"'Principles of Loyalty and Attachment to the Parent State': The Madras School System in New Brunswick from 1818 to 1828"

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines Madras Schools in New Brunswick between 1818 and their rapid decline after 1828. The Madras method was an educational philosophy popular in the British Empire in the early nineteenth century in which academically advanced pupils were tasked with instructing other children in the classroom. By analyzing the records of the New Brunswick Madras School Board, we can understand the motivations that drove the expansion of this system in New Brunswick between 1818 and 1828. The Madras School system in New Brunswick was designed to fit into the model of a class stratified education system envisioned by the Loyalist elite. The preference given to the Madras system in early nineteenth-century New Brunswick shows how colonial policy makers in the province believed that the system would both buttress the hierarchical society favoured by the Loyalist elite and encourage settlers to remain loyal to the British Empire.

Dedication

To my partner, family, and friends.

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The research process, writing, editing, and completion of this thesis could not have been completed without the assistance and support of so many people at various points in time. First, I would like to thank my partner Kate MacEwen for the guidance that she has provided during my time working on this thesis. I would also like to sincerely thank my family, including my parents and grandparents, for all the support that I have received from them over the course of my time studying history. In addition, a special thank you on my part goes out to Janice Cook and Roger Drummond at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick for the countless hours of help that they have provided me with. Finally, I want to express my profound appreciation to my supervisor Professor Angela Tozer for the time that she has spent helping me with my thesis. Your feedback and direction on my project have made the finished product of two years of work. Being your student has been a very rewarding experience.

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Introduction:
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Historian of education in New Brunswick Katherine MacNaughton states that "For a score of years after the Act of 1818 the most vigorous efforts to combat illiteracy in the province were linked with the promotion of the Madras Schools."[1] Madras Schools, which were closely tied to the Church of England, and governed by the London based National School Society, operated using a distinct method of education in which an adult teacher taught the oldest or most academically successful students in a class, who then were responsible for the instruction of their peers. While the cost and labour advantages of this method were in part responsible for its popularity in early nineteenth century New Brunswick, the ideological and hierarchical vision of the Madras Schools were the principal reason that the Madras system was so enthusiastically embraced by its proponents. The Madras System dominated the field of primary education in New Brunswick between 1818 and 1828, with a peak number of 41 schools operating across the province.[2] However, historians have yet to address two important questions regarding the entrenchment of the Madras School in the educational landscape of New Brunswick in the early nineteenth century. First, why did the Madras School system enjoy such widespread popularity in the province? Secondly, given recent scholarship by Funké Aladejebi, Sean Carleton, and Richard Yeomans, as well as older work by

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[1] Katherine F. C MacNaughton, *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900: A Study in Historical Background*, (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1947), 65.

[2] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 16 August 1824, Madras School fonds, MC374, book 1, p. 116, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

Bruce Curtis, that has underscored the importance that education had in shaping settler colonialism across the British Empire, what role did the Madras system play in this process in the New Brunswick context? [3] In this work I argue that these two questions, and their explanations, are inherently tied to each other.

In the early nineteenth century two separate models of primary education emerged in Great Britain in which older students were taught by a head teacher, with these students then being responsible for instructing their younger classmates. This method of education, which is labelled with the umbrella term of monitorial schooling, was advocated concurrently by educational theorists Dr. Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster.[4] Bell's system, given the title of Madras Schools, supposedly inspired by schools that he visited as an a British East India Company army chaplain in Madras, now Chennai, India, were attached to the established Church of England, and run through an organization called the "National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church in England and Wales", later shortened to the National School Society.[5] Bell's Madras schools competed in England against the similar monitorial system of Lancaster, which was non-denominational in character, and closely associated with non-conformist Protestantism. Between 1811 and 1820 monitorial schools operating under both systems expanded across Great Britain and the

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[3] Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871*, (Barcombe, Lewes, East Sussex [England]: Falmer Press, 1988); Sean Carleton*, Lessons in legitimacy: Colonialism, capitalism, and the rise of state schooling in British Columbia*, (Vancouver UBC Press, 2022); and Funké Aladejebi and Crystal Gail Fraser, "Lessons in relationality: reconsidering the history of education in North America.", *History of Education* 52, no. 2-3 (2023): 154-181.

[4] Satya S Pachori, "Dr. Andrew Bell and Coleridge's Lectures on Education.", *The Journal of General Education* 35, no. 1 (1983): 26–37.

[5] Pachori, "Dr. Andrew Bell and Coleridge", 27-28.

British Empire, primarily serving urban working-class populations in metropolitan Britain, as well as the children of poorer settlers in colonial spaces.

The establishment and subsequent expansion of the Madras school system in New Brunswick between 1818 and 1828 was a carefully implemented policy in the process of the formation of the settler state in the province. The push for the creation of Madras school system in New Brunswick was part of vision for a stratified education system that itself formed a key element of the wider political project for New Brunswick as it was envisioned by both colonial officials and the group of elite Loyalist settlers who controlled the political, judicial, and economic spheres of the colony. Colonial officials such as Governor George Symth and members the local settler elite such as Ward Chipman Sr. and Ward Chipman Jr. and Rev. Robert Willis thought that the close ties of the Madras school system to both the Church of England and metropolitan Britain would inculcate loyalty amongst the English-speaking settler inhabitants of the province, ensuring that they remained committed to the British Empire and the settler colonial project. The expansion of the Madras School system was designed by those who controlled its operations in the province to serve as the bottom tier of a stratified education system that would insulate poorer settlers from republican ideas that they feared would be spread by educational methods and teachers coming from the United States. Thus, the Madras School system was a pillar in the push by colonial authorities to ensure that settlers in New Brunswick continued to be loyal to the British Empire.

The first chapter of this thesis presents a review of the existing literature on the history of education in New Brunswick between 1784 and 1830. The historiography of schooling in New Brunswick remains quite limited, and much of the older work is

largely uncritical of the early years of education in the province after the arrival of the Loyalists in 1783-1784. Though some later work has deconstructed the "Loyalist myth" embedded in the foundation narrative of education in the settler colony of New Brunswick, it is a thread that remains present in how the story of education in the province and its relationship with the formation of the settler state is viewed. This background is necessary context for understanding the role that schooling played in the society of the Loyalists and the formation of the settler state in New Brunswick in the period of 1784 to 1830.

The second chapter of this work examines the educational background of the Madras system in New Brunswick, and the course of its expansion from the creation of the first Madras School in the province in 1818 until the rapid decline of the system after 1828. This section begins by presenting an overview of the framework of educational legislation that existed in New Brunswick between 1784 and 1818, which had the goal of creating a deeply hierarchical education system in the province. These pieces of legislation would lay the groundwork for the quick expansion of the Madras School system after 1818. The chapter explores in detail the expansion of the Madras school system in New Brunswick, with a breakdown of the total number of schools in operation, as well as their location across the province. The location of the schools clearly highlights how the Madras school system was meant to shape the settler colonial project in the province along the hierarchical lines envisioned by those who controlled the Madras School Board. The initial concentration of Madras schools in the in-land agricultural settlements reflected the vision of the Loyalists for a settler colony that was pastoral in structure. After 1823 the growth in the number of Madras schools would

largely be focused in borderland areas of the province, being used as tools to ensure that the settlers living in these areas remained clearly attached to the project of empire. Finally, the racial segregation enforced in the Madras schools in New Brunswick reflected the role of white supremacy in the vision of the Loyalist elite for the settler colony.

The third chapter of this work examines three central aspects of how the Madras school system in the province served the interests of the settler elite in shaping the society of the new province. First, this chapter looks at the role and composition of the provincial Madras School Board, showing how it was dominated by the members of the Loyalist elite, allies of the Governor who dominated the province's Executive Council and Judiciary, often operating in opposition to the members of the elected House of Assembly. Second, the close relationship between the Madras schools and the Church of England is discussed, emphasizing how the instruction of the doctrine of the Anglican Church that occurred in the Madras schools was thought to encourage both religious and political loyalty amongst the settler population. Thirdly, the Madras school system linked New Brunswick to a broader network of Church of England missionary educational endeavours that expanded across the British Empire, strengthening cultural ties to Britain that colonial officials believed would encourage settlers to remain closely identified with the Empire.

The prominence of the Madras School system in the educational landscape of early nineteenth century New Brunswick was the result of a clear effort by the Loyalist elite to ensure that they controlled the provision of education in the province. The distinctly hierarchical and conservative character of the Madras system, as well as its

ties to both Britain and the Church of England, meant that it fit well into the wider vision of the stratified and loyal settler society envisioned by the Loyalist elite. The expansion of the Madras school system in New Brunswick between 1818 and 1828 was part of a directed effort by both colonial officials and local settler elites to shape the society of the colony into one that was conservative, oriented toward Britain, hierarchical, and loyally tethered to the British Empire. Thus, the Madras school system played a key role in defining the process of settler colonialism in New Brunswick in the early nineteenth century.

Methodology

The information found in this thesis was primarily compiled from the written minute books of the New Brunswick Madras School Board.[6] This was the organization that was responsible for overseeing all of the Madras Schools in New Brunswick. The board was based in Saint John and operated continuously from its foundation in 1818 until the surrender of the provincial Madras School charter to the University of New Brunswick in 1900. These records are contained in two bound volumes contained in the Madras School fonds (MC374) held at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick. This work only covers the Madras Schools from their beginning in New Brunswick in 1818 until 1828, after which their number and influence in the province declined rapidly. As

[6] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", Madras School fonds, MC374, book 1, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

such, this thesis is mostly based on the meeting notes found in the first volume of these records, which covers a period from 1818 until 1835.

In addition to the records of the Madras School Board, this thesis also draws from other sources held at PANB that contain information on the schools, or on the general educational history of New Brunswick. These include the published annual reports of the Madras School Board, which were printed by the society starting in 1821.[7] Beyond this, the research process for this work also looked at the New Brunswick House of Assembly Sessional Records (RS24), were consulted to outline the background of educational legislation in the province prior to the establishment of the Madras Schools.[8]

It is important to stress that a significant difficulty in writing the history of the Madras School system in New Brunswick is that, like most topics in the history of education, the surviving records are almost entirely written by those who held the positions of power both in government and the education system. Thus, the perspectives of both students and families are largely absent from the existing written record. This of course poses a significant problem in that it means work based on these sources runs the risk of being too "top down" in focus, and of simply replicating the structures of power that define how the records themselves were produced. Therefore, it is very important that these records be read "against the grain" as proposed by historian Anna Laura

[7] George Burns and Edward J. Jarvis, *1822 Annual Report of Madras Schools in New Brunswick* (Saint John: 1822), RS8 Executive Council of New Brunswick records, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[8] New Brunswick House of Assembly Sessional Records, RS24, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

Stoler, with a focus on the power narratives that are imbued both in them, and in the narratives of which they speak concerning the Madras Schools.[9] As will be seen later in this thesis, those who controlled the Madras Schools were often strikingly clear in outlining their intentions and their view of the schools' purpose, but it is the duty of the historian to interpret these sources in a way that approaches critically what is recorded in the written record.

[9] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the archival grain: Epistemic anxieties and colonial common sense*, (Princeton University Press, 2008).

Chapter One: "The same narrow and exclusive Spirit": Historiography of Education in Loyalist New Brunswick from 1784-1830.

Still considered by historians as the central work on the History of education in New Brunswick, *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900* presents a highly critical perspective on the approach to the history of education in New Brunswick taken by previous historians. In this work Katherine F.C. MacNaughton states that "it is customary to think about the first fifty years of New Brunswick history as a period of remarkable achievement in the face of terrific obstacles."[10] Though MacNaughton was writing almost eight decades ago, the uncomplicated and uncritical view of the province's history that she criticized the previous scholarship for having is one which still lingers on in the province's historiography.

Presenting an overview of the existing scholarly literature on the history of education in New Brunswick in the first fifty years after its separation from Nova Scotia in 1784 is a challenging prospect. New Brunswick historiography in general remains, even after the emergence of regional history in the early 1970s, an underdeveloped field. This problem becomes particularly acute for the study of the history of education in the province, with a deeply pronounced lack of historical work on education prior to the passage of the *Common Schools Act* of 1871. The period of 1784 to 1830, which saw the political hegemony of an elite Loyalist oligarchy control the instruments of political

[10] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 35.

power in the province, presents the nascent period of the establishment of the settler colonial government in New Brunswick.[11] Work by scholars interested in the wider British Empire have clearly shown that education was an integral part of the settler colonial process, and the lack of specific attention by historians to this in the context of New Brunswick between 1784 and 1830 has meant that there in a significant gap in how the history of the state and its power structures in the province is understood.[12]

The discussion of the history of education in New Brunswick from 1784 to 1830 cannot occur in a vacuum, and to understand the path that the historiography took, it must be centered within a larger story about the arrival of the Loyalists and their role in the formation of political, social, and institutional power structures in the province. As will be discussed, education was a clear and recognized component of the Loyalist vision for New Brunswick.[13] Therefore, this chapter will present an overview of the historiography of the formation of political power structures during the period of Loyalist hegemony between 1784 and 1830, with a specific focus on scholarly work that has addressed the role of education within these frameworks.

My argument here is that there are four main periods of scholarship that look at the role played by the Loyalists in the establishment of the settler state in New

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[11] Edward Winslow and Ann Condon, "The Young Robin Hood Society": A Political Satire by Edward Winslow", *Acadiensis* 15, no. 2 (1986): 120–143.

[12] Laura M Stevens, *The Poor Indians: British Missionaries, Native Americans, and Colonial Sensibility*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

[13] For works that deal with the Loyalists and Loyalism outside of New Brunswick see: Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan, eds, *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Elizabeth Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada : A Developing Colonial Ideology*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987); and Jeffrey L McNairn, "Towards deliberative democracy: Parliamentary intelligence and the public sphere in upper Canada, 1791-1840." *Journal of Canadian studies 33*, no. 1 (1998): 39-60.

Brunswick. The first generation of historians, who were writing between the 1880s and early 1940s, was characterized by largely uncritical and laudatory work which positioned a foundational narrative of the Loyalists as the benevolent builders of New Brunswick society, including the education system. This generation of historians, which includes in chronological order, W.O. Raymond, James Hannay, and later W.S. MacNutt, presents a narrative that situates the Loyalists as the founders of New Brunswick, and promotes a positive role of their aspirations to create an *ancien regime* society. The view of the Loyalists perpetuated by these historians led to the firm establishment of the "Loyalist myth", a trend in historiography which would remain the dominant force until at least the 1970s. The term "Loyalist myth", used to describe the dominant view of Loyalist history in Canada prior to the 1970s, was coined by Canadian historian J.A. fellows in a 1971 article titled "The Loyalist Myth in Canada".[14] The construction of the Loyalist myth in relation to the History of New Brunswick is examined by historian Murray Barkley in the 1975 article "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick: the Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth, 1825-1914". Barkley's emphasizes how historians and public actors during this period fashioned a historical narrative regarding the Loyalists in New Brunswick that both positioned them as the founders of the settler society in New Brunswick, as well as pushed a general myth about the motivations and class background of the Loyalists, stressing their supposed universal gentility and unwavering loyalty to the King and Great Britain.[15]

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[14] Jo-Ann Fellows, "The Loyalist Myth in Canada*", Historical Papers / Communications historiques* 6, no. 1 (1971): 94–111.

[15] Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick." *Acadiensis* 4, no. 2 (1975): 3-45.

In the context of the early history of education in New Brunswick, the influence of the Loyalist myth has meant that early scholarship largely presented the story of education in New Brunswick uncritically as having been built by the Loyalist elite as part of their vision for the province, without examining whom these systems were meant to serve and what their purpose within the broader political and social structure of the province was.

Around the time of the Second World War, a new generation of historians emerged who began to dismantle some aspects of the Loyalist myth. This group was led by scholars Katherine MacNaughton, Alfred G. Bailey, and Esther Clark Wright. Situated within the interwar tradition of the Progressive historians, this period in the historiography of the Loyalists in New Brunswick represents the first wave of scholars to criticize the dominance of the Loyalist myth maintained by the earlier generation of historians. This generation of historians challenged some of the uncritical views about the Loyalists, particularly highlighting the concept that they were not an ideological unified group, nor did they fit unanimously within the pattern of upper-class gentility that had been described in the work of Raymond and earlier historians. As Wright articulated in the introduction to her work *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, historiography prior to this period had either consisted of simple vilification by American historians, or being "worshiped with fanatic pride by their descendants".[16] For Wright and the other scholars of her era helped to form a new approach to the study of

[16] Esther Clark Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*, (Wolfville, N.S., Canada,1955), 1.

the Loyalists that took into account the historical complexity of their lived experiences that went being condemnation of ancestor worship.

The next major wave within the historiography of the Loyalists in New Brunswick came in the early 1970s with the appearance of the "Acadiensis generation" of regional Maritime historians who began to challenge some of the major narratives which had defined Canadian historiography, including a major deconstruction and challenge to the Loyalist myth. Influenced by the development of social history from 1960s, historians such as Judith Fingard, David Bell, Ann Gordon Condon, and Margaret Conrad effectively reconfigured how historians of the region view the Loyalist period. James St. George Walker's work on the Black Loyalists can also be situated within this period in the scholarship. This generation of scholarship was marked by a distinct shift away from an exclusive focus on the "great men" of the Loyalist elite and incorporated both social histories to examine the wider spectrum of Loyalist society, as well as beginning to use gender and class analysis to approach the subject.

Finally, this chapter will look at the recent historiography of the Loyalist period in New Brunswick history and of the Loyalists outside of New Brunswick, which have appeared within the last 15 years, including works by Bonnie Huskins, Greg Marquis, Keith Grant, Harvey Amani Whitfield, and Maya Jasanoff. These works have presented a new frontier within Loyalist scholarship, embracing the cultural turn of the 1990s and bringing firmly into the discussion previously ignored elements with the historiography of the Loyalist period, including race, enslavement, the place of the Loyalists within the broader Atlantic World, history of emotions, and the construction of historical memory. These are elements which continue to shape contemporary Loyalist historiography and

are essential to developing our understanding of the directions that future work on the topic might take. The final section of this chapter will offer a brief discussion of the potential avenues for the study of the Loyalist period looking ahead.

Writing about the Loyalist in an article published posthumously in *Acadiensis* in 1976, aptly titled "The Loyalists: A Sympathetic View", W.S. MacNutt makes the case that "For over thirty years they composed the principal English-speaking ingredient among the many elements that were to transform British North America into the Canadian nation, a link between colonialism and nationality second to none."[17] By the time of his death in 1976, W.S. MacNutt was one of the final remaining spokespeople within the scholarly world for the view of the Loyalists which had solidified in the 1880s.[18] This view held that the Loyalists were the high-minded and benevolent founders of a province who had sought to, through the creation of distinct political, religious, and social institutions, distance themselves from what MacNutt characterises as the extravagance of American mob-rule.[19] This tradition of scholarship, referred to by later historians beginning with Fellows as the "Loyalist myth", took at face value the statement of Edward Winslow that the society the Loyalist elite hoped to create in New Brunswick would be "the most gentlemanlike on Earth".[20] While the intentions of the Loyalists to create a highly stratified settler society are generally quite clear, this early generation of historians view the project as ultimately a positive one and are largely

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[17] W. S MacNutt, "The Loyalists: A Sympathetic View", *Acadiensis* 6, no. 1 (1976): 20.

[18] MacNutt, "The Loyalists: A Sympathetic View", 3.

[19] MacNutt, "The Loyalists: A Sympathetic View", 6-8.

[20] Ann Gorman Condon, *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick: The Envy of the American States*, (Fredericton, NB: New Ireland Press, 1984), 5-10.

uncritical of the political vision outlined by Winslow, Ward Chipman, Gabriel Ludlow, and John Saunders.[21] The celebration of the Loyalists as the glorious 'founding people' of the province, and the hegemony of the Loyalist myth, is in large part the product of the writing of the early New Brunswick historians, and remains with some staying power, at least in popular history, up to the present day.

The First Wave of New Brunswick Historians

The first major wave of New Brunswick historians emerged in the 1880s with W.O. Raymond and James Hannay, but the historiographical genesis of the Loyalist Myth can be traced back even earlier to the publication in 1825 by Peter Fisher of *Sketches of New Brunswick: Containing an Account of the First Settlement of the Province, With a Brief Description of the Country, Climate, Productions, Inhabitants, Government, Rivers, Towns, Settlements, Public Institutions, Trade, Revenue, Population, &c., by an Inhabitant of the Province*.[22] Fisher's work however is an outlier because it is largely biographical and unlike Raymond and Hannay, he had no historical training and was writing before the professionalization of the discipline. Fisher's work is frequently cited as a source by both Raymond and Hanny in their later publications.[23] Situating Fisher within a larger chronology of Loyalist scholarship is difficult due to the almost antediluvian position of his work.

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[21] W. O. Raymond, *Glimpses of the Past: History of the River St. John, A.D. 1604-1784*. (St. John, N.B: 1905), 500-510.

[22] Peter Fisher, *Sketches of New-Brunswick: Containing an Account of the First Settlement of the Province: with a Brief Description of the Country, Climate, Productions, Inhabitants, Government, Rivers, Towns, Settlements, Public Institutions, Trade, Revenue, Population, &c.*, (Saint John, NB: Chubb & Sears, 1825).

[23] W.O. Raymond, *Glimpses of the Past*.

The entrenchment of the preeminent position of the Loyalists within the historiography of New Brunswick began in earnest within the work of W.O. Raymond and James Hannay at the turn of the century.[24] Raymond was born in 1853 in Lower Woodstock into a family which considered itself to be part of the Loyalist elite and was raised in an upper-class and Anglican home.[25] He received an M.A. in History from the University of New Brunswick and was ordained as an Anglican minister.[26] Raymond's major books include *Glimpses of the Past History of the River St. John, A.D. 1604-1784* and an edited copy of the records of Edward Winslow titled *The Winslow Papers, AD 1776-1826.*[27] Raymond was quick to highlight what he viewed as the heroism of the Loyalists, and constructed a narrative within his work that positioned them as the people who carved out a new society within the "welcome wilderness" of Nova Scotia.[28] Raymond's view is succinctly illustrated by the following passage combining praising prose with lyrical verse from his 1910 book *Glimpses of the Past History of the River St. John*:

> We need not pause and consider in detail the reasons that impelled these unfortunate people to leave the homes where they had been born and bred to begin life anew in the wilderness. They followed the path of duty as they saw it. Fidelity to the King and Motherland and the desire of race unity led them to contend for the integrity of the empire and if henceforth they must seek life in the wilderness.
>
> Then welcome wilderness!

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[24] For a later example of a work that embodies this viewpoint see W. Stewart MacNutt, *New Brunswick: A History: 1784-1867*, (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1963).

[25] David Bell, "Raymond, William Odber," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 15, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003).

[26] Bell, "Raymond, William Odber".

[27] Raymond, *Glimpses of the Past*; Edward Winslow and W.O. Raymond, *The Winslow Papers*, (Fredericton, N.B.: Electronic Text Centre, University of New Brunswick, 2005).

[28] Raymond, *Glimpses of the Past,* 502-503.

Though the dark and rude
And unsubdued,
For their sturdy hands
By hated treason undefiled
Might win from the Canadian wild
A home on British lands.[29]

The inclusion of the lines of poetry of Raymond, strange as it might seem to contemporary standards, is a conscious response to an earlier tradition of Loyalist poetry by Jonathon Odell and others.[30] This passage from Raymond's work is representative of the generation of scholarship that he personifies for several related reasons. We see here the repeated references to the land that we now call New Brunswick as virgin wilderness, which is a trope often used by settler historians to erase the presence of Indigenous Peoples from the historical narrative.[31] We also see the clear appeals to ideas of race and empire that are highly characteristic of this generation of scholarship both within and outside the New Brunswick context. Raymond was an ardent imperialist and was positioning the Loyalists as not only the founders of New Brunswick, but also the progenitors of the Canadian state, and the historical glue that maintained its connection to the British Empire.[32] This vein is particularly acute in the case of Raymond because, as Greg Marquis writes in his 2013 article "Commemorating the Loyalists in the

[29] Raymond, *Glimpses of the Past*, 504.

[30] Gwendolyn Davies, "Consolation to Distress: Loyalist Literary Activity in the Maritimes", *Acadiensis* 16, no. 2 (1987): 51-68.

[31] Raymond, *Glimpses of the Past*, 500-510.

[32] Greg Marquis, "Commemorating the Loyalists in the Loyalist City: Saint John, New Brunswick, 1883–1934", *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine* 33, no. 1 (2004): 24–33.

Loyalist City: Saint John, New Brunswick, 1883–1934", Raymond was writing in a historical context that sought to firmly cement New Brunswick both within the expanding Canadian state, and British Empire of the Victorian period, as well as emphasizing an Anglo-Saxon racial identity.[33] Marquis states that
"By the early 1900s a number of large-scale publication projects reflected the increased interest in national history. English Canadians looked to their "founders," the Loyalists, as the basis of the future Dominion. The Loyalists, although American, were redefined in historical writing and popular understanding as "English" and "Empire builders."[34] Thus, Marquis makes the case that Raymond worked to reshape the historiography of the Loyalists from a heterogeneous group who fled the Thirteen Colonies for a variety of complex reasons, into a distinctly English people who shared a common ideological affinity for the British empire.[35] They were, in the view of Raymond, the people who fashioned a "loyal" bastion of the empire from the problematically described "wilderness."[36]

This is a view which is echoed by historian James Hannay in his 1909 work *History of New Brunswick.*[37] Hannay's work deals with a larger temporal period than does Raymond, however he does not diverge much from his contemporary in terms of his view of the Loyalists and their role in the creation of the province's political institutions.[38] Hanny is somewhat more critical of the Loyalists than Raymond, stating

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[33] Marquis, "Commemorating the Loyalists", 26.

[34] Marquis, "Commemorating the Loyalists", 25.
[35] Marquis, "Commemorating the Loyalists", 25-27.
[36] Raymond, *Glimpses of the Past*, 503-504.
[37] James Hannay, *History of New Brunswick*, (St. John, N.B: J.A. Bowes, 1909).
[38] Hannay, *History of New Brunswick,* 217-225.

that many of the Loyalists were simply "the creatures of circumstance", but he still describes them as being "energetic and hopeful, they had faith in the future of the chosen land" a faith that Hannay describes at the time of his writing as having been "amply justified".[39]

In this sense Raymond and Hannay can be viewed as the historiographical creators of the Loyalist myth in the New Brunswick context. Their view of the story of the Loyalists and their role in creating the institutional structures of power which would govern the province in the coming centuries is one which is largely uncritical and is firmly situated within the context of the wave of deeply intertwined Imperial and Canadian nationalism of the Victorian period.[40] Both historians worked to centre the Loyalists within a nation building narrative, that they were molded from diverse American exiles to examples of Englishness and Imperial loyalty.[41] The narratives of Raymond and Hanny marginalize several important aspects of the Loyalist migration, including all who did not fit within their paradigm of the ideal Loyalist as being upper-class, male, White, and expressing a clear political and emotional allegiance to Britain. This narrative obscures several significant aspects of the story of the Loyalists, including the Black Loyalists and the class-based political contention which would define the early Loyalist period in the province's history.

Katherine MacNaughton and the History of Education in New Brunswick

[39] Hannay, *History of New Brunswick,* 221-223.
[40] Marquis, "Commemorating the Loyalists", 25.
[41] Marquis, "Commemorating the Loyalists", 27-30.

Beginning in the mid 1940s a new generation of scholars would emerge to challenge the narrative of the Loyalists put in place by Raymond and Hannay. These historians were influenced by the wave of Progressive historians of the interwar period, and they began to deconstruct the elite driven narrative of the Loyalist and the idealized society they sought to create.[42] Particularly influential among this group was Katherine MacNaughton, whose 1945 work *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, 1784-1900: A Study in Historical Background* devotes several chapters to offering a detailed and highly critical discussion of the Loyalist vision for education in the province.[43]

MacNaughton's work offers a marked departure from earlier perspectives of the history of the role of the Loyalists in the formation of institutions of power in the province for two reasons. Firstly, she clearly articulates the conflict that emerged between the Loyalist elite led by Winslow, Chipman, and Bliss, and the broader body of Loyalists from outside the upper-class who opposed the vision for a province dominated by a tightly knit family compact.[44] MacNaughton's work is one of the few that deals with the topic of the education system in New Brunswick during the first half of the nineteenth century that remains preeminent to this day. In her work MacNaughton describes the society of New Brunswick envisioned by the Loyalists as a "citadel of conservatism and imperial loyalty" and expanded on how the designs of Governor Carleton and the family compact for a highly stratified education system, whose jewel was to be the College at Fredericton, were contested by the more democratic House of

[42] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick*, III.
[43] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 35-40.
[44] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick*, 4-5.

Assembly that pushed for the establishment of a parish school system.[45] MacNaughton characterizes Loyalist society during this period as heterogenous and fraught with conflict between the elite Family Compact and those outside this group, whose concerns were vocalized by political reformers such as Elias Hardy and James Glenie.[46]

MacNaughton's work is classic Whig history and describes a clear narrative of political and social progress from the separation of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia in 1784 until the time of her writing.[47] *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick* falls within a generation of Whiggish historiography that emphasized the Loyalist hegemony in New Brunswick as presenting obstacles to social, economic, and political progress. This was a view also expressed by Historian and poet A.G. Bailey, who critically admonished the Loyalist as being a backwards looking *ancien régime* society.[48]

Esther Clark Wright

Another historian writing about the role of the Loyalists in state formation in New Brunswick during this period was Esther Clark Wright.[49] While expressing a much more sympathetic view of the Loyalists than MacNaughton, Wright is still firmly situated within the period of scholarship that approached with criticism the stratified

[45] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick*, 35-36.
[46] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick*, 23.
[47] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick*.
[48] Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey, *Culture and Nationality,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 1972).
[49] Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick*.

vision for society envisioned by the Loyalists, at least the class-based aspect of it, and accepted the strands of political conflict between the family compact and the reformers as categorizing this period.[50] Wright's 1955 work *The Loyalists of New Brunswick* paints a more complicated picture of the society of the Loyalists both before and after their arrival in New Brunswick, and discusses the role played by the Governor and the Family compact in forming and controlling the political institutions of the province, including the early education system.[51] Wright's work, as well as that of MacNaughton, while beginning to dismantle some aspects of the foundational narrative prescribed by Raymond and Hannay, does not touch in any significant way the colonial, racialized, or gendered aspects of the history of the Loyalists. While class analysis is an important factor in both the works, they are largely silent on the Black Loyalists. Both historians also focus their analysis exclusively on male Loyalists, ignoring the actions of Loyalist women and gender as an overall category of analysis. While this work deconstructs to a certain extent the structures of political power based on class hierarchies in the Loyalist period, these other silences leave much of the story incomplete.

The Acadiensis Generation

By the early 1970s a massive change was brewing within the field of Canadian history. As social history began to expand in the 1960s, historians also began to question the nation building and "great men" emphasis that had hitherto underpinned the study of

[50] Wright, *The Loyalists of New Brunswick,* 234-237.
[51] Wright, *The Loyalists*, 230-240.

the Canadian past.[52] In the Maritime region, a new generation of historians led by E.R. Forbes began to place region as a category of analysis at the forefront of the study of history and began to deconstruct some of the nation building narrative that had defined the study of the past in the Northern portion of North America.[53] This group of historians was later named as the "Acadiensis generation" in reference to the journal of regional history which would begin publication in 1971.[54] Untangling the bonds of national history in turn meant reevaluating the role of the Loyalists within both the history and historiography of New Brunswick. Central to this was a wave of new work from the 1970s to the 1990s which took a new approach to the study of the Loyalists. Two of the most influential historians that dealt with the Loyalists in this period were Ann Gorman Condon and David Bell. These scholars both produced work during the 1980s which repositioned Loyalist society in the province as one fraught by political conflict and began to describe the Loyalists as a much more diverse group than had previous historians. Bell's 1983 work *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics* and Condon's 1984 book *The Envy of the American States: The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick* both bring to the forefront the intense political conflict that defined the story of the Loyalists in New Brunswick after their arrival, and

[52] E.R Forbes, "In Search of a Post-Confederation Maritime Historiography, 1900 – 1967," *Acadiensis*, Vol. VIII, no 1 (Autumn 1978), 3-21.

[53] Forbes, "Post-Confederation Maritime Historiography", 180-181.

[54] Fred Burrill, "Re-developing underdevelopment: An agenda for new histories of capitalism in the Maritimes", *Acadiensis* 48, no. 2 (2019): 179-189.

clearly articulate the hegemonic vision of the family compact and how resistance to its vision materialized in various different forms. [55]

At this time James W. St. G. Walker was also writing about the Black Loyalists, which had been silenced from most histories of the Loyalists written by White historians.[56] Walker's book *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone* published first in 1973 and then republished in 1992, marked one of the first works that sought to firmly place the story of the Black Loyalists within the historiography of the Loyalist period.[57] In this sense, Walker's scholarship addresses a silence which had been endemic to almost all previous works of history about the Loyalists. Though Walker remained one of the few historians writing about the Black Loyalists in the 1970s and 1980s, his work served as the foundation for later scholarship on the topic from the 2000s onward.

Also writing about the Loyalists in New Brunswick during this period was Judith Fingard. Though not exclusively focused on the Loyalists, Fingard's interest in education and religion in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Nova Scotia led to a 1972 article titled "The New England Company and the New Brunswick Indians, 1786-1826: A Comment on the Colonial Perversion of British Benevolence" which discussed the Sussex Vale School, often described as the first residential school in Canada.[58]

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[55] David Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics, 1783-1786*, (Fredericton, NB: New Ireland Press, 1983); Ann Gorman Condon, *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick: The Envy of the American States*, (Fredericton, NB: New Ireland Press, 1984).

[56] James W. S. Walker, "Myth, History and Revisionism: The Black Loyalists Revisited", *Acadiensis* 29, no. 1 (1999): 88–105.

[57] James W.S. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870*. (University of Toronto Press, 1992).

[58] Judith Fingard, "The New England Company and the New Brunswick Indians, 1786-1826: A Comment on the Colonial Perversion of British Benevolence", *Acadiensis* 1, no. 2 (1972): 29-42.

Fingard's work brought about a new critical approach to the Loyalist oligarchy and its role both in the operation of the school and in the educational debates of the time.[59] Though very significant, Fingard's early work remained an outlier, and the topic of residential schools in the region would draw little attention from historians until the twenty first century.

With this new generation of historiography also sprang forth the inclusion of gender as a category of analysis within the study of the Loyalists. Beginning in the 1970s Historian Margaret Conrad began to write about the history of Loyalist women.[60] Conrad's 1988 book *No Place Like Home: The Diaries and Letters of Nova Scotia Women* was the first to significantly consider the role of women Loyalists and incorporate gender history into Loyalist historiography.[61] Conrad's work marked the application of the lens of gender to the study of the Loyalists, which had previously been absent as a category of critical analysis from the discussion of the Loyalists.

Loyalist Scholarship in the Twenty First Century

By the early 2000s with the advent of the cultural turn in the previous decade, a new iteration of historians of the Loyalists would emerge after a lull from the late 1980s until the dawn of the new millennia. This most recent generation of historians of the

[59] Fingard, "The New England Company", 31-32.

[60] Margaret Conrad, Toni Laidlaw, and Donna Smyth, *No Place Like Home: Diaries and Letters of Nova Scotia Women 1771-1938*. (Halifax, N.S: Formac, 1988).

[61] Conrad, Laidlaw, and Smyth, *No Place Like Home*.

Loyalists in New Brunswick began to ask new and intriguing questions about the role of this group in the history of the province, and how they shaped structures of power. Historians such as Bonnie Huskins, Keith Grant, Harvey Amani Whitfield, and Greg Marquis, broke new ground in the study of the Loyalists and how they shaped the structures of power in New Brunswick and elsewhere in the region. These scholars writing in the post 2010 period have posed a diverse array of new questions about the Loyalists and deconstructed their historical and historiographical hegemony in new ways.

The last fifteen years has seen a striking shift in the historiography of the Loyalists in New Brunswick, and these new currents offer perspectives which are of significant value to work on the history of the institutions that were created during this period. The post 2010 period has been marked by a proliferation of work that has asked new questions which further complicate and deconstructs the Loyalist myth, and the hold that it once had on New Brunswick's historiography. Notable work among the recent scholarship on the Loyalists in New Brunswick include Harvey Amani Whitfield 2016 book *North to Bondage Loyalist Slavery in the Maritimes,* which centre the role of slavery in the society of the Loyalists in the Maritimes.[62] While this work does not deal directly with education, it put forward a critical revaluation of New Brunswick society that forced scholars of the region to recon with the ways in which the Loyalists and the institutions that they created were deeply tied to enslavement.[63] These questions again

[62] Harvey Amani Whitfield, *North to Bondage: Loyalist Slavery in the Maritimes*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016).
[63] Whitfield, *North to Bondage,* 6-7.

came to the forefront of discussion in 2020 when University of King's College in Nova Scotia, an institution that was founded by the Loyalists in that province, released a report titled *King's & Slavery: A Scholarly Inquiry* which dealt with the extensive ties between the college and slavery.[64] The findings of the inquiry were published in a report and a series of articles by Jerry Bannister, Henry Roper, Shirley Tillotson, Karolyn Smardz Forst and David States.[65] This recent work has demonstrated that slavery cannot be ignored in the study of the Loyalists, which it had been in New Brunswick historiography largely until the publication of Whitfield's book. An inquiry of the nature of that done by King's has yet to be launched in New Brunswick but given the historical similarities that this institution shared with the University of New Brunswick, such a report would likely yield important insight into the links between UNB and enslavement. Though recent scholarship has brought slavery to the forefront of the discussion on the society of the Loyalists and the institutions and power structures that they form, it remains an untouched area in the history of education in New Brunswick during the Loyalist period.[66]

To my knowledge there has only been one work in the last decade that has addressed the role of education in the settler colonial project in New Brunswick, with a specific focus only on the events of the early nineteenth century. This is historian Richard Yeomans 2023 article "Land Rich, Cash Poor: The Settler-Colonial Beginnings

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[64] Shirley Tillotson, "How (and how much) King's College Benefitted from Slavery in the West Indies, 1789-1854", in *King's & Slavery: University of King's College* (2020).
[65] Tillotson, *King's & Slavery*.
[66] For work on slavery and education in the early nineteenth century outside of New Brunswick see: Charmaine A. Nelson, *Slavery, geography and empire in nineteenth-century marine landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica*, (Routledge, 2017).

of the University of New Brunswick, 1785-1829", which addressed the relationship between higher education and the formation of the settler state in New Brunswick. Though this article does not deal with primary education in the 1785 to 1829 period in detail, its conclusions about the educational outlook of colonial policy makers in the province during the early nineteenth century are invaluable.[67]

Also appearing among the developments in Loyalist scholarship which occurred during the post-2010 period is the work by Maya Jasanoff that has argued for the Loyalists to be situated firmly within the context of the broader Atlantic World.[68] Jasanoff's work, which includes her 2011 book *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World,* presents a dramatically different perspective on the Loyalists from that which had generally been advanced by Canadian historians.[69] Jasanoff's view of the Loyalists does not focus on a specific regional or national context, but rather takes a broad view of the various migrations of the Loyalists throughout the Atlantic World in the aftermath of the American Revolution.[70] Such a viewpoint is important to the study of the Loyalists in New Brunswick because, by decentring the provincial and national contexts which have previously defined the body of Loyalist historiography, a more nuanced understanding of the Loyalists emerges in which the influence is the Loyalist myth is further deconstructed.

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[67] For work on settler colonialism and education in New Brunswick in later periods see: Martha E Walls, ""[T] he teacher that cannot understand their language should not be allowed": Colonialism, Resistance, and Female Mi'kmaw Teachers in New Brunswick Day Schools, 1900–1923." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 22, no. 1 (2011): 35-67.

[68] Maya Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011).

[69] Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles*.

[70] Jasanoff, *Liberty's Exiles,* 9-14.

Work within the last decade by Bonnie Huskins has presented another new critical approach to the society of the Loyalists, with a focus on the social history of the Loyalist settlements in the Maritime region. This is a crucial aspect of the story of the Loyalists and works such as "`Ancient' tensions and local circumstances: Loyalist Freemasons in Shelburne Nova Scotia" contribute greatly to the historical understanding of this much neglected aspect of the historiography of Loyalists and the Loyalism.[71] This work emphasises the importance of looking at the daily-life and societal events of the Loyalist period, going beyond the "great men" and political history that defined the earlier waves of scholarship.

Recent work by New Brunswick historian Greg Marquis has highlighted another significant aspect of the story of the Loyalists, one which is particularly relevant to the study of the historiography on the topic. Marquis' 2013 article "Commemorating the Loyalists in the Loyalist City: Saint John, New Brunswick, 1883–1934" explores the construction of the Loyalist myth in the New Brunswick during the late Victorian period, with a specific emphasis on how early New Brunswick historians constructed a narrative of the Loyalists that tethered them to contemporary national and imperial identities.[72] Marquis' work on the role of the construction of historical memory in the story of the Loyalists in relevant to the overall historiography of the Loyalists, and of education during the Loyalist period, because it offers a critical analysis of the ways that historiography and public history have influenced how the Loyalists and the structures

[71] Bonnie L Huskins, "'Ancient Tensions and Local Circumstances: Loyalist Freemasons in Shelburne Nova Scotia.", *Journal for Research into Freemasonry and Fraternalism* 5, no. 1 (2014): 47-72; see also Bonnie Huskins, " Shelburnian Manners": Gentility and the Loyalists of Shelburne, Nova Scotia", *Early American Studies* (2015): 151-188.
[72] Marquis, "Commemorating the Loyalists", 25-26.

of power that they shaped.[73] Ultimately, this work is important to the study of education during the period of 1784 to 1830 because it offers a critical lens through which to view how scholarship until relatively recently has viewed the political and social institutions, the education system include, which the Loyalists formed as part of the expansion of the settler state in what is now New Brunswick.

Marquis' work on the Loyalists and historical memory brings full circle the discussion of the Loyalist myth and its role in shaping this aspect of New Brunswick historiography. While the "Loyalist myth" which once defined the historiography of the expansion of the settler state in New Brunswick in the period of 1784-1830 has slowly dismantled by historians from the 1970s onward, there continues to be a significant aspect of the wider story of the Loyalist period which has remained neglected by historians since this turn. Though the work of the early historians of Loyalist New Brunswick was deeply skewed by the "Loyalist myth" first described by Fellows and the imperialist and settler-colonial assumptions that it entailed, the "nation-building" emphasis of these historians also produced detailed histories of the institutions which shaped power structures in this period, including the education system.

Recent work by several graduate students of the late Elizabeth Mancke has provided important new perspectives on the political conflicts that defined the formation of the settler state in early nineteenth century New Brunswick, particularly in illustrating how the provincial House of Assembly often served as a bulwark against the conservative vision promoted for the future of the colony by the Loyalist oligarchy. This

[73] Marquis, "Commemorating the Loyalists", 30-31.

recent chapter in the historiography of the Loyalist settler state in New Brunswick has shown that this period of state formation was much more contested than previous scholarship has made it out to be. Referenced earlier in this chapter, Yeoman's work on the early history of the University of New Brunswick shows that the conservative vision for higher education in the province advanced by Carleton and his supporters was met with staunch resistance in the House of Assembly that complicated the implementation of this vision.[74] Also included in this new wave of scholarship is Zachery Tingley's and Mancke's 2022 article on the New Brunswick House of Assembly's role in the construction of marine instillations and the intercolonial diplomacy and negotiations with the imperial government that formed the backdrop of these changes.[75] These works have shown that the relationship between the House of Assembly with both the provincial Loyalist oligarchy and the Imperial government was far more complex and activist in nature than characterized by previous scholarship.

The context of the relationship between the conservative vision of the Loyalist elite and the opposition of the House of Assembly is essential for understanding the role of the Madras Schools in the educational and political landscape of early nineteenth century New Brunswick. The opposition of the House of the Assembly to the more hierarchical and elitist vision of the Loyalist elite in New Brunswick for primary education lies at the crux of why the Madras Board was formed. Though the Madras Schools sometimes received limited support from the Assembly in the form of temporary grants, the Assembly did not play any formal role in the governance of the

[74] Yeomans, "Land Rich, Cash Poor".
[75] Zachary A. Tingley, and Elizabeth Mancke, "Intercolonial Cooperation and the Building of St. Paul Island and Scatarie Island Lighthouses, 1826-1840." *Acadiensis* 51, no. 2 (2022): 60-90.

board, and as will be discussed later in this work, the organization was controlled by the members of the Loyalist elite who sat on the Madras Board. This recent scholarship by Mancke, Yeomans, and Tingley highlighting the contested nature of the settler state in early nineteenth century has underscored how the expansion of the Madras School system in the province was in large part a way for the proponents of a conservative vision for the colony to work around the more democratically oriented and hostile Assembly.

The place of primary education in Loyalist historiography has not yet been examined by later historians of the period, who operate with a more critical and nuanced view of the Loyalists. This is a much-needed area of study, because like other institutions of power, including higher education, the courts, and legislature, primary schooling played and continues to play a significant role in the function of the settler state. What Loyalist historiography needs is for the history of primary education to be revisited by a new generation with a critical perspective on the relationship that these early schools played in the expansion of settler state and the creation of the power structures that remain deeply relevant today. This is the approach from which my own work on the education system in New Brunswick in the period of 1784 to 1830 begins.

This chapter examined the course of the historiography of the Loyalists in New Brunswick, beginning with the early works of Raymond and Hannay who built the foundation of the “Loyalist myth” which defined the literature until the 1970s. They were followed by a new group of Progressive historians in the 1940s, including MacNaughton, Bailey, and Wright. These scholars began to challenge some of the fundamental assertions of the “Loyalist myth”, particularly in the context of the

development of the education system in New Brunswick. The next major changed arrived in the 1970s, when the historians of the "Acadiensis generation" of regional historians led by Condon, Bell, Fingard, and Walker, brought new lenses to the study of the Loyalist, frameworks of class, gender, and region that pushed aside the former "nation-building" narrative of the Loyalist that had until that point characterized the historiography. Finally, recent developments in the historiography of the Loyalists have centred the related narratives of enslavement, the place of the Loyalists within the Atlantic World, and the link between construction of historical memory and empire. These developments have been significant, but their scope has not yet been placed on the institutions of power that the Loyalists created, of which the education system is one of the most significant. My work will seek to address this gap, by bringing a critical perspective to the history of the education system in New Brunswick between 1784 and 1830.

Chapter Two:

"Very useful in fixing good principles in the Settlers": The Expansion Madras System in New Brunswick, 1818 to 1828.

One of the defining characteristics of the Madras School system in New Brunswick between 1818 and 1828 was the deeply hierarchical nature of its governance. While the Madras Schools made a significant contribution to promoting literacy in the province and were generally quite popular amongst settlers, communities had very little control over the operation of the schools. Unlike the rudimentary parish school system, and other private educational ventures, the Madras system was controlled from the top-down by the Governor and members of the Loyalist elite who controlled the Madras Board in Saint John. The hierarchical structure of the Madras system in New Brunswick shows clearly how this instructional model was used to impose a conservative philosophy of education that was preferred by colonial officials and the Loyalist elite, which in turn was part of a larger political vision for shaping the development of the settler colony into a society that was deeply hierarchical in its social structure and loyal to the British Empire.

This chapter explores how the expansion of the Madras school system in New Brunswick was clearly designed by colonial elites in the province to promote a tiered education system that strengthened entrenched social hierarchies and encouraged religious loyalty to the Church of England and political connection to Great Britain. First, the backdrop of educational legislation in New Brunswick between 1784 and 1818 will be outlined, with a focus on how these developments promoted the establishment of a two-tiered education system for settler children, with state supported schools being

created for the children of the settler elite, and primary education for the children of settlers from the working and middle classes being left to the devices of charitable and church run organizations such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.) and later the Madras Schools. The second part of this chapter will provide a detailed description of the operation of the Madras School system between 1818 and 1828, showing how the actual distribution of the schools in the province clearly reflected the vision of state formation of the Governor and the Loyalist elite, with a focus on creating a pastoral settler colony, ensuring that settlers in geographic and social borderland regions remained loyal to the colonial project, and racial segregation of Black students through the establishment of separate schools. The minutes and annual reports of the New Brunswick Madras School Board between 1818 and 1828 clearly outline that these factors helped to shape the development of the network of Madras Schools in the province. Taken together, these factors demonstrate how the Madras School system was organized in a top-down manner, and that it was used as a tool by colonial policy makers and the Loyalist elite to promote their specific vision for the settler colony.

Education in New Brunswick Before 1818

The history of primary education in New Brunswick between 1784 and 1816 is directly tied to the broader political conflict amongst the Loyalist settlers regarding the direction of the new settler colony. This tension, which is described by historian David Bell in his 1984 book *Early Loyalist Saint John: the origin of New Brunswick politics, 1783-1786,* saw the emergence of two factions amongst the Loyalist settler population

in the province, each of which advocated a different vision for the political, economic, and cultural future of the colony.[76] These two factions were also based on diverging views about what "loyalty" meant in the context of the late eighteenth century British Atlantic World, with the pro-Carleton faction favouring an deference to hierarchy, while the anti-Carleton faction insisted that it was tied to a concept of liberty that came with being a British subject. Ideas about what education would look like in New Brunswick would play an important role in the discourse that defined this conflict.[77] One faction which was led by Governor Carleton, and supported by a coterie of the Loyalist elite including Rev. Jonathan Odell, Ward Chipman Sr., Gabriel Duncan Ludlow, and Edward Winslow, wished to see a colony that was dominated by members of a few patrician families through a powerful Executive Council appointed by the Governor. This group wanted political authority to be vested in a close-knit network that consisted of the landed gentry, and religious authority to be firmly in the hands of the Church of England. They envisioned a society that was agriculturally focused and pastoral, with Fredericton serving as the centre of political and social life.[78] This political group, which was deeply interconnected by social ties and marriage, is termed by some historians of the Loyalist period in New Brunswick as the Family Compact.[79] The creation of a provincial education system was a key part of the vision of the group for New Brunswick.[80] At the centre of the model for education in the province that was advanced

[76] Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John*, 64-68.

[77] Condon, *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick,* 193-196.

[78] Condon, *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick*, 152-158.

[79] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 38.

[80] Condon, *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick,* 193.

by Carleton and his allies was the establishment of a provincial college in Fredericton, with a network of elite Grammar Schools designed to act as feeders for the university.[81] This system was designed to ensure that the children of the Loyalist elite would benefit from the same access to education that had been enjoyed by their fathers and grandfathers in the former Thirteen Colonies, and Winslow and others clearly articulated how they believed that education in the province should primarily serve in allowing their sons and descendants to maintain their social status.[82] Thus, the early legislative efforts put forward by Carleton and the Executive Council were aimed at establishing a college firmly under the control of the Church of England, and a publicly supported network of Grammar Schools to serve the children of the Loyalist elite in preparation for their attendance at the provincial college. Education for settler children who did not fit within this category was left to the auspices of private teachers hired by families, or to church-run charitable organizations, as was largely the case in England.[83]

In opposition to this vision for the province was a political faction that emerged in the Legislative Assembly that represented the interests of Loyalist settlers from the labouring and middling classes, the New England Planters in Sunbury County, as well as a growing numbers of the wealthy merchants in Saint John and Charlotte County.[84] The first House of Assembly election in New Brunswick was conducted under a fairly liberal franchise for the time, allowing all men who had been resident in the province for

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[81] Richard Yeomans, "Land Rich, Cash Poor: The Settler-Colonial Beginnings of the University of New Brunswick, 1785-1829.", *Acadiensis*: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region/Revue d'histoire de la region atlantique 52, no. 2 (2023): 11-44.

[82] Condon, *The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick*, 193-194.

[83] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 41.

[84] Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John,* 99-104.

six months to vote, with no stated property requirement. This of course excluded Indigenous People, the Acadian population, as well as other Roman Catholics who were disenfranchised under the Test Acts.[85] While Free Black men were not directly prohibited from voting under the conditions of the franchise, Spray states that Carleton and the Council issued a special directive in October 1785 telling county sheriffs that votes from Black people were "not to be admitted".[86] Thus, all white Protestant settler men in the province could vote in the first legislative election in New Brunswick, without the restriction of property requirements.

The 1785 election saw the return of several members of the provincial House of Assembly who were deeply hostile to the political, economic, and social vision of Carleton and the Family Compact, including their designs for education. This faction, which was represented at various time in the Assembly by Elias Hardy and James Genie, found its base of support mostly in Saint John and the coastal areas, as well as among the New England Planter population in the vicinity of Maugerville and Sheffield.[87] This group wanted power to be concentrated in the elected House of Assembly, and not in the Governor or his appointed Executive council, and envisioned a province that was to be commercially focused instead of pastoral, and was hostile to the formal establishment of the Church of England.[88] The representatives of this group in the House of Assembly would provide the main opposition to the educational plans of

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[85] "Petition of Pierre Duperre complaining that he and other French Acadians were prevented from giving their votes at the last election", 18 Feb. 1796, New Brunswick Legislative Assembly Sessional Records, RS24, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[86] William A Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick*, (Fredericton, NB]: Brunswick Press, 1972), 34.

[87] Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John,* 99-104.

[88] Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John*, 86-87.

the Governor and his coterie, and successfully blocked the provision of funds for a new provincial college on the grounds that it would only serve the sons of the elite.

The first act of the New Brunswick Legislature that dealt directly with the establishment of a public education system in the province was "An Act for Aiding and Encouraging Parish Schools" which came into force on March 5th, 1802.[89] While both the House of Assembly and the Executive Council had been debating the establishment of a provincial College since the division of New Brunswick as a separate colony from Nova Scotia in 1784, the first twenty-five years of Loyalist settlement had seen a widespread neglect of official interest in the funding of primary schools on the part of the provincial government. In the period of 1784 to 1802 the provision of primary education in New Brunswick was left entirely to the devices of privately hired teachers, or Church of England sponsored schooling funded by London-based missionary groups such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.).[90] The 1802 Act stipulated that a total sum of four hundred and twenty pounds be granted to the Justices of the Peace of all the counties of New Brunswick for "the purpose of encouraging or assisting in the establishment of schools in the different parishes in their respective counties".[91] A further sum of ten pounds was to be granted in trust to the county Justices of Peace for each parish within their jurisdiction, to be used at their discretion to support schools that were already in operation, or to fund the creation of new schools in the parishes. This legislation required that the Justices make a report to

[89] "An Act for Aiding and Encouraging Parish Schools. Passed the 5th of March 1802", 5 March 1802, New Brunswick Legislative Assembly Sessional Records, RS24, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[90] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 41-42.

[91] "An Act for Aiding and Encouraging Parish Schools".

the Lieutenant Governor at the next sitting of the General Assembly detailing how the money had been allocated.[92]

However, the reports made by the Justices to the legislative Assembly in the decade following the passage of the 1802 Parish Schools Act shows that in practice the legislation resulted in the creation of very few regularly operating schools in the province.[93] The primary cause of the failure of the act to achieve its immediately intended purpose of establishing parish schools was that the level of funding outlined in the act did not cover enough of the cost of erecting schoolhouses and paying teachers, and therefore the 1802 act did little to expand primary school education in the province. Though the legislation was meant to support the creation of primary schools in New Brunswick, this act was by no means intended to provide free education, and the grant offered by the assembly was only meant to encourage the establishment of new schools by providing a small financial grant to the counties. The onus was therefore left on the residents of specific parishes to organize schools in their communities, and to raise the funds to pay for the salaries of teachers, as well as other expenses involved with the operation of a school, such as school books, supplies, wood for heating, and regular maintenance. So, while in theory a publicly supported system of primary schools did exist in New Brunswick after 1802, it fell far short of fulfilling the necessary conditions for having schools in day-to-day operation and educating children in the province, and

[92] "An Act for Aiding and Encouraging Parish Schools".

[93] "Report of the Justices of the General Sessions of the County of York regarding parish schools"26 February 1803, New Brunswick Legislative Assembly Sessional Records, RS24, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

as a result the act only led to the establishment of a handful of schools in the years after 1802.

Another major development in the story of the formation of a public education system in New Brunswick occurred in 1805, with the passage of the curiously titled "Act for Encouraging and Extending Literature in this Province."[94] This act sought to create a system of Grammar Schools in the province that was designed to play the role of feeder schools for the College in Fredericton. These schools were meant to provide an education for the children of the provincial Loyalist elite, and charged significant tuition fees for students, though they were also mandated to each accept a total of eight free scholars. Unlike the parish schools, whose teaching was focused on basic literacy, writing, and arithmetic, the Grammar Schools followed a classical curriculum, with subjects taught including Latin and Greek. Though the original Act was meant to encourage the construction of Grammar Schools in all the counties of New Brunswick, the only school that came into operation under the 1805 legislation was located in the city of Saint John.[95] This situation would continue until 1816, when a new act was passed that increased the funding available to the prospective grammar schools in the province.[96] The immediate Consequence of the 1816 legislation was that the number of county grammar schools increased rapidly, with schools soon in operation in

[94] "An Act for Encouraging and Extending Literature in this Province." 5 March 1805, New Brunswick Legislative Assembly Sessional Records, RS24, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.
[95] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick*, 59.
[96] "An Act to encourage the establishment of Schools in this Province.", 16 March 1816, New Brunswick Legislative Assembly Sessional Records, RS24, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

Fredericton, as well as Charlotte, Sunbury, Westmorland, and Northumberland counties.[97]

The Grammar School Act of 1805 also placed the new Grammar Schools firmly under the control of the Church of England, with the Rector of Trinity Church in Saint John being appointed permanent president of the board responsible for overseeing the Grammar School in that city.[98] While the grammar schools were in theory open to Protestant children who were not members of the Church of England, there were barriers to entry that made their attendance difficult. For instance, legislation introduced in 1816 stipulated that students with the highest marks on examinations were entitled to a prize of a small sum of money, they could not receive this reward unless they could recite by heart the creed of the Church of England.[99]

Though the grammar schools established under the conditions of the 1805 and 1816 acts were distinct in purpose, curriculum, and oversight from both the parish schools and the charity schools that were operated by the S.P.G., they play an important role in the understanding of the wider educational system that existed in New Brunswick between 1800 and 1830. The grammar schools were distinctly separate institutions from the other types of schools that existed in early 19th century New Brunswick, and this reflects a broader separation in the sphere of education that existed both in British North America, and in the metropole. The publicly funded Parish Schools and the S.P.G. funded missionary schools were institutions that were primarily designed for the

[97] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 62-64.
[98] "An Act for Encouraging and Extending Literature in this Province.".
[99] "An Act to encourage the establishment of Schools in this Province".

children of the working and labouring classes amongst the settler population in New Brunswick, and they were meant only to instill a basic level of literacy and familiarity with the catechism of the Church of England.[100] The 1816 legislation governing Parish Schools stipulated that the subjects to be taught in these institutions were "Orthography, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic" and the students would learn how to recite by heart "the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments".[101]

S.P.G schools can be characterized as being part of the trans-imperial movement of Sunday Schools that were gaining popularity in Britain during the last two decades of the eighteenth century.[102] These types of educational institutions were charitable and paternalistic in nature, and the schools were not intended to allow children to move on to any type of further education beyond the essentials of literacy, numeracy, and religious instruction. On the other hand, the Grammar Schools in New Brunswick, like their counterparts in Britain, were meant to educate the children of the upper and professional classes, and to provide the students who attended them the preparation needed for further study at university, or for the basic skills required for further training in a profession. It must be understood that the concept of the "public school" established under the oversight of the provincial government in early nineteenth century New Brunswick was a school that served the children of the settler elite, and despite receiving government support, also charged significant tuition fees for students. This reflected a wider understanding of the role of education in the British Empire in the early

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[100] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 42-45.
[101] "An Act to encourage the establishment of Schools in this Province".
[102] Alan Richardson, "The Politics of Childhood: Wordsworth, Blake, and Catechistic Method.", *ELH* 56, no. 4 (1989): 853–68.

nineteenth century, in which education of the elite was viewed as being under the purview of the state, while schooling for the poor was left to the auspices of charitable and missionary societies such as the S.P.G. and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.[103] By the early nineteenth century schools operated by Church of England missionary groups were playing an active role in the process of settler colonialism and the formation of Empire. Not only were groups like the S.P.G. tasked with educating the children of settlers who did not have access to more elite pathways of education, but missionary organization also took an active part in running schools designed to convert Indigenous children in different areas of the British Empire. In the New Brunswick context this occur through the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England at the Sussex Vale School, which was designed to convert Indigenous children away from Roman Catholicism and toward the Church of England.[104] Thus, the educational role of such missionary groups was a significant aspect in the process of colonization in the British Empire, both in terms of providing for the education of settler children, as well as attempting to assimilate Indigenous Peoples.[105]

The S.P.G. primary schools that operated in New Brunswick beginning shortly after the arrival of the Loyalist settlers in 1784 served as predecessors of the Madras school system in the province. While the S.P.G. and Madras schools were two

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[103] Richardson, "The Politics of Childhood", 884-886.
[104] Though sharing a similar name, this was an entirely separate group than the S.P.G. However, in the New Brunswick there was some overlap between the people involved with running the activities of both groups on the ground; Fingard, "The New England Company", 29-31.
[105] For the role of missionary schooling on the Pacific Coast in a later period see: Sean Carleton, "Settler anxiety and state support for missionary schooling in colonial British Columbia, 1849–1871.", *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* (2017): 57-76.

separate entities, governed and funded by different organizations, and using drastically different methods of instruction, they still fall under the same broad umbrella of early nineteenth-century British Protestant charitable educational endeavours that operated both in the metropole and in the Empire. Such groups were concerned with combating illiteracy and teaching the catechism of the Church of England to working-class children in Great Britain, as well as the children of settlers in the colonies. The mission of nineteenth century British educational organizations like the S.P.G. and the National School Society was to strike a delicate balance that would provide poor children with just enough education to better understand church teachings, while at the same time being careful to encourage students to "be content with their station in life". Thus, unlike the Grammar Schools that operated in early nineteenth century New Brunswick, the S.P.G. primary schools and the Madras Schools that succeeded them were designed to be both the beginning and end of schooling for the children who attended them.

There were three competing categories of primary schools available to the English-speaking settler population of New Brunswick between 1802 and the introduction of the Madras system to the province in 1818, each of which served a specific purpose and group within the social and political project of forming the new settler colony. First, the S.P.G. schools, were established in the province in the late 1780s. These Church of England-run missionary schools formed the foundation of the network of Madras schools that expanded across the province beginning in 1818. Secondly, there were the publicly funded parish schools, which would be severely limited in both number and funding by the strict conditions of the 1805 Act and would remain in a stunted and ineffective condition until new legislation was passed in 1829.

Finally, there were the county Grammar Schools, institutions with a classical curriculum that were designed to serve the children of the settler elite in the province, and to act as a system of feeder schools for the College in Fredericton. The existence of these three categories of primary schools essentially meant that a highly tiered school system existed in New Brunswick, with the grammar schools designed for the education of the next generation of the Loyalist elite, receiving significant government support. The children from families who could not afford to pay the steep tuition fees of the grammar schools were thus left to rely on either the few parish schools, or the network of S.P.G. run primary schools throughout the province. It was these Church of England missionary schools that would lay the groundwork for the separate Madras school system that emerged starting in 1818.

The S.P.G. was heavily involved in running primary schools in the first few decades of Loyalist settlement in New Brunswick. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was a London based Church of England missionary society that generally adhered to the High Church tradition of Anglicanism.[106] The group was first active in the region of what is today Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1749, when a missionary was sent to the recently established settlement of Halifax. An S.P.G. run school existed in the Cumberland region beginning in 1774, when James Potter was appointed as a teacher by the organization.[107] The S.P.G. schools began to expand dramatically in the area that is now New Brunswick after the onset of Loyalist

[106] Judith Fingard, "Attitudes toward the Education of the Poor in Colonial Halifax.", *Acadiensis* 2, no. 2 (1973): 15-42.
[107] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 44-45.

settlement in 1783-1784, with schools operating at Maugerville, Carleton, and St. Andrew's in the first year after the arrival of the Loyalists. According to the historian of nineteenth-century New Brunswick W.O. Raymond in 1800 there were a total of fourteen S.P.G. run primary schools in New Brunswick.[108] The S.P.G. schools in New Brunswick, especially in the first two decades of Loyalist settlement, represent an interesting and complex position within the hierarchy of education established by the new settler state. While the S.P.G. was a charitable and missionary organization, whose schools were mostly intended to provide a basic education to the children of poorer settlers, there is evidence that due to the widespread lack of any institutions of education in the first ten years of Loyalist settlement, the schools were frequented by children from all social groups within settler society in the province.[109]

The Beginnings of the Madras System in New Brunswick

The direct introduction of the Madras system to New Brunswick took place in 1814 when the National Society for the Promotion of Education of the Poor sent 500 sets of school books approved for use in their schools in Britain to the province. Two years later, the National Society sent two missionaries, Rev. James Milne and a Mr. West to New Brunswick and Nova Scotia respectively, in order to establish schools that used the monitorial system.[110] The first official Madras School in the province, which would become the training school for the system's teachers, opened in the city of Saint

[108] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 44.
[109] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 44-45.
[110] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 66.

John in July of 1818.[111] This institution, which was called the Central School, admitted only boys until September of 1819, when a branch of the institution was opened for girls.[112] The central Madras school played a key role in the operation of the Madras system and was intended to serve as the model school for others in the province, as well as to train the teachers who would employ the system of instruction in other schools in New Brunswick. West established a parallel institution in Halifax in 1816, which would serve as the nucleus of the Madras School network in Nova Scotia.[113] Governor George Stracey Smyth was a prominent advocate for the expansion of the Madras system in the province, and he actively attended the meetings of the Madras School board in Saint John until shortly before his death in 1823.[114]

In 1820, two years after the foundation of the Central Madras School in Saint John, the New Brunswick legislature passed a bill granting a provincial charter to the Madras School Board in Saint John, defining its existence in law.[115] This legislation stipulated that a small amount of provincial funding be set aside for the operation of the Madras Schools, the exact sum of which was to be voted upon annually by the House of Assembly and approved by the members of the Executive Council. The provincial Madras School Board was formed in Saint John, and it held its first meeting on August

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[111] "Charter of Incorporation Granted to the Governor and Trustees of the Madras School in New Brunswick", 23 August 1819, Madras School fonds, MC374, book 1, p. i-xii, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[112] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 1 July 1820, Madras School fonds, MC374, book 1, p. 15, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[113] Fingard, ""Attitudes toward the Education of the Poor in Colonial Halifax", 17.

[114] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 30 March 1822, Madras School fonds, MC374, book 1, p. 62, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[115] "An Act to confirm the Charter of the Madras School in New-Brunswick, and to extend the powers of the Governor and Trustees of the same.", 20 March 1820, Legislative Assembly Sessional Records, RS24, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

26, 1819.[116] From this point on, the Madras Schools school system would begin a steady expansion in the province, with a handful of schools coming into operation during the period between 1819 and 1820.[117]

A definitive characteristic that highlights how the expansion of the Madras School system in New Brunswick was tightly controlled by colonial and local settler officials is the location of the schools themselves and their distribution across the province. The degree to which decisions regarding where the Madras Schools would be established was highly dependent upon the political interests of the members of the Loyalist elite who controlled the Madras School Board, further showing how the Madras system in New Brunswick acted to create a tiered and hierarchical education system. This element of the story of the Madras Schools also played a key role in shaping the society of the settler colony along the lines envisioned by the Loyalist elite of the province.

Beginning with the establishment of the Central School in Saint John in 1818, the web of Madras Schools that were expanded throughout the province were carefully allocated to specific areas and populations in a manner that was consistent with the political program that the Governor and Loyalist elite had for New Brunswick. From their beginning, the Madras schools were disproportionately concentrated amongst the in-land agricultural settlements that had recently been settled by the Loyalists, which reflected the emphasis that the Loyalist elite placed on New Brunswick becoming a

[116] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 26 August 1819, Madras School fonds, MC374, book 1, p. 1, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.
[117] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 1 July 1820, 15.

pastoral settler society whose economy was driven by farming, rather than one which was based on commercial trade. By 1823 the Madras schools would become particularly concentrated in areas of the province that can be considered borderlands, regions where the Loyalist elite and colonial officials feared that settlers might be consumed by divergent religious and political identities that were not part of the loyal society envisioned by the Family Compact. These included the national borderland found in the "military settlements" of the upper Wolastoq Valley recently settled by War of 1812 veterans, and bordering the United States, where colonial officials feared the influence of American interests and that the growing lumbering industry would overshadow their pastoral vision. The Madras Schools were also especially numerous in the religious "borderland" of the Tantramar region of Westmorland County, a stronghold of the growing Methodist and Baptist denominations. Here it was hoped by the Loyalist elite that the influence of the schools would help to maintain the authority of the Church of England in that area, as is seen in the frequent references in the minutes of the Madras Board to the importance that the schools would have in instilling the principles of "true religion" in the region.[118] In addition to these aspects, the Madras Schools also reflected the racial hierarchies that the Loyalist elite hoped to see maintained in the settler colony, with segregated schools being created for Black children in both Saint John and Fredericton. These three aspects are showcased in the location of the Madras Schools across the province, reflecting three key pillars of the vision of the Loyalist elite for New Brunswick: the emphasis on the pastoral; the use of education to keep potentially divergent political and religious identities of borderland regions loyal to the entwined

[118] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 11 July 1821, 55-57.

forces of church and state; and the maintaining of the existing racial divisions of Anglo-American settler society, are all clear indications of how the Madras Schools were used to enforce the political model that the Family Compact had for New Brunswick.

Madras Schools and the Ideal Pastoral Colony

The minutes of the Madras School Board from July 4, 1820 outline the location of the first Madras Schools established in the province in the two years following the creation of the Central School.[119] The original nine Madras schools that were established in the period between 1818 and 1820 clearly show how the distribution of these schools reflected the vision for the formation of a pastoral settler colony that was held by the Loyalist elite. The figures recorded in the notes of the Madras School board record the list of schools, the total number of boys and girls who attended each school, the date of the school's establishment, and the name of the head instructor. The Central School in Saint John was divided into separate institutions for boys and girls in September 1819 and thus is counted as two schools from this point onward in the meeting notes. In 1820 there were Madras schools in operation in Fredericton, Kingston, Gagetown, Sussex Vale, Norton, Westmorland, and Hampton.[120] A total of 679 students were listed as being in daily attendance across all Madras schools in the province in 1820, divided between 454 boys and 225 girls.[121] From the locations of these first schools, it is

[119] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 1 July 1820, 15.

[120] The school listed as being in "Westmorland" was likely in Dorchester, based on both its status as the county shire town, as well as the fact that the instructor listed for this school is listed as teaching in Dorchester in later reports.

[121] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 1 July 1820, p. 15.

apparent that they were, apart from the school in Westmorland County, concentrated entirely in the agricultural settlements of the Wolastoq and Kennebecasis valleys. These were the areas in which, outside the city of Saint John, the heaviest concentration of Loyalist settlement had occurred a generation earlier. Though these agricultural areas constituted a significant share of the province's population in 1820, the cloistering of the Madras Schools in these districts is not simply a reflection of the population density amongst the English-speaking settlers. It is notable that the original distribution of the Madras Schools do not include any schools in the coastal area of Charlotte County, which at the time was the second most populated County in New Brunswick, nor at this point in time were any schools located in the rapidly growing Miramichi region, or in the longer settled portions of Westmorland County outside of the Loyalist stronghold of Dorchester.

The schools in Fredericton and Sussex Vale were co-educational, but each employed a male and female teacher who taught the students in separate classes. Kingston, Gagetown, Westmorland and Hampton were open only to male students, while Norton in 1820 was a school for girls. The Madras schools in Saint John and Sussex Vale operated under the familiar pattern of the co-educational institutions in the Madras system, in which a husband-and-wife pair was hired to teach at a given school, with the husband teaching the male students, and the wife in charge of instructing the female students. This was the model that would be followed by the majority of the co-educational Madras schools in the province from the inception of the system in New Brunswick. Beginning in 1821, most Madras Schools became co-educational, except in

the heavily populated settlements such as Fredericton and Saint John, where separate schools were in operation for girls and boys.

It is striking that the location of the first batch of Madras Schools established by the board in the period between 1819 and 1820 map directly onto the main areas of Loyalist agricultural settlement, and excluding the Central School in Saint John, neglect entirely the commercially oriented settlements on the coasts of the province.[122] The initial distribution of the Madras schools in favour of the inland Loyalist settlements cannot simply be interpreted as following the population patterns of English-speaking settlers in the province, especially when it is taken into context with the overall vision that the Loyalist elite who controlled the Madras School board had for a province that was fundamentally pastoral in character. As both Bell and Condon point out in their work, one of the principal pillars of the vision of the Loyalist elite for New Brunswick was that the province needed to be an agriculturally focused society, with settlements being concentrated in the inland regions.[123] It was thought by Governor Carleton, Ward Chipman, and other leaders of the Loyalist elite that such a pastoral society would tie the settlers more firmly to the lands on which they lived, and would be inherently more conservative in outlook and more hierarchical in structure based on the significance of the ownership of large estates, than a dynamic and commercially focused society would be.[124] Though the overall geographic placement of the Madras Schools would change after 1822, the first three years of the schools' operation in the province were organized

[122] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 1 July 1820, 15.
[123] Condon, *The Loyalist Vision for New Brunswick*, 157-159.
[124] Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John,* 86-87.

clearly along the lines of the pastoral vision that the Loyalist elite had for the future of the settler colony, focusing on promoting the Madras System in the established Loyalist agricultural centres such as Gagetown, Kingston, and Sussex Vale.

The original distribution of the schools continued until the 1821 year, when a rapid expansion amongst the Madras Schools took place across the province.[125] The dramatic increase in the number of schools was principally due to their growth in two specific regions, both of which were geographic and social borderlands. One was the area of the Wolastoq Valley above Woodstock, which included the new "Military Settlements" of land that had been granted by the Crown to British soldiers following the War of 1812. The other was a cluster of schools located in Westmorland County near the border between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.[126] Between 1820 and 1821 the number of Madras schools expanded from nine to nineteen, with seven of the new schools being located in one of these two borderland areas.[127] The concentration of Madras Schools in these settlements after 1822 shows how the Madras Schools were used as vehicles by colonial and local authorities to control and shape both the external boundaries of the settler colony and the interior allegiances of settlers living in these regions. Thus, the creation of Madras Schools in these borderland areas ensured that students were taught in a way that maintained their loyalty to both the British Empire and the Church of England.

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[125] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 12 July 1821, 46.

[126] This period of expansion also saw new Madras schools established in St. Andrews and Northesk parish.

[127] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 12 July 1821, p. 46.

Madras Schools in the "Military Settlements"

The parishes in the Wolastoq Valley between the Little Presque Isle River and the Tobique were an area of heightened political focus for the colonial government in the years after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars. Following Napoleon's trade embargo that had isolated Great Britain from Scandinavian and Baltic timber, lumbering began to rapidly grow in importance in New Brunswick in order to supply ships for the Royal Navy.[128] Much of this industry was concentrated on the border between New Brunswick and Maine, and while colonial officials were generally content to recognize the importance of the New Brunswick lumber industry for the British Empire, the members of the Loyalist elite were particularly worried that the rise of lumbering would turn settlers away from their focus on agriculture, thus conflicting with their pastoral vision for the province.[129] In part to enforce British control of the region, and to more clearly delineate the border with the United States, the colonial government had encouraged the settlement of disbanded British soldiers on 100-acre land grants along the Wolastoq above Woodstock between 1816 and 1820. The minutes of the Madras School board for 1820 show that the members of the organization were very much concerned with funding new Madras Schools in this borderland region, with four new schools being established in the area of the Military Settlements between 1821 and 1822, plus a school in the nearby longer settled Loyalist town of Woodstock.[130]

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[128] Hannay, *History of New Brunswick,* 347-350.

[129] W.O. Raymond, "The Military Settlements," *Dispatch* (Woodstock, New Brunswick), 12 August 1896.

[130] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 1 August 1822, 77-78.

In 1821 the Madras School Board allocated a grant of £15 for the creation of four schools in the Military Settlements, and four teachers were to be employed.[131] By 1822 a total of 297 students were attending one of the Madras Schools in the Military Settlements, with about 100 students listed as being in regular attendance.[132] This figure represents over 10% of the total number of students who attended a Madras School in the province during the 1821 to 1822 year. The teachers at the four school in the Military Settlements were John Dunphy, a Mr. Walsh, Peter O'Farrell, and Hugh Mount, the latter being expelled for "immorality" on the recommendation of Rev. Frederick Dibble of Woodstock and was replaced by John Baird in 1823.[133] Given that the population of the district was estimated to only be about 500 in 1820, out of a total settler population that exceeded 30,000, the concentration of Madras schools in the Military settlement was highly disproportionate to the share of the total population of the province that resided in the area.[134]

The report on the state of the Madras Schools for the year of 1823 shows that the total number of Madras Schools had increased to thirty-six, with the overall number of students in regular attendance rising to 3 396, 635 more than had attended in the previous year. The attendance breakdown for 1823 shows that the number of students enrolled in the schools in the Military Settlements had increased slightly to 115 students.

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[131] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 12 July 1821, 46.

[132] There is some doubt about the accuracy of these numbers. While most of the schools in the July 1822 report have what appears to be an exact number of students listed, the schools in the military settlement all give the same individual total of 15 boys and 10 girls each. Thus, these figures should only be viewed as a rough estimate as to the number of students in daily attendance.

[133] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 13 August 1823, Madras School fonds, MC374, book 1, p. 98, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[134] Raymond, "The Military Settlements".

This return shows that numerous new Madras Schools had been established in the wider region, including two new schools in Woodstock Parish, as well as two schools in the newly created parish of Wakefield. The attendance at the schools in the Military Settlements would plateau after 1823, with little or no increase in attendance number for the following year.[135]

The authors of the report, Rev. George Burns and clerk of the Legislative Assembly Edward Jarvis emphasized the success of the new schools in the Military Settlements in their 1822 published annual report on the Madras Schools.[136] Nearly two full pages of the report are dedicated to the schools in the Military Settlements, with far more detail being given about these schools than the others included in the report. Dunphy, who is described as the teacher in the school in the lowest of the Military settlements, was tasked by the board with inspecting the conditions of the other three schools in the area.[137] Dunphy's report makes specific reference to the perceived loyalty of the inhabitants of the settlement and the threat posed by the United States, stating that:

> They [the settlers in the district] are principally of the 104th [regiment of foot] who so bravely fought against our ungrateful neighbours in the Canadas, and being *new* they consequently labour under greater difficulties.[138]

Dunphy goes on to describe how the settlers have built a "common log" building which is a "miserable school-house", but that Mr. Walsh's conduct as a teacher has been commendable, going beyond his duty as a Madras School instructor to also open a

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[135] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 16 August 1824, 116.

[136] Burns and Jarvis, *1822 Annual Report,* 11-12.

[137] This school was probably located near present day Bath, New Brunswick.

[138] Burns and Jarvis, *1822 Annual Report,* 11.

Sunday School for the children in the settlement.[139] Continuing to stress the advantage that the Madras Schools would have in maintaining and promoting loyalty amongst the inhabitants of the new Military Settlements, the authors of the report write that:

> They [the students] are very attentive, old and young, and it will be very useful in fixing good principles in the Settlers. Never were people more thankful to the Institution for the education of their children, and to His Excellency for his good intentions towards them.[140]

It is significant that this passage makes a direct reference to how the Madras School would foster amongst the settlers in the region a distinct sense of personal loyalty towards Governor Smyth, and more broadly speaking to the Crown. Though Dunphy does not specifically define what is meant by "good principles", this term should be taken in context with the combined moral and political significance of what it meant to be an ideal settler and subject in a borderland region of early nineteenth-century New Brunswick. The report takes care to underline the loyalty of the settlers in the area, but colonial authorities in the province were very much suspicious of the potential problems that disbanded soldiers might pose to the structure of the province's society. There was a general fear amongst colonial authorities that disbanded soldiers did not make particularly good settlers, as they were thought to not be inclined towards agriculture and instead would turn to the quick money that could be made in lumbering.[141] In a borderland context where loyal and agricultural settlers were required to mark out a clear border with the state of Maine, authorities were wary of any potential for

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[139] Burns and Jarvis, *1822 Annual Report*, 12.

[140] Burns and Jarvis, *1822 Annual Report,* 12-13.

[141] Raymond, "The Military Settlements".

transience or disorder amongst the population. The presence of the large number of Madras Schools in the Military Settlements was therefore viewed by their proponents as a way in which the "good principles" of both orderly behaviour and loyalty to the Crown could be instilled amongst the settler population of this politically fragile borderland region.

Madras Schools in the Tantramar Region

In addition to the concentration of Madras Schools in the vicinity of the Military Settlements, a disproportionate number of the schools were also found in Westmorland County on the border between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The 1823 Madras School list shows that four schools were in session between Westcock Parish and Point Debout, forming a clear geographic line along the border with Cumberland County, Nova Scotia.[142] By 1823 the school in Dorchester had ceased to exist, but four new schools had been founded in Westmorland County, in Westcock, Sackville, Fort Cumberland, and Point Debout.[143] In 1824 classes were taking place at an additional Madras School in Jolicure, bringing the total number of Madras Schools in this small geographic region to five.[144] That year also saw the opening of a Madras School in Shediac, which although not directly situated in the Tantramar region, was under the

[142] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 13 August 1823, 96.
[143] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 13 August 1823, 96.
[144] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 16 August 1824, 116.

supervision of the same Church of England minister as the other five schools in the area.[145]

As was the case for the focus on the Madras Schools in the Military Settlements, the large amount of interest that the Madras School Board had in creating schools in the Tantramar region was also a reflection of the area's status as a borderland. However, unlike the largely geographically founded concern of American influence that plagued the Upper Wolastoq Valley, the settlers in the Tantramar region inhabited a spiritual borderland of shifting religious identities that attracted the ire of the entwined powers of the Council and the leadership of the Church of England. This portion of Westmorland County, which had previously been part of Cumberland County in Nova Scotia, had largely been settled by New England Planters and settlers from Yorkshire in the period between 1765 and the arrival of the Loyalists.[146] The former group had largely been adherents of the Congregational and Baptist denominations, while most of the latter wave of settlers from Yorkshire had been members of the Methodist Church. The Tantramar area had witnessed a wave of intense nonconformist religious revivals in the period between 1780 and 1810, including New Light Henry Alline, Methodist William Black, followed by several radical antinomian preachers in the 1790s who advocated for a complete withdrawal from all moral, political and religious authority.[147] This last group was of particular concern for colonial officials and leaders of the Loyalist elite, especially following the murder of Mercy Babcock by her husband in 1805, allegedly

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[145] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 16 August 1824, 116.

[146] Hannay, *History of New Brunswick,* 100-104.

[147] George A Rawlyk, *Ravished by the Spirit: Religious Revivals, Baptists, and Henry Alline*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 1984).

motivated by his "religious mania".[148] By 1810 the southern portion of Westmorland County was a region of the province where the majority of the English-speaking settler population belonged to a denomination that was not the Church of England. The spread of the radical and levelling theology that was advocated by the antinomian ministers was of great concern to political and religious authorities, with the Bishop of Nova Scotia Charles Inglis expressing the need for the conservative influence of established religious doctrine to be implanted in the region.[149]

The Loyalist elite and the leadership of the Church of England in the province agreed that the entrenched presence of potentially politically volatile religious nonconformists in the Tantramar region posed a clear threat to the conservative and hierarchical province envisioned by the Loyalist elite.[150] To remedy this situation, a missionary of the Church of England named Rev. Christoper Milner was sent to Sackville in 1820, after having spent a two-year period in charge of the Collegiate School at Windsor, Nova Scotia.[151] The reports of the Madras School Board for 1822 and 1823 show that Milner was the chief architect of the rapid growth of the Madras School in the Tantramar region.[152]

Upon his arrival in the province, Milner was the only Church of England minister in the vast area between Sussex Vale and Halifax. As a missionary of the

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[148] David G Bell, "Religious Liberty and Protestant Dissent in Loyalist New Brunswick.", *UNBLJ* 36 (1987): 146-162.

[149] Keith Shepherd Grant, *Enthusiasms and Loyalties: The Public History of Private Feelings in the Enlightenment Atlantic,* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press-MQUP, 2022), 151.

[150] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 16 August 1824, 116-118.

[151] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 9 October 1821, 59-60.

[152] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 13 August 1823, 95-104.

S.P.G. Milner was tasked with ensuring that settlers in the region remained part of the Church of England, and though this task involved establishing congregations in the region, he also devoted a significant amount of his attention to founding Madras schools in each of the parishes that he served.[153] In the view of Milner, which was shared by many on the Madras School board, the creation of schools under the Madras system was an essential part of maintaining the allegiance of settlers to the Anglican faith. Milner's focus on planting new Madras Schools should be viewed in the context of his expressed mission to return or keep settlers within the fold of the Church of England, and away from the religious and political uncertainty of the dissenting denominations that were popular in the region.[154] The schools played a key role as part of a larger political project to ensure those settlers living on this social, political, and spiritual borderland of the province remained loyal participants in the project of empire.

The abundance of Madras Schools in the border region of Westmorland County highlights two significant and interlinked aspects of the wider story of the Madras Schools. Firstly, as in the case of the schools in the Military Settlements, the emphasis that the provincial Madras School board placed on establishing schools in areas on the geographic and social fringes of the province show how those in control of the schools understood how they could be used to ensure that settlers living on both the physical and religious fringes of the province would remain loyal participants in the vision for the colony held by the Loyalist elite. Secondly, the importance of Milner's involvement

[153] C. E. Thomas, "Milner, Christopher," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003).
[154] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 13 August 1823, 95-104.

reiterates the importance of the role of the Church of England in the expansion of the Madras School system in the province, and thus its role in the larger political project of shaping the changing settler colony into the model of the Loyalist elite.

Segregated Madras Schools for Black Students

A third aspect of how the Madras Schools were used to entrench the social vision for the province advocated for by the Loyalist elite is the establishment of two segregated schools for Black children in Saint John and Fredericton. A Madras School in Saint John, which was known as the African School, was established in August 1820, and continued in operation into the late 1830s.[155] The earliest list of attendance numbers for the school shows that in 1824 a total of 197 students had gone to classes there, though the number of children attending daily was 57.[156] An interesting aspect of the Saint John African School was that it was one of the very few Madras Schools where girls outnumbered boys, with the return for 1824 showing 37 girls compared to 25 boys.[157] Of the 41 Madras Schools in operation in 1824, only two others had a similar gender distribution of students.[158] Attendance numbers for the African School in Saint John remained constant in the range of 50 to 60 students throughout the rest of the

[155] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 12 July 1821, 46; "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 2 October 1837, p.27, Madras School fonds, MC374, book 2, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[156] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 16 August 1824, 116.

[157] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 16 August 1824, 116.

[158] The other two schools where girls outnumbered boys were Gagetown and Norton.

decade, and the school itself remained in operation for a number of years after 1829, when the total number of Madras Schools in the province dropped to only 5.[159]

In addition to the African School in Saint John, there was a smaller Madras School for Black students in Fredericton that likely began operating as a separate institution in either 1825 or 1826.[160] The case of the Madras School for Black students in Fredericton is different in several ways from its counterpart in Saint John. While the Saint John African School was clearly a separate school with its own teacher, and with a different date of establishment than the Central School, the one in Fredericton appears to have always shared a teacher with the Madras School for White children. Also, the Madras Board records list the founding date as April 1820 for both the "Fredericton" and "Fredericton African" schools. Adding to the confusion is the fact that, though the Fredericton African School is listed in 1826 as having started in 1820, it does not actually appear as a distinctly listed school in the Madras Board records until 1826, when it is listed as having a total of 12 students.[161] The explanation for this discrepancy, according to the work of historian William Spray, may be that the Madras School in Fredericton had been originally open to both Black and White students, but a decision was made at a later point to open a segregated school due to the allocation of funds by the Legislature for a separate school in 1824 as well as complaints about the school as it existed prior to 1825.[162] However, there is no reference at all to the creation of the separate Black school in Fredericton in the Madras Board records, beyond the fact that it

[159] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 23 July 1825, 131.
[160] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 18 July 1826, 140.
[161] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 18 July 1826, 140.
[162] Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick,* 54-57.

is listed as a distinct school in the reports after 1826. The minutes for 1826 do mention that the Madras school house in Fredericton was destroyed by fire the previous year, and that the school was afterwards granted a new building owned by the York County Council.[163] Though definitive proof is absent in the records, the correspondence between the move to the location owned by the county government with the creation of the segregated Madras school for Black students suggests that there was possibly a link between the two events.

The racial segregation enforced within the Madras School system in New Brunswick after 1825 demonstrated how the operation of the schools clearly followed the lines of the type of society that was envisioned by the Loyalist elite. Though the Loyalist elite had been divided on the issue of slavery, with Chipman and some of the New Englanders being in favour of abolition, and the Ludlows and John Saunders being staunch supporters of enslavement, work by later scholars has underlined how the continuance of white supremacy was an important part of the settler state envisioned by the Family Compact.[164] The hierarchical society that was part of the Loyalist political vision was not just one of class distinctions, but also of racial lines. The segregation of Black students in separate Madras Schools in Saint John and Fredericton demonstrates how the Madras system in the province reflected this clear aspect of the settler colonial project in New Brunswick.

[163] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 18 July 1826, 137-138.
[164] Whitfield, *North to Bondage: Loyalist Slavery in the Maritimes*.

The Decline of the Madras School After 1828

The growth in the total number of both schools and students in attendance peaked in 1824, representing the greatest extent of the Madras Schools in the province. The list of Madras Schools recorded by the board in July 1824 shows a total of forty-one Madras Schools in New Brunswick. The total number of pupils for 1824 was 4, 736, representing a marked increase of 1,340 from the previous year, though the regular daily attendance was only 811 boys and 530 girls.[165] It is interesting to note that the number of female students at the Madras Schools increased by a much larger amount than the number of male students between 1823 and 1824, with 114 more girls in daily attendance, compared to an increase of only 54 boys.[166] While in 1824 the Madras School were still largely concentrated in either the in-land agricultural settlements of the river valleys, or the borderland regions of the Military Settlements and Tantramar, new schools had also been created in Newcastle, Chatham, and St. George, representing a growth of the Madras School system into the coastal and commercial settlements where they had previously been largely absent.[167]

The first signs of the decline of the Madras School system in New Brunswick are seen in the board's report of 1825, with the overall number of schools declining to 30.[168] This drop was in part due to a small amount of available funding, as the report indicates

[165] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 16 August 1824, 116.

[166] There is no clear explanation for this jump, especially when compared with the trends for previous years. By this time all the Madras School were co-educational, and there is no indication from the minutes of the Board as to why this change took place.

[167] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 16 August 1824, 116.

[168] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 23 July 1825, 131.

the budget of the board was lower than in previous years. Though there were far fewer Madras Schools in 1825 than in the previous year, several new schools were created, including ones in Prince William and in Bouctouche.[169] The number of Madras schools would decline further to twenty-four in 1826, before rising back to thirty-one in 1827.[170]

The definitive end of the halcyon days of the Madras School system came in 1830, when there were only ten Madras Schools left in operation in New Brunswick.[171] By this time all of the schools in the Military Settlements had ceased to be run under the Madras System, as had those in the Tantramar region. The quick decline of the Madras system that occurred after 1828 was largely the result of new provincial legislation that had significantly increased the amount of funding available to parish schools, and had removed the restrictions on the number of schools in each county that the government would grant money to.[172] After this point, many of the schools that had previously been part of the Madras System and under the control of the provincial board became regular parish schools that were run by local community school boards and funded in part by provincial grants. Despite the expansion of the parish school system because of the 1828 legislation that resulted in a significant growth in the number of primary schools in New Brunswick, the end of the influence of the Madras schools was of particular worry for the provincial Board.[173] The report for 1831 contains one last impassioned plea

[169] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 23 July 1825, 131.

[170] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 9 August 1827, 156.

[171] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 30 June 1831, 205.

[172] "An Act to continue an Act, intituled "An Act for the encouragement of Parish Schools in this Province.", 5 April 1828", New Brunswick Legislative Assembly Sessional Records, RS24. Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[173] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 5 July 1831, 227-236.

highlighting the advantage that the members of the board believed the Madras School had over the local parish schools:

> But unless fixed principles, which give form and substance to the fleeting generalities, which the enemies of religion and order contend for, as sufficient, - unless these are laid down and instilled; nothing or something worse than nothing will be accomplished. Children, especially <u>those of the poor</u>, although the Bible may be before them, cannot without effectual assistance frame a true system of Christian faith for themselves.[174]

Here, in clear terms, the paternalistic and conservative view of education held by those at the helm of the Madras School Board, and its wider place within the project of forming the settler colonial project in New Brunswick, is laid out. The proponents of the Madras School not only fear that the lack of schooling would result in a complete lack of knowledge, but they were intensely worried that schools outside of the control and influence of the Church of England and the Loyalist elite would result in children developing attitudes "worse than nothing", perhaps refereeing to republican or religiously nonconformist attitudes. Therefore, the leaders of State and Church in early nineteenth-century New Brunswick held the view that Madras Schools were needed to act as a bulwark for the existing political order and its vision for a hierarchical settler colony.

This chapter detailed how the expansion of the Madras School system in New Brunswick that occurred between the foundation of the Central School in Saint John in 1818 and the rapid decline of the Madras Method after the extension of more funding to the parish school system in 1828, was established in a pointedly top-down manner by colonial officials and local settler leaders. The initial foundation of the Madras School

[174] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 9 August 1827, 229-330.

system in New Brunswick took advantage of a backdrop of legislation which had sought to implement a two-tiered education system for settler children in the province, which was a part of the vision for a deeply hierarchical society that was a key component of the elite Loyalist vision for the social and political structure of the emerging settler colony. The actual location of the schools across the province between 1818 and 1828 reflected the contours of the type of settler colony that the Loyalist elite wished to see in New Brunswick, with an initial emphasis on the pastoral and agricultural settlements; then through the use of the Madras schools as tools in promoting conservative religious and political orientations amongst settlers living in geographic and social borderlands; and finally through the enforcement of racial segregation in the African Schools in Fredericton in Saint John. Taken together, these elements all belie the fact that the entrenchment of the Madras School system in New Brunswick between 1818 and 1828 was part of a larger political project that sought to shape the emerging settler colony along the pastoral, hierarchical, and loyal vision of the Loyalist elite. A tiered education system was a clear pillar of this model for the province, and the aligned forces of the Governor and Loyalist elite used the Madras School system to ensure that the province reflected their idealized type of settler society, and ultimately remained a loyal part of the British Empire.

Chapter Three:

"We teach our children to "Fear God and honor the King": The Conservative Educational Philosophy of the Madras School in New Brunswick

While the previous chapter examined how the development of the Madras School system in New Brunswick was the clear result of colonial and local settler policy making, this chapter will examine how the Madras School, once established, reflected the agenda of the Loyalist elite and the Governor in maintaining a hierarchical settler society that remained fiercely loyal to Britain and the Empire. Firstly, this section will look at the composition of the provincial Madras School Board, highlighting how it was made up entirely of members of the Loyalist elite and the Governor's inner circle, and thus served as a way to establish primary schools in the province without going to the House of Assembly, a body that was often hostile to the designs of this faction, and in favour of a more egalitarian education system. Secondly, this chapter will explore the links between the Madras School system and the Church of England, specifically, the role that those who controlled the schools believed it would have in ensuring the settler population remained loyal to the Empire. Finally, by turning to an educational organization that was based in England, the spread of the Madras School system in New Brunswick effectively connected the province into a wider educational sphere in the British Empire that operated through the work of Protestant charitable school societies, strengthening ties between colony and metropole.

While the Madras Schools system in New Brunswick played a vital role in combatting illiteracy and providing basic education to English-speaking settler children in the province between 1818 and 1828, the schools also acted as an important tool wielded by imperial and local policy makers in shaping the direction of the newly established settler colony, acting as a means to ensure that New Brunswick reflected the stratified, conservative, and pastoral vision of the Loyalist elite, while also maintaining close cultural links to Britain and the Church of England. Colonial policy makers in New Brunswick had been deeply concerned about the role that popular education might have in spreading republican ideas, and thus the elite of the province wished to see a tightly controlled and hierarchical education system that served only the children of the settler elite.

Education for the children of the labouring and middling classes was viewed with suspicion by the Loyalist elite, and they looked to the conservative model of schooling in England, rather than the more "democratic" common school system of the New England colonies that many of them had been forced to flee decades earlier.[175] When Loyalist settlers who were not part of the elite began to agitate for the expansion of primary schools in New Brunswick, the Family Compact turned across the Atlantic to England, the National School Society, and the Madras System. Firmly under the control of the established Church and designed only to provide a very basic level of literacy and knowledge of the Anglican catechism, the Madras Schools were thus a tightly controlled and ideologically "safe" solution for the provision of education to the children of settlers from outside the Loyalist elite, avoiding the levelling and republican influences that

[175] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 6 September 1819, 3-12.

popular education was feared to bring. Thus, the Madras Schools were used as a tool by the Governor and Family Compact to not only ensure that their grip on political power in New Brunswick was maintained, but that the colony itself continued to identify culturally with Great Britain and remain securely tied to the Empire.

The Provincial Madras School Board

The actions of the Madras School system in New Brunswick, while in theory under the supervision of the National School Society in London, were for all intents and purposes controlled by the Saint John based Madras School Board. This group reflected the political interests of the alliance between the elite Loyalist Family Compact and the Governor, which had controlled the development of the colony since its separation from Nova Scotia in 1784. The first recorded meeting of the Madras School Board occurred in Saint John on the twenty-sixth of August 1819. The minutes of the board indicate that there were twelve members present at the first meeting, including Governor Smyth, and three members of the province's Executive Council. The Council was an institution that was dominated by the Family Compact, and along with judiciary served as one of the main instruments through which it exercised political power.[176] Smyth, as referenced earlier, was an enthusiastic supporter of the expansion of Madras Schools in New Brunswick, and heattended the meetings of the Madras School Board during most of his tenure of Governor.[177] The three members of the Executive Council who attended the

[176] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 6 September 1819, 1.
[177] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 6 September 1819, 1-2.

board's first meeting were Ward Chipman Sr., John Robinson, and William Black.[178] Also serving on the board were Chipman's son Ward Chipman Jr., brothers Charles and Harry Peters, lawyer William Jarvis, surgeon John Head, and William Scovil. In addition to this there were also two members of the clergy on the first iteration of the Madras School Board, Rev. Robert Willis rector of the Anglican Trinity Church in Saint John, and Rev. George Burns, a Presbyterian Minister educated at the University of St. Andrews.[179]

All of those in attendance at the first meeting of the Madras School Board in 1819, with the notable exception of Burns, have been clearly identified in previous scholarship as being part of the close knit network of Loyalist elite who closely supported the policies of Governor Carleton and later leaders such as Governor Smyth.[180] Most of these men occupied positions of prominence within the often overlapping political and judicial spheres of the province, or in the cases of Black and Head were tied through marriage to those who did.[181] Though Willis was born in England and not of Loyalist background, he was a staunchly High-Church Anglican, who strongly backed the political and educational agenda of Smyth and the Family Compact throughout the course of his involvement with the Madras School Board.

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[178] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 6 September 1819, 1.

[179] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 6 September 1819, 1; Anne B. Wood, "The significance of evangelical Presbyterian politics in the construction of state schooling: A case study of the Pictou district, 1817-1866.", *Acadiensis* 20, no. 2 (1991): 62-85.

[180] Condon, *The Loyalist Dream,* 194-200.

[181] This is a different William Black than the Methodist minister referenced earlier in this thesis; T. W. Acheson, "Black, William (1771-1866)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003); "m. 21st Nov., Saint John, John HEAD, Surgeon, Fredericton / Ann Peters third d/o Thomas WETMORE, Esq., Attorney General", Daniel F. Johnson Newspaper Vital Statistics, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

Burns was the only member of the board who was not clearly associated with the Family Compact of the Loyalists, though at the same time he was clearly part of the colonial elite. William Black was a conservative Scottish Episcopalian, and Burns was the only member of the Madras School Board who was not an adherent of the Church of England.[182] Though Burns was somewhat of an outlier in terms of education, family background and religion, his position as part of the settler elite meant that he was generally supportive of the actions of the Family Compact in determining the direction of the Madras Schools in the province. Apart from a few instances where Burns attempted to stress a broad spirit of Protestant ecumenicalism at the meetings of the board, his positions did not significantly differ from those of the other members.[183]

The membership of the New Brunswick Madras School board remained largely static, with the exception of deaths, from its inception in 1819 until the end of the 1820s. Willis and the Chipmans remained the most constant and actively involved members of the board, reflecting the interests of the colonial administration, the Church of England, and the local Loyalist elite respectively in the decisions made by the group. From 1818 until the decline of the Madras schools beginning in 1828, the board remained closely tied to the Council, with around half of those in attendance at the Board's meetings being sitting members.[184] The overlap between the Madras School Board and the provincial Council is one of the most significant political aspects that underpinned the Madras School system. The high degree of representation of members of the Council on

[182] Acheson, "Black, William".
[183] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 6 January 1820, 5-7.
[184] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes".

the provincial Madras School Board was not simply a reflection of the fact that members of both groups tended to be part of the colonial elite, as members of the House of Assembly, who were usually also wealthy settlers, are almost entirely absent from the board. Rather, the close relationship that existed between the Executive Council and the Madras School Board should be understood as being a result of the political conflict between the appointed Council and the elected House of Assembly, with the Madras School Board acting as a vehicle for the members of the Council and their allies to establish a more conservative model for education in New Brunswick without having to push it through a House of Assembly that was often deeply hostile to their vision.

Loyalist Views on Education in New Brunswick, 1784 to 1820

One of Smyth's predecessors, Governor Carleton, with the support of the members of the Council and the Loyalist elite, had tried early on during his tenure to establish a provincial college in Fredericton. However, measures to secure public funding for the college had met with opposition in the House of Assembly.[185] The members of the Assembly who were loosely aligned against Carleton and his supporters generally opposed funding for the provincial college as part of a broader power struggle between the Assembly and the Council over how much authority the elected house had over how money was spent by the provincial government.

However, also driving the resistance to Carleton and the Family Compact's vision for a highly stratified provincial education system was a desire amongst the anti-

[185] Yeomans, "Land Rich Cash Poor", 11-15.

Carleton faction to see schooling in New Brunswick open to the children of settlers who were not part of the Loyalist elite.[186] James Glenie, who represented Sunbury County and its large pre-Loyalist New England Planter population in the House of Assembly from 1789 to 1809 outlined an alternative vision for education in New Brunswick in a September 1795 election speech delivered to voters in Sunbury County.[187] In this speech, which was later published, printed, and circulated throughout the province, Glenie directly attacked Carleton's plans for a provincial college, pointing out the backward nature of establishing a college before the province had made any provision to fund primary schools. Glenie, known for his biting attacks against Carleton and his supporters, articulated that the Loyalist elite's envisioned provincial college would be "useless and nugatory" without a network of primary schools in New Brunswick to prepare potential students. Glenie goes on in his speech to directly attack the vision for the province supported by the Loyalist elite, and the increasing concentration of power in the hands of the Governor and Council, stating that without parish schools in the province, a college would only serve the interests of "a few individuals" with a "tendency to monopolize education".[188]

Glenie clearly identified that the plan of the Loyalist elite for the creation of a highly conservative and stratified education system in New Brunswick, was designed to serve only the interests of the interests of this group. He also denounced the fear of the

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[186] Edward Winslow and Ann Gorman Condon. "" The Young Robin Hood Society": A Political Satire by Edward Winslow." Acadiensis 15, no. 2 (1986): 120-143.

[187] James Glenie, "Substance of MR. GLENIE'S Address to the FREEHOLDERS of the County of Sunbury", 1795, UNB Library Special Collections.

[188] Glenie, "Substance of MR. GLENIE'S Address", 8.

Loyalist elite that a more open education system would spread republican ideas in the province, stating that "however some persons may dislike the general dissemination of knowledge to the people and reckon it dangerous, it ought in my opinion to be the first object of attention in every well-regarded state."[189] Not only did Glenie directly denounce the educational plan of Carleton and his allies, but he also articulated a different model for education in the colony in which schooling was open to children of settlers who were not part of the Loyalist elite.

While Glenie and his supporters in the House of Assembly put up firm opposition to Carleton and the Council's plan for a provincial college, prominent member of the Loyalist elite Edward Winslow denounced Glenie as a "radical democrat and Jacobin".[190] An anonymous work of satirical drama likely written by Winslow titled ""Substance of the Debates in the Young Robin Hood Society", was circulated in 1795 in response to Glenie's address.[191] The author of the play presented thinly veiled caricatures of Glenie and his supporters in Sunbury County, including a character who represented Sheffield school teacher David Burpee.[192] The work lampoons Glenie's view of a more accessible primary education system in the province, with the author's version of Burpee presenting a list of books for use in provincial schools that includes "Hooks and Eyes for Believer's Breeches; The Spiritual Bo-peep, or you go in and I go out; and Bunyan's high-heel'd Shoe for a dwarf in Christ" as well as "The Rights of

[189] Glenie, "Substance of MR. GLENIE'S Address", 8.
[190] MacNaughton, *Education in New Brunswick,* 40.
[191] Winslow and Condon, "The Young Robin Hood Society".

[192] Winslow and Condon, "The Young Robin Hood Society", 125.

Man, [Rev. George]Whitfield's Journal, and The Declaratory Bill".[193] The use of both real and fictitious books by the author of the play to criticize Glenie's views on education presents a clear outline of the type of education system that the Loyalist elite opposed. The association of nonexistent and nonsensical works with liberal treatises such as the Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, and religious tracts that dissented from the teachings of the Church of England like Whitfield's journal, provides a particularly clear representation of the fears that the Loyalist elite had of an association between the expansion of popular education and the spread of republican and nonconformist ideas in the province.

It was exactly the model of education put forward by Glenie and his supporters that the Loyalist elite sought to avoid, and when the implementation of their proposed system of education was met with significant opposition in the House of Assembly, the Family Compact had to find another means to ensure that a more conservative primary education system that did not promote levelling ideas would be the one established in the province. While the prolonged quagmire with the House of Assembly meant that this task would be difficult if done entirely through means of government legislation, the Family Compact later informally organized itself under the Madras School Board, turning to the metropole and to a loyal and Church of England affiliated educational organization that allowed the Loyalist elite to create and control a school system in the province that would align closely with their vision for a highly stratified, pastoral, and

[193] Winslow and Condon, "The Young Robin Hood Society", 134.

conservative settler colony that remained loyal to the British Empire and the Church of England.

Madras Schools and the Church of England

Another important dimension through which the Madras School system acted as a vehicle for the Loyalists in shaping the society of the settler colony of New Brunswick was the relationship of the schools with the Church of England. The place of the Church of England in the colony had been a pressing political concern for the Loyalist elite since the separation of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia in 1784, and a strongly supported established church was one of the central tenants of the Loyalist elite's vision for the province.[194] A powerful and publicly supported Church of England was viewed by Winslow, Odell, and others as necessary prerequisite for maintaining loyalty to Britain and the Crown, and to dispel the levelling influence that might be brought to the province by less hierarchical protestant denominations and their educational endeavours, such as the Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers.[195] Bell expresses the view that opposition to the growth of these groups and continued public support for the Church of England formed one of the key elements of the political *mentalité* of the Loyalist elite.[196] The choice to align with the Madras School method of the Church of England-run National Society, rather than with its contemporary and rival British Foreign School Society, founded by Quaker Joseph Lancaster and dissenting Protestant in its character, reflected

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[194] Hebb, *The Church of England in Loyalist New Brunswick,* 15-18.

[195] Hebb, *The Church of England in Loyalist New Brunswick*, 72-76.

[196] Bell, "Religious liberty and protestant dissent in loyalist New Brunswick.", 146-147.

the weight that the Loyalist elite placed on loyalty to the established church as part of their vision for New Brunswick.

The first two decades of the nineteenth century were a very turbulent time in the religious history of New Brunswick. In this period the Church of England was largely unable, for organizational and financial reasons, to supply clergy for the Loyalist settlers outside of the main urban centres and larger towns.[197] This period also saw the prominence of several charismatic dissenting Protestant preachers, who made many converts to the Baptists amongst the newly arrived settlers in the Wolastoq Valley and to the Methodists in the Tantramar region. It was against this backdrop of religious uncertainty that the affiliation of the National School Society with the Church of England became especially important for the Governor and members of the Loyalist elite.

The 1819 charter of the New Brunswick Madras School Board specifically states that one aspect of the schools' purpose was to teach the principles of "true religion".[198] Taken in context with the fact that the National Society was an organ of the established church in England, it is apparent that the schools were intended to teach the Anglican catechism to students. The Madras Schools that operated in New Brunswick were closely affiliated with the Church of England, and the minutes of the Madras School Board clearly indicate that teachers had to obtain a license from the Bishop of Nova

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[197] Hebb, *The Church of England in Loyalist New Brunswick,* 28-31.

[198] "Charter of Incorporation Granted to the Governor and Trustees of the Madras School in New Brunswick, 23 August 1819, i, New Brunswick Madras School Fonds, RS24, book 1, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

Scotia in order to teach in the schools, and that the church wardens of local parishes were given responsibility for selecting teachers for the schools in their communities.[199]

While there is no doubt that the Madras Schools were firmly denominational institutions, there are certain aspects of their history in New Brunswick that demonstrate that this sectarianism was nuanced by the religious, social, and political realities of the settler colony. The minutes of the Madras School Board are careful to state that a significant portion of the students who attended the schools were not adherents of the Church of England, and though that church's catechism was taught to the children, exceptions were made in Central School for students to be given religious instruction along the lines of their own denomination on Sundays only. This allowance was likely due to the influence of Burns in Saint John, and there is no evidence in the minutes that this situation was replicated at any of the other Madras Schools in the province.[200] Further pointing to the multi-denominational character of the student population of the Madras Schools is a reference in the minute book of 1850 stating that enrollment at the school in Fredericton had dropped significantly since the opening of a Roman Catholic school in the city the previous year.[201] While it is not shocking to the historian that children from dissenting Protestant denominations would attend Church of England run schools, the fact that a significant number of Catholic students attended them is a very peculiar situation in the religious landscape of early nineteenth century New Brunswick.

[199] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 12 July 1820, 15.
[200] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes".
[201] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 2 September 1850, 295.

While the student body of the Madras Schools reflected the religious diversity of the settler population in this period in New Brunswick, the inherent denominationalism of the schools underlines the fact that the acceptance of Catholics and dissenters into the schools was belied by purposes other than providing basic education. The possibility of conversion to the Church of England by students who attended the Madras Schools was often alluded to during the meetings of the School Board.[202] While there were instances, particularly in the period between 1820-1823, where Burns stressed the ecumenical benefit that the schools could have in providing education for students in a climate where there was little other opportunity for those outside the city's elite to attend any type of school, the meeting notes frequently make reference to the importance of teaching the principals of "true religion" to the children at the Madras Schools.[203]

Not only do the minutes of the board show that both Willis and Chipman Sr. were enthusiastic about the possibility that children who attended the Madras Schools might warm to the principles of the Church of England, but more importantly they saw the religious instruction provided by the Madras Schools as being essential to keeping children from working class families from abandoning the Church of England in favour of groups like the Baptists or the Methodists who were actively working to appeal to them.[204] The Loyalist elite, who had made numerous political attempts to more closely link church and state in New Brunswick, viewed the rapidly growing Baptist and Methodist denominations with deep hostility. In the view expressed in the meeting

[202] See "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 11 July 1821, 55-56.
[203] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 11 July 1821, 55-56.
[204] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 8 December 1825, 100-104.

minutes for August 1830, to undermine the power of the Church of England was to call into question loyalty to Britain itself.[205]

By keeping the practice of religion in the province firmly under the control of the Church of England, the Loyalist elite sought to limit the influence of dissenting sects that were viewed as proponents of levelling, democratic, and even republican ideas. The fluid cross-border movements of the Baptists, particularly with the New England colonies, which had been the political centre of the American Revolution, was particularly concerning to the Loyalist elite of the province.[206] While it is doubtful that the representatives of the Loyalist elite on the Madras School Board envisioned that the schools would lead to widespread conversion of dissenters to the Church of England, they clearly stressed the potential that the schools would have in preventing children from leaving the fold of the church in the future.[207] While it is likely that Burns would have objected to the Madras Schools taking an a explicitly missionary character in Saint John, the Anglicans and two Presbyterians on the Madras board agreed that one of the important purposes of the Madras Schools was to stop children from eventually converting to more radical Protestant groups that had the potential to undermine the social order, leading them away from the control of traditional religious authorities in Britain.[208] If the church hierarchy in Britain could lose religious jurisdiction over settlers in the empire, the possibility of political control eroding also became apparent. By working to expand and maintain the influence of the Church of England amongst settler

[205] "New Brunswick madras School Board Minutes", 9 August 1827, 229-330.
[206] Bell, "Protestant Dissent", 146-147.
[207] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 8 December 1825, 100-104.

[208] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 1 July 1823, 100-103.

children from the working and middle classes in early nineteenth century New Brunswick, the Madras School system reinforced an important aspect of the Loyalist elite's political project for the formation of the settler colony and strengthened loyalty to the British Empire.

Apart from Rev. Burns and William Black, all the members of the Madras Board were active members of the Church of England. The minutes of the group show that the Rev. Willis played a particularly active role in the board's affairs, being second only to Ward Chipman Sr. and Ward Chipman Jr. in the number of meetings of the board that he attended.[209] In addition to his role as rector of Trinity Church, Willis was also a missionary in the employ of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, acting as an important link between the group and the Madras School Board.[210] Also significant in its importance to the overall educational project of the Loyalist elite was that Willis was the President of the Saint John Grammar School.[211] The 1805 legislation establishing provincial support for Grammar Schools in the various counties of New Brunswick had stipulated that the rector of Trinity Church in Saint John would serve as the president of the Grammar School in that city.[212] As Rector, Willis therefore occupied the role of overseeing this institution for the entirety of his time in Saint John. Willis' involvement at the helm of both the Madras School board and the Saint John Grammar School clearly outlined the demarcation and hierarchical nature of education in early nineteenth century New Brunswick. As Rector of Trinity Church, Willis by law was responsible for

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[209] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes".

[210] Thomas, "Willis, Robert".

[211] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 6 January 1820, 8-9.

[212] "An Act for Encouraging and Extending Literature in this Province".

running the classical Grammar School that served the children of the city's elite, while at the same time he was responsible for the provision of charitable education for children from the city's working- and middle-class settler families through the operation of the Madras Schools.

Here is seen the clearly defined place of the Madras Schools within the educational ecosystem that was envisioned by the Loyalist elite. While the Grammar Schools would educate the students from the families of the Loyalist elite, those who could not afford the tuition fees, or did not have the instruction in classical languages required for admission to the Grammar School, would be left to auspices of the charitable arm of the Church of England, where they would receive an education that was benign and free from potentially dangerous republican ideas. This tiered education system made possible by the co-existence of the Madras Schools and the Grammar Schools was an essential component of the conservative, paternalistic, and pastoral vision for New Brunswick put forward by the Loyalist elite, and the close affiliation between the Madras Schools and the Church of England was a significant factor in the way that the Madras Schools encourage the children who attended them to remain loyal to the Church, and more broadly speaking to the British Empire.

The New Brunswick Madras Schools and Anglican Missionary Education in the British Empire

The Madras Schools in New Brunswick fit firmly within a wider tradition of early nineteenth century Church of England charitable educational endeavours that

focused on combatting illiteracy and teaching the catechism as an alternative to other methods of education that both political and church leaders feared might provoke disloyal sentiments amongst working class children in the metropole and the children of settlers in the empire. This tradition of education, which focused on rote learning in opposition to the dialectic method that involved more critical thinking, was advocated by political conservatives in Britain since the late eighteenth century as the method of learning that should be made available to the working classes.[213] Thus, the Madras School system in early nineteenth-century New Brunswick can be situated as part of a broader pan-Imperial pattern of Church of England sponsored charitable education that was designed to foster loyalty and to provide a distinct type of education that was deemed safe and non-controversial for the children of working-class families in the metropole, and settler children in the colonies who were not part of the elite. This method of learning, which was widely popular in the British Empire outside of the province of New Brunswick, was enthusiastically supported by the Loyalist elite as part of their political vision for the province. By connecting primary education in New Brunswick to a wider sphere of Church of England run charitable and paternalistic educational endeavours, colonial officials and the Loyalist elite sought to use education as a means to strengthen cultural connections and affinity between New Brunswick and Britain and thus maintain a settler population that viewed itself as a clear part of the wider British Empire.

[213] Richardson, "The Politics of Childhood", 853-855.

Those in charge of the Madras Schools in New Brunswick were highly cognisant of this purpose of the schools and the benefits of the catechistic learning method, directly articulating this in both the written minutes of the Madras School Board, as well as in the annual reports prepared for the House of Assembly and the literate public. The published 1821 annual report of the New Brunswick Madras School Board, prepared by Rev. Willis and Edward Jarvis, highlights the dual purpose built into the paternalistic educational method of the Madras School. On one hand, the authors note that:

> When it is understood that, by means of this System, as one of the fundamental principles, the precepts of sound Religion are necessarily taught and inculcated- that the Children are early made acquainted with their duty to God and man, and the doctrines and chief truths of Christianity – they cannot but entertain a confident hope that all the friends of Order and Morality will cordially united in its support…. and active co-operation in forwarding this great work of endeavouring to ameliorate the human condition in this rising province.[214]

This passage from the report makes clear the broadly humanitarian mission of the Madras Schools in improving the "human condition" amongst the working classes of the province, and the political impetus that this carried for the development of the new "rising" settler colony. Such a viewpoint fits well within the paternalistic humanitarianism espoused by educational and charitable educational groups affiliated with the Church of England in the early nineteenth century. However, Willis and Jarvis go much further, outlining in no unclear terms the distinctly conservative purpose that the Madras Schools had in defending the existing social order in the colony. Showing

[214] Willis and Jarvis, "1821 Annual Report of Madras Schools in New Brunswick", 14-15.

how these two facets of the Madras School system were distinctly tethered to each other, the authors go on to end the report by stating:

> And while we teach our children to "Fear God and honor the King," and to be content in that situation of life in which it has pleased God to place them, we are assuredly teaching them that which will most effectually promote both their present and future happiness.[215]

Willis and Jarvis, writing on behalf of the New Brunswick Board, elucidate the social purpose that the Madras Schools had in the wider political project that the Loyalist elite had for the settler colony. Not only were the Madras Schools viewed by those who operated them as being fundamental institutions for teaching children in the province to "Fear God and honor the King" and thus to continue to be loyal subjects of the British Empire, but it was also hoped that the schools would aid in preserving the established social, economic, and political structure of the province. This was to be done by ensuring that the students who attended them did not question their situation in life, and therefore also did not question the entire hierarchy of the society of the province as it was envisioned by the colonial officials and the Loyalist elite who supported them. It is evident from the 1821 report by Willis and Jarvis, as well as those that succeeded it, that the Madras Schools were thought of by those who ran them as a safe alternative to more popular forms of education that would leave children in danger of questioning the established order of church and state, possibly opening them to republican or levelling ideas. This could therefore threaten both the hierarchical, conservative, and pastoral model society envisioned for the province by the Loyalist elite, as well as weaken the

[215] Willis and Jarvis, "1821 Annual Report of Madras Schools in New Brunswick", 15.

attachment of settlers in the province to Britain and the continued place of New Brunswick in the Empire.

Willis and Jarvis' statement that children in the Madras Schools should be taught to "Fear God and honor the King" is not simply a rote expression of settler loyalty to Church and monarch, but rather it is an instance that shows their connection, and that of the Madras system, to a much larger cultural network of ideas about education in the British Empire in the early nineteenth century.[216] The expression of "Fear God and honor the King" which must be noted is put in quotation marks by the authors of 1821 Madras School Report, is a direct reference to Sarah Trimmer's 1788 book *The Sunday-School Catechist*.[217] This work was one the principal textbooks used by Madras School in both New Brunswick and in Britain and was part of a broader method of catechistic education that was popular in both the metropole and the Empire.[218] Trimmer's 1788 work, which the records of the Madras School Board indicate was widely distributed amongst the system's schools in New Brunswick, was the guiding text of a conservative method of classroom instruction described by historian of education Alan Richardson as "a means of maintaining class distinctions rather than facilitating social mobility".[219]

Trimmer was a committed Tory and High-Church Anglican, who became a strong advocate of the catechistic method of instruction, and later of the expansion of

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[216] Pachari, "Dr. Andrew Bell", 27-29.

[217] Sarah Trimmer, *The Sunday-School Catechist: Consisting of Familiar Lectures with Questions, For the Use of Visitors and Teachers*, (London: Longman, 1788); Richardson, "The Politics of Childhood", 854-855.

[218] Burns and Jarvis, *1821 Annual Report of Madras Schools in New Brunswick*, 11-12; Richardson, "The Politics of Childhood", 855.

[219] Richardson, "The Politics of Childhood", 855.

the Madras School system both in Britain and the Empire.[220] She was part of a generation of educational theorists in England who stressed the need for an alternative method of schooling that would counteract the enlightenment model that she identified as representing a "conspiracy against Christianity and all social order,".[221] Trimmer associated this system with Jean Jacques Rousseau and his supporters in Great Britain, just as early leaders of the Loyalist elite had publicly tried to link Glenie and his views on popular education with the radicalism of the French enlightenment a decade earlier.[222] The deference to Trimmer's educational work made by the architects of the Madras School system in New Brunswick, shows that their philosophy on the character and ultimate purpose of educational instruction for those outside the settler elite followed the same lines as her paternalistic and conservative views on schooling.[223] Just as Trimmer identified catechistic schooling as being essential to maintain "Christianity and all Social order", the Loyalist elite showed, through their affinity with Trimmer's educational philosophy, and the use of her work in the Madras system's schools in the province, that they viewed the social purpose of the Madras Schools through a similar lens; with education being used as a tool to preserve the hierarchical society that formed the backbone of their conservative and pastoral vision for the settler colony of New Brunswick.

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[220] Richardson, "The Politics of Childhood", 862-863.

[221] Sarah Trimmer, The Guardian of Education 1 (1802): 2-4, 245.

[222] Richardson, "The Politics of Childhood", 854; Winslow and Condon, "The Young Robin Hood Society", 134.

[223] "New Brunswick Madras School Board Minutes", 9 August 1827, 229-330.

The connection between the Madras School Board in New Brunswick and the works and views of Trimmer are not only of significance because they provide another instance of how the Madras School system designed by the Loyalist elite to maintain the social hierarchy necessary for underpinning the settler colonial project, but also because they give a clear connection of the Madras School system in the province to more expansive cultural sphere of ideas about education in the wider British Empire. A letter written by Governor John Harvey in January 1838 lamenting the decline of the Madras School in favour of the Parish Schools after 1828 showed that he believed the strengthening of cultural connections between colony and metropole through the sphere of education would do much to preserve the continued loyalty of the settlers in the province towards Britain.[224] In this letter, Harvey advises the House of Assembly to consider extending additional financial support for the expansion of Madras School in the province, in order to reverse their decline since the Parish School legislation of 1828. The Governor outlined that he believed instruction in the primary schools of the province under the Madras system that used the books of the National School Society "printed in England" or "reprints from English publication" would result in:

> Feeling all the importance of cherishing in the minds of the youth of the Province sounder Principles of loyalty and attachment to the Parent State, as well as higher and juster ideas of Her Power and moral greatness, than are likely to be instilled by Publication emanating from a foreign Press.[225]

Harvey continued to articulate the view that had been shared by his predecessor Symth that the Madras Schools presented a safe and loyal alternative to methods of education

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[224] John Harvey, "Education", 22 January 1838, New Brunswick Legislative Assembly Sessional Records, RS24 me/1, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick.

[225] Harvey, "Education", 2.

that might come to the province from other countries that were hostile to Britain, notably reflecting a fear of republicanism spreading from the United States or France. The final line of Harvey's letter shows that colonial officials in New Brunswick and their allies in the Family Compact realised that some form of education was in fact necessary for settler children who were not part of the colony's elite, if only to act as a bulwark against alternative models of instruction that might seep in from the United States, and thus both encourage republican ideas and erode cultural connection to Britain. The Madras Schools of the National School Society, firmly tied to the Church of England and under the direct control of a provincial school board that was dominated by the Governor, Council, and their close allies amongst Loyalist elite, were viewed by the Family Compact as the best fitting educational framework in support of their conservative and hierarchical vision for the expanding settler colony.

The expansion of the Madras Schools in New Brunswick served the interests of the colonial administration and their elite Loyalist supporters in the Family Compact by providing a conservative educational force firmly tied to the Church of England and the "mother country". This system would provide a basic level of classroom instruction and literacy to working-class and middling class settler children while at the same time preventing the spread of levelling ideas that might occur through teachers, books, or idea about schooling that came from New England. While the Grammar Schools and the provincial college in Fredericton would educate the sons of the Loyalist elite to follow in the footsteps of their fathers in controlling the political, economic, and judicial spheres of the new province, the Madras Schools would educate the children of settlers from outside this class with an emphasis on maintaining their loyalty to both church and

state. The Madras School system in New Brunswick, by the direct control of the Governor and Family Compact of its governing board, its close alliance with the Church of England, and its role in connecting the province to a wider conservative and paternalistic method of charitable education that fostered cultural connection with the larger world of the British Empire, became a supporting pillar of the vision of the Family Compact for the creation of a settler colony that was hierarchical, conservative, pastoral, and maintained a strong loyalty to the Crown, and clear perception of its place within the empire.

Conclusion

The Madras system of primary schooling played an important role in the educational landscape of New Brunswick between 1818 and 1828, outnumbering all types of schools in the province during this period. However, the influence of the Madras Schools extended far beyond the educational sphere. This thesis has demonstrated how those who governed the Madras schools in early nineteenth-century New Brunswick viewed the Madras Schools as a crucial part of a wider hierarchical education system, which was in turn designed to shape an emerging settler state that followed the conservative, pastoral, and deeply hierarchical vision for the province held by the elite Loyalist elite.

The first chapter of this thesis presented an outline of the existing historiography on education in New Brunswick between 1784 and 1830, while also exploring scholarship on the formation of the Loyalist settler state during this period. Because the history of education in New Brunswick during this early period has largely been neglected by historians, there is an acute need to bring in works that explore the wider Loyalist settler project that developments in education during this era were closely tied to. This section showed the enduring presence of the foundational "Loyalist myth" in how the history of both education and state formation in New Brunswick have been told and sets up the purpose of my work in breaking down some of the assumptions that are written into the existing narrative of schooling in the province.

The second chapter of my work discussed the background, establishment, and period of growth of the Madras School system in New Brunswick between 1818 and

1828, with an emphasis on showing the hierarchical structure of how the system operated. The first part of this chapter looked at the legislative and political background of schooling in New Brunswick between 1784 and the foundation of the first Madras School in the province in 1818, showing how the push for the expansion of the Madras schools was designed to serve as the lower rung of a two-tiered educational system for settler children. Next, this chapter gave a detailed description of the location of the Madras Schools in New Brunswick during the period in question, demonstrating how the distribution of the schools was designed to enforce the vision of the Loyalist elite for the province. The first crop of schools were all focused in the in-land agricultural settlements, reflecting the desire of the Loyalist elite to see a settler society that was pastoral in character. Secondly, after 1823 the location of the new Madras schools were mostly confined to geographic or religious borderlands, reflecting how colonial policy makers viewed the Madras School as tools to ensure that settlers in these areas remained identified with and loyal to the British Empire. Finally, the establishment of two segregated Madras schools for Black students shows how the Madras system helped to enforce the white supremacy built into the Loyalist vision for the colony.

In the last chapter, this thesis went beyond a descriptive history of the Madras Schools, to outline the ideological history of the Madras system in the province and in the wider British Empire. There were three distinct aspects of this, including the control of the provincial Madras School Board by the Governor and members of the Loyalist elite, the close relationship between the Madras Schools and the Church of England, and the place of the Madras schools within a wider cross-Empire network of early nineteenth-century Anglican catechistic schooling that was meant to offer a safe and

conservative alternative for working and middle class children in both Britain and the Empire. These elements highlight how the Madras system was designed to counteract the ideological threat of radical American and French education influences. These three features were at the core of the role of the Madras School system in the project of forming the settler state in New Brunswick between 1818 and 1828. The proponents of the Madras Schools in New Brunswick largely championed the Madras system because they viewed it as a conservative alternative to other more popular methods of education and believed that it would encourage the maintenance of the existing social hierarchy, as well as encouraging religious loyalty to the Church of England and political loyalty to Great Britain. Ultimately, those who controlled the centralized provincial Madras School Board believed that the system of instruction would be vital to shaping the society of New Brunswick along the lines of their vision and encourage the students who attend them to remain loyal participants in the project of empire.

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Appendix 1. Madras Schools in New Brunswick, 1820

Places	Commencement of Schools	Total Number of Children	Number in Daily Attendance	Instructors
Central School St. John	July 1818 September 1819 (Girls)	421 Boys 179 Girls	224 Boys 145 Girls	Mr. Bragg Mrs. Bragg
Fredericton	April 1820	71 Boys 57 Girls	50 Boys 48 Girls	Mr. Shelton Mrs. Baird
Kingston	January 1819	54 Boys	35 Boys	Mr. Condle
Gage Town	March 1819	35 Boys	35 Boys	Mr. Babbit
Sussex Vale	March 1819	30 Boys 33 Girls	45 Boys	Mr. and Mrs. Leggit
Norton	April 1819	32 Girls	32 Girls	Miss Martyn
Westmorland	March 1818	60 Boys	45 Boys	Mr. Gore and Mr. Carey
Hampton	1820	20 Boys	20 Boys	Mr. Davidson
Total		691 Boys 301 Girls	454 Boys 225 Girls	

Appendix 2. Madras Schools in New Brunswick 1821

Place	When opened	Instructors	Total No. attended	Daily Attendance
Central School at Saint John	July 1818 August	Mr. and Mrs. Bragg	754	175 Boys 78 Girls
Sain John African School	August 1820	Mr. and Mrs. Till	112	36 Boys 36 Girls
Fredericton (In the College)	April 1820	Mr. Shelton Mrs. Baird	195	35 Boys 57 Girls
Gage Town	March 1819	Mr. Babbit	74	20 Boys 14 Girls
Sussex Vale	1819	Mr. and Mrs. Legget	81	30 Boys 15 Girls
Hampton	May 1820	Mr. Davidson	26	6 Boys 11 Girls
Norton	April 1820	Miss Martyn	51	30 Boys 15 Girls
Woodstock	November 1820	Mr. Garret	50	20 Boys 10 Girls
Kingston	January 1819	Mr. Condle	75	26 Boys 14 Girls
Springfield	December 1820	Mr. Fairweather	41	20 Boys 15 Girls
Saint Andrews	November 1820	Mr. Robinson	100	47 Boys 23 Girls
Westcock	March 1818	Mr. Holbrook	52	25 Boys 15 Girls
Fort Cumberland	October 1820	Mr. Barberie	46	25 Boys 15 Girls
Dorchester	November 1820	Mr. Carey	59	28 Boys 15 Girls
Northesk	May 1819	Mr. Smith	82	25 Boys 12 Girls
			1798	548 Boys 339 Girls

State of Schools in July 1820			902	454 Boys 225 Girls
Increase in one year			890	94 Boys 114 Girls

Appendix 3. Madras Schools in 1822

Place	When opened	Instructors	Total Number Entered	Daily Attendance
Central School at Saint John	July 1818 August	Mr. and Mrs. Bragg	822	103 Boys 38 Girls
Saint John (African)	August 1820	Mr. Till	131	33 Boys 39 Girls
Fredericton	April 1820	Mr. Holbrook Miss. Martyn	250	24 Boys 45 Girls
Westcock	March 1818	...	63	20 Boys 16 Girls
Kingston	January 1819	Mr. Condle	92	30 Boys 16 Girls
Gage Town	March 1819	Mr. Babbit	93	16 Boys 20 Girls
Sussex Vale	March 1819	Mr. and Mrs. Legget	98	23 Boys 21 Girls
North Esk	May 1819	Mr. Smith	103	18 Boys 12 Girls
Norton	April 1820	...	60	23 Boys 19 Girls
Hampton	May 1820	Mr. James Dunn	48	15 Boys
Fort Cumberland	October 1820	Mr. Barbarie	85	40 Boys 20 Girls
Woodstock	November 1820	Mr. Gault	57	27 Boys 6 Girls
Saint Andrews	November 1820	Mr. Robinson	120	30 Boys 10 Girls
Dorchester	November 1820	...	59	
Springfield	December 1820	Mr. Fairweather	57	14 Boys 17 Girls

Burton	June 1821	Mr. Hammil	80	21 Boys 25 Girls
Shediac	July 1821	Mr. Nixon	45	20 Boys 10 Girls
Military Settlements	November 1821	Mr. Dunphy	97	15 Boys 10 Girls
Military Settlements	November 1821	Mr. More	77	15 Boys 10 Girls
Military Settlements	November 1821	Mr. Mount	65	
Military Settlements	November 1821	Mr. Walsh	58	15 Boys 10 Girls
Maugerville	April 1822	Mr. Crawford	16	11 Boys 5 Girls
Grand Manan	June 1822	Mr. Craig	22	12 Boys 10 Girls
Northampton	July 1822	Mr. McBeath	66	18 Boys 12 Girls
Saint Mary	July 1822	Mr. McNally	25	25 Boys
Woodstock (Upper District)	July 1822	Mr. Gurney	33	33 Boys
Jackson Town	July 1822	Mr. McGee	39	39 Boys

Appendix 4. Madras Schools in 1823.

Name of the Place	Date of Establishment	Teacher's name an [sic] where qualified	Number of Children entered since the formation of the school	Number in Daily Attendance
Central School at St. John	July 1818	Mr. Truro	935	147 Boys
African School (Saint John)	August 1820	Mr. Till	140	21 Boys 30 Girls
Fredericton	April 1820	Mr. Holbrook	357	54 Boys
Fredericton (Girls)	April 1820	Miss Martin	-	53 Girls
Westcock	March 1818	---	63	-
Kingston	January 1819	Mr. Condle	113	19 Boys 12 Girls
Gagetown	March 1819	Mr. Babbit	110	14 Boys 17 Girls
Sussex Vale	March 1819	Mr. and Mrs. Legget	104	22 Boys 13 Girls
New Castle	May 1819	Mr. Smith	131	21 Boys 11 Girls
Norton	April 1820	---	60	-
Hampton	May 1820	Mr. Dunn	64	14 Boys 8 Girls
Fort Cumberland	October 1820	Mr. Carey	97	54 Boys
Woodstock	November 1820	Mr. McGuiggan	80	18 Boys 5 Girls
Saint Andrews	November 1820	Mr. and Mrs. Millar	149	24 Boys 25 Girls
Springfield	December 1820	Mr. Fairweather	70	20 Boys 13 Girls
Burton	June 1821	Discontinued	-	-
Shediac	July 1821	Mr. Nixon	47	20 Boys 10 Girls

Military Settlements No. 1	November 1821	Mr. Dunphy	99	20 Boys 16 Girls
Military Settlements No. 2	November 1821	Mr. O'Farrell	82	33 Boys 16 Girls
Military Settlements No. 3	November 1821	Mr. More	77	15 Boys 10 Girls
Military Settlements No. 4	February 1820	Sergeant Baird	58	15 Boys 10 Girls
Maugerville (Middle District)	April 1822	Mr. Crawford	39	20 Boys 19 Girls
Grand Manan, Grand Harbour	June 1822	Mr. Craig	30	15 Boys 15 Girls
Northampton	July 1822	Mr. McBeath	35	15 Boys 17 Girls
St. Mary's	July 1822	Mr. Walsh	25	14 Boys 11 Girls
Woodstock (Upper District)	July 1822	Mr. Gurney	35	19 Boys 13 Girls
Wakefield (Lower District)	July 1822	Mr. McGee	39	16 Boys 17 Girls
Northesk	September 1822	Mr. Packard	54	14 Boys 8 Girls
Maugerville (Upper District)	October 1822	Mr. Montgomery	39	11 Boys 9 Girls
Point Debut	March 1823	Mr. Bent	56	22 Boys 20 Girls
Sackville	April 1823	Mr. Jackson	40	20 Boys 10 Girls
Wakefield (Middle District)	April 1823	Mr. Whelan	45	20 Boys 12 Girls
Queensborough [sic]	July 1823	Mr. McNally	45	20 Boys 5 Girls
Saint George	July 1823	Mr. Gray	-	-
Woodstock, Dow's District	July 1823	Mr. Nowlan	36	17 Boys 19 Girls
Carleton (Saint John County)	July 1823	Mr. Howe	92	-
Grand Manan, North Head	July 1822	Mr. Snell	40	-

In July 1823			3,396	754 Boys 424 Girls
July 1822			2,761	660 Boys 387 Girls
Increase:			635	94 Boys 37 Boys

Appendix 5. Madras Schools in 1824.

Name of the Place	Master's Name	Date of Establishment	No. Attended	Daily Boys	Daily Girls
St. John Central School	Mr. Truro	July 1818	1,025	140	-
St. John Female School	Miss Wallace	June 1824	(included with Boys School)	-	-
African School	Mr. Addison	August 1820	197	25	32
Carleton	Mr. Howe	July 1823	143	55	41
Fredericton	Miss Martin	April 1820	79	-	50
Douglas, late St. Mary's	Mr. Walsh	July 1822	45	13	9
Queensborough [sic]	Discontinued	July 1822	45	-	-
St. Andrew's	Mr. Miller	November 1820	156	49	45
Grand Manan, Grand Harbour	Mr. Craig	June 1822	89	30	12
Grand Manan, North Head	Mr. Snell	December 1822	76	25	15
Westcock	Mr. Jackson	March 1818	118	25	20
Sackville	Discontinued	April 1823	40	-	-
Shediac	Mr. Wood	July 1821	53	17	13
Petit Codiac	Mr. Nixon	September 1823	50	24	21
Kingston	Discontinued	January 1819	113	-	-
Springfield	Mr. Fairweather	December 1820	81	14	10
Gage Town	Mr. Babbit	March 1819	117	12	13
Sussex Vale	Mr. Leggett	March 1819	114	19	19
New Castle	Mr. Smith	May 1819	166	28	11
North Esk	Mr. Packard	September 1822	66	27	15
Chatham	Mr. Wands	May 1823	51	20	20
Hampton	Mr. Dunn	May 1820	75	16	10
Norton	Discontinued	April 1820	60	-	-
Maugerville	Mr. Gault	October 1822	52	16	12
Maugerville Middle District	Discontinued	April 1822	39	"	-

Fort Cumberland	Mr. Carey	October 1820	105	26	23
Point Debute	Mr. Bent	March 1823	62	34	18
Jolicure	Mr. Tindal	December 1823	50	10	14
St. George's	Mr. Gray	August 1823	72	20	10
Woodstock Middle District	Mr. McGuiggan	November 1820	135	26	10
Upper Woodstock	Mr. Gurney	July 1822	76	20	15
Woodstock, Dow's District	Discontinued	July 1822	36	-	-
Wakefield, Middle	Mr. Whelan	April 1823	90	14	7
Wakefield, Lower	Mr. Glue	July 1822	86	11	10
Northampton	Discontinued	July 1822	35	-	-
Military Settlement 1	Mr. Dunphy	November 1822	140	20	18
Military Settlement 2	Mr. O'Farrell	November 1822	131	19	17
Military Settlement 3	Mr. O'Conner	November 1822	159	10	14
Military Settlement 4	Mr. Ingraham	July 1820	116	18	6
Scotch Settlement	Mr. Blair	May 1824	36	12	8
Total			4,379	811	530
Number in College at Fredericton as reported last year			357		
In July 1823			4,736		
Increase During last year			1,340	57	114

Appendix 6. Madras Schools in 1825

Name of the Place	Master's Name	Date	Number
Central School	Mr. Truro	July 1818	130
Female	Miss Wallace	June 1824	81
African School	Mr. Young	August 1820	67
Carleton	Mr. Howe	July 1823	83
Fredericton	Mr. Baird	April 1820	55
Prince William	Mr. McCoy	August 1824	40
Queensbury	Mr. McNally	July 1822	-
St. Andrew's	Mr. Miller	November 1820	32
Grand Manan	Mr. Craig	June 1822	46
Grand Manan, Second District	Mr. Snell	December 1822	42
Westcock	Mr. Jackson	March 1819	50
Shediac	Mr. Wood	July 1821	28
Petit Codiac	Mr. Nixon	September 1823	55
Gage Town	Mr. Babbit	March 1819	24
Sussex Vale	Mr. Legget	March 1819	46
Newcastle	Mr. Smith	May 1819	57
Northesk	Mr. Packard	September 188	42
Chatham	Mr. Walker	May 1823	29
Hampton	Mr. Dunn	May 1820	25
Fort Cumberland	Mr. Carey	October 1820	No Report
Point Debut	Mr. Bent	May 1823	No Report
Jolicure	Mr. Tindal	December 1823	No Report
St. George's	Mr. Gray	August 1823	59
Woodstock	Mr. McGuiggan	November 1820	36
Woodstock, Second District	Mr. Blair	December 1823	23
Wakefield	Mr. McGee	July 1822	16

Wakefield, Second District	Mr. Whelan	April 1822	41
Military Settlement 1	Mr. Dunphy	November 1821	38
Military Settlement 2	Mr. O'Connor	November 1822	29
Military Settlement 3	Mr. Ingraham	February 1820	19
Bouctouche	Mr. Smith	September 1824	21

Appendix 7. Madras Schools in 1826.

Name of Place	Teacher's Name	Date	Number
Central School St. John	Mr. Truro	July 1818	134
(Girls)	Miss. Wallace	June 1820	111
(African School)	Mr. Young	August 1820	56
Carleton	Mr. Howe	July 1823	84
Fredericton	Mr. Baird	April 1820	82
African School, Fredericton	Mr. Baird	April 1820	12
Prince William	Mr. Egan	September 1824	30
Prince William, Second District	Mr. McKay	September 1824	40
St. Andrew's	Mr. Miller	November 1820	100
Grand Manan	Mr. Craig	June 1822	36
Grand Manan, Second District	Mr. Snell	December 1822	38
Westcock	Mr. Jackson	March 1819	27
Shediac	Mr. Dibbs	July 1821	24
Petit Codiac	Mr. Nixon	September 1823	55
Sackville	Mr. Tindall	October 1825	35
Gage Town	Mr. Babbit	March 1819	24
Sussex Vale	Mr. Legget	March 1819	24
Chatham	Mr. Smith	October 1825	58
Hampton	Mr. Dunn	May 1820	25
Hampton, Second District	Mr. Small	December 1825	23
St. George's	Mr. Gray	August 1823	67
Buctouche	Mr. Smith	September 1824	26
Richibucto	Mr. Wood	January 1826	28

Indian Island	Mr. McCracken	September 1825	30

Appendix 8. Madras Schools in 1827

Place	Teacher	Date	No.
St. John Central School (Boys)	Mr. Truro	1818	122
St. John Girls School	Miss Wallace	1824	122
St. John African School	Mr. Young	1820	85
Carleton	Mr. Salter	1823	93
Fredericton	Mr. Baird	1820	42
Fredericton African	Mr. Baird	1825	11
Prince William	Mr. Egan	1824	20
Prince William, Second District	Mr. Ingraham	1824	19
St. Andrew's	Mr. Snell	1820	66
Grand Manan	Mr. Craig	1820	25
Westcock	Mr. Jackson	1818	40
Sackville	Mr. Tindal	1825	45
Westmorland	Mr. Trueman	1826	47
Hillsborough	Mr. Lewis	1826	31
Monckton	Mr. Mackfee	1826	22
Monckton, Second District	Mr. Steadman	1827	35
Gage Town	Mr. Babbit	1819	16
Sussex Vale	Mr. Legget	1819	23
Chatham	Mr. Smith	1825	38
Hampton	Mr. Dunn	1820	23
Norton	Mr. Small	1827	28
St. George's	Mr. Gray	1823	55
Buctouche	Mr. Smith	1824	21
Richibucto	Mr. Wood	1826	30
Richibucto, Second District	Mr. Mitchell	1826	18
Indian Island	Mr. McCraken	1825	24
Woodstock	Mr. Dibblee	1826	27
Northampton	Mr. Whitfield	1825	12
Jackson Town	Mr. Gurney	1825	38
Kent, No. 1	Mr. Dunphy	1821	36
Kent, No. 3	Mr. O'Connor	822	32
Total:			1246

Appendix 9. Madras Schools in 1828

St. John Central School	Mr. Truro	1818	120
St. John Girls Schools	Miss Wallace	1824	120
St. John African School	Mr. Young	1820	88
Carleton	Mr. Salter	1823	72
Fredericton	Mr. Baird	1820	44
Fredericton African	Mr. Baird	1825	8
Prince William	Mr. Ingraham	1824	16
St. Andrew's	Mr. Snell	1820	82
Grand Manan	Mr. Craig	1826	26
Grand Manan, Second District	Mr. Redmond	1820	35
Westcock	Mr. Jackson	1818	36
Sackville	Mr. Nixon	1825	55
Hillsborough	Mr. Lewis	1826	37
Hillsborough, Second District	Mr. McDonald	1827	39
Sussex Vale	Mr. Leggett	1819	26
Chatham	Mr. Smith	1825	42
Norton	Mr. Small	1827	37
St. George's	Mr. Gray	1823	62
Liverpool	Mr. Mitchell	1820	24
Woodstock	Mr. Dibblee	1820	22
Jackson Town	Mr. Gurney	1825	39
Kent No. 1	Mr. Dunphy	1820	38
Kent. No. 2	Mr. Whelan	1827	34
Kent. No. 3	Mr. O'Connor	1822	23
Total:			1127

Appendix 10. Madras Schools in 1830

Place	Teacher	Date	No. of Scholars
Central School Male Branch	Mr. Truro	1818	144
Central School Female Branch	Mr. Truro	1824	126
St. John African School	Mr. Lee	1820	58
Carleton	Mr. Salter	1823	166
Fredericton	Mr. Baird	1820	101
Fredericton African	Mr. Baird	1825	13
St. George's	Mr. Ogden	1823	47
St. Andrew's	Mr. Pagan	1820	49
Chatham	Mr. Smith	1825	80

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