reminded the Council of Public Instruction that during the 1864 school law debate much of the criticism of the new school act had centered on the likelihood of the use of patronage in the appointment of inspectors, and urged the CPI to reinstate George.[69] The Provincial Education

Association, outraged by the firing "of a meritorious Education Officer...to make room for a political friend" petitioned the government on George's behalf.70 The CPI was intransigent. The retention of a high degree of political control of education was as important to them as to the Halifax School Commissioners and the Halifax City Council.

Rand was not rewarded for his attempt to promote professional control. A year later, after a battle over separate schools in Richmond County, Cape Breton he was fired by the government.71 Although the teachers had to acknowledge a set of resounding defeats they did not abandon their efforts to increase professional control, and in 1869 the PEA formed a permanent committee to monitor government action in the area of education and to lobby for appropriate changes.72 The teachers, while unable to persuade the government or the public that they held a monopoly on a body of knowledge or skills, or to gain control of admission to the occupation, had tied their futures to the promise of bourgeois progress. Their only hope of improvement was through pressing for professional recognition. The obstacles facing teachers in their pursuit of professional status will be more fully discussed in Chapter 6.

The purpose of school reform was, ostensibly, the training of children. But the children themselves are

missing from the records except as numbers. Politicians talked about the kind of adults they should become, educators described what should be done to them, and the School Board counted them, but only very rarely can we catch a glimpse of their experience at school. Occasionally newspaper reporters visited city schools, usually to look at facilities and to talk to teachers, and they provide fleeting glances of a "flock of bright little creatures wonderfully under control" or "disconcertingly attractive" older girls.73 The commonest newspaper images of children in Halifax in the 1860s, in fact, are of the noisy and unruly, of those outside adult supervision. We most often see them acting in ways that were completely at odds with the behaviour expected at school, where they were expected to be quiet and orderly.74

Middle class opinions about what constituted appropriate behaviour and legitimate activities for children were changing along with other attitudes. Large numbers of children experienced these changes through a variety of agencies including charitable institutions, reformatories, the courts and voluntary and religious organizations. But virtually all children encountered them in the public school system.

The introduction of the grading of children by age and attainment, the more rigorous enforcement of sex-segregation, and the continued separation of Protestant

and Catholic children all remind us that it is difficult to generalize about the changing experience of children within the school room. The problem is exacerbated by the lack of evidence of children's experiences at school. However, there were a number of things that they would have experienced in common. The first of these was the redistribution of schools into different neighbourhoods. In the 1850s most children had to walk from their homes to the central part of town to get to school. Along the way they would have mixed with one another and with the crowds of people buying and selling, lounging or working. The trip to school put them into the midst of the public life of the city. By 1870 the majority had a much shorter walk to school, and unless they happened to live in the busy downtown core, they would have walked a few blocks through residential streets to their own local school. The increasing social stratification of neighbourhoods which accompanied suburban growth made it more likely that the children they walked to school with would be a part of the same class. Their world had shrunk, and the time and distance they spent without adult supervision had diminished with it.

Once in school they would have associated with others much like themselves, and they would also have been performing the same tasks as others in the same room. While each teacher still had to supervise as many as 65

children, the average size of many classes on a day to day basis was probably closer to 40 children. Even this reduction in class size, combined with segregation by sex and age and attainment, did provide the opportunity for closer supervision of the children. Pedagogically these changes were regarded as major improvements. With fewer distractions and more attention from the teacher children would be better able to focus their attention on the work at hand. The only visual distractions for them were glimpses of other classes at work through windows in the partitions that separated classrooms on the same level of the school.[75] The provision of modern furniture, adequate heat, light and ventilation in the school room certainly ensured greater comfort than the backless benches, smokey stoves and dim lighting their predecessors endured. Of course not all schools in Halifax lived up to these standards. In 1869 proper partitions had not been erected in at least three schools, some classes still had nearly 100 children some days, and visitors commented on the "perplexing sound and a discordant hum" they heard.[76] However, hundreds of children were attending schools which met the approved standards. The attention to form and technique that the Board enforced had changed the classroom experience for most children; the impact, while unmeasurable, must have been substantial. Taken together these reforms significantly limited the freedom of

schoolchildren, and no doubt impressed upon them the importance of classification and segregation.

Revisionist education historians have emphasized the role of public schools in providing social control for the working class both through the explicit values they taught and implicitly through the bureaucratic structures adopted.77 Middle class children, already getting lessons in respectability, cleanliness, orderliness and the value of hard work at home, were probably more susceptible to the messages contained in school reform. The rigorous segregation of boys and girls in Halifax schools also served to reinforce the appropriateness of the separation of men and women in adult life.

Discipline played a very important part in the reformed school system, and disciplinary practices demonstrate how the relationships within the school system, and between the school and parents, functioned. No one questioned the need for discipline but there was confusion and disagreement about the form of discipline to be used and how far the teacher's authority extended. Since the early 1850s education officials had believed that an effective teacher would rarely need to administer punishment, but should keep order in his or her classroom through firm but kind authority.78 However, school law acknowledged that this would not always be possible, and teachers had the right to expel students or to administer

corporal punishment.[79] It is interesting to note that inmates of the Provincial Penitentiary were not supposed to be subject to corporal punishment after 1851.[80] Teachers discussed discipline frequently in professional meetings and argued that they were acting in loco parentis when children were at school, and should therefore be free to exercise their own professional judgement.[81]

From the point of view of parents and school administrators both corporal punishment and expulsion had liabilities. While many parents endorsed the teacher's use of corporal punishment, others had reservations. One of the disagreements that could erupt between a teacher and the parents of the children she taught was the case of Miss Mary A. Hamilton, a teacher from Dartmouth, across the harbour from Halifax. Hamilton was fined by a local magistrate for using corporal punishment in the classroom.[82] While the parent of the child objected to Hamilton's use of corporal punishment many other parents did not. A hundred Dartmouth parents came to her defence. They paid her fine, backed her right to use corporal punishment, and regretted "that it has not been our power to shield you from the pain which this affair has inflicted".[83] Both Provincial School Superintendent T.H. Rand and provincial Conservative leader J.W. Johnston attended the parents' meeting and added their support for Hamilton.[84]

In Halifax such disagreements did not become public, but they did occur. When complaints about a teacher's use of discipline, either expulsion or corporal punishment, was brought to the School Board, the Commissioners had to decide whether to back the decision of the professional employee or the tax-paying parent. In keeping with their general policy toward teachers, the Board did not automatically back their decisions and parents could count on a full inquiry into their charges. Generally the Commissioners supported the use of corporal punishment and on some occasions found it preferable to expulsion. In June, 1868, for example, the Board told the principal of Brunswick Street School to reinstate two students he had expelled from the school, and directed him to use corporal punishment instead of suspension if the offence was repeated.[85] On the other hand, Thomas Nicholson, an assistant teacher at the National School, was dismissed for using corporal punishment.[86] This case was unusual, and although too few cases survive to permit generalization, the social class of the parent may well have been a factor. The parent who complained was a Captain Lassen, obviously a man of some social standing within the community, while the teacher was merely an assistant who had served only briefly.[87] Two factors contributed to the preference for corporal punishment. One was the need to maintain the goodwill of the tax-

paying public. Everybody now paid for schools and expected that their children would be allowed to attend. Secondly, keeping punishment within the school system was consistent with the increased authority of public schooling as the agency for the training of children.

On some occasions expulsion was upheld, however. When Grace Ryan's father threatened legal action against the school board over the expulsion of his daughter in November, 1868, the Commissioners backed the teacher.88 Grace's offence, in company with another older girl, was bullying a younger girl.

> ...during the dinner hour on Monday 23rd Inst. Miss Georgina Burnham and Miss Grace Ryan belonging to Miss Miller's Department went to the door of Miss John's schoolroom and began to mock a little girl named Florence Ervin belonging to Miss John's Department -- the little girl ran to Miss Ryan and pinched her whereupon Miss Burnham and Miss Ryan went into the room seized the child, beat her severely and filled her mouth with snow.89

The girls were not caught in the act, but the next day Florence Ervin's father complained and the two older girls were suspended. The teacher defended her action by saying that it was wrong to allow the "strong to oppress the weak".90 Grace Ryan's father was apparently satisfied with the explanation, and his daughter returned to school a few days later.91 Even though the Board upheld the suspension in this case, it instructed the principal of the Girls Department not to expel children in future without informing the principal of the Boys' Department.92

Sometimes the Board was slow to react to complaints, and parents were wise to keep a close eye on the punishment administered by the school. Amelia Archibald, a teacher at St. George's School, and later Brunswick Street, was a case in point. Her disciplinary methods first came to the attention of the Board in June, 1867 when a parent alleged cruelty in the punishment of his children. The Board upheld Archibald in this case and another the next winter.[93] But in October 1869 the Board told Archibald that she had punished a Mrs. Lang's child "entirely too severely", and instructed her to use corporal punishment when "only imperatively necessary"[their emphasis] and only in the presence of the whole school.[94] The decisions the School Board made with regard to the appropriate use of discipline were consistent with their entire operation of the school system. Teachers were firmly instructed to use the proper bureaucratic channels, parents were given a serious hearing, and the Board made the final decision.

Overall, however, the middle class of Halifax responded favourably to the rapid transformation of public schooling in the city. Most of them were directly affected by the change, as parents, and as voters and taxpayers. With little protest they accepted the substantially increased costs involved in new construction and renovation and lower student-teacher ratios, and the

concentration of authority in the Board of School. They paid their taxes and sent their children to school. Laudatory newspaper accounts, written in language that reflected the attitudes of school administrators, demonstrated changes in public perceptions of what constituted an appropriate school system.[95]

Public school reform was expensive. By 1870 the annual operating costs of Halifax schools had reached $60,000, and the Board had issued debentures for $116,800.[96] This represented an increase from $7.98 per child in the year ending 31 October, 1866, the first full year of operation under the new school legislation, to $11.65 per child by 1870.[97] Local taxpayers contributed to the school bill at a rate of 50 cents for every $100 of assessment.[98] Despite the unsettled political climate of free public schooling in Halifax between 1865 and 1868 financial support for public education increased steadily. The members of City Council appeared to be satisfied that Halifax tax-payers were willing to support a more expensive school system. City Council approved a school assessment of $45,791.24 for the 1869-70 school year. This figure was well in excess of the maximum of $38,000 allowed by the 1868 legislation without the explicit approval of the aldermen.[99] Taxpayers, persuaded of the value of a modern school system, were willing to pay not only for the implementation of free schooling, but also

for smaller classes, new equipment and new buildings.

School reform, including the elimination of tuition, also broadened the constituency for public schools to include those who earlier would have learned in a more informal setting like the Mechanics Institute or in the workplace as apprentices. The Board of School Commissioners received a number of requests for free evening classes from people, usually assumed to be older boys and young men, who could not go to school during the day. Evening classes, taught by regular city teachers, were offered at the school in the Colonial Market in the winter of 1867 and nearly 600 enrolled immediately, and the classes continued to be well attended as long as they were offered.[100]

When new schools were opened they won immediate interest and approval. The new schools filled quickly, and within weeks also had a waiting list of children who wanted to move from the smaller classrooms operated by the Board.[101] Schools were regarded as public institutions, and people expected them to reflect credit to the city. They complained to the Board about dirty school outhouses and noisy children on school playgrounds and also used school buildings for community activities.[102] At the end of the 1860s Halifax newspapers demonstrated their support for school reform. Implicit in all these articles was the belief that provision should be made for the free

education of all children in modern classrooms under the direction of professional teachers. Reporters paid very careful attention to the school buildings and to the furniture and teaching apparatus.103 The more modern it was the more praise it received. The reporters also shared the Commissioners interest in supervision and discipline. A quiet orderly classroom was a good one, a noisy one, bad.104 Local press coverage of school competitions extolled the exemplary behaviour as well as the skills of local children.105 The middle class seemed to agree that the purpose of a public education system was not only to provide basic skills, but to teach children how to behave appropriately and to bring honour to its supporters.

In 1870 the Board of School Commissioners for Halifax was happy with its achievements.106 In the two years since the passage of the 1868 School Act amendment representatives from the City Council had worked cooperatively with the provincial appointees on the Board. The 1868 amendment did not weaken the Board's commitment to reform, in fact the support of City Council strengthened the Commissioners' ability to implement its policies. The Commissioners believed that the majority of children who wanted to attend free public schools in the city could be accommodated in appropriately segregated and graded classes in modern well-equipped schools. Their

education was supervised by a satisfactory staff of licensed teachers.

The Board, pleased with its progress, was developing plans for the future. The most immediate concern was to provide for an extension of public education for older children. They pointed with approval to the public interest in the creation of a high school for the city. Attendance was not altogether satisfactory in several schools, but this issue, they felt, must take a backseat to the high school question. The Board did not recommend introducing legislation to compel students to attend school.[107] The decision to extend educational services to older children rather than to compel the attendance of all younger children is an interesting one. As their handling of internal discipline problems suggests, the School Board was sensitive to public opinion. This sensitivity could only have been enhanced by the addition of elected members of City Council to the Board. Their decision suggests that there was greater demand for free high school training for the children of upwardly mobile families than for control of truants. It has been argued that throughout the process of public school reform support was based on a variety of motives. It would appear that in 1870 personal upward mobility and aspirations for material progress were more compelling than the need for social control.[108]

Throughout the period the School Commissioners' policy was tempered by local concerns and political considerations. The retention of separate schools for Catholics and Protestants was the most significant of these. Many Protestant school reformers opposed separate schools, and anti-Catholic sentiment within the city's Protestant majority continued to resurface around the question of public schooling.[109] However, since the late 1850s Haligonians had taken pride in peaceful coexistence between religious denominations and Archbishop Thomas Connolly acted astutely to protect the interests of the large Catholic minority.[110] While he had failed to have separate schooling enshrined in the BNA Act, his concrete support for free Catholic schools in Halifax ensured both a good education for Catholic children, and a recognition that Catholic schools were among the most progressive in the city.[111] The reluctance to hand over control of public education to professionals and the retention of significant levels of political control played an important part in the operation of a separate school system. It also provided support for parents who were still reluctant to concede responsibility for their children to the school. In the areas of professional appointments, school discipline and attendance the Commissioners, like the provincial Council of Public Instruction, responded to local pressure, and smoothed the

transition to a modern public education system.

The sensitivity to local concerns does not diminish the importance of the changes. School reform represented a significant consolidation of middle class power and opinion, and provides us with an important example of the process of middle class formation. In the 1850s the provincially appointed School Commissioners, drawn from the traditional elite of the city, demonstrated a strong preference for voluntarism and variety in public education. The Board appointed in 1865, while representative of the same social group, implemented a program of reforms that was animated by a different set of attitudes. The City Council, representative of the upwardly middle class, showed their attachment to progress and their increasing influence through their acceptance of power sharing with the provincial government. The half-appointed, half-elected School Board provided a mechanism through which both groups could endorse school reform and ensure that those below them in the social structure could be taught the values appropriate to a modernizing society, and at the same time, provide education for the children of the middle class. Public school teachers, who had been committed to educational reform earlier than either the Commissioners or the Council, continued to espouse the values of progress both inside and outside the classroom. The participation of large numbers of children in schools,

and the willingness of their parents to pay school taxes confirmed the acceptance of this arrangement. The most important source of revenue for free schools came from the tax paid by middle class property owners. Middle class Haligonians had come to believe that a modern public school system was of benefit both socially and to individuals, and were willing to accept an expanded role for the state in the creation and maintenance of social institutions. They agreed that the public school, rather than family, church, or the workplace, was the best agency for training children.

School reform found acceptance in Halifax in the late 1860s because the institutional innovations it introduced made sense to the middle class of the city. It embodied the bourgeois faith in material and moral progress, and helped the institutional landscape of Halifax to conform to metropolitan ideals of progress. Through public school reform the middle class was able to institutionalize the changing social relations in the city in formal mechanisms for classification and supervision. The reorganization of public schooling in Halifax between 1865 and 1870 described in this chapter provides just one institutional manifestation of the new relationships and new attitudes. School reform was not an isolated process, but rather one which reflected the reorganization of the whole city.

1. SNS, 1864, chap.58; 1865, chap.28.

2. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870, 17.

3. SNS, 1865, chap.28.

4. See Appendix 1.

5. SNS, 1865, chap.28.

6. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1866, 80-82.

7. The Halifax School Commissioners' design for school reform was strongly influenced by the advice given by Nova Scotia School Superintendent T.H. Rand in an address in January 1866. The Commissioners asked the Council of Public Instruction to print and circulate the address as a pamphlet. Many of the Commissioners subsequent actions reflected Rand's suggestions. See T.H. Rand, Outline of a system of Public Schools for the city of Halifax (Halifax, 1866).

8. Rand, Outline, 11.

9. ER, 1865, 104.

10. Rand, Outline, 4-6.

11. Extreme caution must be exercised in interpreting enrolment and attendance figures. Contemporary school administrators themselves were well aware of their inconsistencies. The figures used in Table 1 are for the year ending October 31, except for the number of teachers in 1865. In order to ensure that the teachers given provincial grants were not affected by the provisions of the 1865 amendment, which came into effect on 1 November, 1865, the number of teachers given grants 3 May, 1865 was used. Records of the Board of School Commissioners, 1850-1865, PANS RG 14, #29; ER, JHA, 1865, 37; Report of the School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870, 17.

12. Report of the School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870, 17.

13. Ibid. Based on average daily attendance class size decreased from 64.12 students in 1866 to 40.9 in 1870.

14. For the City Supervisor's evaluations of the teaching methods and discipline of individual teachers see Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870, Part 2, 6-7.

15. Ibid.

16. The Education Act passed in the Session of 1864 also comments thereon and Regulations for the guidance of its officers and the people generally: Together with Explanations concerning superior schools and academies (Halifax, 1864).

17. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1867, 62.

18. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to J.B. Norton, 7 Dec. 1867, 17 Dec. 1867.

19. Report of the School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1868, 60.

20. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870, Part 2, 8.

21. Ibid., 6-7.

22. Citizen, 6 Feb. 1869.

23. Punch, "The Irish in Halifax"; Citizen, 6 Feb. 1869.

24. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870.

25. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870, Part 2, 6-7.

26. Ibid.

27. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1871, Part 2.

28. Halifax City School Reports for 1866-67 (Halifax, 1868).

29. In the appointment of same-sex teachers, as with the sexual segregation of students, the Halifax School Commissioners were more rigid in their application of the ideology of separate spheres than Superintendent Rand. Rand felt that female teachers were superior to male teachers throughout the elementary grades, and could be effective teachers at all levels of the school system.

Rand, Outline, 8.

30. ER, 1864, 104; Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1867, 81. A more detailed description of the school accommodation in the city is provided in Halifax School Report for 1866-67 (Halifax, 1868).

31. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1867, 81.

32. Ibid.

33. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1867, 63.

34. Halifax City School Report 1866-67.

35. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the city of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870, Part 2.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1867, 63.

39. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the city of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870, Part 2.

40. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1867, 64.

41. Journal of Education and Agriculture, I,1 (July) 1858, 3.

42. Journal of Education and Agriculture, II,6 (Dec.) 1859, 84-5.

43. Petition of the Provincial Teachers Association, PANS RG5, Series P, 1864, #93, 20 Feb. 1864.

44. Ibid.

45. Letters of appointment were sent out to most of the teachers already teaching in Halifax schools in 1865. School Commissioners' Letter Book.

46. ER, JHA, 1867, xxxvii.

47. ER, JHA, 1868, xxxiv-xxxvi.

48. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1866, 82.

49. Halifax Daily Reporter and Times, 12 Jan. 1874.

50. Evening Express, 26 Aug. 1868.

51. Ibid.

52. Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers, Gender and Bureaucratizing School Systems in the Nineteenth Century", History of Education Quarterly, Spring 1984, 75-100.

53. Halifax Daily Reporter and Times, 12 Jan. 1874.

54. The parent, Henry E. Harvey, sent Rouselle a pound the day after receiving the letter. Tuition was 30s for three months for Charles Harvey and 26s8d for his brother Henry. Harvey Family Papers, PANS MG100, v.251, #31, J.R. Rouselle to Henry E. Harvey, 4 February, 1866, 24 July, 1866.

55. School Commissioners, Letter Book, J.R. Willis to J.R. Rouselle, 23 Dec. 1869.

56. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Keleher and McDonnell, 7 November, 1865.

57. Ten teachers applied for the principalship of Albro Street School. J.H. McLaughlin, principal of the National School since 1864, was appointed, despite the fact that he held a B licence while a number of the out of town applicants held A licences. Acadian Recorder, 23 Apr. 1864; School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to H.M. Docoth, W.M. McRae, B.P. Willis, Edward Archibald, James H. Eaton, J.T. Mellish, J.H. McLaughlin, D.N. Sterns, S. McCully, G.W. Dakin, 12 Jul. 1870; J.R. Willis to J.H. McLaughlin, 25 Oct. 1870.

58. Charles Major, G.W. Dakin, J.H. McLaughlin were three examples of active members of the Teachers Asociation who were appointed to principalships between 1868-1870. See School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to G.W. Dakin, 6 Jul. 1868; J.R. Willis to J.H. McLaughlin, 25 Oct. 1870.

59. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to J.R. Rouselle, 23 Dec. 1869.

60. For example, see School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to J.F.L. Parsons, nd (365).

61. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to J.F.L. Parsons, 3 Dec. 1867.

62. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Provincial Secretary, 10 February, 1866; J.R. Willis to C. Major and other teachers, 18 December, 1868.

63. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Mr. R. Wilson, Secretary, Teachers Association, 22 Jan. 1866.

64. Minute Book of the Provincial Education Association, PANS RG14, #14, 16 May, 1862, 25, 26 September, 1862.

65. For a highly rhetorical and partisan account of George's dismissal see F.W. George, No Politics in Education, the only Sound and Wise policy (Halifax, 1869).

66. Provincial Secretary's Correspondence, PANS RG7, v.64, T.H. Rand to Provincial Secretary, 8 Dec. 1868; ER, 1870, 22-27.

67. George, No Politics.

68. Provincial Secretary's Correspondence, PANS RG7, v.64, T.H. Rand to Provincial Secretary, 8 Dec. 1868.

69. T.H. Rand to the Provincial Secretary, 8 December 1868, PANS RG7 V.64; Journal of Education, 11,V.1, October 1867, 173; Superintendent T.H. Rand to the President of the Council of Public Instruction, 8 December, 1868, published in ER, 1870, 22-27.

70. George, No Politics, PEA Minutes, 27-29 Dec. 1869.

71. Superintendent Rand, had been appointed by Charles Tupper's Conservative administration following the demotion of Alexander Forrester, who was openly associated with the Liberals. Rand, therefore, was not popular with the largely Liberal Anti-Confederate party elected in 1867. His stock with the CPI had dropped over his opposition to George's dismissal, but it was the separate school issue in Arichat, Richmond County that was his final undoing. The Arichat separate school issue arose when local Protestants complained that Catholic religion was being taught in the Arichat public school. Rand, a Baptist, supported the claims of the Protestant critics against the wishes of Richmond County MLA Flynn, a member of the cabinet and the Council of Public Instruction. Rand, already smarting from his inability to sway the Council of Public Instruction in the George affair, claimed that greater power should be given to professional school administrators. He succeeded in further entrenching

political control. By March 1870 the government had absolved the Arichat school of any wrongdoing, and Rand had been replaced in the superintendency by Rev. A.S. Hunt. ER, JHA, 1870, 2; Arichat Schools, App.22, JHA, 1870, CPI Minutes, 2 February, 1870. For a discussion of Rand's career see Alexander F. Laidlaw, "Theodore Harding Rand", Nova Scotia Journal of Education, 1944, XV (March) 207-18, 1944 XVI (April-May) 325-34.

72. PEA Minute Book, 27-28 December, 1869.

73. Citizen, 30 Jan. 1869.

74. See for example, Morning Chronicle, 14 Oct. 1862; 3 Jan. 1868; 18 Feb. 1868; 30 Mar. 1868; 1 Apr. 1868; 6 May 1868; 13 June 1868; Acadian Recorder, 4 June, 1864.

75. Citizen, 26 Oct. 1869.

76. Ibid.

77. See for example, Prentice, The School Promoters; Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform.

78. Journal of Education, 7, June, 1867, 98-99.

79. SNS, 1865, chap. 29, section 38.6.

80. App. 15, JHA, 1851, 47.

81. Journal of Education, 1, 19, July 1868, 289. At its annual meeting in 1870 the Provincial Education Association passed a resolution stating that it was their policy that decisions regarding the kind and severity of discipline to be used should be left to the teachers. PEA Minute Book, PANS RG14, #69, 27 December, 1870.

82. Morning Chronicle, 1 Feb. 1868; Journal of Education, VI, 15, February 1868.

83. Journal of Education, VI, 15, February 1868.

84. Morning Chronicle, 26 February, 1868; Journal of Education, VI, 15, February 1868.

85. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to J.F.L. Parson, 2 June, 1868. For other examples of cases in which suspension was advised see School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to J.F. L. Parsons, 28 Feb. 1868, Willis to Mr. Baker.

86. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Thomas Nicholson, 16 Ap. 1866.

87. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Joseph McLaughlin, 16 April 1866; J.R. Willis to Thomas Nicholson, 30 April 1866.

88. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Mr. Ryan, 26 Nov. 1868.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid.

91. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Mr. W. Ryan, 8 Dec. 1868.

92. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Miss Layton, 18 Dec. 1868.

93. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Miss Amelia Archibald, 6 June, 1867; 21 Dec. 1867; J.R. Willis to D.M. Sterns, 21 Dec. 1867; 15 Jan. 1868; J.R. Willis to Mr. R. Miller, 7 Jan. 1868, 11 Jan. 1868.

94. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to Miss Amelia Archibald, St. John's School, 20 Oct. 1869.

95. Unionist, 28 Aug. 1867, 16 Oct. 1868; Morning Chronicle, 14 Mar. 1868, 28 Sept. 1869; Citizen, 30 Jan. 1869, 6 Feb. 1869, 26 Oct. 1869.

96. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870.

97. Ibid.

98. Morning Chronicle, 28 Sept. 1869.

99. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1871; SNS, 1868, chap.9.

100. ER, 1867, 63; Novascotian, 18 May, 1868; School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to D.N. Stern, C.J. Major, J. McLaughlin, P. Prendergast, 15 Mar. 1869.

101. School Commissioners' Letter Book, J.R. Willis to J.F.L. Parsons, 18 Nov. 1867.

102. School Commissioners Letter Book, J.R. Willis to A.R. Garvie, 9 Mar. 1866; J.R. Willis to J.W. Walsh, 4 June 1866.

103. Unionist, 28 Aug. 1867, 16 Oct. 1868; Morning Chronicle, 14 Mar. 1868, 28 Sept. 1869; Citizen, 30 Jan. 1869, 6 Feb. 1869.

104. Citizen, 30 Jan. 1869, 6 Feb. 1869.

105. Morning Chronicle, 14 Mar. 1868.

106. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870.

107. Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1870.

108. Many Haligonians apparently shared the belief that Halifax was a "peaceful and well regulated city". Morning Chronicle, 15 Jan. 1868.

109. Petition from Inhabitants of Halifax City, 31 August, 1868, PANS RG5, Series P, vol. 77, #192.

110. Flemming, "Archbishop Thomas L. Connolly".

111. See for example, Report of the Board of School Commissioners for the City of Halifax, ER, JHA, 1866, 81-82.

Chapter 6

Specialization and Collaboration: Organizational Developments Among the Middle Class in the 1860s

Voluntary organizations flourished in the "improving" mood of the 1860s. The history of these organizations furnishes us with a barometer for the enthusiasm for moral and material progress, and provides a series of benchmarks by which to measure the cohesiveness of the emerging middle class. This chapter addresses the question of the formation of the middle class through a return to the broader organizational and institutional life of the city first discussed in Chapter 2. It selectively examines the membership and activities of middle class associations in the late 1860s. Mary Ryan has argued that voluntary associations "occupied a distinctive space in the social order of the community, somewhere along a muted boundary between private and public life".[1] A consideration of the activities along this "muted" or blurred boundary provides an opportunity to recover the social and ideological negotiations and transformations that produced the middle class. As the term "voluntary association" implies, these organizations reflect the personal choices people made about their associates away from the workplace and away from the home. Although these organizations were not located in either place, they formed a link between the

two.

In organizational activities, as in public schooling, the themes of specialization and collaboration are dominant. While these themes resonated through all types of voluntary associations, the motifs of continuity and the diversity of middle class experience continued to intrude. Specialization and collaboration were not contradictory aspirations; in concert they reflected the important changes in social relations and ideology in the 1860s. The achievement of bourgeois progress and hegemony rested on both specialization of function and intra-class collaboration.

Middle class Haligonians continued to participate in a rich and complex web of religious, ethnic, fraternal and reform societies.2 But the 1860s was also a decade when new strands were woven into the patterns of the organizational life of the city, and older threads were reworked and reformed. Changing social relations and new attitudes were manifested in the membership patterns, the programs and the structure of many groups. Parallels can be drawn with the process of school reform discussed in the three preceding chapters. New ideas and new relationships transformed the loose collection of schools in Halifax into a cohesive and integrated system of public education. New ideas and relationships also continued to change the associational landscape of the city. Just a

very few of the myriad of middle class voluntary organizations will be discussed in this chapter. The occupational organizations developed by public school teachers and doctors will be considered, as will the Young Men's Early Closing Association, and the Free Masons.

The trend to specialization was most explicitly manifested in the formation of new occupational organizations in the city, but it was also apparent in social and reform societies. Class based occupational organizations were a direct institutional expression of changing social relations in the city. The formation of occupational organizations, including unions and working class friendly societies, owners and masters associations, professional organizations, and business associations demonstrates the changes. It also tells us that these groups had identified the changes and recognized the value of collective action to advance and to defend their changing position in the social order. Canadian social historians have attached considerable significance to the role of occupational organizations in the formation of the working class.[3] The legalization of trade unions by the Nova Scotia government in 1864 was the most important change for working class occupational organization, and a number of trades quickly took advantage of the new legislation.[4] From the perspective of the emerging middle class, this highly visible working class activity

heightened perceptions of class differences and stimulated middle class organization. While the focus of this study is on the middle class it is important to keep in mind the broader social context of changing social relations and class formation.

Public school teachers created permanent occupational organizations in 1862. That year local teachers participated in the formation of the Halifax-Dartmouth Teachers Association and the Provincial Education Association.5 The teachers' associations have been selected because public school teachers have an important role in this study. They were active participants in public school reform, they performed specialized labour, and they were important collaborators in bourgeois progress. Yet as an occupational group teachers faced serious obstacles in their attempts to improve their social and financial status. The most onerous of these obstacles stemmed from the steadily increasing proportion of women in the public school workforce, both in Halifax and across the province. The assignment of separate spheres for men and women was a central element in the emerging middle class worldview. The protection and elevation of women through their rigid assignment to the private sphere was regarded by the middle class as a sign of moral progress.6 The presence of significant numbers of both men and women in the occupation placed public

schools themselves on the muted, and often contested, boundary between public and private spheres. Although teachers used their associations to assert their claims to professional status based on their specialized knowledge and the specialized labour they performed, it was very difficult for male and female teachers to find the means for successful collaboration.[7]

In 1838 the provincial government began to accept women as public school teachers.[8] Forty years later women made up two thirds of the province's public school workforce.[9] Women constituted the majority of public school teachers in Halifax between 1865 and 1870.[10] The relationship between school reform and feminization is obviously an important one. To understand it we must consider both the function of the reformed public system and the sexual division of labour which accompanied the nineteenth century transformation of the economy and the society. Nineteenth century advocates of public school reform promised many benefits, but time and again they returned to a single theme. Universal free public schooling would provide moral training for the young and produce a generation of hard-working, law-abiding citizens. The purpose of reformed public school systems was, broadly defined, social control; it was not the provision of either religious or intellectual education. With this purpose in mind, the recruitment of women as

public school teachers seemed natural to nineteenth century legislators, school administrators and parents. Hiring female teachers was consistent with the mid-nineteenth century sexual division of labour which assigned women the task of the moral education of children.[11] The provincial government had a strong financial interest in maintaining a large female teaching force and institutionalized sexual inequalities in two ways. The provincial salary scale paid women one third less than men at every level.[12] And the provincial licensing system prevented women from taking examinations for the highest teaching license.[13]

Reformed public schools created an area in which some of the work of the private sphere, specifically the moral training of the young, was performed under the direction of the state. It seemed natural, therefore, that women, suited by nature to the moral training of children, should be hired as public school teachers. But public schools were more than an extension of the domestic sphere, they were also an arena for both collaboration and competition between men and women. This overlap of the private and public spheres had important ramifications in the teachers' collective struggle to improve their wages, working conditions and political power.

The struggle was a long and difficult one, and teachers had made little progress by 1870. There has been

debate among historians about whether professionalization is the most accurate description of teachers efforts to improve their situation, but the term has been adopted for this study because it was used by both education administrators and teachers to describe their ambitions. References to teaching as a profession began to appear in the Nova Scotia press as early as the 1830s and continued to be used throughout the period. In 1870, for example, the Journal of Education used the teachers' claims to professional status as the basis for higher wages for teachers.[14] The professionalization model is helpful in understanding the position of teachers if we adopt Barry Bergen's approach to the question. He argues that professionalization must be examined as the "process of constituting and controlling a market for special services, expertise or knowledge".[15]

The assertion of professional status was an important part of teachers claim to inclusion in the middle class. In addition to the problems associated with feminization of the occupation, teachers position as relatively low paid employees of the state hampered their ambitions. Public school reform depended on the collaboration of the members of the their occupation, but the teachers willingness to participate in the public school reforms and to perform its specialized labour did not earn them power or prestige. Like many with the lower middle class,

teachers' inclusion in the middle class rested more securely on ideological than structural grounds. Through their associations the teachers expressed their enthusiasm for bourgeois progress and a commitment to professionalization.

Both the Halifax and Dartmouth Teachers Association and the Provincial Education Association promoted the professionalization of public school teaching. The Halifax association was formed by 17 men and five women to elevate the status of teachers. The province-wide organization was established a few months later by 14 teachers, 10 men and four women. The provincial group at first called itself the United Teachers' Association of Nova Scotia, but six months later the name was changed to the Provincial Education Association (PEA).[16] The change in the name suggests a shift in the political orientation of the organization from the elevation of the status of the teacher to the improvement of educational services within Nova Scotia. Both organizations lobbied for educational reforms, including the adoption of free public schooling supported by compulsory local property taxes.[17] While these two goals were always associated by the teachers organizations they were not identical and the contradictions expose the ambiguity of professionalism as a tool for improving the conditions of employment.

Between 1862 and 1880, when it was replaced by the

Educational Association of Nova Scotia, the PEA functioned as a combination lobby group and scientific society for the teachers of Nova Scotia.[18] Its membership, open to teachers of both sexes, was dominated by senior male teachers, many of them teachers and principals of academies rather than elementary schools, and county inspectors. With the one exception of Amelia Archibald, a Halifax teacher who served as a member of the Management Committee in 1873, the executive was entirely male.[19] In addition to the broader institutional reform of the public school system the PEA was concerned with the improvement of pedagogical technique, licensing and training, and provincial education policy.[20] Its members regarded the adoption of free public schooling supported by municipal taxation as their victory.[21] With some qualifications they supported the standardization of licensing adopted by the Council of Public Instruction, and they certainly endorsed the financial security of a tax-supported school system.[22]

The introduction of free schools did not deliver all the benefits that teachers had hoped for. Teachers were caught in the contradictions of the ideology of bourgeois progress. They had argued that schools were socially necessary for moral and material progress, and that every child should attend. And they argued that such an undertaking could only be mounted by the state.[23] Unlike

doctors, few teachers had any interest in remaining in private practice. The rejection of private practice placed teachers as employees of the state rather than as free agents. Teachers were junior partners in the intra-class collaboration that created a system of free public schools in Nova Scotia. The state run education system was bureaucratic and hierarchical and politicians controlled public policy and the purse strings. Teachers, believing that promotion would and should be based on merit and professional qualifications, endorsed the hierarchical structure. Difficulties arose as it became very clear that politicians were not committed to promotion on the basis of merit and were not prepared to surrender their role in making educational policy.

Evidence of political interference in the occupation came swiftly with the demotion of Provincial Superintendent Alexander Forrester to principal of the Normal College.24 This move was accompanied by a separation of licensing and training. Graduates of the Normal School would no longer automatically be granted teaching licenses, and would have to sit the provincial licensing examinations administered by politically appointed local school boards.25 The separation of training and licensing had important consequences for the autonomy and the solidarity of the occupation. Because all teachers had to write the licensing examination many

potential teachers felt attendance at the Normal College was unnecessary. The lack of a common experience of professional training not only undercut the teachers claims to scientific expertise, but ensured that wide variations continued in the training and social background of the province's teachers. The fact that candidates for the occupation did not have to invest either time or money training encouraged many to enter it expecting only to work in the field for a short time, using it either as a stepping stone to careers in other fields, as a last resort in hard times, or as a brief work experience before marriage. These factors made it very difficult for teachers to convince a doubtful public that they had the monopoly on an esoteric body that constituted one of the principal requirements for the successful assertion of a claim to professional status. The firing of Cumberland County Inspector F.W. George and of T.H. Rand, Forrester's successor as Superintendent constantly reminded the PEA of its powerlessness.26

Although the PEA worked zealously to protect the interests of its members, the presence of male and female teachers in the schools and in the organization, made collaboration more difficult. The records of the teachers' organizations are, unfortunately, sparse, and there is no evidence that they regarded the feminization of public school teaching as a professional or political

issue. Although they were open to all teachers the PEA and Halifax and Dartmouth Teachers Association attracted only a handful of women, and it can be assumed that these women were dedicated professionals. For the most part they were treated by their male colleagues with a protective paternalism appropriate to the conventions of the separate spheres ideology. The PEA recognized the salary differential between men and women by collecting lower membership dues from women teachers. And male members of the association protected women from having to expose themselves to censure by speaking on a public platform. On the few occasions when women teachers prepared papers for meeting the papers were read by men and the writers remained anonymous. In July 1871, for example, Halifax school principal C.W. Major read a "paper by a lady teacher entitled Miscellaneous Observations on the Studies of Girls".[27] Although they were clustered at the low end of the occupation and paid considerably less than men at each license level the participation of even a few women in their occupational associations demonstrates that women were ambitious for improving their standing.[28] Their professional associations did not provide a forum for their concerns.

In the early 1870s two women took their grievances to a wider audience. Both these women were unhappy about the lack of financial renumeration they received as well

as their lack of status. The language they employed was as significant as their arguments. They argued their cases explicitly in terms of women's special aptitude for teaching the young, and called on the chivalry of their male colleagues and employers rather than demanding recognition of their professional skills. Both women wrote anonymously. Apparently even complaints couched in socially acceptable terms were likely to be met with resistance and criticism.

The first of these arguments was printed in the provincial Journal of Education in 1871. The author developed her argument systematically, insisting that "The teacher's office is specially suited to women -- who are natural educators".29 She felt that the low wages that women teachers were paid were "a sad commentary upon the chivalry and gallantry of our countrymen".30 The second anonymous women teacher brought her complaints to a Halifax newspaper in 1874. Her tone was more strident than that of the earlier writer, but her argument was similar. Male gallantry ought not to permit the underpayment of women teachers.31

The deeply held gender attitudes of both male and female teachers crippled their ability to address their situation directly and to negotiate collectively with the state. Reformed public schools provided moral training for children, work associated with the unpaid reproductive

labour of the private sphere. But that work was performed in the public sphere for wages. The separate spheres ideology made it very difficult for male and female teachers to negotiate collectively to improve their working conditions. Women teachers, as the two writers quoted above attest, believed that they had a natural aptitude for teaching. A natural aptitude does not constitute a learned skill, or in Bergen's words, "special service, expertise or knowledge".32 Because women were performing work that they were divinely called to, and rested their claims for status on God and nature, they lacked a language in which to advance their claims in the public sphere. It is very significant that the women teachers who took their claims to the public used the language of chivalry and natural ability rather than human rights and acquired skill.

The male teachers and education administrators active in the PEA and the Halifax and Dartmouth Teachers' Association were familiar with the language and strategies of the public sphere, and they based their claims to professional status and professional control of public schooling on their professional credentials, not on their natural abilities. But they had to press their claims to professional control of a feminized and degraded institution with politicians for whom feminization and the associated low costs were acceptable and even desirable.

For male teachers, as for female teachers, the acceptance of a rigid distinction between the public and private spheres inhibited successful collaboration, and thus professionalization. The acceptance by both male and female teachers of significant sexual differences limited their ability to work collectively to achieve a uniform standard of training, status and renumeration. So did the benefits, real of hoped for, created by the bureaucratization of the reformed public school system. For those who hoped to rise to senior positions within the education system a single standard of licensing raised the fear of even greater occupational degradation. These were serious disabilities in the fight to persuade a doubtful public and a tax-collecting government to make concessions. In 1870 public school teaching remained a low paid occupation dominated by women and lacking in scientific authority, prestige and autonomy. Inclusion in the prestige and power sharing created by membership in the middle class remained an illusive goal which teachers sought through association, and through attachment to the ideas of bourgeois progress.

Medical doctors, working through the Nova Scotia Medical Society, fared much better in their struggle to achieve professional status than the teachers, and once again the importance of gender to the middle class experience is a major element. The Nova Scotia Medical

Society's success in gaining control of admission to the occupation and achieving a monopoly on medical services was the result of concerted collective action.33 Their success also rested on the exclusion of women from the occupation. Additionally a number of Halifax doctors had close links with the social and economic elite of the city, which helped them advance their claims. The fact that Charles Tupper, a medical doctor, was the premier of the province from 1863 to 1867 was also an asset.

The Medical Society used arguments very similar to those adopted by the teachers' associations. First, they claimed a scientific basis for their expertise. This assertion of scientific authority effectively separated the modern medical practitioner not only from the homeopaths whom they regarded as quacks, but also from the traditional healing practices of women in the household. Secondly, they promised to improve the standards of health in the city, not just for their individual patients. For example, in 1866 the Medical Society advocated reforms in city sanitation that were intended to promote public health.34 Science was very closely associated with progress in the minds of the middle class and by tying their profession to science doctors hoped to enhance their prestige and their credibility. The assertion of a scientific basis for their occupation helped to persuade an often reluctant public that doctors did indeed have a

monopoly on a valuable body of esoteric knowledge. In the 1840s doctors formed local societies to discuss scientific developments such as germ theory. In 1854 they achieved a permanent organization with the Halifax Medical Society. Their central concerns were the control of training and licensing.35

Control of training and licensing were important tools in the pursuit of professional autonomy. The reorganization of the City Hospital in 1867 and the establishment of a Faculty of Medicine at Dalhousie University in 1868 were regarded as important steps.36 In 1869 the doctors established a Clinical Society, and were able to persuade the provincial government to pass the Nova Scotia Anatomy Act, which gave doctors the right to perform autopsies, another important landmark on the way to the scientific training of doctors.37 The goal of professional self-regulation was finally achieved in 1872 with the passage of An Act to Regulate the Qualifications of Practioners of Medicine and Surgery. The redefinition of scientific medicine allowed the profession to better distinguish itself from unscientific competition.38

By 1872 the Medical Society had made substantial gains in achieving professional autonomy. But this specialized middle class organization had also learned to collaborate with other groups within their class in order to advance its own interests. The story of the formation

of a public hospital in Halifax makes this very clear. Although doctors were anxious to see the establishment of a training hospital, they were unable to achieve their goal without the support of a broader coalition within the middle class. The first step was solid collaboration within the occupation. A group of local doctors had tried to rally support for a public hospital in the early 1830s. They argued that a general hospital would serve the city by mitigating the social disruption of epidemics and improving the general standards of public health. At this point, however, there were divisions within the ranks of the medical community, and the group promoting the hospital was unable to secure government financial support. In the 1840s the doctors managed to achieve a greater degree of unity but differences of opinion about the organization of a hospital emerged in other quarters. The City Council supported the idea, the provincial government did not. The Assembly was divided about whether a general hospital or an insane asylum should be the first medical priority.39

By 1850 a broader based coalition was beginning to form. That year the erection of a hospital was recommended by the local Board of Health and a committee of City Council. City Council agreed to spend L500, and the provincial government L600.40 The Presbyterian Witness was pleased with the decision, and reported that

"Halifax is at last to redeem its character."[41] The next year separate public meetings of men and women endorsed the project.[42] In 1852 even children got behind the project, when the Cold Water Army held a bazaar in support of the hospital.[43] This time the Medical Society balked. Its members believed that they should have a larger role in the administration of the hospital than they were offered, and they were unwilling to enter into a collaboration with other groups until they were satisfied that their claims to professional expertise were recognized.[44] The hospital opened in 1859, but the doctors refused to participate in its operation and it sat virtually idle for nearly a decade.

In 1867 a new three way compromise was reached when the City Council and the provincial government achieved a cost sharing arrangement, and the doctors were given more power in the administration of the hospital. The reorganization of the city hospital was intended to do more than improve training. It was hoped that it would increase the paying clientele of the doctors to include more members of the city's working class. The wealthy were treated by doctors in their own homes, and the very poor were treated by doctors on state salaries at the poor house, or through the charity of the Halifax Dispensary. But a very large portion of the population in between did not consult professional doctors. Doctors hoped that the

hospital would create a new group of regular consumers of medical services, and add substantially to doctors incomes. By 1867 disparate elements were learning to collaborate in order to animate the ideas of bourgeois progress. A modern, professionally run city hospital was an attractive proposition to many within the middle class, and it was a sign that doctors had achieved considerable success in their campaign to attach themselves to scientific progress. The achievement of the new administrative compromise meant that Halifax had a functioning general hospital.[45] Institutional change required new arrangements for sharing power within the middle class as well as new ideas about progress.

The members of both the teachers' associations and the Medical Society worked collectively to create a secure and prestigious place for themselves in the changing social order of mid-nineteenth century Halifax. The Medical Society, by claiming scientific authority and by adopting the rhetoric of social improvement, was able to disentangle itself effectively from the private sphere and to achieve considerable autonomy in the public world of men. The members of the teachers' associations, caught in a much more complex and ambiguous situation, were unable to separate their specialty, the training of young children, from the world of women and the family. They were trapped in the professional model by their bourgeois

worldview and found that while the separate spheres ideology worked to permit collaboration within the family, it imposed limits on their professional aspirations. Both groups rested their claims for inclusion in the new bourgeoisie on their specialized knowledge and skills and their willingness to collaborate with other groups within the middle class. The members of the Nova Scotia Medical Society, who were all men, became full partners in the new social arrangements, while teachers were relegated to junior, or feminine, roles.

There are parallels between the occupational organizations created by the doctors and teachers and the class-based social and fraternal organizations in the city. In some cases the line between occupational and social organizations was a very fine one. The people who participated in these organizations believed that the relationships in the workplace could be generalized beyond specific occupations to include a broader set of common interests. They believed that their lives would be enhanced by banding together for education, social activities, and mutual support outside their work lives. The diversity of middle class experience in Halifax in the late 1860s generated a variety of forms of social associations. The Young Men's Early Closing Association and the Freemasons exemplify two quite distinct associational cultures.[46] The contrast between the moral

earnestness of the Young Men's Early Closing Association and the ancient rituals and conviviality of the Freemasons is striking. Looked at another way, the differences between the two organizations also help us to understand manhood or masculinity as a cultural construct. Historians of masculinity in Britain and the United States tell us that the "cult of manliness became a widely pervasive and inescapable feature of middle class existence" in the years between 1850 and 1940.[47] E. Anthony Rotundo, however, argues that there were different and overlapping definitions of manliness among the middle class in the northern United States in the middle of the nineteenth century.[48] Two of these masculine types are particularly useful for understanding the experience of the Masons and the members of the Young Men's Early Closing Association. The first is the masculine achiever, who took his self-definition from economic forms, and regarded himself as active and dynamic, hard working, persistent and who restrained his tender feelings. The second, the Christian gentlemen arose later in opposition to the masculine achiever. The Christian gentleman stressed love and compassion, but shared with the first type a commitment to hard work and impulse control.[49] As Rotundo argues, characteristics from both definitions were often present in the same man, but the general categories are nonetheless useful. Very broadly speaking the Young

Men's Early Closing Association was an organization of Christian gentlemen, the Masons were the masculine achievers.

Both the Young Men's Early Closing Association and the Freemasons attracted a strong following among the middle class in the late 1860s, and both underwent changes in the period. The Young Men's Early Closing Association was closely linked to the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), which had been established in Halifax in 1854.50 The YMCA in Halifax, as in other areas, was established to provide appropriate Christian leisure activities for young men in the city. In the 1860s it continued its commitment to evangelical piety and upright morality. In 1870 a small group attending daily prayer meetings, and a group of YMCA members formed the nucleus of Halifax Wesleyan City Mission which aimed at the "salvation of even the lowest classes".51 But its programs also expanded to include the promotion of physical fitness and moral uplift through literature and music. By 1868 the YMCA had 238 members, two-thirds of whom pursued the clearly identifiable middle class occupations of clerk, merchant, professional, student or civil servant.52 The YMCA had no links to specific occupations, its attraction was the opportunity to associate with others who shared similar values.

The Young Men's Early Closing Association, organized

under the auspices of the YMCA, provides an interesting variant of the point. While the Early Closing Association was composed entirely of retail clerks and was open to both Protestants and Catholics it had many ideas and programs in common with the YMCA. As its name suggests, the association was formed to press employers for shorter hours, and in that specific goal members achieved limited success. Two features of the association, neither explicitly related to workplace concerns, make it of special interest to the historian of the middle class. The first was the fact that the association very quickly began to function as a social club. The second was the support the group received from members of the city's upper middle class.

The relationship between clerks and employers clearly differed from that between house and ship joiners and their employers in the same years. In June 1864 the newly organized house joiners demanded an increase in wages. Although many employers agreed to the increase there was talk of a strike to press the claim on the employers who were reluctant to agree to the increase. At the same time ship joiners also wanted a pay increase. The demands for higher wages produced a debate in the Morning Chronicle. Two letters from "Observer" opposed the combinations of mechanics. One writer expressed his opposition to unions very clearly.

> I would advise all mechanics to ignore combinations, and all attempts to enforce their claims by any such means. They will find it better for themselves in the end.53

The clerks, on the other hand, had been encouraged to organize by employers, under the auspices of the YMCA, in the late 1850s.54 In 1862 Halifax mayor, lawyer Phillip Carteret Hill, publicly supported the Saturday half day closing for clerks, along with prominent lawyer S.L. Shannon, and banker Edward Kenny. By 1866 the Association had 60 members and began to hold social evenings.55 The winter of 1868 was especially active. In February 1868 the Association reported that it had achieved its modest objective of having dry goods stores close at seven o'clock on Saturday evening instead of ten.56 The Association continued to promote social activities for its members, however.57

The social evenings held in 1868 were gala affairs within the strict limits adopted by the association. In February Mayor Stephen Tobin presided over a large gathering at the Temperance Hall. Former mayor P.C. Hill lectured on the motto of the Young Men's Christian Association, "Mens sano in corpore sano", indicating the close links between the promoters of the YMCA and the Early Closing Association. Hill stressed the importance of two hours a day of suitable recreation, and explicitly supported early closing.58 A month later the Early Closing Association presented readings from Dicken's

Pickwick Papers to a "standing room only" crowd. Mayor Tobin again presided over the evening. The novel feature of this event was the presence of ladies on the platform.59 The attendance of women suggests that the evening was purely social, and also underlines the paternalism of the Association. The intent of those promoting the organization was clearly to provide a social program which would expose members to the civilizing influences of literature, moral training, and women. The evenings attracted favourable notice in the local press. "Young people especially must have recreation and Halifax is deficient." The editor recommended serious reading, particularly science and history.60 The members of the Early Closing Association were also aware of the importance of charity, both as an expression of Christian sympathy and of middle class superiority. In May 1868 the group held an entertainment to raise money for the destitute in Cape Breton.61

By the mid-1870s the young clerks in the Young Men's Early Closing Association were beginning to strike out in directions that presented new challenges to their patrons. In 1874 the Association offered at least one evening of entertainment which violated the values of bourgeois respectability it had so warmly embraced. The organization invited Miss Stanton, a "free love women" to deliver a lecture on the "Love of Great Men". The

Presbyterian Witness condemned the event as "disgraceful" and reported that "many were entrapped into hearing her by their total ignorance of her views".62 But throughout the 1860s the Early Closing Association, like its parent organization, the YMCA, provided a vehicle through which young men could enjoy associating with others who shared their values and their ambition for inclusion in the middle class. By late 1870 both the YMCA and the Early Closing Association offered regular lectures, clubrooms for "mental recreation and innocent amusements" and opportunities for physical exercise in new gymnasiums.63 The programs of the two associations and the benefits that membership in them conferred obviously appealed to a significant group of young middle class Haligonians. In 1870 the YMCA had 500 members, and the Early Closing Association had between two and three hundred.64

The Halifax lodges of Free Masons, with their ancient rituals and rowdy banquets, contrast sharply with the moral earnestness of the YMCA and the Early Closing Association. By 1870 there were nearly a dozen lodges in Halifax. These groups met weekly to conduct routine business, dispense charity and to confer the ritual degrees of masonry upon deserving members. Membership was open to males 21 years of age or older who had not applied to or been rejected by another lodge in the past six months, and who were willing "cheerfully to conrorm to all

the ancient usages and established customs of the fraternity". Dues were low, at about 25 cents a month, but initiation fees were more substantial, at about $6.00 for the apprentice degree, $6.00 for the fellow craft, and $8.00 for the degree of master mason.65

While a significant proportion of the membership in both the freemasons and the YMCA were from the lower ranks of the middle class there was very little overlap in the membership. Men like William Garvie, who addressed the YMCA in 1859, and served on its board of management in the early 1860s, but was also an active freemason, were rare. Most masons were in commercial and industrial occupations rather than the professions.66 Nearly 20 per cent of Halifax Freemasons were involved in marine related occupations, ranging from commission merchants to shipbrokers, outfitters, seamen, and waterfront trades such as sparmakers and riggers. An analysis of the membership of individual lodges reveals that there was some occupational specialization among the lodges. Burns Lodge, for example, had a higher proportion of members in transportation and waterfront trades and services, few merchants and no professionals. St. Andrews and Virgin Lodges had higher proportions of merchants, retailers and professionals and fewer members from the transportation industry. The members of Virgin and St. Andrews owned much more valuable property than members of the other

lodges.67

Masonic lodges had been established in Halifax in the eighteenth century and can hardly be regarded as an innovation in the late 1860s. However, many of these lodges had become nearly moribund in the late 1850s and early 1860s.68 In the late 1860s there was a resurgence in masonic activity in the city, and a restructuring of the lodges attached to the English and Scottish branches of the movement into a new Nova Scotia Grand Lodge. This expansion of freemasonry was not confined to the city of Halifax. New lodges sprang up in a number of industrializing and mining areas under the aegis of the Nova Scotia Grand Lodge. In 1867, for example, new lodges were established in the gold-mining communities of Tangier, Sheet Harbour, and Wine Harbour, Guysborough County, and in Amherst and Truro, two towns on the Nova Scotia Railway.69 The new Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia was formed in March, 1866 by ten lodges under the Grand Lodge of Scotland.70

During the next few years the Nova Scotia Grand Lodge worked to extend its authority to all freemasons in the province. Nationalism, regionalism and a desire for greater masonic cooperation all played a role in the campaign. The promoters of the Nova Scotia Lodge argued that the chartering Grand Lodge of England was so far away that it could not protect and advance the interests of

Nova Scotian masons. They also noted the fact that the Canadians had already established a separate grand lodge.[71] In June 1869 the two grand lodges, the Nova Scotian and the English, representing 27 local lodges, met "under their respective banners" to negotiate the merger. Concessions were made to both parties. The union was formalized with the election of new officers four days later, and the Hon. Alexander Keith, a member of the English Lodge, was unanimously elected as the Nova Scotia Grand Master.[72] The merger was well received by the masons and efficient in terms of the space needed by the organizations. The Scottish Lodges had a Masonic Temple in the Victoria Block, at 153 Hollis Street, on the east side of the street, midway between Sackville and Prince. The lodges under the jurisdiction of the Grand Lodge of England had built a Masonic Hall on Granville Street in 1800. After the two grand lodges united all the Halifax lodges met at the Masonic Hall on Granville Street.[73] By 1870 there were over 50 lodges in the province, 11 in Halifax, with a total of 492 subscribing members.[74]

Membership in the Freemasons conferred a number of benefits. Mutual support in times of distress was an important consideration. Because of the international structure of the organization members could find help both from their brothers at home and from fellow freemasons in distant places. This no doubt accounts for its popularity

among men involved in transportation -- both in shipping and on the railway. The benefits of the freemasons brotherly solidarity could also extend to the families of members. In 1863 the Citizen, published by freemasons E.M. MacDonald and William Garvie, carried a story about the help provided to the wife of a mason whose money was stolen when she was travelling alone in the United States.75 Security for oneself and one's family in unfamiliar circumstances had a powerful appeal. Business contacts were also facilitated by membership in the lodges. The fact that using masonic symbols in advertising was prohibited suggests that masons would look favourably on the business establishments of brother masons, although there was concern about exploiting this solidarity.

Ritual and conviviality were important drawing cards for the masonic lodges. In June 1868, when the Grand Lodge of Nova Scotia met at "High Twelve" to elect the executive for the coming year, the officers were installed "in due and ancient form". After the local and provincial officers had all been installed the 60 members still in attendance sat down for an evening of food, endless toasts, singing, cheering and rowdiness. The event stands in stark contrast to the prayers, hymn singing and lectures that entertained the members of the YMCA and the Early Closing Association. The first toast, to the Queen

and the Craft, received the Grand Honours, and everybody sang God Save the Queen, followed by three rousing cheers. The toast to the Prince and Princess of Wales and members of the Royal Family was followed by a song from Brother Brechin. The Lieutenant Governor got "For he's a jolly good fellow". By the time they got to the eighth toast, to the Mayor and Corporation, everyone was in fine spirits, and

> this was certainly the toast of the evening as far as the fun it created was concerned, as immediately after it was drank, some brother started the song "Old Dog Tray". The roar of laughter almost drowned the song, but the chorus was given with a will, everyone seeming to appreciate in an instant how very apropos [sic] it was.76

The toast to the Fair Daughters of Acadia also got a song, and everyone sang "Here's a health to all good lasses"--none of whom were present.77

The appeal of freemasonry to members of the lower middle class in a period of rapid change makes a great deal of sense. The fact that masonry conferred material benefits that could mitigate the financial insecurity of this group was important, as were the benefits to travellers. The ritual and conviviality were probably equally as valuable to men beset by changes over which they felt they had little control. The spread of freemasonry to mining and industrializing communities in the late 1860s and early 1870s suggests all of these factors were important. Additionally it suggests that

membership in masonic lodges assisted men to make the transition from one community to another. With the high mobility rates of growing nineteenth century North American cities moving to a new community was a very common experience. The Masons, with their familiar rituals and promise of convivialty and mutual support, offered a valuable service to migrants.

The popularity of the Freemasons, the YMCA and the Young Men's Early Closing Association with members of the petit bourgeoisie demonstrates different responses to the challenges and change of early industrialization. The members of the YMCA and the Early Closing Association chose an organizational style that emphasized a moral earnestness which demonstrated the notion that a good character could be a substitute for capital, or could itself ensure a good credit rating with lenders.78 For Freemasons the appeal was to ancient ritual, the symbols of secret fraternity, conviviality and mutual support. Together they exemplify the diversity of the middle class experience in the late 1860s. There was little overlap in membership. It is entirely too simple to regard the Freemasons as backward looking, resisting industrialization, and the YMCA and the Early Closing Association as groups which had attached themselves to the new economic order. Yet there is some evidence to support this argument. Rotundo argues that the "masculine

achiever" emerged as a social type earlier than the "Christian gentleman".79 But clearly the members of all three groups sought the reassurance of association with other like-minded men in coming to terms with the changes in Halifax society. While there was little overlap in the membership of the Masons and the YMCA and Early Closing Association members of all three did meet in other situations. They met, for example, in religious organizations and in the apparatus of municipal government. Attachment to diverse organizations did not prevent middle class collaboration in other areas.

The specialization and collaboration manifested in the voluntary organizations in Halifax in the late 1860s were the keystones in the building of the middle class. The trend to the specialization of labour and of organizations in the late 1860s reflected a concern with efficiency and in many cases occupational self-interest. It must also be understood in terms of the city's colonial mentality and the desire of its middle class to adopt the trappings of metropolitan progress. The diversity of middle class experience was a product of the material reality of the unevenness of the transition to an industrial economy and of the survival of strong local cultural characteristics. In some cases the diversity of middle class experience was intensified by the adoption of the new ideas and new relationships. Certainly the problems that public school

teachers encountered in asserting their claims to middle class and professional status were intensified by the more rigid delineation of separate roles for men and women. Collaboration was not always easy to achieve in the midst of continuing diversity, but it is through the collaboration of the diverse and specialized groups within the middle class that class formation is most clearly identified. For the middle class of Halifax the late 1860s do indeed stand out as a period of bourgeois progress. Middle class initiatives toward institution building, some dating back nearly half a century, found concrete institutional form in the late 1860s through the creation of mechanisms for middle class collaboration. The values and the relationships that were beginning to bind the middle class together as a cohesive social group were nurtured and enhanced by choosing to participate in voluntary organizations.

1. M.T. Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks: A Case Study of Female Moral Reform in Antebellum America", Feminist Studies, 5,1 (Spring 1979), 66-85, 69.

2. See Appendix 1.

3. See for example, Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism; Palmer, Working Class Experience.

4. See MacKay,"The Working Class of Metropolitan Halifax", 265-6; MacKay, The Craft Transformed.

5. Constitution of the Halifax and Dartmouth Teachers Association (Halifax, 1862); Records of the Provincial Education Association, 1862-1916, Minute Book, PANS RG14, #69.

6. See, for example, a story about the unhappy lot of "Hindoo Ladies", The Abstainer, 4 Mar. 1868, 92. A similar story appeared in the Free Church Record, IV, 3 (March 1856), 23. William Garvie discussed this issue in his address to YMCA in 1859. See Introduction.

7. For an amplification of the relationship between feminization and professionalization see Janet Guildford, "`Separate Spheres' and the Feminization of Public School Teaching in Nova Scotia, 1838-1880", paper presented to the Atlantic Studies Conference, Orono, Maine, May, 1990.

8. SNS, 1838, chap.23, sect. VI.

9. ER, 1880, Table B.

10. In 1865 15 male and 20 female teachers were employed in the city's schools. In the summer of 1869 there were 23 males and 32 females. Winter figures were only slightly different, with 25 males and 33 females. ER, JHA, 1869.

11. This attitude was widely held throughout the two decades included in this study. During the legislative debate over the education act of 1850 MLAs took the opportunity to discuss women teachers. One member "eulogized" the women teachers in his riding, while another commented that "There was a kindliness in female teachers which was of utmost value to children", Novascotian, 2 Feb. 1850. In 1854 Provincial Education Inspector Charles D. Randall wrote that women were "natural guardians of the young". Report of the Education Committee, JHA, 1854, App.73, 374. For similar examples see ER, JHA, 1857,19; Journal of Education, 1,4, (October

1858), 56; Citizen, 26 Oct. 1870.

12. Journal of Education, 27, (Oct. 1869), 398.

13. Journal of Education, 27 (October, 1869), 413.

14. JEd., 30, (April, 1870).

15. Barry H. Bergen, "Only a Schoolmaster: Gender, Class, and the Effort to Professionalize Elementary Teaching in England, 1870-1910", History of Education Quarterly, 22,1, (1982), 1-21, 8.

16. Constitution of the Halifax and Dartmouth Teachers' Association; PEA Minute Book, Minutes of 16 May 1862.

17. See PEA Minute Book, 1862-70; Petitions, PANS RG5, Series P, vol. 77, #86, 20 Feb. 1864 and vol. 77, #165, 11 Feb. 1868.

18. See PEA Minute Book, 1862-1880.

19. Ibid. For Amelia Archibald's election see Minutes of Dec. 1873.

20. See the PEA Minute Book, 1862-70.

21. PEA Minute Book, Minutes of 27 Dec. 1866.

22. See for example the petitions of the Office bearers of the Halifax Teachers Association, PANS RG5, Series P, vol.77, #84, 1 February 1864 and from the Provincial Teachers Association, ibid, #93, 20 Feb. 1864.

23. Ibid.

24. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of the demotion of Alexander Forrester.

25. See the Minutes of the Council of Public Instruction in 1864 and 1865.

26. In 1864 the PEA established a committee to monitor political developments in public education policy. PEA Minute Book, Minutes, 28 Dec. 1864. For a discussion of the dismissals of Rand and George see Chapter 5.

27. PEA Minute Book, Minutes of 20 July, 1871.

28. For the relative numbers of men and women at each licence level in Nova Scotia public schools in 1869 see JHA, 1869, ER, App. 7, Table 1. The salary differentials

for 1869 were: Male 1st class: $397; Female 1st class: $256; Male 2nd class: $253; Female 2nd class: $181; Male 3rd class: $186; Female 3rd class: $150. PANS, RG14, vol.30, #471, 1869.

29. "Female Teaching", JEd., 36, April 1879, 559.

30. Ibid.

31. Halifax Daily Reporter and Times, 12 Jan. 1874.

32. Bergen, "Only a School Master", 8.

33. Colin Howell, "Reform and the Monopolistic Impulse: The Professionalization of Medicine in the Maritimes", Acadiensis, XI,1, (Autumn, 1981), 3-22; and Colin Howell, "Elite Doctors and the Development of Scientific Medicine: the Halifax Medical Establishment and Nineteenth Century Medical Professionalism" in Charles D. Roland, ed., Health, Disease and Medicine: Essays in Canadian History, (Hamilton, 1984), 105-22.

34. Halifax Reporter, 23 Jan. 1866.

35. Howell, "Elite Doctors and the Development of Scientific Medicine".

36. Howell, A Century of Care: A History of the Victoria General Hospital in Halifax 1887-1987, (Halifax, 1988), Chapter 1.

37. Howell, "Elite Doctors and the Development of Scientific Medicine".

38. Ibid.

39. K.G. Pryke, "Poor Relief and Health Care in Halifax, 1827-1849", in Wendy Mitcheson and Janice Dicken McGinnis, eds., Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine (Toronto, 1988); Marguerite H.L. Grant, "Historical Background of the Nova Scotia Hospital, Dartmouth and the Victoria General Hospital, Halifax", Nova Scotia Medical Bulletin, (May, 1937), 250-58 , (June, 1937), 314-19, (July, 1937), 383-91; Howell, A Century of Care, Chap.1.

40. Provincial Wesleyan, 20 Jul. 1850

41. The hospital was planned to accommodate 80 - 100 people. The Council's Hospital Committee consisted of John Naylor, G.P. Mitchell, T.R. Brain, J. Watt, W. Roche, J. King, Presbyterian Witness, 20 Jul. 1850.

42. Presbyterian Witness, 11 Oct. 1851, 25 Oct. 1851.

43. The Presbyterian Witness, 10 April 1852.

44. Howell, A Century of Care, Chapter 1; Pryke, "Poor Relief and Health Care in Halifax, 1827 - 1849".

45. Ibid.

46. For a discussion of "associational cultures" see John Shanklin Gilkeson, jr., "A City of Joiners: Voluntary Associations and Formation of the Middle Class in Providence, 1830-1920" (PhD thesis, Brown University, 1981), Preface.

47. J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America 1800-1940, (New York, 1987), 2.

48. E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning About Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middle-Class Family in Nineteenth Century America", in Mangan and Walvin, eds., Masculinity and Morality, 35-41, 36ff.

49. Rotundo also identifies a third type which he calls the "masculine primitive". This type was defined by a belief in the Darwinian notion that "all males shared primordial instincts for survival". Rotundo argues that the "masculine primitive" version of manhood developed support later in the nineteenth century and it has not been considered as directly relevant to this study as the other two types. Ibid, 39-40.

50. The early years of the YMCA are discussed in Chapter 2.

51. YMCA, Annual Report, 1870; Halifax Wesleyan City Mission, Annual Report, 1869.

52. In 1868 the YMCA membership included 40 merchants or retailers, 64 clerks, 40 professionals, 6 students. 68 followed trades and it is much more difficult to assess their class membership. The occupation of 9 members was unknown. Young Men's Christian Association, Annual Report, 1868.

53. Morning Chronicle, 2, 4, June, 1864.

54. See chapter 2 for a discussion of the YMCA's efforts to promote the interests of clerks.

55. Morning Chronicle, 20 June 1866. K.G. Pryke includes a discussion of the early closing movement in "Labour and Politics: Nova Scotia at Confederation", Histoire Social/Social History, 6, (Nov. 1970) 33-55. Both the nature of the work performed by the clerks who participated in the movement, and the support of the middle class seem to tie the movement to the middle class and to middle class values, but structurally these group of employees certainly fit the definition of labour. The position of the clerks points to the difficulty of sorting out class relations in the 1860s in Halifax.

56. Morning Chronicle, 4 Feb. 1868.

57. Morning Chronicle, 24 Feb. 1868.

58. The Abstainer, 18 February, 1868.

59. Morning Chronicle, 25 Mar. 1868.

60. Morning Chronicle, 26 Mar. 1868.

61. Morning Chronicle, 16 May, 1868.

62. Presbyterian Witness, 7 Mar. 1874.

63. Citizen, 3 Oct. 1868, 21 Oct. 1869, 30 Sep. 1870; Morning Chronicle, 1 Oct. 1870; YMCA, Annual Report, 1870.

64. Halifax Citizen, 21 Oct. 1869; YMCA, Annual Report, 1870. Membership lists are available only for the YMCA. Therefore it is not possible to know if the two organizations had overlapping membership.

65. Bye Laws of St. Andrews Lodge (Halifax, 1870). Fees were not uniform. Keith Lodge, No. 23, Stellarton, founded in 1870 only charged $3.00 as a joining fee and 12 and a half cents a month. Bye Laws Keith Lodge, no. 23, Stellarton (Halifax, 1870).

66. Occupations were found for 324 masons. Of these 19.1 per cent were manufacturers or artisanal producers, 19 per cent were clerks, 17.3 per cent were retailers, with the largest number, 24 of 56, being in groceries, liquor and tobacco, 12 per cent were in the transportation industry, either as seamen or sea captains, working for the railway, or as truckmen, express operators, carters and coachmen, 7 per cent were in construction, 7.1 per cent were professionals, 6.5 per cent were commission merchants, 3.7 per cent were agents, 3.4 per cent were in public service industries, and 1.9 per cent were in the hotel restaurant business. And there was one farmer. 61 per cent were in

white collar occupations. The occupational and property information was based on membership lists for St. Marks Lodge, 1867-8, Scotia Lodge, 1867-8, Keith Lodge, 1867-8, Athole Lodge, 1867-8, Burns Lodge, 1867-8, Virgin Lodge, members who joined 1845-70, St. Andrews Lodge, members who joined 1845-69. See Appendix 1.

67. 15 members of St. Andrews had property valued between 500 and 5000 pounds, 12 members of Virgin Lodge, 4 in Athole, 2 in St. Marks, 2 in Scotia, and 4 in Keith. No members of other lodges were found in this group of moderate to wealthy property holders in 1862. See Appendix 1.

68. R.V. Harris, History of St. Andrew's Lodge No. 1, GRNS, AF and AM, 1750-1920 (Halifax, 1920).

69. Proceedings of MW Grand Lodge of AF and A Masons of Nova Scotia (Halifax, 1867, 1868).

70. Robert E. Inglis, The Lodge of St. Mark, no. 38 AF and AM, GRNS. 1866-1966. A Century of Progress (Halifax, 1966). The activities of the Lodge of St. Mark, founded less than two months later, were very closely associated with the new Grand Lodge. The establishment of the Lodge of St. Mark was a strategic ploy by the new Grand Lodge. Five of the founding members of St. Marks were officers in the new Nova Scotia Grand Lodge. The addition of fifth lodge in Halifax provided the minimum quorum of five lodges for a meeting of the Grand Lodge. The creation of the new lodge also established the new provincial lodge's right to charter new lodges.

71. Proceedings of the MW Grand Lodge of F and A Masons of Nova Scotia for 1866-67 (Halifax, 1867).

72. Ibid., 1869.

73. Inglis, The Lodge of St. Mark.

74. Proceedings of the Grand Lodge F and A Masons of Nova Scotia, 1870. The Halifax lodges were: St. Andrew's Lodge f.1750, 31 members; St. John's Lodge, f. 1751, 35 members; Virgin Lodge, f. 1782, 47 members; Royal Sussex Lodge, f. 1841, 74 members; Burns Lodge, f. 1848, chartered 1866, 71 members; Acadia Lodge, chartered 1852, 42 members; Athole, chartered 1852, 1866, 45 members; Keith Lodge, f. 1852, chartered 1866, 57 members; Union Lodge, f. 1855, chartered 1856, 27 members; St. Mark's Lodge, f. 1866, 39 members; Orient Lodge, Richmond, 24 members.

75. Citizen, 14 Nov. 1863.

76. Halifax Citizen, 27 June 1868.

77. Halifax Citizen, 27 June 1868.

78. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class, 127ff.

79. Rotundo, "Learning about Manhood".

Conclusion

In 1859, when William Garvie was still a young tutor at Dalhousie College, he articulated many of the central themes of bourgeois progress in his address, "The Light and Shadows or Christianity the Ideal of our Race", to the Halifax YMCA.1 During the 1860s William and his family embodied many of the values and strategies that were central to the formation of the middle class in Halifax. William's Scottish-born parents, John and Margaret Garvie, brought five of their six sons to Halifax from the West Indies in 1855.2 The second eldest son, Alexander Rae, had already been in the city since 1851 as a teacher at the Royal Acadian School.3 The family settled comfortably into a respectable north end neighbourhood and all six of Margaret and John's sons took advantage of the educational opportunities in Halifax to prepare for middle class careers. When John Garvie died in 1862 after a long and painful illness his widow Margaret inherited a modest estate, but she was very fortunate to have the support of all six of her sons.4 In 1869 the family left its modest home on Lockman Street for a more opulent and prestigious house at the south end of Hollis Street.5

The six Garvie brothers were sons that Margaret, or any middle class Victorian mother, could be proud of, "remarkable for their varied talents".6 Alexander Rae

Garvie earned modest success as a teacher, a minister and a poet. He remained at the Royal Acadian School until the late 1860s, and was promoted to its principalship in 1864. In 1869 he was ordained as a Presbyterian minister, and with his younger brothers launched in the world, left home to follow his career. Alexander appears to have been the only one of the brothers to marry and have a family of his own.7 A book of his poems, Thistledown, was published in 1875 shortly after his death.8

William, the eldest of the Garvie brothers, achieved the greatest prominence in his career. After completing classical studies, probably at King's College, he became a tutor at Dalhousie College.9 Following his father's death he formed a partnership with E.M. Macdonald to establish the Halifax Citizen. William met with considerable success in the newspaper business, and he developed a flair for satire. It was almost certainly William who wrote the accounts about the problems at City Hall during Thomas Spence's brief and stormy aldermanic career, and William carried his satiric style into his attacks on the plan for the Confederation of British North America. Barney Rooney, the fictional author of William's letters about Confederation, a "typical, light-hearted and pugnacious Irishman, who in spite of being a bit of a rascal is really devoted to his adopted country"10 bears an unmistakable resemblance to Thomas Spence.11 Despite

his success as a newspaper editor and publisher, in 1866 William left Halifax to study law in London. He returned to the city in 1869 to set up a law practice, and in 1871 he was elected MLA for Halifax County and appointed to the provincial cabinet.12

John Brown Garvie, the third of the brothers, was practicing medicine in Halifax by 1864. By the end of the decade he had been joined by his younger brother Frank. Frank had first considered a career in law, but by the late 1860s he and John Brown shared a medical practice on Prince Street. Thomas Chalmers Garvie did settle on the law, and in 1869 he was admitted to the bar and went into practice with his brother William. The only brother who remains obscure in the historical record is George. George was employed as a clerk by 1864, and remained at home with his mother and his brothers until 1870.13

All six of the Garvie brothers pursued appropriate middle class career paths. But their adherence to middle class values was also manifested through their participation in voluntary organizations and through their strong family and religious attachments. John and Margaret's decision to name their youngest son for Thomas Chalmers, the leader of the Secessionist movement in the Presbyterian Church in Scotland in the 1840s, demonstrates their enthusiasm for the Free Presbyterian Church. Alexander Rae expressed his religious faith by becoming

ordained in the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. William, too, was described by contemporaries as "deeply religious".14 The commitment to family was apparent in the sons' continued support for their widowed mother. Alexander's poetry, too, evinced deep family emotion and sentiment. His poem "Heart Beats", written at the death of his infant daughter, Margaret, named for her paternal grandmother, provides an excellent example.

> When she was born, our First-born, Margaret,
> In that tempestuous autumn morn,
> With grateful tears your Mother-eyes were wet;
> My wife, my child, I kissed you both, and yet
> When happy I walked forth, and saw the corn
> Broken and beaten to the earth,
> I sighed, but said, Death will not touch our Darling,
> And she will grow to a woman fair.
>
> When she was dead, our winsome Margaret,
> On that grey dawn of odours newly born
> From flowers soft-shaken in a wan sunset,
> Wife! how our eyes in utter anguish met!
> Our aching hearts by sobs were fiercely torn,
> We sat and cried in desert's dearth;
> Always to miss the warm kiss of our Darling --
> The golden gossamer of her hair.

The strong sense of family unity also extended into the brothers' professional lives. Two sets of the brothers were in professional practice together, William and Thomas Chalmers as lawyers, Frank and John Brown as physicians.

Several of the brothers were also active in the voluntary organizations in the city. Again, it was William, the oldest brother, who became most prominent. He and his youngest brother Thomas were both active in the Young Men's Christian Association, and William and

Alexander Rae were both founding members of the Halifax Teachers Association and the Provincial Education Association.15 Along with E.M. MacDonald, his business associate at the Citizen, William was a freemason, and an active promoter of the Nova Scotia Grand Lodge. On his return from London William also became active in the North British Society.16

Informal association through friendship and the pursuit of suitable leisure activities also played an important part in the lives of the Garvie brothers.

> Nearly every one of them had some especial gift and some particular culture; but all of them were generally cultivated, and was it a poem, a picture, a speech, a novel, a history, an essay -- you could always be sure of getting from William, Alex or Tom Garvie the most witty finished, sympathetic, and possibly most correct criticism of it.17

The reviewer of Alexander Garvie's Thistledown, obviously an associate of the family, wrote that "a wet afternoon with anyone of them was mighty pleasant; with all three [William, Alexander and Thomas] it was delightful". These were men "who talked more and better than any other men in Nova Scotia that we know of".18 Much of the talk was of literature, and much of that romantic literature, a passion the Garvie brothers shared with many of their counterparts in the English middle class.19 George Stuart, the editor of Alexander's volume of poems placed him "unquestionably with the poets of the lake-side school".20 The themes of his poems included nature, Bible

stories, Scottish history, lost love and death.21 In 1871 William publicly declared his passion for romantic literature when he was chosen as the North British Society's Scott Centenary Orator. His flowery extemporaneous speech about Sir Walter Scott, "who taught men how to live, how to love and how to pray" won him high accolades from the Society.22 William received his honour modestly and with a romantic flourish, telling his audience

> I felt that while great honor has been done me, and great responsibility laid upon me, I might be forgiven, even if, with feeble hands, I laid this chaplet of wild flowers of the Nova Scotian woods as an offering to him [Scott].23

There was a unity and a continuity intrinsic to the lives of the Garvie brothers. As professionals, associates, friends, brothers and sons they reflected the finely gendered ideals of Christian gentlemanliness.24 The six-foot tall William was described as "full of bright, kindly life, with a countenance betokening a man of deep thought and sympathies".25 Alexander was described by his friend George Stuart as "the most agreeable among men...happiest when doing good and those around him happy and contented".26 But their strict adherence to middle class ideals of behaviour could not protect the Garvies from personal tragedy. Five of the brothers were struck by early death. Four died of tuberculosis. The two physicians in the family, Frank and

John, both died of the disease in 1870. The two lawyers, William and Thomas, died two years later. Alexander Garvie, the minister in the family, died of heart disease in Montreal in 1874, leaving a widow and two young children.27 Margaret, demonstrating the crucial role of family economic strategies and the vulnerability of women alone in a society persuaded of "separate spheres" for men and women, spent her last few years at Victoria Hall, a home for elderly women. She died alone and forgotten in 1892.28

For the Garvie family, and for hundreds of other middle class Haligonians, each with their own stories of professional ambition, moral fervour and personal sorrows, the task of creating a prosperous and stable society in Halifax was fraught with perils and pitfalls. But between 1850 and 1870 this group made tremendous strides toward achieving a class based ideological consensus and the concrete organizational mechanisms that were required to turn their goals and their ideas into reality.

Two methods stand out clearly in the social history of their class. The first was the increasing specialization of function in all areas of their lives, from family relationships, to the economy, to voluntary and political organizations. But the key to understanding the formation of the middle class lies as much in the steadily increasing ability to collaborate as in the specialization

of function. The Garvie brothers provide us with a concrete example of that process. The career choices of all six brothers epitomize the specialized occupations that were attractive to the emerging middle class. Five of the six had trained for the traditional learned professions, law, medicine and the church. Two of them, William and Alexander, had used the teaching profession as stepping stones toward careers with greater prestige and more substantial financial remuneration. The sixth son, George, became a clerk, and unfortunately his career path is unknown. Clerical work often served as an apprenticeship for business management or proprietorship. These specialized occupations all required education and all took their practioners away from the house each day to a specialized work place. But the Garvie brothers also collaborated in providing a comfortable and secure home for themselves and their mother Margaret. The pooled incomes of the older brothers permitted the younger brothers to pursue the training they needed for professional careers, even though their father John had died and left only a modest estate.

Margaret's role as the mother of the family was also specialized. The ideology of separate spheres for men and women within the family manifests exactly that specialization of function and collaborative effort to achieve a common goal that characterized all aspects of

the formation of the middle class. Men and women of the Halifax middle class believed that if men assumed and performed the public tasks required by the family, participating in the formal economy and representing the family's political interests, and if women devoted themselves to the physical, spiritual and emotional nurture of their husbands and children, the family would achieve prosperity and moral elevation. Specialization of function by sex meant that the broad goals of prosperity and happiness would be better achieved by the family as a group. The intention was not simply the separation of men and women, but rather specialization was a mechanism that enhanced collective action.

The mutual interest of a family was perhaps more easily recognized than the mutual interest of the middle class as a whole. However, an examination of the institutional and organizational life of Halifax by 1870 supports the contention that the members of the middle class were increasingly adopting the same kind of specialization and collaboration to achieve material and moral progress in the city. The establishment of a public school system in Halifax examined in detail in this study, is an example of this theme. The same approach was also reflected in the reform of medical and public health or the treatment of juvenile delinquency.

The creation of a public school system in the city

rested firmly on a specialization of labour, and within just five years following the introduction of free public schooling in the city, the labour required to operate the public schools of the city became more and more finely subdivided. The functions of teaching and administering the city's schools were divided among licenced teachers, school administrators and politicians. But the goal of this specialization was not separation or divisiveness. Rather, it embodied a coherent plan designed to enhance the efficiency of an integrated system of public schools in teaching children literacy and moral values. The achievement of the broad goals of the school system rested on the collaboration of teachers and their supervisors, the collaboration of school administrators and politicians, and the collaboration among different levels of government.

The specialization and collaboration that produced a reformed public school system was manifested in new social relationships among the participants in the school system, and also in brick and wood. New school buildings changed the face of the city. And it depended on the recruitment of a variety of groups within the middle class, from the elite members of the appointed Legislative Council to the most junior young women teacher in the school system. The recruitment of the support of all levels of the middle class was a crucial step in the achievement of middle

class hegemony through institutional development.

Institutional development was an important part of middle class formation and an important result of middle class formation. To understand the process it is essential that we appreciate the underlying unity of the values of the middle class that was emerging in Halifax at mid-century. When the young Garvies set off each morning, whether they were headed to a law office, a dispensary or a class room, they set off into the city as brothers, sons, Presbyterians, and as optimistic members of the Victorian middle class of a colonial city. They walked out into a city much changed from the one in which the family had settled 1855, filled with new public and commercial buildings, new houses and streets and sidewalks. Although their personal saga was one of tragic illness and early death, they, like others of their class, sought the improvement of their family and their society. That unity can glimpsed in William's admiration of Walter Scott as the man who helped his readers learn "how to live, how to love and how to pray".29

1. See Introduction, 2-5.

2. P.B. Waite, "William Garvie", DCB, X, 300-1.

3. Royal Acadian School, Annual Report, 1850-51.

4. In 1863 John Garvie's estate was valued at 1300 pounds, the house on Lockman Street was valued at 600 pounds and his personal property, which consisted only of household furniture, at 700 pounds. Margaret Garvie was the sole executrix and inheritor. Nova Scotia Court of Probate, Estate Papers, Halifax, #1159. See the Acadian Recorder, 20 Sept. 1862 for a very brief obituary.

5. As noted, the Lockman Street house was valued at 600 pounds in 1863. In 1873 the house on Hollis Street was valued at 5000 pounds. See Nova Scotia Court of Probate, Estate papers, Halifax, #2004.

6. M. Josephine Shannon, "Two Forgotten Patriots", Dalhousie Review, 14, 1 (1934), 85-98, 86.

7. Presbyterian Witness, 14 Mar. 1874; Citizen, 10 Mar. 1874.

8. Alexander Rae Garvie, Thistledown, (Toronto, 1875).

9. Waite, "William Garvie".

10. Shannon, "Two Forgotten Patriots", 86.

11. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of the Spence affair.

12. Waite, "William Garvie".

13. The City Directories do not tell us for whom George Garvie worked as a clerk.

14. Annals of the North British Society of Halifax, Nova Scotia, (Halifax, 1905), 455.

15. Constitution of the Halifax-Dartmouth Teachers Association, (Halifax, 1862); Provincial Education Association Minute Book, 1862-1916, PANS, RG14, #69.

16. See Appendix 1.

17. Unidentified, undated review clipping attached to Alexander Rae Garvie, Thistledown, copy at PANS.

18. Ibid.

19. Davidoff and Hall, Family Fortunes, Chapter 3.

20. Garvie, Thistledown, Introductory, iv.

21. Garvie, Thistledown.

22. Annals of the North British Society, 436, 452.

23. Ibid., 451.

24. See E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning About Manhood". Middle class ideals of masculinity are discussed in Chapter 6.

25. Annals of the North British Society, 456.

26. Garvie, Thistledown, Introductory, iv-v.

27. Presbyterian Witness, 14 Mar. 1874.

28. Margaret was absent from the city between 1871 and 1891. She may have gone to live with George, who disappeared from the city after 1870. None of the Halifax papers carried an obituary of Margaret Garvie, despite the prominence of her sons just two decades earlier.

29. Annals of the North British Society, 452.

Appendix 1

Biographical Sources

This study has relied heavily on the participation of members of the Halifax middle class in voluntary organizations as an indicator of both class membership and class formation. The methodology adopted was simply to identify the members and/or executive members of voluntary associations, and to identify these people through membership in other organizations, by occupation, residence, property ownership, religious affiliation, family membership and public activities. In order to avoid cumbersome footnotes this appendix has been developed to provide the reader with information about the sources which were used to develop the biographies of middle class participants, and with the records of the organizations which have been considered. In many cases relevant biographical information was drawn directly from the records of associations and institutions. For the sake of simplicity the material in Appendix 1 has been divided into two sections. The first contains the general sources used for biographical research, the second includes the records of organizations. Locally produced secondary material, for example the histories of local churches, have been included in the collection of organizational records, although these often provided a rich source of individual biographical information.

I. Biographical Sources

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Halifax and Its Business (Halifax, 1876).

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Assessment lists are an invaluable guide to property holding, but unfortunately only one Halifax assessment list survives for the period between 1850 and 1870: City of Halifax, Assessments, 1862, PANS RG35, Series A, No.4.

R.G. Dun and Co. records, PAC reel M-7760, vol. 11, 12, "Halifax and all counties 1851-76, 1858-1876. (Courtesy of David Sutherland).

City of Halifax, Annual Report, 1905-06, List of Aldermen, 172ff.

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List of Halifax Grammar School Alumni, Halifax Herald, 3 Jan. 1899.

Statutes of Nova Scotia (SNS): The acts of incorporations of voluntary organizations have been very useful in identifying at least the original executive of organizations for which few other records survive. Some

examples include An Act to incorporate the Halifax Asylum for the Blind, SNS, 1867, Chap. 50; An Act to incorporate The Home for the Aged, SNS, 1867, Chap. 75; An Act to incorporate the Halifax Sabbath School Association, SNS, 1868, Chap.46.

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Commercial Class in Pursuit of Metropolitan Status" (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1975).

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Shirley B. Elliott, "Clement Horton Belcher", DCB, IX, 40-1.

C.B. Fergusson, "Thomas Horace Fuller", DCB, IX, 293-4.

Judith Fingard, "Alexander Forrester" DCB, IX, 270-2.

Judith Fingard, "Robert Fitzgerald Uniacke", DCB, IX, 801.

David B. Flemming, "Michael Hannan", DCB, XI, 318.

David B. Flemming, "Patrick Power", DCB, XI, 709-10.

Philip Girard, "Henry Pryor", DCB, XII, 870-1.

Janet Guildford, "James Scott Hutton", DCB, XII, 460-461.

Colin Howell, "William Grigor", DCB, VIII, 348.

Bonnie Huskins, "Samuel Creelman", DCB, XII, 217-18.

Lois K. Kernaghan, "Hugh William Blackadar", DCB, IX, 54-5.

Lois K. Kernaghan, "Andrew McKinlay", DCB, IX, 510-11.

Ian McKay, "William Church Moir", DCB, XII, 747-8.

Barry M. Moody, "John Mockett Cramp", DCB, XI, 209-10.

Barry M. Moody, "Edmund Alburn Crawley" DCB, XI, 214-16.

D.A. Muise, "Edmund Mortimer McDonald", DCB, X, 460.

Kenneth Pryke, "William Murdoch", DCB, IX, 586-7.

K.G. Pryke, "Jeremiah Northrup", DCB, X, 251-2.

Lori S. Russel, "Abraham Gesner", DCB, IX, 308-12.

C.E. Thomas, "William Bullock", DCB, X, 110-11.

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D.A. Sutherland, "Daniel Cronan", DCB, XII, 221-2.

D.A. Sutherland, "Sir Edward Kenny", DCB, XII, 480-1.

Wendy L. Thorpe, "James Walton Nutting", DCB, IX, 601-2.

Gertrude Tratt, "William Gossip", DCB, XI, 364-5.

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P.B. Waite, "John Sparrow Thompson", DCB, IX, 785-7.

P.B. Waite, "John Sparrow David Thompson", DCB, XII, 1039-48.

Suzanne Zeller, "George Lawson", DCB, XII, 538-42.

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James Butler, obit., Novascotian, 25 Jan. 1890.
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Mary Jane Katzman Lawson, obit., Acadian Recorder, 24 Mar. 1890,3.
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Appendix 2

Biographies of Halifax City Members, 1865-70

Note: The sources used in compiling the biographies of the aldermen are listed in Appendix 1.

Property assessments in 1862 have been coded: A represents property valued under L200; B, between 200-500; C, between 500-1000; D; 1500-5000; and E, above 5000.

William Ackhurst b. England, 1813, d. Halifax 1887. Baptist
Alderman Ward 3: 1862-5.
Defeated in Mayoralty race by Stephen Tobin in 1867.
Occupation: Began his career as a cornetist in the 66th Rifle Brigade bugle corps. Discharged in Halifax in 1830. Worked for merchants E.G.H. Greenwood and Benjamin Wier. 1869 - Auctioneer and Commission merchant, Collins Wharf home 47 Victoria Road.
Assessment (1862): c - Cogswell St.; d - Water St.
public office: Firewarden, ward 3, and member of committee in charge of fire plugs, etc. 1859; Chairman, firewardens, 1863; Justice of the Peace; Chairman, Board of Works; Chairman of Gardens Commission.
Member: Acadia IOOF, 1852; Chebucto Division, Sons of Temperance, 1853; founding member and President, Harmonic Society,(later Philharmonic Society) 1859; Visitor, Halifax Association for improving the conditions of the poor, 1867; Deacon and Choir Director at First Baptist Church.
Personal: m. Maria Louisa, (1818-1900) in 1837, at Granville St. Baptist Church. Two children: Eliza, 1838-83 and William Jr.(1840-1934).

William Barron: 1828(c)-1876 Catholic
Alderman, Ward 5, el. Oct. 1867
Occupation: Grocer, 47-49 Upper Water St, home 97 North Park Street
Assessment:(1862): c-4-Water (business); b-5-North Park (h)
public office: JP Halifax Co. 15 October, 1869.
Member: Militia: Capt. Co. D. HV Battalion; Capt. Halifax Rifles; President, Young Men's Literary Association; Listed in Act of Incorporation of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul.

Hugh W. Blackadar, jr. Baptist
Alderman Ward 4, el. Feb.1868,(acclaimed); October 1870;

City Council to the Halifax Board of School Commissioners, 1869-70.
Occupation: 1869 - Queens printer, 12 and 16 Buckingham Street, editor, Acadian Recorder; home 17 Maynard Street.
Assessment 1862: b - Grafton St.; b - Buckingham.
Public office: el. Fireward, ward 4, 1866; Member in charge of fire plugs, tanks, pumps and wells; Justice of the Peace, Halifax County, 1867.
Education: Free Church Academy.

James Butler b. Ireland. d. Halifax, 1890. Liberal
Alderman Ward 3, elected Oct.1867; Council appointee to the Halifax Board of School Commissioners, 1869-70.
Occupation: West India Merchant, Butler's Wharf, 189 Lower Water Street, home: Dresden Row.
Assessment 1862: Five properties listed to James Butler-- may be different people. Two properties, one b, one d, on Water Street, match business address.
Public office: Fire warden, ward 3, 1863.

William Caldwell
Councillor, ward 3, el. May 1841, Oct.1842, Ald. ward 3, elected October 1843; Mayor, early 1850s; el. ald. ward 3, October, 1865
Occupation: Blacksmith and Ship's gear, Caldwell's Wharf, 171 Lower Water.
Assessment 1862: c - Cleylan St.
Public office: Union Engine Company
Member: St. George's Society.

Edward W. Chipman Methodist
Alderman Ward 4, el. Oct. 1865
Occupation: 1869 - E.W. and Co. Drygoods, 136 Granville St., home 58 Pleasant Street (had been in partnership with Peter Ross until his retirement in 1855; Named in An Act to Incorporate the Uniacke Union Gold Mining Co., 1868.
Assessment 1862: Business: e-4-Granville St.; Home: c-1-Morris.
Member: Subscribed $500 for new Wesleyan brick church.
Personal: m. Mahala Jane, dau. John Northup, at Methodist Chapel, Brunswick St., 1853.

James Cochrane b. Ireland c1802 - d. Halifax, 1877. Catholic
Alderman, Ward 3, el. October 1865
Assessment 1862: b - Birmingham St.; c - Cleylan, James Cochrane and son: c and d - Water St.
Public office: Liberal MPP, late 1860s, Justice of the

Peace.
Occupation: merchant, home Robie near Jubilee Road; Director: People's bank, Acadian Fire Ins. Co.; 1877 estate valued at $480,000.
Member: President of Charitable Irish Society, 1867.

Jeremiah Conway d. 1868 Catholic
Alderman: Ward 5: 1862 - d. Feb. 1868 (replaced by Blackadar)
Assessment 1862: c-5-Water Street
Public office: Justice of the Peace Halifax Co., 1864.

James Cullen d. Jan. 1898
Alderman, ward 5, 1864-66
Occupation: Drygoods, 101 Gottingen St.; home 99 Gottingen St.
Assessment 1862: b - Park St.; b - Water St.; c-Gottingen St.

Robert Davis b. England, 1819, d. Dartmouth, 1879.
Alderman Ward 6. Elected Oct. 1868; City Council appointee to Halifax Board of School Commissioners, 1869-70.
Occupation: Began as stone cutter in 1840s; became a successful builder. Built the Bank of British North America, 1851, Market House, 1854, Lunatic Asylum, 1855. Described as "an enterprising mechanic", 1856; Partner Andrew Barton,1860.
Assessment 1862: d - Water St.; a - Richmond.
Public offices: Served as fireman 1849-59.
Member: joined St. Andrews Lodge, 1847.

George Drillio 1824-69 Presbyterian
Alderman, Ward 6, el. October 1865
Occupation: Sailmaker, Collins and Commercial Wharves, Upper Water St.; home: Sunnyside.
Assessment 1862: c-4-Water; c-6-Lockman.
Public office: Firewarden, ward 6, member of committee in charge of fire plugs, etc. 1859.
Member: j. St. Andrews Lodge, 1850; Yacht Club executive committee. 1864.

James Duggan
Alderman, Ward 3, el. 1859,1862,1869; Defeated J.D. Nash by 41 votes in wd. 3 el. Oct. 1869.
Occupation: Notice of partnership: Duggan and Murphy, Jan. 1854; 1869: Auctioneer and Commission Merchant, 216

Lower Water Street; home: 81 Grafton St.
Assessment 1862: c - Water St., b - Prince St., a-Grafton St.
Public office: Fireward ward 3, 1863, 1864, 1866; Keeper and Supt. of Markets; Appointed Commissioner of Hospital for Insane, 1868; Appointed Commissioner for giving relief to insolvent debtors and for taking affidavits and to hold bail in the supreme court, Halifax County, 1869; Justice of the Peace, 1869.
Member: Steward, Charitable Irish Society.

William Dunbar
Alderman, Ward 2, 1862-5, el. Mayor 1871
Occupation: Boots and Shoes, Barrington; home: 3 Queen Street
Assessment (1862): c-1-Queen
Public office: Fireward, 1864.

John Flinn (1842-1906) Catholic Liberal
Alderman, Ward 5, el. June 1868 -- very young: 26. Beat John Longard, 226-75.
Occupation: Merchant, Contractor.
Public offices: Appointed to the Halifax Board of School Commissioners, 1865; MLA, Halifax Co. 1871-74; Fireward, ward 3, 1863; Secretary, Volunteer Engine Company, 1866.

William Gossip. b. England, 1809, d. Halifax,1889
Anglican, Conservative
Alderman, Ward 3, el. Oct. 1865
Occupation: Publisher, bookseller and journalist. 1869-Books and Stationery, 87 Granville St.; home: 4 Birmingham St.
Assessment (1862): c-3-Barrington; c-3-Granville
Estate: $14,500.
Public office: Fireward, el. Jan. 1866.
Member: Hon. Secty, NS Inst. of Natural Science.
Personal: m. Anne Catherine Coade. 4 sons, 3 dau.

James Graham
Alderman, Ward 5, el. Oct. 1869
Occupation: 1869 - City Steam Mills, 160 Upper Water
Home: 12 Maynard St.
Public office: Lieut. Axe Fire Company.
Member: Athole Lodge, Master Mason, 1868.

Thomas Graham
Alderman, el. 1867

W. Myers Gray (esquire)
Alderman, ward 3, el. Oct. 1868
Occupation: 1869 - Barrister Insurance agent and stock broker, 139 Hollis; Home: Carolside, North West Arm; Shareholder, Halifax Sea Bathing Co. Ltd., 1870
Assessment 1862: S. and W.M.: c-ward 3 - Hollis Street, b-3-Hollis.
Member: Halifax Concert Hall Company, Ltd.; founding member, Halifax Club, 1862; Board of Directors of the Provincial Permanent Benefit and Building Investment Society 1864.

W.A. Henry
el Mayor, 1 Oct. 1876. Won a hotly contested election.
Occupation: Lawyer, son of Antigonish merchant.
el. MLA 1847. Reformer, later a Conservative
1875: judge of newly created supreme court.
Shareholder: Union Copper Mining Co., 1867.

Frederick William Horley.
Alderman: el. October 1867
Occupation: 1869 - Mason; home: 19 Bilby Street.
(perhaps a small contractor: ad for 5 new snug cottages in Lockman Street built by Alderman Horley.

Joseph Jennings b. England, 1794 - d. 1868) Presbyterian.
Alderman Ward 4: 1843-9, Ward 6: 1862- d. Sept. 1868
Mayor, 1846. Defeated W.B. Fairbanks. Home: Poplar Grove. (May have been in China and Glass business at 154 Granville)
Assessment 1862: c - Artz St.
Public offices: Member Central Board of Agriculture, 1849; Commissioner for relief of solvent debtors, Halifax Co., 1860; Executive, N.S. Committee for Dublin International Exhibition.
Member: Executive, Horticultural Society.

Edward Leahy
Alderman, Ward 5. 1862-69.
Occupation: Thornfield Nursery, home Leahy Villa, North West Arm.
Assessment 1862: b-6-NW Arm Road; a-6-NW Arm Road
Public office: Justice of the Peace, Appointed 1863.

Patrick Mahoney
Alderman, Ward 2. Oct.1867-70.
Assessment 1862: a-1-Lower Water

Public office: member Axe Fire Co.

John M. McCulloch b. Scotland, 1821, d. 1875. Anti-Confederate
Alderman, Ward 1: 1861-4, ward 2: 1864-7
Defeated by Tobin in mayoralty election, 1867
Occupation: goldsmith, manufacturing jeweller, occas. silversmith. Came to Halifax at 16 and apprenticed with Peter Nordbeck, est. own shop c.1844. 1869 - Watchmaker, 83 Granville; home: Tower Road
Assessment (1862): d-3-Granville
Public office: Fireward ward, 1859) Fireward 1866.
Member: Mechanics Committee for the Industrial Exhibition of 1853; Athole Lodge, Master Mason, 1867.
Personal: m. Mary Jane Kerr. no children.

John Meagher
Alderman ward 2, 1862-5

William Montgomery Presbyterian
Alderman, Ward 1, el. October 1869; City Council appointee to the Halifax Board of School Commissioners, 1869.
Occupation: Montgomery and Co, NS Iron Works, Pleasant, Freshwater; home: 7 Green Street. Went bankrupt in 1877.
Shareholder: Halifax Sea Bathing Co. Ltd., 1870.
Member: YMCA: 1868; VP - North British Society, 1969.

John Mumford
Alderman, ward 6, 1863-4, 1864-5.
Occupation: Builder; home: 2 Mumford Terrace.
Assessment 1862: Two b properties, North St.
Public office: Fireward, ward 6, 1864, 1866
Personal: hired Inglis Mumford, a young graduate from the first class of the Inst. for the Deaf and Dumb, and wrote to principal Hutton to report what a good worker he was.

John C. Murphy
Alderman, ward 4, 1863-67
Public offices: Election inspector, ward 2, 1863

John D. Nash (1805-75) Methodist Conservative\Confederate
Alderman, ward 2: el. Oct. 1859; ward 3: el. 1866
Occupation: Began in business as a grocer-shopkeeper-trader, took Richard Tremaine into partnership; Auctioneer 1869 - Auctioneer, merchant: 153 Hollis; home: 91 Dresden

Row; Shareholder: An Act to incorporate the Union Copper Mining Co., 1867.
Assessment (1862): 9 properties in wards 1,2,3.
Public offices: 1854: Collector for NS Industrial Exhibition; 1859: Firewarden, ward 2; 1866: Chair of Police committee; 1869: Ward 2 Assessor
Member: St. Andrews Lodge: 1870: provincial grand warden; Donated 82 volumes to the Halifax public library, 1864.

William Nisbet Presbyterian
Alderman, ward 6, elected October 1870
Occupation: 1869 - carpenter; home: 125 Lockman.
Assessment 1862: b - Lockman St.
Public office: fireward wd.4 1866; fire constable, no. 4 hand engine Resolute.
Member: Athole Lodge, Master mason, 1868
Host for Presbyterian Synod meeting in Halifax, June, 1868; member North British Society, 1868.

W.H. Pallister
Alderman, ward 4, 1862-5
Occupation: 1869 - Grocer, 48 Duke; home: 61 Argyle St.
Public office: fireward, 1865; Major, Halifax Voluntary Battalion, 1866

Lawrence G. Power
El. Ald. Ward 3, Oct. 1870
Occupation: Barrister, clerk asst House of Assembly; home Park St.

James Pryor Anglican
Alderman, ward 1, elected October 1867
Occupation: 1869 - Merchant, 31 Lower Water St.; home: 38 Granville.
Assessment 1862: c-1-Hollis
Member: Yacht Club executive.
Miscellaneous: Presented cup for having boat built which enabled Halifax oarsman to defeat Saint John Club, and thus secure the championship of the continent.

Robert Richardson
Councillor: ward 2, elected Oct. 1845,46,48. Alderman, ward 2, el. Oct. 1848, 1863-7; defeated by Commission Merchant John T. Wylde, October, 1869, who was the choice of Citizen, by 13 votes. Richardson protested the election of Wylde because Alderman Dunbar, presiding

officer, left the poll to vote in ward 3. City recorder ruled this was just cause for objection. Second election held, which Wylde won by a Majority of 20 votes.
Occupation: 1869 - Builder; Home: Bishop Street
Assessment 1862: c-3-Barrington; b-3-Prince
Public office: Treasurer, Carpenter's Union, 1859; JP Halifax Co., appointed 14 Oct. 1871.

Matthew Henry Richey 1828- Methodist
Alderman ward 5 1862-3,63-4. mayor: 1864-7, 1875-78.
Occupation: 1850: Called to bar. 1854-60: Managing editor Provincial Wesleyan. 1869 - Barrister and Insurance agent. 14 Bedford Row; home 209 Barrington
Assessment 1862: b - Hollis St.
Public offices: School Commissioner: 1865-8; MP: Halifax Co and City: el. 1878,1882; Lt. Gov. NS: 1883-88
Member: 1860: Committee, Wesleyan Sabbath School Society; founding president Halifax Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, 1867; Member, Bd. of Dirs. Provincial Permanent Building and Investment Society, 1863-4. Member, founding committee of the Halifax Branch of the Royal Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals; Governor, Dalhousie University, Senator, U. of Halifax; President, Halifax School Association, 1874.
Known as lecturer(eg. to YMCA) and philanthropist.
"urbane, kind and respectful to all classes"
Personal: married Sarah Lavinia, dau. J.H. Anderson, wealthy merchant and Methodist.

William Roche b. NS. 1804c, d. 1887 Methodist
Alderman Ward 5, 1863-7
Occupation: Lumber merchant, Roche's Wharf; Home: 281 Upper Water Street
Member:President, Provincial Permanent Benefit Building and Investment Society(1863-4); founding member Shipwrights and Caulkers Association.
Personal: Descended form an Irish family first settled in New York, moved to NS with UE Loyalists 1783. Son William Jr., b. 1842, Merchant, dir. of Union Bank, Chairman of school Board. Liberal, Repealer.MLA, 1889.

John A. Sinclair b. Halifax, 1822.
Alderman, Ward 1, elected October 1867-68, accl. Oct.1868
Later served two terms as mayor.
Occupation: For many years a member of firm of Alex McLeod. 1869 - Merchant; Home: 53 Morris; Got licence to manufacture tobacco-1862; named in An Act to incorp. the Prince of Wales gold mining Co., 1868; Shareholder in Halifax Sea Bathing Co., 1870.

Assessment 1862: c-1-Morris
Member: Past Master, Virgin Lodge, 1868; joined North British Society in 1845, later served as president.
Personal: Educated in Halifax.

John Starr (1828c-1906) Methodist
Councillor, el. 1841, Alderman, Ward 6, 1864-5, ret. Sept.30, 1867
Occupation: Joined the firm of David Starr and Sons in 1848. 1869 - hardware, Hollis Street; Home 189 Brunswick St. Founded Starr Manufacturing Co., managing director Canada Explosives. Ruined in 1880 by non-payment by ICR. Shareholder, Starr Manuf. Co. (ltd), 1868.
Assessment 1862: c - Brunswick St.
Personal: Son of David and Lavinia Starr; Educated at Kings Academy and Mt. Allison, Wife a member of committee of Halifax Wesleyan Female Benevolent Society, 1855.

Douglas M. Story
Alderman, ward 5, elected October 1868
Occupation: 1869 - Grocer, 197 Brunswick Street, home: same address.
Public office: Fireward, Ward 5, 1866; Health warden, ward 6.
Personal: m. Isabella,(1824-98) dau. late Duncan MacQueen; related to Stephen Tobin: His mother in law was Mary Ann Tobin.

John H. Symons
Alderman, ward 2, el. Oct.1865, Oct. 1870
Occupation: Tobacconist and fishing tackle, 122 Granville home: 4 South St.
Assessment (1862): c-3-Duke; c-1-Spring Garden.

William Taylor
Alderman, ward 5, elected 1 October 1870. Beat incumbent Wm. Barron, 374 - 288. Most of his requisition signers were Protestant, most of Barron's Catholic.

James Tobin
Alderman, ward 1, 1863-4, 1864-5; Ran against Matthew Richey for mayor, 1864. Lost 374-304.
Occupation: 1869 - Customs, boards 43 Prince.
Personal: probably James George Tobin b. 1832, living in 1854, barrister. If so he was a cousin of Stephen Tobin.

Stephen Tobin b. Halifax 1834 - d. Montreal 1905
Catholic Confederate
Alderman, ward 1, el. Oct.1864, April 1865. Mayor, el. Oct.67, re-elected by acclamation, October, 1869.
Also mayor of Halifax 1878-81
Occupation: 1869 - General Commission Merchant and head agent Queens Insurance Co., Consul of Denmark, Mayor of Halifax; Home: 11 South Street
Public office: Appointed school commissioner in 1865; Appointed examiner of teachers under school act, for Halifax; defeated Confederate Candidate, 1867; MP for Halifax, 1872-74.
Member: President Halifax Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, 1867 (went with mayoralty); founding member of committee of Halifax Branch of the Royal Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals.
Personal: M. Catherine Lyons dau. late Jas. F. Gray at St. Mary's, followed by a civic reception; Educated at Stoneyhurst. A good orator. Good looking, neat handlebar mustache, short hair.

Samuel Trenamen d. 1868
Alderman, Ward 4: el. Jan.1867- d. Jan. 1868
Assessment 1862: d - Buckingham St.

George J. Troop
Alderman, ward 1, el. Oct. 1868, retired Sept. 1869
Occupation: "business man"
Assessment 1862: c-1-Spring Garden Road
Public offices: JP, Halifax Co. Appointed 21 Nov. 1871
Member: j. Virgin Lodge, 1850; Protestant Alliance.

Thomas Walsh Catholic
Alderman, Ward 2, el. 1860, 1867,1868,1869.
Occupation: unidentified.
Member: Treasurer, St. Vincent de Paul Society; VP, Halifax Catholic Total Abstinence and Benevolent Society.

John T. Wylde (1827-192) b. Mulgrave (probably Anglican)
Alderman, Ward 2, el. Oct. 1869 (defeated incumbent Robert Richardson, carpenter's union, by 20 votes.
Occupation: 1869 - Commission Merchant; home: Armbrae Place, McCulloch Road.
Assessment 1862: c - Hollis St.
Member: Management Committee, Halifax Club.
Personal: 8th child of Isaac Wylde(lawyer) and Lecretia

Pack, came to Halifax to work for Benjamin Wier and Co. Married Marie, youngest daughter of late Archibald Wier of Windsor in 1853 at B. Wier's house. Five years later his brother Isaac Jackson Wylde m. Marie's sister Susan Helen.

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