PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN MORALITY
and the
NINETEENTH CENTURY SECULAR AND NON-SECTARIAN
BRITISH COLUMBIA PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM

by

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ABSTRACT

British Columbia has long been considered the only province in Canada to have had a single non-sectarian public school system from Confederation to the present. This assertion appears to be confirmed by a study of legislative acts and strictures against denominational teachings. It is also true that no overtly denominational schools received aid from public funds except for a brief period in the earliest days of the Vancouver Island colony.

When this system is examined more closely, however, it appears to be more Protestant Christian than non-sectarian. First, when the Bible was read the system used the Protestant, or King James, version. Second, from 1872 to 1876 it authorized Protestant Christian prayers, from 1876 to 1882 it allowed the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, and permitted the Lord's Prayer alone throughout the rest of the century. Third, it condoned interchangeable use of the same premises for worship and for schooling. Fourth, it named clergymen as official visitors to the schools. Fifth, it invited Protestant clergymen as honoured guests, honorary members, and frequent speakers to meetings of the Teachers' Institutes. Finally, it charged its teachers to inculcate the "highest morality" while omitting any explanation of the phrase.
Thus confusion surrounded the term "non-sectarian." To some it was synonymous with "non-religious" but to others it meant "non-denominational," or religion without sectarian doctrines. In 1872 the Board of Education accepted the latter and authorized prayers for use in the schools. Changes in the School Act of 1876, however, emphasized the former meaning. This act added the word "secular" to the non-sectarian clause, barred clergymen from holding official positions within the school system, and limited prayers to the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments at the option of local trustees. Ambiguities were not eliminated by these changes as arguments then raged over the meaning of "secular." Legislation and public opinion in general interpreted the word as "non-religious" while some teachers and commentators defined it as "non-denominational." During the 1880's public opinion began to demand the re-introduction of religion into the public school system to counteract a perceived immoral society and provide a solid moral base for the youth of the province. Legislation in regard to the secular and non-sectarian clause, however, remained unaltered during the rest of the century. Nevertheless, growing public acceptance of the school system, with a corresponding decline in denominational school popularity, indicated that a majority of parents were generally satisfied with the system.

Possibly due to their continuing influence, most of the Protestant clergy also appeared to be in accord with the public school system. Their acquiescence was no doubt
enhanced by the knowledge that Protestant Christian doctrine was being taught in the public schools by the Canadian Series of Readers and the W. J. Gage & Co. Educational Series. In addition, all the texts in these series considered Christian morality as the highest form of ethical behaviour with all other virtues following from this conception.

In view of the influence of the Protestant clergy and the textbook teachings, the British Columbia school system remained Protestant Christian rather than secular and non-sectarian. Public funds, therefore, were used for the benefit of one branch of a particular religion while being denied to adherents of other denominations or faiths whose conscience made it mandatory for them to educate their children in separate schools. In this respect the British Columbia school system developed differently from that of Ontario, and from those of other provinces, which admitted the sectarian nature of their schools and provided for minority education in a separate system.
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INTRODUCTION

Physically separated from the rest of Canada by towering mountains and tumultuous waterways, British Columbians often consider themselves a different breed of people. Thus they have tended to emphasize and claim a uniqueness which is usually a blend of myth and fact. This is true, for example, of the proposition that, of all Canada's provinces and territories, only British Columbia has always enjoyed a unified and truly non-sectarian school system and never considered publicly financed separate or religious schools. While the latter part of this statement can be accepted as fact the claim for a non-sectarian public system is largely myth.

Most historians have argued for a de facto as well as a de jure non-sectarianism as a result of studying the official acts and rules and regulations of the system, together with the multi-racial and multi-denominational character of the society. Manoly R. Lupul, therefore, states that schools founded on a class and religious basis prior to 1865 were not compatible with a new type of population. Consequently, the government of Vancouver Island established a non-denominational system in 1865 which was confirmed by later legislation of the colony and province of

British Columbia.\textsuperscript{2} In addition, C. B. Sissons concludes that Church of England claims to dominance in both England and Upper Canada had disappeared prior to the establishment of the Vancouver Island colony and that French influence was weak in the colony. Thereby non-sectarian schools were facilitated as no effective opposition existed.\textsuperscript{3} While consistent with Lupul's later interpretation of non-sectarian as non-denominational rather than non-religious, Sissons infers that the system became progressively more secular, or non-religious, after 1876 with the banning of clergymen from official positions.\textsuperscript{4}

Henry Johnson agrees that British Columbia's public school system was unique because of its unity and non-sectarianism and that non-sectarian meant non-denominational. However, he recognizes that many people believed that the schools were to be "Godless" and that, for this reason, teachers were encouraged to use recommended forms of prayer and the Ten Commandments as well as being instructed to "inculcate the highest morality."\textsuperscript{5} Later, Johnson appears to confirm Sissons' inference that the system almost completely eliminated religious and church influence within


\textsuperscript{3}Sissons, Church and State, p. 371.

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., p. 381.

it in 1876 and became more secular in intent.6

None of these historians, however, closely examined whether or not church and religious influence was in reality abolished from the schools. Neither have they surveyed classrooms or the supposedly non-sectarian textbooks. Nor have they studied the meaning of the requirement that teachers inculcate the highest morality. Johnson links this regulation with prayer and the Ten Commandments, thereby inferring religious morality, but only a study of the system and texts can help determine the actual meaning of "highest morality."7

Admittedly, any attempt to study what children might have learned in British Columbia classrooms is seriously hampered when daily work books and detailed school reports are not readily available. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, every school used the same textbooks and it is fairly safe to assume that the books were the curriculum in the majority of schools. Ruth Miller Elson observes that, in the American school systems, the schoolbook itself occupied a central position in most public schools throughout the century. Educational theory, as well as the scarcity of highly trained teachers, required that most of the textbooks be memorized word for word.8

Viola Elizabeth Parvin notes the same tendency in the Upper Canada schools of the 1820s where reports showed that texts and curriculum were synonymous. Two decades later the printed word still symbolized education to many people and the textbook was the only vehicle of learning. British Columbia experienced the same shortage of qualified teachers as noted by Elson in the United States and school law required the "faithful and diligent teaching of the texts," according to one teacher's interpretation of the regulation that teachers must "teach diligently and faithfully all the branches required to be taught ... ." Another teacher condemned the whole system of textbooks which unnecessarily confined teachers. Therefore, it is probable that the use of texts in British Columbia in the nineteenth century was little different than in the United States.

When the system is examined closely and textbook content considered it will be found that the British Columbia public school system was neither non-sectarian nor secular, as required by law. Similar to the situation prevailing in much of the United States, according to the the-

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10 J. Harold Putman, as cited in Ibid., p. 22.


12 Daily British Colonist (Victoria), July 9, 1875.
ories of Timothy L. Smith and David Tyack, one can observe that the schools were Protestant and Christian in fact. In this respect the British Columbia system was not unique as the same was true of other Canadian systems. Other provinces, however, acknowledged their sectarianism and made provision for the public financing of minority schools. On the other hand, the system was unique in insuring that it was secular and non-sectarian and, therefore, refusing public support for separate schools.

As no viable public school system existed in the province prior to Confederation with Canada, only the system as it obtained in British Columbia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century merits examination in detail but the historical, geographical, and social background to the system deserve brief attention. Similarly, as no uniform series of texts was used in all schools prior to 1872, only textbooks authorized after that date come in for scrutiny. In addition, as the readers were the primary texts used in elementary schools attention will be focussed on the two series of readers supplied to the schools.

CHAPTER ONE
THE COLONIAL EXPERIENCE

Two somnolent outposts of the British Empire awoke suddenly to the turbulence of an alien host which conquered by sheer weight of numbers and irreversibly altered the existing society and its institutions. In 1849 a small company of Hudson's Bay Company employees founded the colony of Vancouver's Island. Until 1858 the Company and a small white population of approximately 1,000, predominantly British in origin and concentrated in southern Island centres, ruled an Indian population outnumbering them thirty to one and a vast territory of over 366,000 square miles.¹ Seemingly overnight this tiny, homogeneous population was besieged by 25,000 Europeans, Canadians, Americans, Jews, Negroes, and Chinese searching for the newly-discovered Fraser River gold.² British armed forces and colonial officials soon augmented the newcomers and miners and adventurers continued arriving in large number. Mainland centres soon rivalled those of the Island in size and importance and the population of both colonies became a heterogeneous mixture of races and religions which, for some time, remained largely male and migra-

¹ For a full account of this period see particularly Margaret A. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History (Macmillan of Canada, 1971).

tory. Generally, the population constituted one in which "the currents of religious life pulsate (d) but feebly." 3

Nevertheless, the priests and ministers of the gospel followed settlers, miners, adventurers, and others to the new land. For many years, however, the number of clergymen in the colonies remained small in comparison to the vastness of the task and territory. Wesleyan Methodist ministers, for example, arrived in 1859 but no significant contingent appeared in the province until 1880. Similarly, the first Presbyterian minister came to Victoria in 1861 and for many years this faith had only a few representatives resident in the community at any one time. Roman Catholic priests resided in the Island colony from its inception but, again, they were only a few. French-Canadian residents particularly welcomed the priests but Father Demers was forced to travel to Europe, shortly after his appointment as Bishop of Vancouver Island, to solicit funds and personnel for his diocese. No financial help could be expected from the Hudson's Bay Company and his only diocesans were "badly demoralized savages, with a few whites of various nationalities, too often the scum of their own countries, grouped in a single attempt at settlement." 4

Clergy of the Church of England first arrived in


the colony as employees of the Company. Both the Reverend Robert Staines and his successor, Edward Cridge, served as schoolmaster and chaplain to Fort Victoria. Between 1857 and 1868 the Church of England and its missionary societies sent twenty-eight ministers and missionaries to the colony plus Bishop Hills who recruited another eight workers. Only a few of these, however, remained for any length of time.

Workers of all four churches reported and commented on the general apathy or hostility to religion in the colonies and which was most noticeable in the mining communities which employed a large number of single men. Hills, however, also reported that the church was rarely of prime importance to the settlers who were preoccupied with making a living or to those who came to escape the confines of civilization.

Church history sources cite many instances of Protestant inter-denominational co-operation but some evidence suggests that the Church of England tended to claim supremacy. Hills at one time reported to London that his church was alone in the field but was tartly rebuked by a correspondent who recalled the prior and continuing presence of the Roman

5 A List of the Pioneers Who Served Under Bishop Hills (n.p., n.d.)


7 Peake, The Anglican Church, p. 29.
Catholic Church and the activities of the Methodists and Presbyterians. Anglican Reverend J. B. Good challenged Methodist rights to operate Indian schools and the entire Indian mission field was sometimes claimed as exclusively Anglican.

Any such claims or attempts to establish a "State Church" proved an anathema to the editors of the two leading colonial newspapers. Reared in Nova Scotia and Upper Canada, respectively, both Amor De Cosmos of the Daily British Colonist, and John Robson, of the British Columbian, fought against British Columbia being made the ground where all our old battles and sectarian feuds must be re-enacted. ... (and where) public sentiment will be strongly opposed to grants from the public revenue for sectarian purposes.

De Cosmos deplored favoured treatment given to the Church of England and reminded the government that such favouritism was in direct contravention of Colonial Office policy and Bishop Hills' public statement in support of voluntaryism as well as being against the wishes of 90 percent of the population.

Robson joined De Cosmos in condemning Governor Douglas' offer of government grants to the Anglican churches at Douglas and Lillooet -- which an embarrassed Hills refused -- by reminding the Governor and the public that this was money

which by the most oppressive taxation he has screwed out of Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Roman Catholics, Jews, Chinese, Otherarians, and Nothing-

8 British Columbian (New Westminster), April 4, 1861.
9 British Colonist, September 14, 1860.
10 British Columbian, July 11, 1861.
11 British Colonist, January 31 and September 14, 1860.
arians, as well as Episcopalians.\textsuperscript{12}

Similarly, both papers strongly opposed any form of sectarian education supported by public funds. Few clues appear in the newspapers regarding the extent of general enthusiasm for or antipathy to denominational schools but it is evident that these institutions were established, that some received government financing, and that a substantial part of the community sent their children to them.

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Formal educational facilities appeared in the colonies coincidentally with the arrival of church representatives. On or about September 14, 1849 an Oblate missionary opened the first school on the Island, for the wives and children of the Hudson's Bay Company's Canadian servants,\textsuperscript{13} but Roman Catholic educational efforts were sporadic until 1858. In that year the Sisters of St. Ann opened a girls' school in Victoria, accommodating students of all religions and races, and extended their efforts to other Island and Mainland centres as warranted by population growth.\textsuperscript{14} Governor Douglas furnished personal, but no government, support and financial aid to the Sisters and the \textit{Colonist} believed that the good moral and general education provided for girls

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{British Columbian}, July 11, 1861.

\textsuperscript{13} Father Lempfrit wrote to Oregon on that date advising that he had begun his school. See "Learning Began in a Log Classroom," \textit{Province} (Vancouver), July 19, 1971, Centennial Edition, p. 43.

\textsuperscript{14} For a complete account of the schools see Edith Emily Down "The Sisters of St. Ann, Their Contribution to Education in the Pacific Northwest 1858 - 1958" (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1962).
and orphans deserved government financing. Oblate fathers opened schools for boys in Victoria and New Westminster during the colonial period and these institutions proved as successful as were those of the Sisters. Similarly, however, no financial support was provided by the government.

Church of England chaplains to Fort Victoria and to the Royal Engineers also acted as schoolmasters. Thus, Robert Staines and his wife and the Cridges operated schools for the children of the Company's "gentlemen" employees while the Reverend Mr. Sheepshanks conducted a school at Sapperton, the Engineers' base on the mainland. As "religious instruction in accordance with the doctrines of the Church of England" formed part of the Fort Victoria school curriculum the Staines and Cridge establishments were denominational. Nevertheless, government funds financed part of their operation as evidence suggests that the Company guaranteed Staines' annual salary, if private funds failed to provide the full amount, and that an annual grant of £100 was definitely promised to his successor. Bishop Hills' schools in Victoria and Nanaimo and the mainland Anglican colleges stemmed from this tradition but, unlike their predecessors, received no public financing.

15 British Colonist, January 1, 1859.


Aware of the educational needs of children belonging to the Company labourers and the few independent settlers, Douglas recommended establishing elementary schools to provide a good moral and religious training. Three of these Colonial Schools opened on the Island in 1852 and 1853, government funds supplemented teacher salaries, and the Reverend Edward Cridge was appointed supervisor in 1856. His reports indicate that scripture lessons received primary attention as more children were enrolled in this than in any other subject. As scripture was Church of England theology and the schools were modelled on the National, or Anglican, schools of England public funds again financed denominational education.

Ostensibly government funds only financed non-denominational schools on the mainland and the Sapperton school only received aid after the departure of the Engineers and the re-opening of the school as one which was non-denominational. However, the Anglican Church remained involved with this school through monetary help until 1868 when the Archdeacon of Columbia withdrew his sponsorship, at which time the school was forced to close. Rev. R. Jamieson, a Presbyterian, opened New Westminster's first school in 1862 and turned it over to a council of three, representing the Methodist, Anglican, and Presbyterian churches, in 1863.

20 A fuller account of both these schools is provided in Margaret Lillooet McDonald, "New Westminster 1859 - 1871," (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1947).
In reality, therefore, public funds supported Protestant Christian schools on the mainland, as they did on the Island, provided they were nominally non-denominational.

Suspected of considering Colonial schools as the exclusive property of his church, Cridge incurred De Cosmos' righteous indignation. Questioning whether schools belonged to colony or Colonial Church and School Society, De Cosmos demanded information regarding the schools' relationship to the colony, the auspices under which conducted, and the superintendent or board to whom teachers were responsible. Lack of knowledge regarding the schools made them irrelevant to the public who continued to support sectarian schools for this reason, according to De Cosmos. Therefore, the government should "further the establishment of a good common school system in opposition to mere sectarian hotbeds" and inculcate a moral bias by virtue of sound elementary education.

Likewise, John Robson fought for the principle that "government funds must only be devoted to the support of non-sectarian schools." No-one, in Robson's view, had the right to object to privately funded denominational schools although they were "prejudicial to the common interest" while so few students resided in the colony. One well-devised, liberal, and non-sectarian system would provide efficient schools and attack religious bigotry by the "social, politi-

21 British Colonist, February 14, 1860.
22 Ibid., June 26, 1860.
23 British Columbian, February 13, 1864.
24 Ibid.
cal, and religious cementing of a heterogeneous population."

Reports of public meetings in Victoria, Yale, and New Westminster reveal that the majority of those in attendance favoured non-sectarian schools. Support for the contention that a majority of the whole population agreed with such a system can be found in De Cosmos' observation that all candidates for election to the Legislative Assembly professed themselves in accord with a common, non-sectarian, school system. Clearly, however, the newspapers and part of the public interpreted non-sectarian as meaning non-religious. *Colonist* reports of the Victoria school meeting noted that considerable opposition was expressed to Bible readings in classrooms, to which view the editor agreed as "no Bible could suit all denominations and the Jews." At one point Robson denied that he opposed the Bible, religious exercises, and the employment of qualified persons who also had specific church affiliations. Nevertheless, approval of a motion that Bible readings be included in the curriculum of New Westminster schools invoked his denunciation of such readings as being the "first wedge in splitting the National school system." He argued further that provisions for the exclusion of objectors would only introduce "invidious comparisons and bitter sectarian differences."

25 Ibid., April 13, 1864.
26 *British Colonist*, November 28, 1862.
27 Ibid., April 11, 1864.
28 *British Columbian*, April 13, 1864.
29 Ibid., July 16, 1864.
Both the Roman Catholic Church and Anglican clergy-men denounced non-religious education. The former could never accept a separation of education and religion, the Anglican Archdeacon of Columbia took strong exception to omission of religious instruction from public schools,\textsuperscript{30} and the Reverend William S. Reece, Vice-President of the Anglican Collegiate School in Victoria, preached on the subject. Naming secular education as one of the primary sources of evil, Reece stressed the necessity of Bible readings in the schools. Biblical education, he argued, could be imparted without denominational bias but neglect of religious education could lead only to indifference to the cultivation of virtues and weakening of other moral influences. Secular education, said Reece, meant the beginning of moral and intellectual disintegration and was "contrary to Reason, Experience, and Revelation."\textsuperscript{31}

In spite of the long campaign of the newspapers and their perceived public demand it was not until late 1863 in Vancouver Island and 1865 in British Columbia that committees were appointed to assess existing educational facilities and make recommendations for public school systems. Under the provisions of Vancouver Island's School Act of 1865, drafted from the committee report, schools were to be "conducted

\textsuperscript{30}McDonald, "New Westminster," p. 359.

strictly upon non-sectarian principles" with textbooks selected for the purpose of "inculcating the highest morality while excluding religious teachings and denominational dogmas."\(^{32}\) Opposition to the total exclusion of religion from the schools, however, forced the inclusion of a clause allowing the clergy, at intervals fixed by the Board of Education, to visit the schools and impart, in a separate room, religious instruction to children of their respective persuasions.\(^{33}\) Regardless of Robson's objections, scripture reading, without comment, became part of the mainland school curriculum but provision was made for pupils to be excused at their parents' request. United in 1866, the two colonies had no common school act until the Ordinance of 1869 which, together with the Act of 1870, confirmed both non-sectarianism and clergy privileges.

Island Colonial schools emerged as the first public schools under the 1865 Act. Dedicated to the principle of non-sectarianism, teachers such as John Jessop opened new schools but colonial financial chaos soon reduced or eliminated government aid. In 1867 and 1868 six schools closed due to lack of funds, 175 children, therefore, received no formal education, and the Board of Education resigned en masse in protest against government disinterest.\(^{34}\) Two years later

\(^{32}\) *British Colonist*, December 1, 1864.

\(^{33}\) Ibid. Dr. Tolmie, an Anglican, noted the widespread feeling against the total exclusion of religion from the schools and moved an amendment to include this clause in April, 1864.

only six public schools remained open on the Island, four of them the old Colonial schools, with an average of 148 children attending in five locations plus an undetermined number at Lake. At the same time only five public schools existed on the mainland, with an average attendance of seventy-six plus an unreported number at Yale. Only two Island localities and one mainland community contributed local funds to school operations.35

School reports included in the *Sessional Papers* made no mention of subjects taught or textbooks used. It is, therefore, difficult to determine whether or not religious and moral education took place in the classrooms during the period from 1865 to 1872. Undoubtedly, no formal religious courses were taught in view of the Acts' ban on sectarian teaching and clergy privileges allowed after regular school hours. On the other hand, religious education was present in the mainland schools, at least until 1869, through Bible readings and most nineteenth century textbooks included religious references, particularly the Irish National Texts recommended for the Colonial schools by Cridge, used in Jessop's school, and generally employed in all British Columbia public schools by 1870.36 Prepared by experienced teachers, under the direction of the National Board of Education in Ireland, these texts were used in Ireland, Eng-


36Lupul, "Education in Western Canada," p. 257.
land, and many British Colonies. Egerton Ryerson considered the series imbued with the purest principles and the National Board esteemed it eminently suitable for a "population of a mixed character as to their religious persuasions."  

Perusing the "Contents of the National Readers" reveals separate sections in the second, third, and fourth books which are devoted to "Religious and Moral Lessons" and definitely link religion and morality. In addition, these two concepts are present in lessons teaching English grammar and literature, history, geography, and political economy.

In view of clergy privileges and textbook content the schools thus proved Christian rather than non-religious. Further, if the King James version was used for Bible readings the schools were Protestant and not, therefore, non-sectarian. Protestant clergymen, representing the Anglican, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches, administered the first public examination at Victoria's Central school which indicates a continuing Protestant influence within the system. Following establishment of the system in 1865 no record of any Protestant clergy protest can be found, suggesting that opportunities for religious and moral training in the schools was considered satisfactory by that faction.


With its present education system in chaos British Columbia prepared to enter Confederation with Canada. Although considering new school legislation early in 1871 some Legislative members placed education on a low priority as they recalled public apathy, particularly in Victoria which had preferred to see its school closed rather than pay taxes. Whether the community was interested in it or not, however, education occupied a place of prime importance to the Colonist and Victoria's neglect only proved the desperate need for government action to remove poor children from the streets and prevent the idleness leading to public mischief.

By August no progress had been reported on a new School Act and the Mainland Guardian prodded the government for the swift establishment of a free, non-sectarian school system. Reiterating the old argument that denominational schools could not be supported in a small population area such as British Columbia, the newspaper noted that religion should be confined to Sunday School. At the same time, the Irish National series, or texts as nearly like them as possible, was recommended for the new system. Apparently the editor was unaware that these texts would make the new schools as religious as their predecessors. This oversight is not surprising, however, as no-one appears to have publicly considered textbook content at any time during this period.

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40 Johnson, John Jessop, p. 52.
41 British Colonist, January 14, 1871.
42 Ibid., February 8, 1871.
43 Mainland Guardian (New Westminster), August 16, 1871.
Finally fulfilling its responsibilities, the new provincial government acted in 1872 to establish a viable school system. British North America Act provisions in regard to educational rights for minorities could not be invoked as no avowedly denominational schools had ever received financial support from public funds in either of the two colonies which now comprised the province of British Columbia. Almost certainly then the new system would continue the established tradition of a single and non-sectarian public entity. In the future lay many changes but the early colonial years set the broad pattern of development for both the province and its educational system as will be observed in the following chapters.
CHAPTER TWO
SYSTEM, RELIGION, AND MORALITY
1872 to 1883

Controversies over the meaning of terms, morality, and the role of the church and religion continued to plague a new public school system which was, in law, as unequivocally non-sectarian as its precursors. John Jessop, educated in Upper Canada, a devout Methodist, and ardent admirer of the Ryersonian school system, designed the major part of British Columbia's new School Act of 1872. As Johnson notes, Jessop virtually adopted the entire Ontario system, with necessary modifications, for the new province.¹ Entrenched minority rights, however, had forced Ryerson to recognize, and provide public financial support for, the Roman Catholic school system in Ontario. As no constitutional rights existed in British Columbia for minority group education it was possible to establish a unified system which affirmed non-sectarianism and against which there could be no legal appeal. Nevertheless, Roman Catholic Church authorities could never accept what they firmly believed was a non-religious system for the children of their faith.

Certainly, Ryerson's system was never intended to be non-religious as he extensively quoted the most competent authorities to prove "the absolute necessity of making Chris-

tianity the basis and the cement of the structure of public education."² He firmly believed religious and moral instruction as much a function of the public schools as intellectual and physical education but that sectarian teachings must be excluded except in homogeneous religious communities. To Ryerson, the Holy Scriptures taught a general system of truth and morals which could be communicated extensively and thoroughly, for all purposes of Christian morality, without any bias of sectarianism, and without any interference whatever with the peculiarities of different Churches or Sects.³

In view of Jessop's regard for Ryerson it appears probable that his concept of non-sectarianism would not be too divergent from the above. Others in British Columbia, however, as firmly believed that non-sectarian equalled non-religious.

Clearly, considerable opposition existed to any official clerical role in the new system. Originally, the non-sectarian clause in the 1872 Act stated that "all Judges, Clergymen, and Members of the Legislature shall be school visitors." During debate in committee, however, one member proposed that clergymen be disqualified as visitors and another member interjected "and Chinamen and Indians" to which the first legislator replied that they were simply dealing with another class of "Chinaman," namely the clergy. Continuing on to state that the term clergy "don't include

²Ryerson, Report on a System, p. 32.
³Ibid., p. 41.
Catholics," which caused a great deal of merriment among the members, he claimed that if the schools were to be successful the clergy should be banned. After much debate, in which other members averred that the schools needed the help of any educated men available and that visitors were in such short supply that none should be denied, the clause was amended to read that "all Judges, Clergymen, Members of the Legislature, and others interested in education, shall be school visitors." According to C. B. Sissons, this clause effectively removed right of instruction enjoyed by the clergy under previous acts. On the other hand, Bishop Acton W. Sillitoe, first Anglican Bishop of New Westminster, noted that the remedy for a non-religious teaching system might lie in the "clergy finding the opportunity to teach the Church children for an hour a day in the public schools." As the Bishop's statement was made in 1881 it suggests that school privileges had simply not been specifically stated rather than rescinded and that the clergy were either not aware of these rights or merely not using them.

No evidence can be found of after hours religious instruction in the public schools either before or after 1872 but a continuing close connection between school and Protestant Church can be demonstrated. The Anglican minister in

4British Colonist, March 12-14, 1872.
5Sissons, Church and State, p. 380.
Vancouver, for example, held services in the Hastings school the day after it opened in 1872 and the Reverend Ebenezer Robson, of the Methodist church, conducted worship services on the same premises. The fairly general nineteenth century equation of morality with religion also connected church and school as morality was seen as "goodness" and moral behaviour as that which was in accord with those laws or rules which had been prescribed for men by a divine being. Thus, one parent wrote that the schools could not be called "godless" as the "genuine principles of strictest morality are taught in every school in this city." Another correspondent, however, pointed out that morality was not necessarily the same as religion as morality consisted of rules of conduct "tending to general well-being and happiness" while religion was a system of morality combined with scraps of history and biography which rendered it difficult to distinguish fact from fantasy.

Further evidence of legislative antipathy to any clerical influence in the school system is found in the controversy surrounding the appointment of a Superintendent. The legislature adopted one member's proposal that no man be qualified for Superintendent without at least five years teaching.

9British Colonist, January 5, 1877.
10Ibid., January 12, 1877.
experience and the possession of a first class certificate.\(^{11}\) These qualifications effectively barred clergymen from appointment to the position of Superintendent and provoked a protest and petition from a number of Victoria's citizens. At the same time an Anglican minister applied for the post of Superintendent and his example was immediately followed by clergymen of two separate Protestant denominations. In turn, these actions prompted the government to request that the Lieutenant-Governor return the bill for amendment of the restrictive clause.\(^{12}\) Apparently, legislative assent to proposed revision could not be obtained as the clause remained in the final Act as originally moved. One "Citizen" congratulated the government on its return to sanity and gave thanks that the illiberal and priestly hostility shown to the Nanaimo teacher would not spread to and irreparably harm the entire system as it surely would if a clergyman were appointed Superintendent.\(^{13}\)

Argument also surrounded the appointment of a new Board of Education. Apparently the government experienced some difficulty in overcoming the prevailing apathy towards both education and public service and finding qualified men willing to serve on the Board.\(^{14}\) When six men were appointed at last a "Nonconformist" immediately attacked an exclusively Anglican cabinet for appointing an almost totally Anglican

\(^{11}\)Ibid., March 14, 1872.
\(^{12}\)Ibid., April 9, 1872.
\(^{13}\)Ibid., April 13, 1872.
\(^{14}\)Ibid., April 23, 1872.
Board, four of whom were also enemies of a non-sectarian system. Accusing the government of a sinister plot to destroy the new system, the correspondent reminded his readers that there were four Christian denominations plus Hebrews in the province and that, in fairness to all, Anglicans, who represented one-third or less of the population, should only have two members on a six member Board.\footnote{Ibid., April 24, 1872.} While agreeing with "Nonconformist's" arguments the \textit{Colonist} expressed its confidence in the new Board and its belief that no denomination would be given favoured treatment in the system.\footnote{Ibid., May 5, 1872.}

True to their basic Christian beliefs, however, the Board members adopted the religious view of morality and had no intention of banning religion from a system which they considered non-denominational rather than non-religious. Therefore, the Honourable Montague W. T. Drake's motion that the Board adopt religious exercises for use in the schools was accepted without opposition.\footnote{British Columbia, Board of Education, \textit{Minute Book} (Victoria: May 7, 1872 - August 12, 1878), p. 19.} Opening and Closing Exercises, not Anglican in form but clearly Protestant Christian, were thereby included in the Rules and Regulations for the Government of Public Schools in the Province of British Columbia and clearly affirmed the role of religion in the system.\footnote{British Columbia, \textit{First Annual Report of the Public Schools} by John Jessop, Superintendent (Victoria: 1872), p. 20.} In law, and in the opinion of a segment of the population, there now existed a provincial public school system which favoured
no religion or sect but, in fact, was a system as religious and sectarian as its forerunners.

Enthusiastic support for educational facilities also remained, as before 1872, conspicuous by its absence. Thus, of a possible school population of 1,768 children aged 5 to 16, only 524 appeared on public school registers in 1872. Of the remainder, 350 enrolled in private schools and 900 attended no school, some 300 of these latter living too far from existing facilities to make enrollment feasible. In addition, average attendance was only 50 percent of enrollment so that of the few children reached by the public system fewer still attended regularly.\textsuperscript{19} By 1881 the number of children between the ages of 5 and 14 rose to 8,597 but public elementary schools reported a total enrollment of only 2,579 and a slightly increased average attendance of 53.16 percent.\textsuperscript{20} Jessop placed the blame for poor enrollment and attendance squarely on the parents whom he classified as "habitually careless and dilatory" and unable to "look at this terrible drawback to school prosperity in its proper light."\textsuperscript{21} Both Jessop and his successor, C. C. McKenzie, recommended that local districts be required to pay some portion of education's cost as a direct tax would make parents more aware of the schools and more willing to ensure

\textsuperscript{19}British Columbia, \textit{First School Report - Supplement}, p. 36.

their children's attendance in order to reap the value of tax dollars. 22

Many families, however, did not live long enough in one district to form any feeling of belonging or be enrolled on municipal tax lists. Miners followed gold trails from the Fraser to the Cariboo to the Similkameen; woodworkers followed logging and sawmill trails on the Island and mainland; and merchants, lawyers, and other service workers followed migrants and established towns ephemerally based on fleeting prosperity and continuing exploitation of raw resources. When the natural wealth disappeared so did the workers and the towns. Settled communities, however, also struggled with economic difficulties which could cause financial panic, the closure of factories and shops, sharply increased unemployment, and rapidly declining revenues as in 1873 Victoria. 23 Often, therefore, families had no other choice than to follow where employment opportunities might lead.

Other parents could not afford the "luxury" of keeping children, needed for farm chores or to contribute financial support, in school. Nanaimo's school principal, for example, noted a disposition on the part of many parents to

"send their children into the 'Pit' at an early age" which exercised "a prejudicial influence on the rising generation by depriving them of the advantages of further school education." Many parents who did value education, such as Dr. William Tolmie, also enthusiastically supported the public school system but others preferred the denominational and private schools which continued to flourish, particularly on Vancouver Island where public schools still carried the stigma of descent from the labouring class Colonial schools. Some parents, however, sincerely believed that private schools provided a better education and higher standards for their children. Thus, when Board members found themselves accused of non-support for the public system, one member of the Board of Education defended himself and his colleagues by stating that they knew the "ignorance of the teachers who come seeking certificates (to teach in the public schools)."

A possible additional reason for private school preference was the strict segregation of boys and girls in entirely separate institutions.

In the nineteenth century most people believed that strict segregation was necessary to the moral behaviour of school children. British Columbians were no exception and the Colonist editorialized that high moral standards could only be assured by separating the sexes as "nature will assert itself unless careful watch is kept." Where it was

25 British Colonist, May 10, 1876.
26 Ibid., April 28, 1877.
necessary in the public system to educate the two sexes together they were segregated as much as possible. Victoria's two story Central School, for example, taught boys, who entered through the back door, on the first floor and girls, entering from the front, on the second story. Segregating the playground was a board fence whose smooth side faced the boys' section of the yard. Jessop argued against segregation on the grounds of efficiency while still believing that constant surveillance was necessary in order to ensure proper conduct and demeanour. Nevertheless, he realistically reminded parents that boys and girls mixed after school hours and that co-education could have the effect of girls ameliorating the boisterousness and rough asperities of boyish natures while enhancing boys' "inherent traits of gallantry, affability, and desire to please." 

Bishop Seghers, of the Roman Catholic Church, vigorously opposed mixed schools but the Methodist Church agreed with Jessop. Claiming that objections to co-education were based "solely on man's barbarism," The Christian Guardian stated that no more danger existed in schools than in mixed visits to museums or picture galleries and that honourable communion between the sexes would result in the highest moral welfare of society and fulfil the Divine will. One Colonist correspondent echoed this view but was an exception


29 The Christian Guardian (Toronto), April 25, 1877.
to prevailing opinion. In one area of education, however, there was complete agreement on separation by sex.

The dormitory system itself, according to the Guardian, was pernicious as it removed children from family influence and multiplied the temptations which would multiply disasters.\textsuperscript{30} "Idle hours would lead to mischief" in coeducational boarding schools, reported the Colonist correspondent,\textsuperscript{31} and Superior Court Judge Crease opposed plans for mixing the sexes in British Columbia boarding schools. Ignoring these warnings the government and the Board proceeded with the establishment of a co-educational boarding school at Cache Creek. Intimations of misconduct became widespread soon after the school opened, the teacher and matron were dismissed, and it was recommended that

one or one and a half acres should be enclosed by a high board fence as a playground for girls to which the boys would have no access whatever. This would . . . keep the sexes apart at all times except during school hours while in class.\textsuperscript{32}

Further trouble arose in the following year with reports that the girls had been visiting in the boys' room at night over a period of some months in spite of bolts on the outside of the boys' door and the inside of the girls' door.\textsuperscript{33}

Deputy Superintendent Clemitson blamed the boarding school ills on the social influence of town and dis-

\textsuperscript{30}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{31}British Colonist, May 2, 1877.

\textsuperscript{32}British Columbia, Fifth School Report, p. 96.

\textsuperscript{33}For a full account see John Calam, "An Historical Survey of Boarding Schools and Public School Dormitories in Canada" (Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1962).
strict on children's mores. Correspondents to the *Colonist* and one member of the Legislature, however, were more inclined to castigate the trustees. Jessop also censured trustees in other school districts for lack of interest and reluctance to enforce attendance lest they upset friends in the community. Neglect of duties could be seen in Nanaimo when classroom chairs were donated for a travelling show performance with school children forced to either stand or sit on the floor for their lessons. Nearby Wellington provided another example of neglect which residents protested in a petition advising that more children would attend the school if it were clean and if cleanliness and decency should be included as a branch of moral training. Moreover, according to the petition, immorality was encouraged by the placing of water closets for boys and girls within a few feet of each other, in full view, and provided with no partitions. Confirming parental complaints, a visitor reported adversely on the mean, dirty, and melancholy appearance of the school house; the fetid atmosphere and dilapidated inner furnishings; and the unfenced, unsheltered

34 British Colonist, August 18, 1874 and May 13, 1876.


37 Teaching cleanliness and decency was a teacher requirement but no formal course was provided. See Infra, p. 54.

38 British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 43 Vict., 1880, p. 462.
yard littered with an "assortment of wild bushes, fruit, cowhorns, broken crockery, tins, boulders, and logs."  

Trustee problems resulted from disinterested, unorganized taxpayers ignorant of trustee qualifications due to special election times and restricted voting, according to a letter in the Mainland Guardian. In fairness, however, other factors than trustee neglect were involved in sometimes deplorable school conditions. A maintenance budget of $15.00 per year did not permit employment of full-time janitors so that students competed, and received payment, for part-time janitorial duties. Brentwood, for example, paid pupils $6.00 per year, spent a further $8.00 for bi-annual cleaning, and possessed only $1.00 for necessary repairs and replacements. Even this small sum was endangered one year, according to the Colonist, when "the incompetents of James Bay" forgot to ask for a vote of supply to cover school incidentals such as fuel and cleaning.

In addition to ensuring the upholding of school law and caring for school property, trustee responsibilities included the employment of teachers possessing a good moral character and checking on conduct and management in classrooms. British Columbia, however, suffered a scarcity of competent teachers as, while high salaries might lure many

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39 British Colonist, March 2, 1881.
40 Mainland Guardian (New Westminster), April 14, 1880.
42 British Colonist, September 11, 1878.
to the province, correspondingly higher salaries in other occupations made teacher retention difficult. Lake Public School, for example, enjoyed the dubious distinction of employing sixteen teachers in five years but other schools also experienced high staff turnover. Jessop intimated that only men unfitted for any other kind of work stayed on as teachers and were incompetent in the classroom as well. In view of these circumstances it is hardly surprising to find trustees overlooking lack of character testimonials or certification in the event of being fortunate enough to secure a teacher and not inquiring too deeply into classroom conduct. Nevertheless, the Act specifically required satisfactory proof of good moral character before certification as most educators believed the moral example of a teacher, inspiring reverence and regard as "superior heart, head, and arm," was the best means of moral education.

Many teachers did fulfil this expectation but conditions often conspired against them. Thus, reports indicate some teachers not above falsifying attendance records in order to increase salaries partly based on pupils present and others chastised for untidy, unclean classrooms and school grounds as well as carelessness in personal ap-

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43 British Columbia, Sixth School Report, p. 15.
pearance and habits. Pressures, loneliness, and frustrations encountered in the school system drove some teachers to drink; another found himself suspended because of irregularities surrounding his divorce and remarriage; a second dismissed over accusations of ill treating High School boys; a third investigated after charges of taking liberties with a half-breed girl were levied against him; and a fourth forced to resign following complaints of lack of discipline and intemperance.

Voted a drastically reduced salary and "blamed for every irregularity and failure in the country," Jessop felt compelled to resign in 1878. A few days later the entire Board of Education quit under the same type of political attack. Within two years Jessop's successor became embroiled in a bitter battle with his teachers and predecessors. Provisions of the 1879 Act vested powers to authorize textbooks and grant teacher certification, previously the responsibility of both Superintendent and Board, in Superintendent McKenzie alone. No appeal was allowed from McKenzie's decisions and a special teachers' meeting proved the only way to air grievances. Holders of first class certificates complained about being the objects of discriminatory re-examination procedures from which teachers with inferior or temporary certificates were exempt. One teacher seriously questioned McKenzie's right to avoid

49 British Colonist, March 29, 1878.
examination of his own qualifications and trustees objected to his holding examinations and framing Rules and Regulations for the Board of Examiners before the appointment of the entire Board.50 Claiming that Jessop and the previous Board certificated teachers who were obviously incompetent, McKenzie also asserted that teachers blocked reform and remained reluctant, careless, and indifferent about reports. Jessop wrote to the Colonist refuting the former charges and teachers retaliated by accusing McKenzie of rudeness and discourtesy in treating them as menials and of terrifying pupils with his brusqueness.51

McKenzie's experience and B. A. degree appeared a source of irritation to teachers and newspapers and inordinate pride to the Superintendent. No doubt many teachers were unqualified by McKenzie's standards but difficulties in hiring and retaining teachers, together with a total lack of provincial teacher training facilities, rendered high qualifications of much lesser importance than willingness. Most teachers proved quite competent to teach elementary subjects, according to the Mainland Guardian, and experienced difficulties only when forced to teach subjects more properly the concern of secondary education.52

Conditions and disputes such as the above, together with pupils being allowed to enter school at any time

50Ibid., October 21, 1879.
51Ibid., April 8, 1880.
52Mainland Guardian, May 19, 1880.
of the year, combined to cause problems regarding discipline and teaching methods. School reports reveal a total of 1,509 cases of corporal punishment in the 1879-80 school year and that teachers relied mainly on rote learning rather than striving for understanding of content and work-induced discipline in their pupils.  

Government and school authorities recognized the flaws in the school system and attempted to remedy some of them in the School Acts of 1876 and 1879. First, in accordance with suggestions by Superintendents, a bill passed on May 1, 1876 which imposed a yearly poll tax of $3.00 on all males over the age of 18 and resident in the province. This tax would help support the public system and also aid taxpayer recognition of their responsibilities but it had the unforeseen consequence of raising Roman Catholic Church ire. As the Colonist pointed out, the Church was quiescent when schools were supported from the general revenue but suddenly petitioned against a direct tax for the same purpose and requested Catholic exemption from a measure which was "both unjust and oppressive."  

Both Colonist and Guardian opposed such exemption as it would prevent Catholics from fulfilling their duties to the State which had an obligation to ensure a guaranteed

54 British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, 39 Vict., 1876, p. 725.
education to all children. While deficient in religious training the public system, according to the papers, did teach children right from wrong, thereby saving money which would otherwise be spent on jails, workhouses, and the police force and benefiting all citizens regardless of religion. Bishop Seghers denied Colonel charges that bona fide resident signatures on the petition were outnumbered two to one by non-residents, minors, sojourners, and foreigners but some truth adhered to the implication that all Catholics in the province did not support petition statements. George Stanley, for example, notes that English-speaking Catholics, particularly the Irish, resented French domination in British Columbia and provided little help to their Church in the fight for viable Catholic schools and government aid. In any event, the Legislature refused to excuse all Catholics from the tax but did exempt clergy, of all denominations, as they formed "a class who devote their lives to a calling that deprives them of all business advantages or opportunities to 'lay up treasure on earth.'" This exemption incensed a newspaper correspondent to whom the Legislature's statement was "pure moonshine" as clergy salaries exceeded those

55 Mainland Guardian, May 6, 1876.
56 British Colonist, April 30, 1876.
58 British Colonist, May 2, 1876.
of teachers who were "devoting their lives to good."\(^{59}\)

Bishop Seghers reiterated the Catholic position that a school must either be godless and atheistic, if excluding the profession of Christianity and the belief in God, or Protestant, if including readings from the Protestant Bible. While the *Colonist* affirmed that this Bible was not prescribed for the schools,\(^{60}\) the system could be considered Protestant in view of recommended prayers and church influence. It appears that further changes in 1876 attempted to eliminate this religious bias.

Second of the 1876 amendments was the insertion of Clause 14 in the school Act. Providing that "no clergyman of any denomination shall be eligible for the position of Superintendent, Deputy Superintendent, Teacher, or Trustee"\(^{61}\) the clause appeared designed to bar any official church influence in the classrooms while still allowing visiting privileges.

Third, the non-sectarian clause now stated that "all Public Schools established under the provisions of this Act shall be conducted upon strictly secular and (my emphasis) non-sectarian principles."\(^{62}\) Previously confusion centered on the meaning of "non-sectarian" and legislative debate confirms a continuing uncertainty which the word "secular" may have been intended to resolve as well as

\(^{59}\)Ibid., May 13, 1876.

\(^{60}\)Ibid., April 29, 1876.


\(^{62}\)Ibid.
making certain that the "true principles of non-sectarianism" would be upheld more than in the past. During debate on the new Act a Mr. Evans "failed to see that the Bill provided for non-sectarian schools" and, when directed to the relevant clause, stated that this merely said "no religious dogma shall be taught" which indicates much confusion over terminology. Following this exchange came the first mention of the word "secular" with the concomitant passing of Clause 41, giving credence to a correspondent's claim that the word was smuggled into the Act with neither government nor public fully aware of its inclusion or implications. If the wording was changed in order to clarify meanings, however, the attempt met with no success as debate now began on the definition of "secular."

The Reverend Mr. Nicholson, Principal of Victoria High School, contended that the Bible was read in almost all secular schools in which he had visited or taught in the United States and that "in no Province of the Dominion is the Free School secular in the narrower and illiberal sense of the term." Mr. Nicholson quoted Professor Huxley in support of his contention that the foremost advocates of secular education in England and elsewhere viewed secular schools as ones providing education without theology but not

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63 British Colonist, May 11, 1876.
64 Ibid., May 11 and 12, 1876.
65 Dominion-Pacific Herald (New Westminster), March 16, 1881.
66 British Columbia, Sixth School Report, p. 158.
without religion. On the other hand, the Colonist declared that the Board of Education's interpretation of the word meant that religious matters must be excluded from the public schools and that this was also the opinion of a large majority of school taxpayers. If religion were allowed in the schools, continued the paper, and fair treatment given all children then the school day would be "wholly occupied by addresses and prayers from the spiritual teachers of every creed" and the schools "converted into churches supported by public taxation." 67 Considered with the next change, the Colonist's assessment of government intent appears correct.

Finally, the Board deleted previously approved Opening and Closing Exercises from the Rules and Regulations, allowing only the reading of the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments at the option of trustees for each district. 68 Correspondence to the Colonist reveals public controversy over prayers in the schools before passage of the 1876 Act. Claiming that opening and closing prayers were not only sectarian but also asserted the creed of the Christian church -- the Trinity -- which many people considered blasphemous, "A Heathen" considered this the thin edge of priestcraft. Once admitted to the schools it would mean "good-bye to non-sectarian education" as, if the Protestants were at liberty

67 British Colonist, September 15, 1876.
68 British Columbia, Fifth School Report, p. 49.
to admit the worship of Jesus and the Holy Ghost, the Catholics would feel they should have the power to include prayers addressed to the Virgin Mary and the Saints. "Three Star" replied with a defence of Christianity; another correspondent defended "Heathen;" and "A Parent" contended prayers should be continued as they suited the test of nonsectarianism as far as he and other orthodox Christians were concerned.

Possibly due to the division of public opinion, elimination of recommended prayers occurred with such haste and secrecy that many, including teachers, remained unaware of the change. Jessop, for example, discovered Esquimalt's teacher still using scripture readings and prayer to open school and requested obedience to new regulations. Mr. Nicholson was also reprimanded for using prayers not in accord with the "strictly secular" clause in the Act. In resigning from a school system with which he had no sympathy, Mr. Nicholson advised he was only using prayers approved in 1872 and that he considered these in force until repealed. The Colonist claimed official notice had been given a few days after approval of new regulations but these were not passed by the Board until September 12 the date of Nicholson's resignation. As this teacher was also a minister of the

69 British Colonist, January 27, 1876.
70 Ibid., February 10, 1876.
71 British Columbia, Sixth School Report, p. 16.
72 Ibid., p. 158.
73 British Columbia, Minute Book, p. 124.
gospel he should not have been employed, according to Clause 14, which indicates a willingness to overlook regulations when necessary, but to enforce them when expedient.

Furore over Nicholson touched off further quarrels over religion in the schools with correspondents opposing both government and Colonist. Two writers averred that the greatness of nations depended on recognition of Christianity and the open Bible which led to freedom of thought and action and cleared away mystery and superstition. Only evil would befall the State which banned Christianity from its institutions, prevented all its children from learning any but gutter morality, and left pupils in ignorance of the Supreme Creator.74 A teacher noted that everyone within the school system appeared satisfied with recommended prayers and, until he received a copy, refused to believe the new School Act capable of reaching such a degree of ultraism as to ban all religious teaching.75 Clearly then, the 1876 Act failed to clarify satisfactorily the definition of "secular and non-sectarian" or to still the continuing controversy over religion in the schools.

A curious omission in all this dissension was the neglect of authorized textbooks' content. This was never referred to, except in Mr. Nicholson's letter of resignation, until late in 1876 when Mission Valley's teacher, A. McKenzie, wrote to the Colonist. McKenzie advised the public that he

74 British Colonist, September 16 and 29, 1876.
75 Ibid., October 24, 1876.
continually taught God as creator and governor of the universe; *our duty* to fear, love, and obey Him; the Holy Bible as God's Book to be read with reverence and obeyed; that God sent His Son into the world to *save us* and those who love and serve Him will be happy with Him forever; Biblical anecdotes relating to the creation, the flood, the history of Joseph, Moses, and King David, the Birth of our Saviour; and a wide variety of Christian duties, morals, and maxims. All these lessons could be found in textbooks which every teacher was in duty bound "faithfully and diligently" to teach, under the same law which prohibited religious teaching in the *free, unsectarian, unreligious schools.*"  

No record of any reply to this letter can be located but a letter the following year answered another charge of "godless" schools by noting that God was present in the classrooms "as the texts were teaching the highest morality but no religious dogma." In the same year Bishop Seghers again attacked the "godless" public school system from his pulpit and the Reverend Mr. Jamieson wrote a rebuttal in which he claimed the system was misrepresented in newspapers. In his letter he apparently referred to textbook content in order to refute the Bishop's charges and also censured both Superintendent and Board for not publicly refuting the calumny that religion had no place in the public

76Ibid., October 24, 1876.

77Ibid., January 5, 1877.
Another Colonist correspondent, however, thought the administration wise to let the schools speak for themselves as they were open to any member of the clergy or public to see with their own eyes and make their own decision as to whether or not religion was taught.

Taking this good advice the next chapter will allow the texts to verify or deny a religious presence in "secular and non-sectarian" classrooms of British Columbia.

Possibly Mr. Jamieson was the New Westminster Presbyterian minister but unfortunately this letter cannot be found although its contents can be deduced from replies printed in the Colonist.

British Colonist, May 16, 1877.
CHAPTER THREE

TEXTBOOK RELIGION AND MORALITY

If a mind is not filled with good it will of necessity be open to evil. Education's duty, therefore, is to fill the mind with good and useful notions which will teach

a man to do as he would be done by, to love his neighbour as himself, to honor his superiors, to believe that God scans all his actions, and will reward or punish them, and to see that he who is guilty of falsehood or injustice hurts himself more than anyone else; are not these such notions and prejudices as every wise governor or legislator covet above all things to have firmly rooted in the mind of every individual in his care? . . . What cannot be acquired by every man's reason must be introduced by precept and riveted by custom . . . (in order to) influence their conduct and make them useful members of the state.

Such was the morality taught by the Canadian Series of Textbooks authorized for use in the British Columbia public school system and thereby religion assuredly comprised a large part of the classroom curriculum.

Basically, these new readers constituted the old Irish National Texts revised for Canadian use by an appointed committee of the Ontario school system. While including more material specifically directed to Canadian pupils, the new Series retained many of the selections from the

1 Canadian Series of School Books, Advanced Reader (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1871), p. 360.

2 Parvin, Authorization of Textbooks, p. 39.
Irish Series, particularly stories with a moral and religious content. Jessop, however, based his recommendation of the texts on price rather than moral content. Low cost determined that most parents could purchase the books for their children and that the government could provide them free of charge in the few cases where financial circumstances rendered parents unable to buy the texts. One interesting note in this regard is that Jessop advised the Toronto publishers, James Campbell and Son, that arrangements would be made with the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society to settle the account. While this may have been the most convenient method of payment, it does suggest a rather close church and school relationship.

By the end of July, 1874 every school in British Columbia, with the exception of Hope, employed the new Series. Used continuously in every classroom for the next ten years, the Canadian readers proved the one constant in the continuing religious and moral controversies. As illustrated by the quote at the beginning of this chapter, the texts conceived morality as character training which aimed at the production of industrious, truthful, neat and clean, loyal, obedient, and good citizens cognizant of God's omnipresence. Further, rules of good conduct must be learned

4British Columbia, Provincial Secretary, Board of Education Correspondence 1872-73, June 10, 1872.
5British Columbia, Third School Report, p. 27.
when the mind is most impressionable and not left until the child has learned to reason. Therefore, the texts made no attempt to introduce moral problems which could be reasoned through and merely presented simple and repeated moral tales authoritatively reiterating that the "good" or admirable person behaved in a particular manner and always received a reward while the "bad" individual in disobeying the behavioural code invariably earned punishment.

On the whole, textbook ideas of morality and method fundamentally reflected the prevailing spirit of the nineteenth century. Thus, Sir Thomas Wyse, English member of Parliament and investigator of educational matters, believed a child first feels morality and is incapable of consolidating it with reason until a later age when character, depending on will, is formed and strengthened by training, direction and good habits. To Wyse, order and justice could best be learned, under reasoned guidance, by what was seen and felt by the child in the reality of the school situation. As the character of the English Public Schools, however, was not one from which the child could always learn these high standards, educators such as Matthew Arnold claimed that morality must be taught consciously as well as by example and that

to use knowledge for human welfare a man must in general have first been moralized, and for moralizing him it will not be found easy, I think

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to dispense with those old agents, letters, poetry, religion.  

William T. Harris, a United States Commissioner for Education, likewise stressed morality as beginning in mechanical compliance and developing later into individual responsibility for obedience, punctuality, regularity, silence, and industry.  

Similarly, British Columbia's Rules and Regulations expected public school students to be taught and to learn an unquestioned and unreasoned set of behaviour patterns which would lead to the formation of a "good" character and a "good" citizen.

First, teachers must "impress upon the minds of the pupils the great rule of regularity and order -- A TIME AND PLACE FOR EVERYTHING AND EVERYTHING IN ITS PROPER TIME AND PLACE." Readers provided a plentiful supply of illustrations to help in the teaching and learning of this great rule. Primary books simply reminded children that "we do not lag on the way" to a destination and that, while it might be lovely to spend all day playing and nursing one's doll, a girl must spend a good part of her time in learning to sew and to care for her brother.

7 Matthew Arnold, Reports on Elementary Schools 1852-1882, p. 178, as quoted in Ibid., p. 299.

8 William T. Harris, Report of Committee on Moral Education to the National Council of Education (1883), as cited by Ibid., p. 319.


as well as to read and spell. 11 Similarly, a boy might enjoy playing in the woods more than attending school but, as the crow pointed out, he was not as wise as one crow though as big as twenty for he, unlike the bird, could not build his own home, provide his own clothes, or find his own food. 12 Therefore, if he lazed away his time instead of learning how to support himself, the boy could end up like the lazy fly, who played and idled all summer only to starve and freeze to death in the winter, while the busy little bee, who had worked all summer, remained assured of a warm home and adequate winter food. 13

These early stories and fables clearly defined the place of girls and boys -- and consequently of women and men -- in the world. Conceded some rights to play and leisure, which could facilitate learning, childhood's primary task was preparation for the future. Girls might learn to read and write but their rightful place was in the home. There they would learn the arts of home-making and child care as well as necessary moral lessons which they would, in turn, teach to another generation. Hence, one discovers Little Red Riding Hood caring for the needs of her grandmother when she learned that wasting time dawdling in the woods had enabled the wolf to render her

13 Ibid., p. 34.
Similarly, Bertha learned respect for property while at home making a doll's apron for which she took the ribbon from her mother's hat. Having left the hat where the cat could proceed to play with and destroy it, Bertha was taught to leave other's possessions alone. Also comprehending the same lesson in a home situation, Mary lost a pet canary after opening a box which did not belong to her and Goldilocks learned not to meddle at the home of the three bears.

No heroines appeared in the readers with the possible exception of an Indian "female Crusoe" who deeply impressed Mr. Hearne with her self-reliance. Hearne called her one of the finest women he had seen in any part of North America and contrasted her "cheerful, active, wonderful spirit" to the
desponding helplessness which we too often witness among women, and men too, who with every motive to industry and activity, and every encouragement to exert both, lose all self-reliance under the first shock of adversity, and pass their days in useless indolence and repining.

Even in this story the woman was doing woman's work with the exception of providing for her own food and shelter, which was generally considered a man's duty. Hearne's

14 Ibid., p. 94.
15 Ibid., p. 150.
16 Ibid., p. 136.
17 Canadian Series of School Books, Fourth Book of Reading Lessons (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1867) p. 23. While not identifying Mr. Hearne, this story was probably taken from writings of Samuel Hearne, the explorer.
criticism of helpless women was a rarity and no other stories intimated that women might possibly occupy other roles than wives and mothers.

As girls prepared for womanhood and their place in the home so boys must learn to be men by preparing for life's work and duties. In this endeavour proper employment of time could be a key factor. Humphrey's "Observations on Time" visualized a man's life as a clock, with one o'clock corresponding to seven years of age, two o'clock to fourteen, and so on, and concluded that, if a man were to accomplish anything in this world, he must set about it before time ran out.18 Used properly, time could enable a man to rise above his station and enjoy the success of a poor farmer who rose early, worked hard, and cared for his own business. Soon he found himself in a position to expand his farm by buying land from a rich neighbour who was rapidly losing his wealth because he rose late, spent his days in seeking pleasure, and hired others to do his business.19 A wise man, therefore, would do what must be done without delay or procrastination or else

Next day the fatal precedent will plead,
Thus on, till wisdom is push'd out of life.
Procrastination is the thief of time,
Year after year it steals, till all are fled,
And to the mercies of a moment leaves
The vast concerns of an eternal scene.20

18 Canadian Series of School Books, Third Book of Reading Lessons (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1869), p. 66.
19 Ibid., p. 20.
Axiomatic to the readers was the fact of wisdom gained through knowledge, knowledge essential for man to profit from his labour, and labour necessary for happiness. Unpossessed of the ability to read, write, and cipher man stood at the mercy of others who might not be as honest as they should be and, therefore, unable to plan intelligently for his future. Likewise, without the sciences he would be at the mercy of nature and unable to use his labour to the best advantage. Hence, opportunities existing for education must be gratefully grasped and appreciated even if its benefits do not seem immediately self-evident. John Adams, for example, could see no future benefit from the hated study of Latin. Nevertheless, after a short stint at digging ditches for a living, he decided that Latin was bearable after all and resumed the studies which, in time, brought to him "the highest honors which his country could bestow." Two fables, showing how a crow obtained water by dropping pebbles in a jug to raise the water level and how a cat acquired milk by dipping his paw in the pitcher, further demonstrated the advantages accruing from education. Encouragement to persist until the goal is achieved also appeared in familiar tales of The Hare and the Tortoise, Bruce and the Spider, and Timour and the Ant. Boys who only tried once and gave up were scornfully dis-

21Canadian Series, Third Book, p. 67. Presumably this story referred to the United States President although this is not specifically stated.

22Canadian Series, Second Book, pp 66 and 68.
missed as dreamers and sighers while those who learned that even though failing for sixty-nine times "there is yet hope of success in the seventieth effort" would go on to certain success, their footsteps guided by the motto "never say fail."

Second, having taught the great rule of order, teachers must "promote, both by precept and example, CLEANLINESS, NEATNESS, AND DECENCY." This duty included inspecting children every morning for clean hands, faces, and clothes and for combed hair. Teacher example was not always good, as noted in Chapter Two, but textbooks gave a few precepts which could be stressed in the classroom. Thus, boys and girls always put their things away when the school bell rang for playtime. Frequent stories dogmatically equated cleanliness with goodness and dirtiness with badness as in one poem which asserted that

The idle and bad
Like this little lad,
May be dirty and black to be sure;
But good boys are seen
To be decent and clean,
Although they are ever so poor.  

Stories rarely mentioned decency, in the sense of language and conduct which does not offend good taste or custom. A few pointed out dangers inherent in the consumption of alcohol and the tragedies which could result. One

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26 Canadian Series, First Book, Part Two, p. 10.
27 Canadian Series, Second Book, p. 69.
such tale related the terrible loss of a ship and her crew after the cargo of rum was broached and resulted in the helmsman's inability to see the lighthouse or steer the ship.28 Only one story referred to bad language and contrasted Dick Ford, the dunce who didn't follow rules, with Fred Hughes, the smart, clean, and neat boy, who used no bad words.29

Third, the Rules and Regulations required all teachers to pay the strictest attention to their students' morals by omitting "no opportunity of inculcating the principles of truth and honesty; the duties of respect to superiors, and obedience to all persons placed in authority over them."30 Wording of this duty suggests that the first two instructions referred to qualities which might be desirable but were not necessarily moral. Textbooks appear to confirm this supposition as they devoted at least seven times as much space to truth, respect, and obedience than to cleanliness, neatness, and decency. The possibility of space being allocated according to teaching or learning difficulty also exists although there would seem to be little difference between telling and repeating back a story illustrating honesty than one about cleanliness. On the other hand, as behaviour demonstrates the extent of actual learning and prevailing wisdom considered a child's moral ac-

28 Canadian Series, First Book - Part One, p. 36.
29 Canadian Series, First Book - Part Two, p. 49.
tions largely as habits formed by repeated exposure to example, more likely space would reflect the importance of desired behaviours.

Virtues and rewards of truth and obedience contrasted favourably with ignobilities and punishments accompanying dishonesty and disobedience in textbook stories. Accordingly, "curly hair and pleasant eye," goodness, nobility, and bravery marched hand in hand with truthfulness and honesty while dirtiness, stupidity, and cowardice skulked along with dishonesty. Likewise, love, trust, and a kind of immortality rewarded truth but physical pain, lack of trust, and condemnation by both contemporaries and posterity punished lies. Stories of great men, such as Petrarch and George Washington, best illustrated truth as candor and strict adherence to the truth illuminated both their lives. As "truthfulness is one of the brightest ornaments in a man's character, and one that may be attained by everyone who chooses to exert himself for it,"\(^{31}\) Petrarch and Washington ennobled themselves and their countries, leaving steps "that mankind may follow still."\(^{32}\) Conversely, men who followed dishonest ways and betrayed their country's trust and the people's rights, as Verres had done in ancient Rome, must be punished and "suffer condemnation in the eyes of all candid men" or "undermine the very foundations of social safety, strangle justice, and call down

\(^{31}\) Canadian Series, Third Book, p. 17.

\(^{32}\) Canadian Series, Fifth Book, p. 469.
anarchy, massacre, and ruin on the commonwealth."  

Equated with virtue, truth should be prized above all material things as

The finest cloth that man can sell  
Wears out when years are past;  
The pitcher oft goes to the well,  
But it is broke at last:  
And both alike this moral tell  
VIRTUE ALONE STANDS FAST.  

Children also must learn obedience to superiors in age or knowledge. As the first authority figures encountered by the child, mothers and fathers unfailingly appeared as paragons of wisdom and virtue, and disobedience of their injunctions merited swift punishment. So Little Carrie found when she took her new doll to school against her mother's express command and received prompt retribution as the doll's leg was broken by Carrie's playmates and a rainstorm and drain soaking completed the doll's ruination.  

Similarly ignoring mothers' warnings a mouse and a lamb narrowly escaped the clutches of a cat and a wolf after straying from home. Therefore, "young people should mind what old people say and when danger is near them keep out of the way."  

Furthermore, one must always listen to and obey superior knowledge. Thus, a farmer asked a lawyer for advice on how to succeed and received the caution "never put

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33 Ibid., p. 62.
35 Canadian Series, First Book - Part Two, p. 18.
off till tomorrow what you can do today." Following this dictum the farmer went home, worked until all his hay crop was gathered, and thereby saved it from a storm which came during the night. Examples from military history stressed over and over again this instant obedience to superiors in rank or knowledge and emphasized that instant obedience to commands brought army victories and supremacy to the British navy. Shipwrecks also provided ample proof that disciplined obedience resulted in lives being saved while orders disobeyed or questioned brought disaster. Instant and unquestioning obedience was "good" and the stories left no room for discussion of this assertion's truth; for the value of independent thought; or for any questioning of the status quo.

Fourth, teachers must "cultivate kindly and affectionate feelings among the pupils; to discountenance quarreling, cruelty to animals, and every approach to vice." Again, readers supplied a treasure chest of tales to aid in this endeavour. Many different types of stories and poems taught kindness and concern for others and, as always, rewarded goodness and punished badness. Simple stories in the early texts encouraged respect for age and promoted charitable endeavours. Charity could manifest itself in a gift of money to an old beggar with no family to

37 Canadian Series, Third Book, p. 20.

help him or by a gift of self to help an old man carry a load of wood up a hill, help a blind man home, help an old lady who had broken her stick and could not walk, or cut a widow's firewood and clear her walk. Bestowal of these gifts always earned a reward in the form of money, treats, possessions, or deep inner enjoyment as the giver found that "the best fun is always to be found in doing something that is kind and useful."\(^{39}\)

Arriving at the third reader the child began to discover that kindness and concern must be extended farther than the limits of personal experience. While espousing the brotherhood of man, however, the texts also fostered derogatory stereotypes and nationalism which could instil feelings of superiority and pride of race. No attempt at reconciliation of these opposites can be discerned in the readers but perhaps it is true that "literature does not try to provoke in us the response of action, and therefore does not need to resolve its ambiguities."\(^{40}\)

Nevertheless, ambivalence surrounded the concept of kindness or brotherhood. Thus, stories of the Destruction of the Red River Colony and Cartier at Hochelaga portrayed some native Indians as warlike, painted demons who preyed on the industrious, and thereby virtuous, settlers.\(^{41}\) On the other hand, "Industry and Intelligence" pictured In-

\(^{39}\) Canadian Series, Second Book, p. 195.


\(^{41}\) Canadian Series, Fourth Book, pp. 26 and 93.
dians as backward and indolent people who needed to be taught the value of labour in order that they might profit from the abundance surrounding them and raise their standard of living to an approximation of that of their white brethren. At the same time, these children of nature already possessed virtues which others would do well to imitate and deserved the same respect and affection which should be shown to all men. William Penn, for example, always treated Indians as equals, paid them a fair price for any land purchased, and scrupulously observed treaty provisions. According to the readers, Penn believed that kindness was both cheap and mighty and far more powerful than the sword in compelling Indians to abide by their bargains, and saw his faith rewarded as the Indians responded to him in like manner.

Nevertheless, many stories of national heroes exalted use of the sword. Well calculated to fan the embers of incipient nationalism, exciting stories told of patriots fighting for their countries against alien hordes who would impose themselves and their way of life. Similarly to depicting Indians as both savages and noblemen, however, the texts also interspersed patriotic stories with those which satirized or denounced nationalism and patriotism as concepts evoking all the treachery, cruelty, and avarice of which man is capable and destroying the natural bond of brotherhood.

43 Canadian Series, Third Book, p. 178.
Accordingly, one selection satirized presumed national traits as a "Baffled Traveller" toured Europe. Behaving as his natural Yorkshire self, he quickly encountered a wall of immovable taciturnity in Holland and so acted as a Dutch merchant in France only to be castigated and scorned by the trade-despising French. Attempts to change character to meet expressed preferences in each country continued, with each nation despising what another prized, until the poor traveller desisted from his futile efforts and simply begged the Poles to "let me know what to say." Another story denounced war as Tubal Cain, the armaments maker, suddenly realized the evil he had committed in aiding those with a lust for conquering and carnage and turned his talents to the making of the first ploughshare so that

... men, taught wisdom from the past,
In friendship join'd their hands;
Hung the sword in the hall,
The spear on the wall,
And ploughed the willing lands:

Still, the evils of oppression and tyranny must be countered whenever and wherever they appeared. So the sword and the spear must be kept in readiness but better yet, cried poets and writers, remove man-made barriers between peoples and end one nation's power to enslave others. Allowing narrow waterways and mountains to form borders

44 Canadian Series, Fourth Book, p. 203.
45 Canadian Series, Fifth Book, p. 51.
and make enemies of men who would otherwise be joined by
the "natural bond of brotherhood," those with power preyed
upon their weaker fellows. But any man who was a man must
necessarily "blush and hang his head, to think himself a
man" when witnessing others of his kind chain, whip, and
degrade brothers whose only sin lay in possessing a dif-
ferent coloured skin. 46

Extending this brotherhood to animals, also crea-
tures of God, the readers portrayed animals as having a sim-
ilar capacity for pain and hurt as did humans and stressed
the necessity of kindness to animals in human terms. As
one would not willingly hurt parents or oneself so birds'
nests must not be disturbed and cause pain to the parent
birds who would lose their children or to the baby birds de-
prived of parents. 47 Full recompense always accompanied
love and consideration for animals. Thus, a vicious horse
became a trusted friend following gentle and humane treat-
ment and a beloved dog saved his young mistress from death.
On the other hand, punishment swiftly ensued after cruelty
to animals as Jack discovered when thrown over a bank by a
horse he had spurred with a pin stuck in the heel of his
shoe. Similarly, a ship's Captain was rescued from the sea
by a Newfoundland dog whose tail had knocked a dish from the
table and been cut off by the Captain. While this rescue

47 Canadian Series, First Book - Part Two, p. 56.
might appear as a reward for cruelty the Captain suffered the pangs of conscience as he repined that he would give his right arm to be able to repair the injury he had done and it would be a source of grief to him as long as he lived. 48

Meddling and greed were the only vices specifically discountenanced in the readers. Stories of Bertha, Mary, and Goldilocks illustrated meddling 49 and simple stories warned of greed. A boy tried to take too many nuts out of a jar and got none until he let half go and a dog grasped at the meat held by his reflection and lost what he already had so that children should learn

he who is greedy, and grasps at too much, is very apt to lose what he has. Be content with what you have, even if it be little, and never give up the substance for the shadow. 50

The classic symbol of greed's futility was King Midas and the story of a miser who tried to cheat the finder of his lost money out of his promised reward, only to lose the entire sum when a judge awarded it to the discoverer, graphically illumined greed's penalty. 51

According to the 1872 School Act, "the highest morality shall be inculcated" but the Rules and Regulations made no mention of this requirement. Possibly then the Board of Education intended the previously listed virtues

48 Canadian Series, Fourth Book, p. 93.
49 Supra, p. 51.
50 Canadian Series, Second Book, p. 36.
51 Canadian Series, Third Book, p. 31.
and moral attributes as an explication of the highest morality. However, the Rules and Regulations of 1879 restricted the list of teacher duties, in regard to moral education, to a simple reiteration of the School Act clause that "the highest morality shall be inculcated but no religious dogmas or creed shall be taught." Now it became the pupils' duty to be clean and tidy; to avoid idleness, profanity, falsehood, deceit, quarreling, and fighting; to be kind and courteous; obedient to his instructors; diligent in his studies; and to conform to the rules of the school.\[52\] This change appears to indicate that the sum total of the duties which had now become the students' responsibility did not comprise the whole of morality. Nowhere in the various Acts or Rules and Regulations could anyone find a specific explanation of the highest morality which caused as much confusion for nineteenth century teachers as for today's historian. Nevertheless, the wording of clauses containing the phrase "highest morality" provides a clear intimation of religious morality without sectarian dogmas or creeds. The textbooks tend to support such an inference as they taught a plain Christian doctrine and morality in addition to the previously discussed virtues.

Biblical stories of the "Birth of our Saviour" and the healing acts and teachings of Jesus Christ presented definitely Christian instruction. More sectarian, or Protestant, teachings also occurred in stories such as the "Death and Sacrifice of Christ" from which children

\[52\] British Columbia, Ninth Annual Report, p. 349.
learned that Christ's death prevented the ruin of mankind from the misery of guilt and the evil of sin and that the awful mystery of redemption revealed the justice of Divine Government.  

Theology in the texts concentrated on the next world rather than the present. In this new world those reconciled to God, through Christ, would rise in a new spiritual, incorruptible, and glorious body ready to "enter into the regions of immortality." Reiterating this theme throughout the readers assured their audience that while separation and the loss of friends occurred in this world

There is a world above  
Where parting is unknown;  
A long eternity of love,  
Form'd for the good alone;  
And faith beholds the dying here  
Translated to that glorious sphere!

Moreover, this world's miseries must be endured and not questioned as God sent them "as part of a discipline to improve our grace and prepare us for His presence." Therefore, in contrast to other types of stories in the readers which held out the hope of self-betterment as a reward for hard work and solid preparation, religious stories preached acceptance of life's vicissitudes and one's station in life as the will of God. Hence, a blind boy pos-

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53 Canadian Series, Fourth Book, p. 344.  
54 Ibid., p. 350.  
55 Ibid., p. 366.  
56 Ibid., p. 350.
sessed God's blessing in spite of his handicap as he could still hear the song of the birds, smell the scent of the roses, and hear the bleat of the sheep. Likewise, the blind child whose first glimpse of light would be the glorious brilliance of heaven received a double blessing and the dumb child's soul opened wide for the gifts of joy and love and its affliction taught others the value of tenderness.  

Similarly, death came as the great leveller -- consuming and corrupting the bodies of both high and low -- which even kings could not escape as Thackeray graphically illustrated in "The Death of George the Third." In view of death's inevitability, one selection insisted that energy spent in trying to change one's social status or to alter conditions was energy wasted. Far better to use it in developing honesty, truth, goodness, the mastery of passions, knowledge, and true friends and in preparing the soul for death. Striving for these virtues man

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\text{... is freed from servile bonds} \\
\text{Of hope to rise or fear to fall;} \\
\text{And having nothing, yet hath all.}
\]

Such a man would have everything as he would earn that everlasting life which denied the victory of the grave and the sting of death. But the wicked, living as though their

57 Canadian Series, Fifth Book, pp. 223 and 234-36.  
58 Ibid., p. 278.  
59 Canadian Series, Advanced Reader, p. 71.
mortal body were all and the soul nothing, having stored up only earthly treasure would not approach death in faith and hope. At the hour of their death would come the realization that the soul was everything and the body only corruptible flesh and, in a frenzy of fear and despair, the wicked would realize that they must now face the dreadful judgement of God alone without being able to accept the Church's assurances of the continuing possibility of forgiveness and salvation. Finally tearing itself from the body of the evil man, the soul would find itself alone at the foot of the awful tribunal facing the probable punishment of eternal damnation and separation from God.\textsuperscript{60} Thus, while men were given the choice of using wealth with prudence or in a man's natural way or of hoarding it, the best way was to give riches away to help those in need.\textsuperscript{61}

Christ's teachings can readily be discerned in the above stories which merely interpret such well-known dicta as "take therefore no thought for the morrow" and "lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal."\textsuperscript{62} The best use of possessions illustrates the parable of the Talents. In addition, Christ taught that enemies should be treated with love and understanding. Thus the

\textsuperscript{60}Canadian Series, \textit{Fifth Book}, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{61}Canadian Series, \textit{Third Book}, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{62}Matthew 6:19, 34.
afflictor would be raised to a higher moral plane rather than the afflicted reducing himself to the level of his adversary. As an example of the miracles achieved by loving enemies one story related how Joe intended to obtain revenge by tripping Fritz, who had wrecked Joe's boat, while he was carrying eggs to his home. Meanwhile, a cousin reminded Joe that Jesus had said to overcome evil with good rather than being overcome by evil and that "if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." These "coals" would burn up malice, envy, ill-feeling, and a good deal of rubbish and leave cold hearts feeling as warm and pleasant as possible. Therefore, Joe changed his plans, treated Fritz with kindness, and made a good friend as Fritz became so ashamed of his conduct that he repaired the boat. Plainly true happiness could only be found in this manner and "if all families were careful to keep a supply of Joe Benton's coals on hand, and make good use of them, how happy they would be."63

As well as being taught the Christian idealism of self-sacrifice and concern for others illustrated by the foregoing children constantly received the reminder that God created all things in heaven and in earth. Simple homilies teaching that "it was God that made us"64 and "we owe all we have or are to God — He keeps us in life"65

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63 Canadian Series, Third Book, p. 10.  
64 Canadian Series, First Book - Part One, p. 12.  
65 Ibid., p. 13.
gradually gave way to more sophisticated stories, Hymns, psalms, and verses continued the theme of God as Creator of the sky, the grass, the flowers, the sun, the birds, the cows, the horses, the water, the fish, and the trees. Being created for his use and enjoyment, men should be properly thankful and not abuse the great gifts bestowed on him. Accordingly, a man stopped a little boy, in the process of trying to drown a squirrel, and reminded him that

God made that squirrel and life is sweet to it as it is to you; and why will you torture to death a little innocent creature that God has made? ... when tempted to kill any poor little innocent animal or bird, remember that God does not allow us to kill his creatures for fun. 66

Addison's "Creation" and Adam's "Morning Hymn" continued the commemoration of God as the author of all and Goodriel, Milton, Coleridge, Moore, and others celebrated the glories of the sea, of light, and of all the natural wonders made all the more glorious and awesome by the realization that the one great Creator made them all.

Science received recognition as a necessity for the understanding of nature but, at the same time, must also lead to a deeper appreciation of the Creator. Unlocking the mysteries of the world science led man to a deeper understanding of the infinite wisdom and goodness of God as

not a step can we take in any direction without perceiving the most extraordinary traces of design; and ... if we knew the whole scheme of

66 Canadian Series, Third Book, p. 81.
Providence, every part would appear to be in harmony with a plan of absolute benevolence.  

Likewise, law, order, and good government came as the result of God's actions and men's obedience to His will. Believing that God gave the law to man through Moses and the institution of the family, one selection asserted that, as "law's seat is the bosom of God," all men admired her as the "mother of their peace and joy" and endeavoured to obey the law as one means of doing God's will. Great nations, such as Britain, achieved their stature only by virtue of partaking "in the highest degree of the mild and peaceable spirit of Christianity."  

Thus, fortune, honour, and happiness for the people followed as Christianity led to the acceptance of the principle of justice. Incumbent on the citizens of any nation accepting these Christian principles were duties to labour that this happy condition of existence may remain, . . . guard the piety . . . and watch over the spirit of justice which exists in these times. First he must take care that the matters of God are not polluted, that the Christian faith is retained in purity and in perfection; and then turning to human affairs, let him strive for spotless, incorruptible justice; . . . .  

No hint of possibly differing interpretations of God and His Word appeared in the texts. In this way they avoided any necessary explanations of church creeds or

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68 Canadian Series, Advanced Reader, p. 138.
69 Canadian Series, Fifth Book, p. 320.
70 Ibid., p. 306.
dogmas which, if taught, would make the readers definitely contrary to the rule of non-sectarianism. One story came perilously close to the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination by inferring God's selectivity in answering prayers for salvation. However, the tale gave no direct explanation for only eight passengers being saved from a storm-wracked ship in spite of all victims praying for help, nor for only five of the eight being left alive for eventual rescue by a passing ship.\(^7\) This story proved an exception to the prevailing teaching that God would instruct children, through prayer and the Bible, in such a way that no doubt would remain as to what His will consisted of and by what means it could best be accomplished.

Similarly, other selections assured children of God's omnipresence and the sole necessity of calling on Him in faith for sure and certain aid. Thus, one man remembered his mother's advice to "call upon the Lord my dear son, when you are in trouble" and was immediately filled with such energy that he saved his friend from drowning.\(^2\) Likewise, the pilot of the steamer "Lake Erie" saved all the passengers and crew after calling on God to give him the energy to remain at his post and steer the fire-wracked ship to shore.\(^3\) Latreille received deliverance by way of a beetle in his prison cell as

\(^7\) Canadian Series, First Book - Part Two, p. 34.
\(^2\) Canadian Series, Third Book, p. 35.
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 76.
if it pleases God to deliver anyone from prison or from death an insect may be His messenger. . . . for the smallest and least of His creatures obey His will and are not beneath His notice.  

Throughout these stories children were learning a Christian ethic. As it is impossible to divorce the ethic from its religious base the facts of God as the creator, father, and judge; of Christ the son and redeemer; and of the Holy Spirit as helper and interpreter had to be established. It then became possible to teach the Christian morality of love for God and man and the essential brotherhood of all creation. In addition, a Christian justification for moral behaviour could be established so that one attempted to obey the Bible's moral ideals because God wished it so; it pleased God; and it also would gratify one's fellow man, also the child of God.

Truth, honesty, obedience, and other virtues gave personal satisfaction but could also grant a better reward consistent with a higher morality. So the child learned that if he was good and did God's will he would be taken "as a lamb to His fold" whereas the bad could not go to Him. Similarly, the good child told no lies as untruthfulness was against the will of God and, therefore, a sin. A loving, dutiful, and mild child pleased parents, brothers, and sisters who would become, in turn, more loving and considerate and God would rejoice in the resulting happier family life.

Far better rewards too would be

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74 Ibid., p. 127.
75 Canadian Series, First Book - Part Two, p. 9.
76 Canadian Series, Second Book, p. 106.
received by being kind and useful to others than could ever be gained by doing nothing except for monetary gain. John, for example, helped a man haul a cartload of corn up a difficult hill and then endured the jeering of his peers for receiving no money for his services and obtaining a bad mark in school for his tardiness. John's reward, however, was far greater than his friends realized as

in the first place, he had the approval of his conscience, which was worth something. In the second place, he had the pleasure of doing good, which was worth something. In the third place he had the gratitude and love of the man, also worth something. And lastly and best of all, he had the approbation of God, who has promised that even a cup of cold water given to a disciple shall not lose its reward.  

Religion then had a definite place in the curriculum of a supposedly secular and non-sectarian school system in British Columbia and the highest morality appeared a synonym for religious morality. All children taught in the system would be subject to these religious teachings as it can be safely assumed that teachers used the texts as the primary means of instruction as required by law. It is also safe to assume that a five or six year old entering the system would start on page one of the first part of the first reader and continue through to at least the last page of the fifth reader in completing elementary school.

A study of the textbook stories reveals no men-

77Canadian Series, Third Book, p. 5.
tion of the Church, as a teacher, or its sacraments. In addition, salvation came to man by God's grace, through Jesus Christ, by virtue of faith which rendered salvation a direct God-Man relationship with only Christ as intermediary. Together with the emphasis on the Bible as the means through which man came to know God, the omission of sacramental and liturgical tenets plus the espoused salvation doctrine made the religious teachings not only Christian but Protestant Christian. It may be true that an Ontario Roman Catholic Archbishop directed the compilation and approved of the Canadian Series, as claimed by Mr. Jamieson, but it is also true that Roman Catholics could supplement textbook teachings with specific church dogma in the Ontario separate schools. British Columbia's public school system did not permit such sectarian teaching and, therefore, religious instruction included in the texts would be considered wholly Protestant by the Roman Catholic Church in British Columbia.

Comparing the system and the texts, it is clear that the readers' morality did not always agree with the milieu in which it was taught. Thus, texts stressed education's value while many parents only reluctantly supported the school system and removed their children as early as possible; neatness and cleanliness were insisted on in sometimes disordered and dirty surroundings; superiors de-

78 Supra, p. 45, n. 78.
manded respect while becoming involved in acrimonious and demeaning disputes; and an avowedly secular and non-sectarian system taught a religious and Protestant faith and morality.

As pointed out by the Colonist, a good moral tone might be set in the schools but the young people of the province still suffered from a sad deficiency in morals, character, and taste. Nothing in a young society, claimed the editor, supported school morality in a way which would lead to the gradual formation of a higher standard and, therefore, home training proved the essential ingredient in teaching children to cherish true values and rise above the prevailing evils of coarse lives, obscene language and activities, irreverence, and discourtesy.79

In essence, texts taught a personal morality which attempted to create thoughtful, kind, clean, and decent citizens fit to live and work together in an orderly and law-abiding society. Showing little concern for the formation of a corporate ethic, readers pictured nations as collections of individuals whose actions could destroy or exalt. Hence, society could be destroyed by an accumulation of small wrongs in the same way as a great ship sank because of the worms in one piece of wood.80 On the other hand, a nation could achieve greatness through the small actions of its good citizens just as one brick at a time

79 British Colonist, July 25, 1876.
built large edifices; one step at a time traversed mountains; countless drops of water composed the mighty ocean; and

Little deeds of kindness,
Little words of love,
Make the earth an Eden
Like the heaven above.81

If small things could change the world it is conceivable that textbook teachings could improve the public school system. Therefore, it might be expected that legislation would amend the School Act in accordance with the religious and moral tenets of the texts and that parents, trustees, teachers, and the general public would alter attitudes and habits. Whether or not such changes did take place is properly the concern of the following chapter which will consider the school system following ten years exposure to the Canadian Series of School Books.

81Ibid., p. 158.
Literature's value rests mainly in its ability to depict and bring to life the human condition. Perceptive portrayals of the many facets of humanity allow the reader insight into diverse characters so that we get inside them, and thereby understand better how to live inside ourselves; we stretch the skin of isolation inside which each of us lives. But it is by no means evident that we know how to act better in any specific encounter.¹

Thus, it is impossible to prove whether or not textbook literature exerted any influence on the school system and public attitudes and habits. It is certain, however, that while much remained the same some changes could be noted in system and public opinion, during the last few years of the nineteenth century.

By 1881, for example, the pendulum of popular conviction appeared to be swinging to the support of religious teaching in the public schools. The Methodist Church passed a resolution declaring that Protestants wanted the highest morality inculcated in the public schools and, therefore, pupils should have the precepts and principles of Jesus Christ impressed upon their minds.² Noting that persecution

¹ Bronowski, The Identity of Man, p. 69.
² British Colonist, April 30, 1880.
was as evident in forbidding religion as in enforcing it, the Presbyterian Church called for reinstatement of 1872 prayers, from which pupils could be excused on request.³ Reversing its stand of 1876, the Colonist declared that the "false step which banished religion from the schools" must be changed and prayers reinstituted as the first step towards moral regeneration in the province.⁴ Similarly, "Point Blank" envisioned the destruction of all religious feeling pursuant to a ban on religious education in a system combining all classes and creeds in one school. In turn, such a lack of belief would demolish the institution of the family and impair order in the State.⁵ And "A.B.C." rejoiced in the delightful contrast to opinion in 1876 when the secular reign had begun and God and religion sinfully divorced from the schools.⁶

Perhaps the times seemed propitious for the resumption of the Roman Catholic Church campaign for government aid to church schools. In any event, stating that the British Columbia school law favoured only the irreligionists in the province and that the absence of religious instruction was a source of evil bringing forth immoral youths, the Catholic Bishops requested that British Columbia grant the same rights to Catholics as those ceded to the Protes-

³Ibid., May 2, 1880.
⁴Ibid., February 25, 1881.
⁵Ibid., June 1, 1881.
⁶Dominion-Pacific Herald, March 5, 1881.
tant minority in Quebec. John Robson, editor of the Herald, admitted that banning religion in the public schools was a blot on the system but claimed the intent had been to facilitate accommodation of all religions rather than to satisfy irreligionists. At the same time, Robson resisted demands for a publicly funded system of denominational schools, particularly as no-one could guarantee that a majority of Catholics in the province either wanted or would support separate schools. Nevertheless, one of the Colonist's correspondents insisted that denominational schools enjoyed the support of a large segment of the public and that all Catholics, together with a good percentage of Protestants, objected to sending their children to schools where religion was excluded.

Further letters noted that, as the public school system had been condemned by both Protestant and Roman Catholic Bishops, the issue of religious education needed serious and immediate consideration. Notwithstanding petitions and protests, however, the Legislature refused any aid to church schools, conducted no investigation of the religious question, and made no changes in wording of the secular and non-sectarian clause in ensuing School Acts. The sole reflection of the alleged demand for religious training in the public schools proved to be the gradually

8 Dominion-Pacific Herald, March 9, 1881.
9 British Colonist, February 1, 1883.
increasing number of schools employing the Lord's Prayer as an opening or closing exercise. Thus, a total of only 19 of 51 public schools using the prayer in 1881 increased to 78 of 127 schools and divisions in 1888.  

In spite of refusals to allow additional religious education or exercises, the public school system enjoyed a growing acceptance in the province. Census records show a total of 15,244 children between the ages of 5 and 14 in British Columbia in 1891 and 26,895 in 1901. At the same time, elementary schools enrolled 10,461 in 1892 and 23,119 in 1902 with average daily attendance increasing to 63.29 percent, a record unequalled in any province except Quebec. Attributing part of this acceptance to the Public School Act of 1879 which extended the school franchise to the wives of voters, Superintendent S. D. Pope noted the "awakening of no little enthusiasm in both civic and rural districts." Increased interest in the workings and success of the schools appeared to augur well for pupils' study and work habits and teachers' devotion to duty.

10 British Columbia, Tenth Annual Report of the Public Schools by C. C. McKenzie, Superintendent (Victoria: 1881), p. 270; and Seventeenth Annual Report of the Public Schools by S. D. Pope, Superintendent (Victoria: 1888), Table A.

11 Canada, Census of 1931, Table 9, V. 1, p. 392.

12 British Columbia, One Hundred Years, p. 68.


On the other hand, teachers still faced the problem of population mobility. In his annual report for 1889 Kamloops school principal, E. Stuart Wood, commented on the adverse effects of migratory habits. Wood noted that, of a total of 45 students, 12 had come from outside his district and that by June there were 22 absentees of which 13 had left the area, 6 had gone ranching, and 2 were ill.\(^\text{15}\) Moreover, children accustomed to a nomadic existence and the life of a mining camp suddenly found themselves expected to conform to school regulations. As a result they became a constant source of disciplinary problems, particularly as most parents expressed little interest in school progress or attendance.\(^\text{16}\)

According to reports, home and social environments in the cities also left much to be desired and worked against teacher influence and authority. Hector Stramberg criticized the "vicious system of home training" of many of his New Westminster pupils as well as the effect of the city environment.\(^\text{17}\) Victoria Boys' School principal, J. A. Halliday, likewise complained of the adverse influence of the streets on his students but noted that the problem was country-wide rather than a strictly localized concern.


Halliday believed the difficulty largely due to "the laxity of home discipline and particularly to the neglect on the part of parents to strictly supervise the way in which boys and girls spend their evenings." Comments of both Stramberg and Halliday largely echoed observations and laments of the Colonist in 1876.

Combined with mobility and environmental problems, teachers often had to cope with older children entering the system for the first time and each possessing varying skills. With many schools still ungraded teachers could be faced with situations, such as that described by Inspector Burns, in which some children in the class could read and write but know nothing of arithmetic, immigrant children from the United Kingdom might be well schooled in all but Canadian subjects, and children from the United States deficient in grammar as well as in Canadiana.

In addition, much of the population apparently still placed little value on education except of the "practical" kind. Stramberg accused many parents of keeping their children in school for purely materialistic, not educational, reasons and regarding school as useful only if it prepared young people in the kind of knowledge which would enable them to make a commercial profit from their

18 British Columbia, Eighteenth School Report, p. 231
19 Supra, p. 75.
higher education. Ebenezer Robson, in a speech to the Teachers' Institute, also noted many people believed that emphasis on a liberal education in the schools spoiled a good number of potential farmers and mechanics. Similarly, the Mainland Guardian questioned the value of a progressively more pedantic public school system which neglected the elementary subjects whereby youth would be directed towards the occupations prevailing in the country. To the newspaper, knowledge of the plain principles of the threshing machine, or the common sense routine of the merchant's office, would be of more value to students than the dubious knowledge "of a Greek dipthong or the speeches of Mardonius and Artabanus at the Council Board of Susa." Certainly, education seemed a waste of time to older boys who could earn almost as much in the mines, for work requiring little strength or skill, as adults earned in the Atlantic states. As the principal of Wellington school pointed out, even should a boy distinguish himself in his studies the future held little for him unless his parents could afford higher education. Graduation from public school only fitted a boy for a clerkship or a teaching position. Neither provided the monetary rewards of unskilled labouring jobs and clerkships were few and not too

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22 British Colonist, July 13, 1889.
23 Mainland Guardian, February 5, 1881.
easily obtained. In the cities dissatisfaction with liberal education could result in situations similar to that described in 1887 by New Westminster High School principal Stramberg. Students in that city who found the "restraints and tasks inseparable from the successful working of our present system of education" not to their liking were apt to escape the *taedium vitae* by "attending, in turn, each of the sectarian colleges we have here."25

Denominational schools, however, had difficulties of their own in attempting to remain operational. Possibly, the popular bias against liberal education played some part in private school problems. Alternatively, declining support for sectarian schools could be attributed to parents, forced to finance public schools by taxes, being pragmatic enough to believe they should derive some benefit from the public system by enrolling their children in it. Again, continued apathy towards religious education might bear some responsibility for the plight of religious schools.

Bishop Sillitoe noted both these latter reasons in his reports of continuing difficulties in operating Anglican schools on the mainland. Columbia College for girls and Lorne College for boys in New Westminster depended on church funds from England and, when these were reduced in 1884, diocese and schools became practically insol-

25 Ibid., p. 212.
vent. Sillitoe reported that few of his parishioners were wealthy, that a good secular education could be obtained in the public schools, and that people remained difficult to convince in regard to the fatal defect in a non-denominational system of teaching -- namely the lack of religious instruction -- which church schools had attempted to correct at the express wish of the parish people. Now these same parishioners refused full support of Anglican schools and sent their children to Roman or free schools indiscriminately, seemingly without caring what type of religious training they received or if they received any at all. Eventually Columbia College closed and the church concentrated educational funds at Yale to counter a perceived irreligion and public depravity. Including Indian education the Yale school received a government grant and $60.00 per Indian student which, together with a grant from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and staffing by the Sisters of the Community of All Hallow's, ensured sufficient funds and the ability to extend education to white children in Yale and district. Another Anglican school opened in the Nicola Valley and moved to Kamloops in 1885 but experienced continuing difficulties because of the large number of bachelor ranchers in the area who made a habit of marrying young lady teachers hired by the

26Gowen, Church Work, p. 137.
27Ibid., p. 93.
28Peake, Anglican Church, pp. 73-74.
school. Failure to open a boys' school in Vancouver in 1892 led the Bishop to conclude that it would be hopeless to attempt competition with the public school system until his diocesans cared far more for religious education than they did at present.\(^\text{30}\)

Anglican schools on the Island continued to survive for primarily historical reasons and the predominantly British character of the society. Roman Catholic schools also continued to exist in spite of growing financial difficulties and lack of whole-hearted support from the Catholic population, largely due to being operated by teaching religious orders. Presbyterian and Methodist schools were non-existent except for the short-lived Methodist High School opened in New Westminster in 1881 and closed in 1884 when a public high school opened. Columbia Methodist College also provided some secondary education, in addition to its theological training, for boarders from outside the city.\(^\text{31}\) Bishop Sillitoe clearly considered public schools non-religious but they appeared acceptable to the majority of parents in the province and apparently to most of the Protestant clergy as agitation for more religion in the public system, noted in 1880 to 1883, disappeared. As previous demands had produced no government action, however,

\(^{29}\)Kamloops Daily Sentinel, June 29, 1968.

\(^{30}\)Gowen, Church Work, p. 192.

it is possible that most people simply gave up any hope of change. Certainly, only one protest against government policy can be located in the nineteenth century after 1883. As noted, the School Act of 1876 had barred clergymen from official positions in the school system and this ban was reaffirmed in later Acts. Apparently the clause was overlooked until 1891, however, as only in that year did the Ministerial Association of British Columbia petition against "unjust and offensive discrimination." Basing its protest on the assertion that "any man who pays for government ought to have all the rights and privileges of a citizen," the Association requested removal of the clause as "the character and education of the class proscribed should protect them from the stigma which this clause casts upon them."  

On the other hand, Protestant clergymen could have been fully aware of the continuing, if largely unofficial, influence of their churches in the school system. Thus, school buildings could still serve as church centres and church premises as public classrooms particularly in newer communities. Salmon Arm trustees granted the Methodist Church permission to use school premises for church services and continued to do so in spite of teacher objections. Mr. Irwin, the teacher, contended that church people left the classroom dirty and that church services upset the

school. Church authorities denied the first of Mr. Irwin's charges and counter-attacked with the claim that it had been necessary to clean the schoolroom before services as well as after. Attributing most of the trouble to political strife existing between Mr. Irwin and some of the trustees, the Department of Education dismissed the teacher following an investigation.33 Rossland's first school opened in the Methodist Church in 1895 and the pastor, D. D. Birks, was employed as teacher. This first school, opened by the settlers in view of government refusal to consider building until assured of a stable community, was replaced by a government school in the following year and Mr. Birks resigned in favour of a lay teacher.34 Also worthy of note is Hector Stromberg's teaching record as principal of both the Methodist High School in New Westminster and also of the public high school which replaced the church institute.

At the same time, Protestant clergymen played a very prominent part in the Teachers' Institutes. Reports of Institute meetings prove the almost invariable presence of clergymen, their treatment as particularly honoured guests, and the opening of meetings with prayer. Hence, at the January 2, 1890 dinner meeting of the Mainland Teachers' Institute the four clergymen in attendance sat in the places of honour, together with members of the school

34Rossland Miner, March 1, 1962.
board. At the following meeting teachers conferred honourary membership on the Reverend Messrs. Robson, Hobson, Pedley, McLaren, and McLeod. Donald Fraser, minister of Second Presbyterian Church in Victoria, actively participated in meetings and addressed the Convention in 1885 on "morality as it should be taught in our schools, confining his remarks to the demands of the School Act that no religious dogmas or creed should be taught." In 1886 he again presented a talk on morality and made "valid suggestions" for its teaching. Ebenezer Robson, of the Methodist Church, endorsed Fraser's views in advising teachers that they were laying the foundations of students' lives both here and beyond. Therefore, precept and example must be employed as well as sound scholarship and the highest morality must be inculcated.

Considering the many speeches on the subject, it is apparent that confusion continued to surround the meaning of "highest morality." However, as teachers called on clergymen for explanations it is also clear that a relationship between morality and religion existed in the

35*Vancouver Daily World*, January 2, 1890.
38*British Colonist*, July 16, 1886.
teachers' assumptions. At least one member of the public concurred with this view as a letter in the Colonist recommended that every school should have two charts inscribed, in clear type, with the Ten Commandments, the Golden Rule, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the Great Commandment as the basis of moral training.  

Whether or not clergy advice alleviated difficulties and how many teachers actually taught specific moral lessons are largely matters for conjecture. Most school reports consisted of statistical records of enrollment and attendance plus short reports of general progress, discipline, and conditions. High schools, however, provided more detailed and philosophical discourses which reveal that one principal firmly believed children in the public schools received insufficient preparation in moral education. Therefore, according to Stramberg, the restraints and severe discipline required in higher education could not be borne by pupils which proved the necessity of an ethical catechism in the high schools and higher grades of the elementary schools. In addition, he stipulated that "boys and girls seeking promotion be required to pass an examination in practical and theoretical morality." Receiving no support for his suggestion and no catechism for the schools, Stramberg stressed the same need eight years later.

40 Ibid., February 28, 1890.

later in view of teachers' needs for help and guidance to unfold whatever of latent good there is in the hearts of the young and so to develop the fruits and form those ideals that are the groundwork not only of a moral but also of a truly religious life.42

Victoria's principal also sensed a need for more moral education but proposed stressing vocal music and linear drawing rather than a catechism. Adding these two subjects to the curriculum, he believed, would awaken the students to beauty and make them

stoutly zealous to show that grander beauty of moral sentiment and action which tells of an origin from that heavenly land which sin has not defiled and sorrow has not defaced.43

Obviously, these two principals did not believe the public schools adequately trained students in morality. Moreover, comments in the reports definitely equated morality with religion. As Inspectors seemingly felt impelled in report after report to remind teachers not to overlook moral education, to stress its importance, and to enumerate its component parts, it can be inferred that teachers tended to avoid any explicit moral training for their students. Undoubtedly many teachers remained wary of the whole realm of moral education, particularly following the Nicholson controversy and the ambiguity of the "highest morality," and preferred to ignore this teaching lest they inadvert-


43 British Columbia, Twenty-First Annual Report of the Public Schools by S. D. Pope, Superintendent (Victoria: 1892), p. 188.
tently stray into forbidden territory. Such fears would be enhanced by the controversy aroused by a teacher accused of speaking slightingly of religion and advising his students that they might go to church all their lives and never learn anything. Publicly chastising the teacher, the Colonist reminded him, and the public, that atheism or infidelism had no more place in the schools than religion. 44

Meanwhile, teachers not only faced ambiguities in regard to moral content but in teaching method as well. Reminding teachers that one of the main objects of school instruction should be to encourage "reasoning rather than mere memorizing" 45 and thereby "evoke . . . the pupil's own efforts, to produce self-reliance, and to gain consciousness of capacity," 46 Inspectors deplored rote learning as the predominant teaching method. Faced with constantly changing, unstable classroom populations, due to a migratory work force in the province and lack of a fixed school entry date, many teachers considered rote learning the only feasible method. To the Colonist, however, such teaching resulted in pupils' minds being treated as sponges, soaking up learning but not expected to do anything. Consequently, children had no idea of how to use their brains outside the

44 British Colonist, November 7, 1885.
classroom and must exist in an adult world by trial and error. Therefore, as poring over books did not equal education the schools' aim should not be to turn out sponges but to produce men with trained bodies and minds.\(^47\)

At the same time, no learning at all could be achieved without discipline. Moral education specifically required students to learn kindness and courtesy; obedience to instructors; diligence in study; and conformity to school rules. As failure to learn and practice these moral attributes always resulted in punishment in the school textbooks it would be natural to expect undisciplined behaviour to result in chastisement in the classroom. Teachers received disciplinary powers from a clause in the 1872 Rules and Regulations -- and continued in subsequent Acts -- stating that teachers must

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\text{practice such discipline in School as would be exercised by a judicious parent in the family, avoiding corporal punishment except when it shall appear to him to be imperatively necessary.}\(^48\)
\]

Hector Stramberg reported that parents in New Westminster willingly allowed the use of corporal punishment in order to prove to their children that the teacher had unrestricted authority. As a result, Stramberg continued, the threat was often enough to ensure discipline without the rod actually having to be used.\(^49\) Nevertheless, Superin-

\(^47\)British Colonist, March 31, 1889.  
\(^49\)British Columbia, Nineteenth School Report, p. 144.
tendent Pope reported an "alarming" total of 2,446 cases of corporal punishment in the year 1894-95 and that more than half had occurred in less than twenty of the two hundred and two schools in the province.⁵⁰ Severity of this order prompted Pope to remind teachers that, while the "judicious parent" clause gave authority to use the rod, corporal punishment should be avoided except when absolutely necessary. Too frequent use of the rod usually indicated incompetency and, according to Pope, only represented one means of discipline and

not the only nor the best means at the command of the teacher. . . . The teacher who uses moral suasion effectively in the government of his school will accomplish the best results, not only in the moral training of the pupils but in their intellectual advancement.⁵¹

Certainly moral suasion rather than corporal punishment would provide a better example of kindness and courtesy for children to follow. Teacher example still remained the best method of ensuring moral learning, according to school authorities. Thus, Superintendents continually reminded trustees of School Act provisions which demonstrated that the Legislature considered "the moral fitness of the candidate (for teacher certification or appointment) to be of paramount importance."⁵² Therefore,

high moral worth and culture are credentials which

⁵¹ Ibid.
Trustees in the proper discharge of their duties, cannot lose sight of. The applicant for a position in any of our schools should be required, before receiving an appointment, to furnish satisfactory evidence of his possession of these two very important qualifications.  

Concerned teachers, such as Mary R. Davidson of New Westminster Girls' School, expressed unease at parental neglect of classroom visitation and apparent unconcern regarding the type of person to whom they had entrusted the moral and intellectual training of their children. Superintendent Pope also charged trustees with neglecting to check on teachers' conduct in the classroom and, thereby, often retaining the services of apathetic or incapable instructors unable to discipline or inspire students.

Possibly due to the feeling that trustees and parents were neglecting their school duties, Pope seemed impelled to lecture teachers on their moral duties. Accordingly, the Superintendent warned that

irreverent or flippant remarks by the teacher, in or out of school, are a sure index of a shallow mind and of ignorance assuming superiority. The especial care of the teacher should be to inculcate courtesy, fidelity, truthfulness, integrity, and thoroughness of work, together with the duty of showing reverence to all to whom it is due.

Similarly, two years later he underlined the importance of implanting moral principles in students' hearts stating it

53 British Columbia, Twentieth School Report, p. 177.
was a poor teacher who would not strive to infuse "some germs of goodness, and a love for truth, honesty, and the other virtues." Moreover, Pope noted that while a teacher might rank high in qualifying examinations he would not be equipped for his work unless he also possessed culture. This was particularly important as teachers' manners and actions could have a refining influence on the character of highly imitative children and implant a love of virtue and morality. Therefore, "there should be no room in the profession for him who does not combine the gentleman with the scholar."

In spite of Pope's dictum, however, some teachers still openly displayed ungentlemanly or unvirtuous behaviour. Superintendent McKenzie's dismissal in 1884 ended the public display of superintendent-teacher animosity which tended to weaken the schools' moral disciplinary force. Political issues continued to emerge, however, and often pitted teacher against teacher or teachers against the Department of Education and the government. One such issue was the matter of teacher salaries and the demand, according to James Nesbitt, for more money and less work. During a legislative debate on the subject John Robson claimed that teacher demands amounted to insubordination which must be put down and Robert Dunsmuir called many teachers "a disgrace to their so-

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called profession" and "led by cranks."\(^59\) Apparently salaries, at one time higher than in other provinces, had dropped below those paid in Ontario and Seattle in 1895 while the cost of living rose above that of comparable cities to Victoria. Victoria's school board, however, advised a petitioner that if teachers were not satisfied they could leave and took no action to raise salaries.\(^60\)

Further contention arose over the system of daily marking in the schools and soon embroiled teachers, newspapers, and politicians. Following a Victoria High School teacher's complaint over dismissal for not keeping proper records, the government opposition charged the Minister of Education with firing teachers and cancelling certificates of those not in favour of the government.\(^61\) Acrimonious controversy continued as the Mainland Teachers' Institute passed a resolution expressing confidence in both Superintendent and Department and praising the harmonious relations existing between them.\(^62\) Far from quieting strife, however, the resolution enhanced dispute. Alexander Robinson, a Vancouver High School teacher, accused teachers of passing the resolution in fear of Inspector Wilson;\(^63\) a Moodeyville teacher supported Robinson's charge;\(^64\) another teacher then

\(^59\) Vancouver Sun, August 22, 1970, p. 9.
\(^60\) Colonist (Victoria), March 7, 1965, p. 11.
\(^61\) British Colonist, April 29, 1890.
\(^62\) Vancouver Daily World, January 12, 1891.
\(^63\) Ibid.
\(^64\) Daily News-Advertiser (Vancouver), January 11, 1891.
accused Robinson of being from the East -- thereby being unfit to comment on provincial matters -- riding "roughshod" over other capable teachers, obtaining his B. A. "by accident," of being jealous of the high school principal whom he thought had instigated the resolution, and of being unfit to teach because of vulgarity and "execrable language;" and Robinson defended himself by attacking the Daily World's grammar. Clearly someone was lying or stretching the truth in the welter of charge and counter-charge yet these teachers had a responsibility to "instill the love of truth and high principles in children" under their care.

If teacher example could not be fully relied on in the teaching of moral behaviour then it might be advisable to try a little judicious bribery. Convinced that intrinsic rewards for moral and academic excellence would not prove sufficient to inspire students, Jessop attempted to introduce a system of extrinsic rewards, in the form of school prizes and merit cards. Such a system, he believed, would be "a great inducement for teachers, trustees, and parents to encourage their children in their efforts to excel." In justification of tangible rewards Jessop quoted Ryerson's belief that, as in the Divine Government, everyone should be rewarded according to his works and that

65 Daily World, January 12, 1891.
66 Daily News-Advertiser, January 11, 1891.
67 Daily World, January 12, 1891.
68 British Columbia, Fourth School Report, p. 11.
it is the very order of Providence and a maxim of Revelation, that the hand of the diligent maketh rich, while idleness tendeth to poverty; that to him that hath (that is improved what he hath) shall be given and the neglecter should be sent empty away. 69

Two teachers at the 1875 Teachers' Convention, however, condemned bribing children with candies, books, or any other means and their resolution passed. 70 Therefore, no merit system existed until Pope became Superintendent in 1884 and circularized all teachers advising that a Roll of Honor List would be established for each public school in the province. On this roll would be the names of the three pupils who achieved first rank in Deportment; Punctuality and Regularity; and Proficiency, with each of these students also receiving a Card of Merit. 71

Additionally, morality could be taught in informal lessons more effectively than in formal courses which existed in Ontario but not in British Columbia. As Inspector Burns stated, and as noted in Chapter Three of this paper, the school textbooks "furnish(ed) ample opportunities to anyone desiring to use them" for informal moral education. 72 However, Superintendent Pope recommended and authorized a new series of school books in 1884 and it remains to be seen whether or not the new texts provided the same or better moral lessons than the Canadian Series and whether

69 Ibid.
70 British Colonist, July 9, 1875.
they supported the conclusion that the "highest morality" meant a religious morality from which all other virtues derived.
CHAPTER FIVE

TEXTBOOK RELIGION AND MORALITY

Containing a "number of practical and moral lessons given with a view to influence the pupils' every-day life,"¹ W. J. Gage and Company's Educational Series replaced the Canadian Series in the public school system of British Columbia. To be used in all schools organized after 1884, the new series would be gradually introduced into all schools, with written approval of trustees, until only the Gage readers would be authorized after June 30, 1885.² Superintendent Pope gave no reason for the change in Series except to say that the Canadian Series proved unsatisfactory. Ontario had experienced similar dissatisfaction with the Canadian readers and authorized the Gage Series and the Royal Readers for provincial schools.³ As book prices decrease as copy-runs increase and vice versa, cost probably played a large part in British Columbia's decision in favour of the Gage Series.

Gage's readers were based on ones "prepared by J. M. D. Meiklejohn, Professor of Education at the University of Saint Andrews in Scotland, and edited by Canadian educa-

²Ibid., p. 156.
³Parvin, Authorization of Textbooks, p. 53.
tionists for use in the Schools of Canada. 4 Arrangement of the entire reading course in the order in which it should be taught and classification of material according to its complexity provided two good reasons for adoption of the new series in a country still suffering a shortage of experienced teachers. 5 Similarly, a list of questions followed nearly every lesson which equipped teachers with ready-made seat work or oral tests of reading comprehension. Unfortunately, however, questions predominantly required only simple recall which tested only the most basic level of comprehension and provided no stimulus to independent thought.

According to the British Columbia Rules and Regulations of 1876, and all subsequent years, teachers' moral duties consisted simply of the requirement to "inculcate the highest morality" and students assumed responsibility for learning other virtues. 6 At the same time, Superintendent and Inspectors warned that the teacher's duty was "to train his pupils in all those elements which contribute to the formation of a good character." He must also inculcate all the "virtues that grace childhood" and have students "as familiar with the Golden Rule as with the multiplication table" because

4 W. J. Gage & Co.'s Educational Series, The First Primer (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company, 1881), title page.
5 Parvin, Authorization of Textbooks, p. 58.
6 Supra, p. 64.
the teacher has it in his power to so deeply engrave a difference between good and evil upon the mind of his pupils that it will remain with them throughout life.  

Pope also reminded teachers of the recognized fact that "moral truths can be taught even in the absence of sectarian forms and without referring to any dogma or creed." 

In like manner to the "highest morality" clause in School Acts and Rules and Regulations, Pope's wording in regard to moral teaching infers a religious morality. Similarly, Inspector Burns separated virtues from morality in stating that the school's chief advantage lay

in the habits of study and attention thereby formed; of cleanliness and order there learned; of obedience, punctuality, and forethought there required; and of temperance and morality there implanted into their (the students) very nature.

Therefore, teachers' duties and conceptions of moral education in the schools appear little changed from those prevailing during the years when the Canadian Series was used in the public school system. If Acts, Rules, and preconceptions envisioned an unaltered morality and set of virtues then did the Gage Series present the same unchanged view?

As the Rules and Regulations merely required the teaching of the "highest morality" so the Gage Readers appeared to have one main theme, with three subordinate con-

7 British Columbia, Twenty-Sixth School Report, p. 199.
cerns, rather than emphasizing specific virtues or component parts of morality. Thus, belief in God the Creator and Supreme Being; faith in a final judgement and the necessity of atonement; and Christian teachings, in various guises, permeated the entire series. Under this all encompassing tenet could be found the subordinate themes of industry, brotherhood, and temperance which included within them virtues demanded in the "formation of a good character." Consequently, in retrospect at least, the Gage Readers appear much more subtle and sophisticated than the Canadian Series. An indirect approach carries with it the possibility of individual lessons failing to make their point but the cumulative effect of the whole could produce a significant impact on the student.

Hence, a cursory examination of the two primers and first four books of the Gage Series could lead to the conclusion that religious teachings had been virtually eliminated. Bible passages comprised approximately ten of the over 1,500 pages of the readers and only one unabashedly theological selection appeared. This purported to be an account of Archbishop Lynch's visit to Niagara Falls but actually propounded Christian doctrine. So Lynch observed that no Christian could gaze on the falls and not find his heart raised "to that great and omnipotent being by whose all powerful finger these mighty waters were created." Nor could he fail to be entranced "by the greatness of the most
High" and become so filled with God that he would ask himself "what is man?" Then his answer would come in the fall of water which seemed a kind of sign and an account of sin and struggles for the grace given by the blood of the Word Incarnate, through which he would hope to rest forever. In the falls' splendour Lynch also perceived love, justice, anger, calmness of soul, beauty, and the breaking of souls away from God.  

In addition, however, the primers asserted that "the Lord is nigh" and "the Lord is near," and that the happy family included Bible reading in its daily activities. The sun had "God's time to keep all over the world" and a little girl conquered her fear of the dark when assured that "God was everywhere, in the darkness as well as the light, and that He would not allow any harm to come to her." Similarly, all the great authors whose works appeared in the readers assumed the existence and presence of God. Thus, Tennyson saw Christ as the author of all good -- redress, manners, truth, right, and good feeling; Anderson's Little Match Girl shivered and died but went to live with God, never

13 Gage Series, Book II (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company, 1883), p. 64.
14 Ibid., p. 82.
again to feel cold, hunger, or fear;\textsuperscript{16} Bayard Taylor's "Storm Song" celebrated God's wisdom in making so vast an ocean that ships could manoeuver easily in a storm, and for His certain guidance in this life and the next;\textsuperscript{17} and Paul Hayne rejoiced in God as the author of such miracles that a Russian congregation's heart could open to a starving boy and his sister and result in a contribution of two thousand rubles to the poor.\textsuperscript{18} Similar stories and allusions could be found in all the readers celebrating God as the Creator and author of all true happiness and goodness in men and nations.

In contrast to the other readers the Sixth Book of the Gage Series appeared full of specific Christian doctrine told in story and allegory. Unless teachers acted as guides in explaining the significance of many selections, however, their basic meaning could easily be overlooked. Thus, Pilgrim's Progress needs interpretation to connect it with the Bible and the same is true of Addison's "A Picture of Human Life." Addison portrayed life as a bridge along which people struggle and fall, at intervals, through trap doors to the river below while above them fly birds of envy, avarice, superstition, despair, and love. Carried along on the river many pilgrims landed on one side

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., p. 146.
\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. 129.
\textsuperscript{18}Ibid., p. 179.
and settled in peace and contentment on beautiful islands while others vanished from sight into the cloud-covered mystery of the other side.\textsuperscript{19} Anyone familiar with the Bible and Church dogma could readily unfold these allegorical enigmas but most students would require an interpreter along the way.

The same would be true, to a lesser extent, of the allegorical story of "The Changed Cross" in which a man despaired of carrying the load required of him and grasped at the chance to change it for another. Choosing first a cross set with sparkling jewels he found it too heavy so selected another wreathed in flowers only to discover it too full of thorns for comfort. Finally he again shouldered his old cross and decided that

\begin{quote}
\ldots henceforth my one desire shall be,
That He who knows me best choose for me;
And so whate'er His love sees good to send,
I'll trust it's best because He knows the end.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

As with religious teachings so a Christian justification for "good" behaviour appeared only once in a direct form when the First Primer told children that "all you do and all you say, God can see and hear."\textsuperscript{21} Essays and stories, however, indirectly stressed and justified the highest Christian morality of loving one's neighbour as oneself. In this manner, the Reverend Mr. Punshon wrote that

\begin{itemize}
\item [\textsuperscript{19}] Gage Series, \textit{Book VI} (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company, 1884), p. 146.
\item [\textsuperscript{20}] Ibid., p. 134.
\item [\textsuperscript{21}] Gage Series, \textit{First Primer}, p. 23.
\end{itemize}
God taught in the Scriptures of a universal brotherhood of man and so no man could release himself from his common bond with all mankind as God meant each man to be his brother's keeper and to love him even though hating his deeds. Accordingly, Abou Ben Adhem's name led the list of those who loved the Lord following his prayer that the angel merely record his name as one who loved his fellow-men. Likewise, Sir Launfal learned that even a leper is made in the image of God and that in giving of himself to those in need he had found the Holy Grail which resides

In whatso we share with another's need,
In what we give and what we share --
For the gift without the giver is bare.
Who gives himself with his alms for these three --
Himself, his hungering neighbour, and Me.

Such champions of love would walk unchallenged through the gates of Heaven and sit beside the throne of God while the champions of valor, even though men gained freedom through brave deeds, must wait and show their scars and prove their worth. Meanwhile, the prideful seekers after riches and fighters of unjust wars came alone to death, with no guide or comforter, and must answer then for the kind of life led on earth.

Springing from the love of mankind, Christian virtues consisted simply of doing ordinary things in an extra-

22 Gage Series, Book IV, p. 226.
23 Ibid., p. 132.
24 Gage Series, Book VI, p. 311.
ordinary way. Hence, the noble, gentle, and regal spirit, "over-rides and puts aside all petty, paltry feelings and . . . elevates all little things."\(^{26}\) So men achieved nobility and greatness from modest, genuine, transparent, and deliberately pursued independent thought; from small kindnesses done to others each day; from attempts to make others happy; from overcoming prejudices, difficulties, sin, and temptation; in clearly perceiving truth; and walking always in the cause of good. Thus, the good man came nearer to the life of Christ and compelled others to follow in his footsteps by his good example so that

the good thoughts, the good deeds, the good memories of those who have been the salt and light of the earth do not perish with their departure — they live on still.\(^{27}\)

Brotherhood continued to be extolled in stories which, while not overtly religious, were based on Christian teachings. In this way, stories of heroes often demonstrated that "greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."\(^{28}\) Thus, when only one man could be sent to safety before a dynamite explosion occurred in a Cornish mine, Will unhesitatingly chose to remain behind so that his partner might be saved.\(^{29}\) Similarly, the Lake Erie pilot, in the story also included in the Canadian Series, chose to remain at his post and give up his life

\(^{26}\)Ibid., p. 131.  
\(^{27}\)Ibid.  
\(^{28}\)John 15:13.  
\(^{29}\)Gage Series, Book IV, p. 92.
to save his fellow crewmen and passengers; Dickens told of the brave sailor who died saving men stranded on a rock after a shipwreck; and Sir Philip Sidney though mortally wounded thought of others first in giving his badly needed cup of water to another wounded soldier.

Without one least complaining word,
Without one single sigh,
He yields the cup; he simply says,
He needs it more than I.  

Giving one's life for another was not confined to one race as illustrated in the story of Mungo Park who received shelter, comfort, and food from a native African woman when no one else would risk giving aid to one who might prove an enemy.

Illustrating both brotherhood and the Parable of the Talents, the story of the plum cakes demonstrated wise use of possessions. Giving his three sons twelve plum cakes each a farmer demanded an accounting twelve days later. Will reported that life was short so he ate his cakes right away, after his brothers were in bed, but suffered for it the next day. Tom locked his cakes in a box but found them mouldy and unfit to eat when he took them out. Jack confided that he had eaten one cake each day to satisfy his daily needs but also shared each with his friends and gained his father's love by his wise use of what he received.

30 Ibid., p. 141.
32 Ibid., p. 79.
33 Gage Series, Book III, p. 55.
Under the general theme of brotherhood could be classed many stories illustrating virtues obligatory for children to learn and teachers to teach. Some of these required attributes, however, could not be taught solely by textbook examples as was possible with the Canadian Series. Cleanliness, tidiness, and decency (or avoidance of profanity) stories, for example, occupied no part of the Gage readers. And truthfulness and honesty (or avoidance of falsehood and deceit) appeared in only two selections -- once in an excerpt from King Richard II when John of Gaunt told his son that "there is no virtue like honesty," and once in a fable of the fox and the crow which warned against flattery. Obedience and respect for superiors received slightly more attention in stories similar to those in the Canadian readers. Thus, the tale of the foolish mouse taught children to listen to their elders, particularly to mothers with a never-failing love as demonstrated in stories of a mother sheep, cat, hen, and polar bear and celebrated by William Cowper in his poem "On My Mother's Picture." One selection also praised the discipline which resulted in the saving of many lives in a troop ship disaster. Three more stories praised an unthinking fidelity to duty and the

34 Ibid., p. 40.
35 Gage Series, Book V, p. 179.
36 Gage Series, Book II, p. 95.
37 Gage Series, Book VI, p. 76.
child must commit to memory a poem extolling fidelity and perseverance in which

I live for those who love me
For those who know me true,
For the heaven that smiles above me
And awaits my spirit too;
For the cause that needs assistance
For the wrong that needs resistance
For the future in the distance
For the good that I can do.39

Not doing good or right required repentance and atonement before the child could regain communion with his fellow-men. Thus, Susan refused a crown of flowers as reward for being the best girl in school and the most obedient when she recalled the lie told to her grandmother. Until confession of her sin her conscience refused her contentment and only repentance brought Susan once again into a loving relationship with her grandmother and friends.40 Similarly, Charlie's father expressly requested that the peach tree's fruit not be eaten but Charlie allowed his friends to do so and joined in tasting the forbidden fruit. His remorse was so great that he returned all his birthday presents and suffered extreme pangs of guilt until confession had been made and his father's respect regained.41

In like manner to the Canadian Series, kindness and courtesy received most attention in the Gage Readers. As with the other virtues, illustrations of kindness and cour-

39 Gage Series, Book III, p. 43.
40 Gage Series, Book II, p. 110.
41 Gage Series, Book III, p. 97.
tesy employed animal stories. Accordingly, tales appeared of dogs being tenderly cared for, making friends with cats, helping older dogs, and saving lives; boys learning not to kill or harm birds; a donkey saying thank you for his lunch; a girl raising baby chicks whose mother deserted them; two goats deferring to each other on a narrow bridge; and a lion, fox, and ass teaching avoidance of the unjust and cruel. In addition, a family's New Year's resolution consisted of promising to be kinder and more thoughtful; one hoped for a kind and dutiful daughter; and four sunbeams spread joy and kindness to homes in need of brightness. Kindness, or brotherhood, could also be taught together with new skills so that the child's first writing lesson consisted of the injunction to "do all the good you can, in all the ways you can, just as long as you can, to all the people you can." Likewise, counting combined with kindness in the verse

One, two, three, four, five,
I caught a hare alive;
Six, seven, eight, nine, ten,
I let him go again.

And the child learning to subtract also learned to share as "Peter had seven plums, gave three to his sister, and then was so kind that he gave the rest to me."

While kindness and brotherhood might not always be repaid, proved by stories of snakes being rescued by men and then turning on them, men must persevere in their efforts.

42 Gage Series, First Primer, p. 24.
43 Ibid., p. 27.
44 Gage Series, Second Primer, p. 23.
In time then, men might turn from a world of social injustice, religious intolerance, and political tyranny in order to work for a Utopia in which natural human virtue would realize the needs of security, equality, brotherhood, and freedom, for which the very institution of society was formed. Left behind would be a society in which the rich conspired against the poor by private fraud and public laws, and in which labour was doomed to a wretched existence which made the life of the beasts seem enviable in comparison.  

In that day perhaps Robert Burns prophetic words would come true and

\begin{quote}
man to man, the warld o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that.\footnote{Gage Series, Book VI, p. 182.}
\end{quote}

Meanwhile, the labourer should receive laud and his dignity and worth recognized and respected. So amidst stories of the great men of history could be found tales exalting the labourer who subdued the earth in mining for its hidden treasures; who made the woods ring with his axe; who made the clouds of care fly away; the leprosy of crime and tyrants decay; and want to pass away.  

\footnote{Ibid., p. 225.}

\footnote{Gage Series, Book V, p. 24.}

John Bright defended labourers in Ireland by assailing landlords who fought against any interference with their private property and their rights to do as they pleased with it while, at the same time, interfering with the private property of their tenants, name-
ly their labour. Such policies had brought a nation infinitely blessed by God to the brink of ruin and its people to starvation so that its only salvation lay in changed legislation and the discovery that

industry, hopeful and remunerated — industry free and inviolate, is the only sure foundation on which can be reared the enduring edifice of union and of peace.48

Continually extolled throughout the Gage Series, labour's moral justification could be found in nature. The busy little bee who "improves each shining hour" by hard work provided a lesson for children who should pray that their first years could be passed in such good study, work, and health-giving play that a good account could be given for each day when the time came to answer for their lives.49 Thus, love and respect for those who laboured would be demonstrated by youth following their good example as the little snow shoveller showed by working merrily and without shirking until the walk's snow flew away and he truly earned his recompense.50

Girls and women played an even lesser role in the Gage Series than in the Canadian texts but when they did appear still occupied themselves with being real or surrogate mothers and tending to the needs of men and families. Boys, however, continued to need education in order to learn self-discipline and the golden rule of "whatsoever thy hand

48 Gage Series, Book VI, p. 108.
49 Gage Series, Book II, p. 141.
50 Ibid., p. 36.
findeth to do, do it with thy might."  
Possession of these attributes would enable the man to do his duty and prosper both himself and his country. Additionally, time would be called into life and given a moral being and a soul as the man of industry, be he cotter, artisan, armourer, or king organized the hours for his craft.

Labour resulted in prosperity and happiness while idleness or unmerited wealth led swiftly and surely to disaster. Consequently, the vine dresser's sons found the "treasure in the field" which he bequeathed to them. Searching for gold, the sons dug, sieved, and cleaned every inch of the vineyard resulting not in the expected treasure but in a threefold increase in the next year's grape harvest. In this way the sons learned that true wealth lay in necessary labour well done. On the other hand, Count Graff gained his wealth at the expense of hard-working boatmen, from whom he extracted tolls for use of the river, and of his peasants, whose corn he either expropriated or bought at low prices. Refusing to share his stored corn with the people during a famine, the Count caused many deaths but did not live to enjoy his ill-gotten gains as an army of starving rats crossed the river, attacked his granaries, and finally killed the Count.

52 Ibid., p. 119.
54 Ibid., p. 45.
Another evil leading to self-destruction and social ruin assumed a vastly increased importance in the Gage Readers than in the Canadian Series. As a growing concern of people attuned to society's wrongs and needs in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, alcohol's dangers naturally found a place in the newer school books as reform groups considered the common school the best means of reaching children. Inspector Netherby reported, in 1898, regular teaching taking place in Victoria schools on the evils of alcoholic stimulants and narcotics and satisfactory progress in nearly all the schools.\(^{55}\) In addition to the readers, the Pathfinder Series on Anatomy, Physiology, and Hygiene provided an abundance of temperance education material for classroom use. While separated by Inspector Burns, temperance education formed part of morality in many minds and also was definitely linked with Christianity. Thus, temperance advocates claimed a rapidly growing movement achieving results which would free men, women, and children from the evils of drink by love, truth, sympathy, and good will to men. Soon, therefore, there would be great joy in heaven "when the triumphs of a great enterprise usher in the day of the triumph of the cross of Christ."\(^{56}\) Accordingly, drinking became a sin in that it led to neglect of Christian duties and retarded the coming of the Kingdom of God.

\(^{55}\) British Columbia, Twenty-Seventh School Report, p. 1254.  
\(^{56}\) Gage Series, Book IV, p. 254.
Wisdom then dictated admonishments to "Look Not Upon The Wine" and ignore the blandishments of those who exalted its value. Many praised alcohol for its pleasant taste, its pain-killing propensities, and merry-making abilities but in drink's pleasant-seeming depths lay a stinging serpent which brought only madness, grief, and woe. Not only did these evils affect the drinker but also harmed those around him. As an example, one drunkard broke his wife's heart, forced his little girl to dress in rags, and sold everything the family possessed in order to buy drink. Debased to the point of even selling his daughter's Little Testament, which friends gave to the sick girl, the father finally received salvation when his child's simple faith refused to chastise him and merely asked what answer should be given after death if Jesus should ask what had become of the Testament. Moved to repentance, the father dropped to his knees, begged forgiveness, and never touched another drop of liquor.

Vague warnings and sentimental stories gradually gave way to graphic medical essays depicting alcohol's effect on the body. Each of the readers, from book three to five, contained one of these medical stories and all presented much the same evidence but in progressively more sophisticated and technical styles. Thus, medical facts countered claims of alcohol's pleasurable effects by "pro-

57 Gage Series, Book 11, p. 115.
58 Gage Series, Book 111, p. 139.
ving" that alcoholic pleasure was brief and inevitably followed by a depression which made life an almost intolerable burden to some while leading others directly to death or to a life of grief in an insane asylum. Likewise, Dr. Richardson ridiculed alcohol's medicinal and food value by stating that warmth occurred only because the blood was brought to the body's surface where it quickly lost heat and resulted in chills and a muscular weakness which, in time, would become so aggravated that the body could not move. Similarly, while adding fat to the body the alcohol-induced weight placed an added strain on the heart and kidneys and impaired proper digestion. 59

As well as being detrimental to the drinker's own health, however, liquor had undesirable and unrecognized social consequences. According to the readers, nine of every ten crimes occurred because of liquor; work-houses overflowed with people who lost both their money and capacity to work through indulgence in intoxicating beverages; and alcohol undermined the very structure of society. 60

In addition, the liquor trade created little employment and hardly any nutriment when compared to the tremendous sums spent on the purchase of its commodity and the ensuing social misery. Deprived of good food and clothing, the life of the drinker and the happiness of his family disintegrated and social life could be as easily destroyed as

59 Ibid., p. 205.

60 Gage Series, Book IV, p. 154.
proved by estimates that "two-thirds of the prisons, workhouses, and asylums now required in England could be eliminated if temperance and sobriety were embraced." 61

Sweeping statements blaming all the ills of the country solely on alcohol weakened textbook temperance education. Neglect of other societal factors contributing to undesirable conditions tended to render teachings suspect as recognized by Inspector Wilson who warned that, while the schools' sentiment might be sound and that the evils of alcohol and tobacco were universally recognized, teachers should "aim at clearness of statement and exactness of knowledge." Exaggerated notions acquired by the students and refuted by later knowledge could lead to "a re-action of sentiment." 62

Reviewing both the Canadian and the Gage series of readers, it is evident that little real change in moral content appeared although format and style differed. A definitely Christian morality was present in both series as well as a Christian theology which appeared more decidedly Protestant in the Canadian than in the Gage series. Nevertheless, the Roman Catholic Church would consider the texts of both series as Protestant if not able to be supplemented by specific Catholic teachings. Under this religious morality stood the other moral virtues, considered separately in the Canadian Series but forming part of the three en-

61 Gage Series, Book V, p. 255.
comprising themes of brotherhood, industry, and temperance in the Gage Series.

Therefore, in view of the continued Protestant churches' influence on the public school system and the Protestant Christian morality taught in both the Canadian and Gage Series of readers, there can be no doubt that the supposedly secular and non-sectarian public school system of British Columbia continued to be both Christian and Protestant throughout the nineteenth century.
CHAPTER SIX
PROTESTANT CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

British Columbia failed to establish either a non-sectarian or a secular public school system during the nineteenth century in spite of such a system being demanded by law. While unrecognized and unacknowledged, the public schools remained Protestant and Christian throughout the century due to ambivalent definitions of terms, Protestant church connections and influence, and use of text books imbued with a general, but Protestant, Christian morality.

Being under either Roman Catholic Church or Church of England control, most Vancouver Island schools prior to 1865 were definitely sectarian and Christian. In addition, a Church of England minister directed the nominally non-denominational Colonial schools which included scripture classes, using Church of England material, in the curriculum. Roman Catholic schools also existed in the colony of British Columbia, together with non-denominational schools established under Protestant aegis and remaining connected to Protestantism through financial support, governing councils, and use of the King James version of the Bible for scripture readings.

In early Colonial days school system and society existed in fairly harmonious agreement. Until 1858 the white population of British Columbia and Vancouver Island
consisted primarily of Hudson's Bay Company or Colonial employees roughly divided into two classes -- gentlemen and labourers -- and predominantly British. A long history of church interest in education, customary clergy control of schools in Britain, and the absence of clergy from other churches led to a natural acceptance of Roman Catholic and Anglican control of colonial education. Similarly, class-based schools would evoke little opposition in a class conscious society and British tradition supported government aid to common, or working class, schools.¹

Irrevocably changed by an influx of population during the gold rush years beginning in 1858, the population of British Columbia became multi-racial, multi-denominational, and more secular in outlook. At the same time, organized religion became the subject of open antagonism or apathy and the Church of England experienced hostility to its dominance in religious and educational concerns. While Church of England and Roman Catholic Church clashed in the Indian Mission Field, no evidence can be found to support the conclusion that non-sectarian schools found favour because of fears of Roman Catholic power. Timothy L. Smith and David Tyack considered such fears as one reason for Protestant support of public schools in the United States but Catholic power in British Columbia was fragmented due

¹Charity schools existed in England in the seventeenth century and state subsidies were provided for school houses for the poorer classes in 1833 at which time State responsibility for education was recognized. See G. Baron, Society, Schools and Progress in England (Oxford: Pergamon, 1966.)
to racial and linguistic differences resulting in little support from English-speaking Catholics for church schools.

According to the leading newspapers, British Columbia's scattered, small, and heterogeneous school population necessitated a non-sectarian school system. Moreover, newspaper editors feared Church of England domination of any denominational or religious system. Generally weak denominational loyalties, as evidenced by willingness to send children either to the best or cheapest school available regardless of type or amount of religious education, helped the newspaper campaign for a non-sectarian system. Opposition came mostly from the Roman Catholic Church, which believed that non-sectarianism could not exist and that government funds should be used only to subsidize education for the poor. Some Church of England clerics also opposed non-sectarian schools if they equalled non-religious schools. Opposition to the complete absence of religion resulted in a compromise whereby the School Acts of 1865, 1869, and 1870 established a non-sectarian system but allowed religious teaching in the classrooms outside of regular school hours.

Presumably the provision for religious teaching included Roman Catholic priests as well as ministers from Protestant churches and teachers of non-Christian faiths. One member of the legislature, however, claimed that the term "clergyman" did not include Catholics and Catholic Church officials definitely considered the public schools as
either Protestant, if the King James Bible was used, or atheist, if no religious teachings occurred. Further support for considering the schools Protestant arises from the fact of Protestant clergymen conducting the annual examinations at one school in Victoria. In other communities school and church often occupied the same premises and it is reasonable to conclude, that as well-educated men, the clergy would assume an active part in school affairs.

School reports were erratic and gave little information regarding course content so that how much or what kind of religious education took place in the classroom is largely a matter of conjecture. However, many schools used the Irish National Texts which contained an abundance of religious and Christian moral teachings. Most children in the system, therefore, would be exposed to Christian doctrine through the texts.

The first provincial School Act, passed in 1872, confirmed the non-sectarian nature of the public school system. As clergymen were apparently confined to the role of school visitors under this act, religious teaching rights not being specifically mentioned, it is also possible that the 1872 Act represented the first move to a non-religious system. Legislative debates reveal a definitely hostile feeling by some members toward any clergy rights but a predominantly Anglican Board of Education authorized opening and closing religious exercises for the schools from which
students could be excused at parents' request.

Legislative debates, newspaper correspondence and editorials, and the School Act of 1876 clearly reveal a continuing confusion over definition of "non-sectarian." It simply meant that no specific church dogmas or creeds could be taught but that a general religious teaching was in order, according to some of the population. To others it meant that no religion at all could be permitted in a non-sectarian system. Possibly the latter group included the school legislative committee members who added "secular" to the non-sectarian clause. "Secular," however, caused as much confusion as the previous term in view of having two meanings -- religious but non-denominational or non-religious. According to the Colonist and Board actions, official view defined secular as non-religious. Accordingly, authorized prayers were rescinded and strictures invoked against teachers using any religious teaching except the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments. Allowance of these two Bible selections meant, of course, that some religion still existed in the classrooms if desired by trustees but government intent appeared to be the removal of as much religion as possible, particularly anything remotely sectarian, from the schools. Certainly, newspapers and much of the public interpreted government actions in this way.

None of the School Acts mentioned religion either positively or negatively except for the oblique reference that teachers must inculcate the "highest morality" without
reference to any particular creed or doctrine. This wording infers a religious morality but lack of definite directives led to considerable confusion and a possible omission of any direct moral education by many teachers. Nevertheless, Protestant clergymen frequently addressed and advised teachers on how to teach morality; attended as honoured guests and honourary members; and opened Teacher Institute meeting with prayers. Apparently, therefore, a religious -- Protestant Christian -- morality was assumed by church and teachers and never contradicted by government or education authorities. Readers used in the classrooms also supported interpretation of the "highest morality" as "Protestant, Christian morality."

Rules and Regulations for the Governing of the Public Schools of British Columbia set out a list of virtues and morality for teachers to inculcate and students to learn. Assuming a least to greatest order it is possible to view the desired morality as a pyramid in which order forms the base and the "highest morality" the top --

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Highest Morality</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kindly and Affectionate Feelings -- Brotherhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truth and Honesty, Respect and Obedience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleanliness, Neatness, and Decency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Time and Place for Everything and Everything in its Proper Time and Place -- Order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Neither the Canadian nor the Gage Series supported a hierarchy of virtues in so far as the order of the stories is concerned but did in relative frequency.

An assumption that men and women occupied differing but complementary roles in life -- men as providers and women as homemakers -- for which childhood must prepare underlay many stories in the Canadian Series. Frequent warnings against idleness and too much playtime underlined the necessity of preparation for life's work. Similarly, stories stressed time's importance and, therefore, emphasized promptness and the good use of each hour in order that a good account of one's life might be given when required.

Only two selections specifically mentioned cleanliness, neatness, and decency but a few references appeared in other stories and equated these virtues with goodness and their opposites with badness. Truth, honesty, obedience, and respect for authority received approximately seven times the emphasis of the preceding virtues and kindness and concern for people and animals occupied at least three times the space of truth and obedience. Above all, however, Christian teachings and morality enjoyed three to four times the prominence of kindness and, in addition, many stories teaching a specific virtue assumed or inferred Christian belief.

Distinctly Christian selections included several
Bible stories, from both Old and New Testaments, and theological teachings in the form of hymns and sermons which basically portrayed a Protestant interpretation of the Bible. Christian moral teachings stressed knowing and doing God's will, generally by way of the Bible, which would result in man enjoying a right relationship with his fellow-man and nature, winning the approbation of God, and assuring the satisfaction of a life well spent on earth and life everlasting in the next world. In proposing a direct relationship between God and man and between good works and salvation, the readers again propounded Protestant doctrine.

Similarly, stories in the Gage readers assumed a Christian belief and morality and attached importance to the virtues in roughly the same proportion as the Canadian Series. Placing less stress on individual virtues, however, the Gage Series appeared based on a Christian morality expressed in three subordinate themes. Thus, brotherhood sprang naturally from the concept of God as creator of all things and encompassed many of the virtues such as kindness and concern. An emphasis on industry illustrated the Protestant work ethic of hard work, preparation, and wise use of talents and wealth provided by God -- an ethic not formally recognized until Max Weber's controversial examination in the early twentieth century. And temperance would be achieved through the efforts of those Christians who poured out love and sympathy to their fellow men. In this way the un-
fortunate victims would be rescued from the damnation of
drink which had caused them to turn from God and so bring
ruin to themselves, their families, and society. Inasmuch
as liquor made men forget duty to God and neighbour it was
an evil which the good of temperance must defeat by leading
men back to God to do His will and thereby hasten the com-
ing of the Kingdom of God on earth.

An ideal inseparable from its religious base,
Christian morality is also highly individualistic. Accor-
ding to its tenets each man comes to know the love and will
of God, through the revelations of Christ, in a particular
way, changes inwardly, and demonstrates his new self in
love for mankind. Manifestations of Christian belief thus
vary according to the man and the age in which he lives with
only one basic guide existing for Christian moral behaviour --
do unto others as you would wish others to do unto you. While
laying down no definite moral code, Christ provided examples
of moral behaviour resulting from a love of God and man
which various churches and people have interpreted in dif-
fering ways. Hence, in British Columbia regulations for
public schools, supplemented by texts, defined moral beha-
vior as kindness, truth, honesty, obedience, respect, indus-
try, cleanliness, neatness, decency, order, and temperance.

Prevailing wisdom of the time, supported to some
extent today, ruled that children learned moral behaviour by
authoritative dicta and habit. In accordance with this view,
textbooks flatly informed their audience that the good person acted in one particular way and reiterated moral lessons in varied stories throughout the readers. Similarly, teachers relied mainly on rote learning and memorization and school inspectors seemed more concerned with correct pronunciation and expression than content. Likewise, questions in the Gage Series only tested simple recall and stimulated an already present tendency towards reliance on memory work rather than reasoning.

Moral education then consisted on moral absolutes based on authoritative pronouncements. A presumed hierarchy of importance existed in both Regulations and texts but no intimation appears of occasions arising when it might be necessary to break a lower order rule to satisfy a higher one nor that such action could be justified. Therefore, a child learned to always tell the truth even if it should bring retribution upon himself but no mention occurred of a case where absolute truth might cause pain or sorrow to another and break the higher rule of kindness. In addition, a highly individualistic morality attempted to mold the character of the individual rather than reform society or form a corporate ethic. Often, therefore, children would be confronted with a social ethic at odds with the schoolroom moral education and unprepared to cope with the difference as reasoning power had formed no part of his training.

How much influence the text book morality would have on students is hard to determine. Ruth Miller Elson
states that ideas and beliefs most readily adopted by children are those not contradicted by their own experience.² Others state that

tendencies to be prejudiced or tolerant, selfish or generous, co-operative or antagonistic all reflect attitudes learned through previous experience.³

Combined with the fact of poor, erratic school attendance for a large part of the nineteenth century, the above would lead to the conclusion that home and society lessons would have a more lasting effect than those learned in school.

Regardless of their ultimate effect, however, Canadian and Gage texts preached a Christian morality, predominantly Protestant. Moreover, Protestant clergy continued an active participation in the school system, scripture readings were from the Protestant Bible, and prayer continued as an opening or closing exercise. Therefore, the British Columbia school system in the nineteenth century remained secular and non-sectarian in law but Christian and Protestant in fact. Thus, uniqueness could not be claimed by virtue of being the only continuously single, non-sectarian system in Canada. Uniqueness, in reality, occurred only because one sect's teachings received public financing denied to avowedly religious schools. In this way, the fiction of a secular and non-sectarian system allowed one branch of Christianity to propagate its doctrines in the public schools, with public subsidies, while denying the privilege to others.

²Elson, Guardians of Tradition, p. viii.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Few authors have specifically examined the question of religion and morality in the British Columbia public school system. C. B. Sissons in Church and State in Canadian Education (1959) did note the Church of England influence prior to Confederation but then confined his investigation of church and state to the Roman Catholic Church's fight for recognition and state aid for their schools. Similarly, F. Henry Johnson's A History of Public Education in British Columbia (1964) and his A Brief History of Canadian Education (1968) both noted Anglican influence and religious instruction prior to 1865 on the Island and 1869 on the mainland, but assumed that church influence and religion were non-existent in the schools after those dates. Johnson's latest book John Jessop: Goldseeker and Educator (1971) does, however, recognize that religious education continued as a contentious issue during Jessop's superintendency. George Hindle's small book on The Educational System of British Columbia (1918) also assumed religion was barred from the public system because of the general apathy towards religion on the part of the public. Manoly Lupul's essay "Education in Western Canada Before 1873" in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet's Canadian Education: A History (1970) likewise echoes the above view. None of these authors, however, with the exception of Sissons, was interested solely in this one question and wrote more generally of the system's development as a whole. This was true also of D. L. MacLaurin's excellent doctoral dissertation on "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia," (1936) and his later article "Education Before the Gold Rush," in the British Columbia Historical Quarterly 11 (4) (1938). Nevertheless, these sources proved of immense assistance in researching the beginnings of the provincial educational system.

Church and School

As educational histories generally neglected church influence in the schools so church histories seldom referred to public education. The Reverend Herbert H. Gowen's Church Work in British Columbia: A Memoir of the Episcopate of Acton Windeyer Sillitoe, First Anglican Bishop of New Westminster (1899) aided in assessing congregational support for denominational schools. Similarly, the Reverend A. G. Morice's History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada v.2 (1910) assisted in determining attitudes of the Catholic church towards non-sectarian education. The Reverend E. A. Davis'
Commemorative Review of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches in British Columbia (1925) also proved helpful in noting United Church positions on social problems, such as alcohol consumption, but had no information on attitudes to the public school system. Frank Peake's The Anglican Church in British Columbia (1959) provided useful information on Bishop Hill's desires for Anglican schools but, again, rarely mentioned the public system. Likewise, theses written about the churches or church schools in the province make few references to public schools. Sister Edith Emily Down's "The Sisters of St. Ann: their contribution to education in the Pacific Northwest 1858-1958" (1962), is an excellent source for information on Catholic schools for girls and for some documentation of Oblate schools for boys. George Cecil Hacker's B. A. essay on "The Methodist Church in British Columbia 1859-1900" (1933), provides useful information on Anglican-METHODIST co-operation and rivalry and the general attitude encountered by religious workers in the province. Similarly, Mervyn Ewart Kennedy's master's thesis on "The History of Presbyterianism in British Columbia 1861-1935" (1938), gives useful information on problems faced by missionary workers but none of these theses hint at any church involvement in the public schools nor mention religious education in classrooms. An excellent source for early church and school relations is G. H. Slater's "Reverend Robert John Staines: Pioneer Priest, Pedagogue, and Political Agitator" in the British Columbia Historical Quarterly XIV (4) (1950). Two articles on Edward Cridge appeared in the Daily Colonist on September 12, 1948 and January 16, 1966 but both were more concerned with Cridge's church activities than with his duties in regard to education. An invaluable source of Anglican attitudes to non-sectarian schools proved to be the Reverend William S. Reece's sermon on Education (1864).

Early Schools

Articles on the Colonial Schools of Vancouver Island by J. Forsyth, the Provincial Librarian, appeared in the Victoria Times in March, 1922 and in the B. C. Teacher in December, 1925. The Daily Colonist of December 18, 1910, September 30, 1915, August 21, 1949, July 22, 1962, March 7, 1965, September 15, 1968, and February 20, 1972 printed articles on early schools, teachers, and personalities which were of some help in researching issues and attitudes as was true of articles in the Saanich Peninsula and Gulf Islands Review in March, 1948, August, 1950, February, 1954, and February, 1962; the Sidney Review of May 9, 1973; the Kamloops Daily Sentinel in June and July of 1968; the Rossland Miner of March 1, 1962; and the Vancouver Sun and province Centennial Editions of July, 1971. Margaret A. Beckwith wrote a pamphlet on the "Craigflower Schoolhouse" (1958) for the Board of Trustees but most of the information con-
tained in this pamphlet and the above articles has been incorporated in the more general histories of education. On occasion, however, some information of particular interest had not appeared elsewhere, as in the case of the Rossland article and of the Central Junior High School Yearbook (1954) which provided insights into moral attitudes in one school. Margaret Lillooet McDonald's master's thesis on "New Westminster 1859-1871" (1947) aided in an assessment of church influence in and attitudes to early schools in that city. Similarly, James M. Sandison's Schools of Old Vancouver (1971) and K. A. Waite's The First Fifty Years, Vancouver High Schools 1890-1940 (n.d.) assisted research into Vancouver attitudes and elementary preparation for high school. Biographical information on the two most vocal opponents of sectarian schools was provided by master's theses by Margaret Ross on "Amor de Cosmos, A British Columbia Reformer" (1931) and by James Gordon Reid on "John Robson and the British Columbian" (1950).

Provincial Schools

F. Henry Johnson's article "The Ryersonian Influence on the Public School System of British Columbia" in B. C. Studies, 10 (Summer, 1971) documents Jessop's virtually complete adoption of the Ryersonian school system. Unnoticed by Johnson, however, was the fact that the Ryersonian spirit in regard to religious education in the schools also became part of the British Columbia system. Ryerson's views on religion can be found in Egerton Ryerson, Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada (1847) and in the Journal of Education for Upper Canada, only a few copies of which are available in the Special Collections Division of the University of British Columbia Library. On the other hand, Special Collections has a full set of both the Canadian Series of School Books and the W. J. Gage & Co.'s Educational Series both of which were used in both Ontario and British Columbia and through which religious and moral education in the public schools can be assessed. The Canadian Series consisted of The First Book of Reading Lessons, Part I (1867), The First Book of Reading Lessons, Part II (1867), the Second Book of Reading Lessons (1869), the Third Book of Reading Lessons (1869), the Fourth Book of Reading Lessons (1869), the Fifth Book of Reading Lessons (1868), and the Advanced Reader (1871). The Gage Series contained The First Primer (1881), The Second Primer (1881), Book 11 (1883), Book III (n.d.), Book IV (1883), Book V (1883), and Book VI (1884). All of these readers were complete with the exception of Book III in the Gage Series which lacked several pages, including the title page.

Also essential to a study of desired school morality were the school reports of Superintendents Jessop, McKenzie, and Pope. Again, both the Special Collections and the Main Library have complete sets of these reports except for the second and eighth reports which are in Special Collections.
only. The First Annual Report of the Public Schools and its supplement (1872), the Second Annual Report of the Public Schools (1873), and the Eighth Annual Report of the Public Schools (1879) appeared in separate volumes while other reports have been bound in volumes titled British Columbia Annual School Reports. Included in these are the Third to Seventh Annual School Reports (1874-78), the Ninth to Thirteenth Annual School Reports (1880-84), the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Annual School Reports (1885-88), the Eighteenth to Twentieth Annual School Reports (1889-91), the Twenty-First to Twenty-Third Annual School Reports (1892-94), the Twenty-Fourth to Twenty-Sixth Annual School Reports (1895-97), and the Twenty-Seventh to Thirtieth Annual School Reports (1898-1901). Jessop's reports proved of most value as later reports consisted mostly of statistical and general information. However, Inspectors provided quite lengthy discussions on moral education in most of the reports from 1891 on and High School Principals' reports also greatly assisted an evaluation of moral attitudes and training. Published in 1971 under the title One Hundred Years, a special supplement to the One Hundredth Annual School Report provided valuable statistics comparing attendance, enrollment, and number of schools and teachers over ten year periods from 1871 to 1971. The Provincial Archives in Victoria has Board of Education Correspondence (1872-73), Board of Education School Inspector's Diary (1872-77), and the Board of Education School Inspector's Diary (1876-77) but these yielded little information not already included in reports. The Board of Education Minute Book proved easier to read and also cleared up some points in regard to the LeVaux and Nicholson controversies. This Minute Book is complete for the lifetime of the Board - 1872 to 1878.

British Columbia Legislative Council Journals, Legislative Assembly Journals, and Sessional Papers from 1864 to 1900 are also available in Special Collections and the Main Library at U. B. C. and were scanned for information in regard to school legislation and petitions. More data could be found in newspapers, however, and these records are to be found in the Government Publications division of the U. B. C. Library on microfilm. Complete microfilm of the Daily British Colonist (Victoria) for 1858 to 1900; of the British Columbian (New Westminster); the Mainland Guardian (New Westminster); the Daily News-Advertiser (Vancouver); and the Vancouver Daily World provided a wealth of information on Legislative debates, Teachers' Institutes, and both public and editorial opinion on school and religious concerns. Complete indexing of these newspapers for the nineteenth century, provided in the Provincial Archives, immeasurably assisted the location of relevant material. A few microfilm issues of the Christian Guardian, the Methodist Church paper, and the Canadian Churchman, the Anglican Church paper, were scanned but provided little data on church and school in British Columbia. Also available in
Special Collections, the Dominion-Pacific Herald (New Westminster) provided valuable information in the form of Bishop d'Herbomez' letters and replies from public and editor. Canada Census records for 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1931 also proved helpful in providing religious, education, and demographic statistics.

Moral Education

Morality in the British Columbia schools has been mentioned in few secondary sources. Charles E. Phillips' The Development of Education in Canada (1957) includes a chapter on "Discipline and Ethics" which mentions provincial schools and was based on F. Henry Johnson's doctoral dissertation "Changing Conceptions of Discipline and Pupil-Teacher Relations in Canadian Schools" (1952). A chapter on the Cache Creek boarding school in John Calam's master's thesis "An historical survey of boarding schools and public school dormitories in Canada" (1962) provided the only other source of information on public school morality in British Columbia which could be located.

Before embarking on a study of moral education it was necessary to clarify the meaning of morality and moral education. Only one work provides an historical study of moral education -- the excellent Educating the Good Man (1962) by E. B. Castle -- and proved extremely useful in determining nineteenth century and Christian ideas and expectations. A good sampling of present day views on the subject was obtained from the enlightening chapter on assessing the morally educated person in John Wilson, Norman Williams, and Barry Sugarman's Introduction to Moral Education (1967); from several selections in Adrian Dupuis' Nature, Aims, and Policy (1970); from Lawrence Kohlberg's chapter in Martin H. and Lois W. Hoffman's Review of Child Development Research (1964); from R. S. Peter's essay in W. R. Niblett's Moral Education in a Changing Society (1963); and from C. M. Beck, B. S. Crittenden, and E. V. Sullivan's Moral Education: Interdisciplinary Approaches (1971). One of the most interesting and provocative studies of morality is that of Bernard Gert in The Moral Rules (1970) in which it is argued that morality is a negative rather than a positive concept and consists of not doing certain things rather than in doing something and in loving or helping others as in the case of Utopian or Christian moral idealism. J. R. Coombs and L. B. Daniel's "Teachers, Moral Education, and the Public Schools," in Terence Morrison and Anthony Burton's Options: Reforms and Alternatives for Canadian Education (1973) assisted in determining differing perspectives on moral education.

Social History

For help in understanding the society in which the nineteenth century schools existed Margaret Ormsby's British Columbia: A History (1971) provides the best over-all view.
More specific studies of places, people, events, and institutions are appearing, however, and are of value in exploring the social scene although much more research is needed before material can be used as definitive comment of social climate. Among some of the most useful secondary sources are G. Fern Treleaven's *The Surrey Story* (1969); Fred W. Ludditt's *Barkerville Days* (1969); Harry Gregson's *A History of Victoria 1842-1970* (1970); R. E. Gosnell's *A History of British Columbia* (1906) for background on some of the period's leaders; W. N. Sage's *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia* (1930) which provides a more sympathetic account than many other sources; S. W. Jackman's *Portraits of the Premiers* for quick location of facts but otherwise not too reliable; John Shaw's *A Century of Adventure* (1971) giving interesting anecdotes of leading personalities; Barry M. Gough's *The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America* (1971) providing a much needed and excellent study of the naval role in British Columbia but of little use for this particular paper; Paul A. Phillips *No Power Greater* (1967) furnishing a comprehensive review of British Columbia's labour movement; and Martin Robin's *The Rush for Spoils: The Company Province* (1972) a provocative and controversial view of provincial politics as a Company vs. Labour class struggle. Marjorie C. Holmes' *Library Service in British Columbia* (1959) provides an excellent historical survey of an important educational facility with valuable insights into the general attitude towards education. French settlement and problems in British Columbia as discussed by George F. G. Stanley's "French and English in Western Canada" in Mason Wade's *Canadian Dualism* (1960) and in John Ray Stewart's master's thesis "French-Canadian Settlement in British Columbia" (1956) assisted in the understanding of the ease with which a non-sectarian school system was established. Also helpful in this regard Walter Edmund Warren Ellis' master's thesis on "Some Aspects of Religion in British Columbia Politics" (1959) examines legislative and cabinet representation in comparison with religious affiliation in the province.

Primary sources printed in book form also proved extremely useful. Illustrating his father's involvement in the public school system, Simon Fraser Tolmie's appendix in *The Journals of William Fraser Tolmie* (1963) helped to establish Tolmie's attitude to religious education in the schools and to education itself. D. H. Grigg's *From One to Seventy* (1953) provides an interesting account of life in British Columbia and the Prairies but should be read with a constant awareness of Grigg's fundamentalist religious persuasion. William Ward Spinks' *Tales of the British Columbia Frontier* graphically illustrates life in the interior where the author served as circuit judge from 1884 to 1889. George H. Turner's *Before the Council* (1891) gave Turner the opportunity to express his Christian Socialist views on capitalism's rape of British Columbia's resources at the expense of labour and the
churches' fundamental failure to follow Christianity lest they offend the influential citizens.

Bibliographies

A comprehensive bibliography of source material for this period, well indexed, is provided by Barbara J. Lowther in *A Bibliography of British Columbia: Laying the Foundations, 1849-1899* (1968).

Other Works


An excellent guide for textbook studies is Ruth Miller Elson's *Guardians of Tradition* a review of textbook teachings in the United States. Only one similar Canadian study could be located but Viola Elizabeth Parvin's *Authorization of Text Books for Elementary Schools of Ontario 1846-1950* (1961) concentrates on text background rather than on content. Nevertheless much useful information was provided on the two textbook series used in British Columbia.