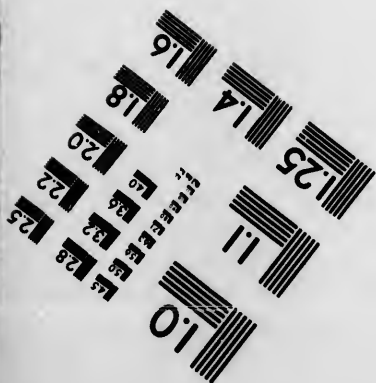
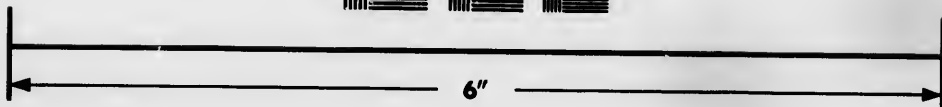
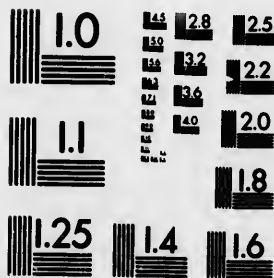


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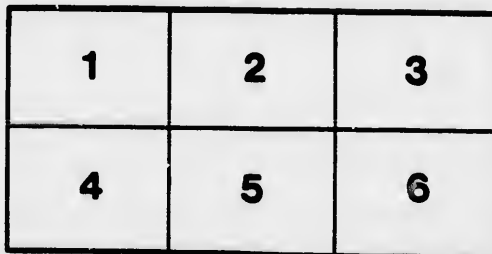
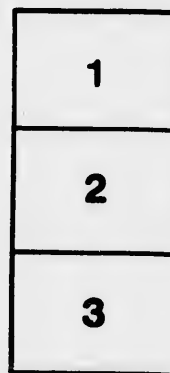
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SPEECH
OF
THE HONOURABLE JOSEPH HOWE,
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY,
ON THE QUESTION OF
COLLEGES AND EDUCATION,
Monday, February 19th, 1849.

The hon. PROVINCIAL SECRETARY said.—Mr. Chairman—having no desire to mingle in the acrimonious and somewhat irregular discussion, which, for the last four days, has occupied the attention of the committee, I have not interfered—but feeling a deep interest in the important subject of education, I must now perform the duty which I owe to the House, to my constituents and to the country, by the free and unreserved expression of my sentiments. The subject we are called to consider, not in the single aspect in which it has been presented, but in its more enlarged and comprehensive sense, involves the highest interests of this people, and offers the noblest theme for the orator and statesman. What is it, Sir?—THE EDUCATION OF OUR YOUTH—of those who are to be the comfort and the solace of our declining years—of those who are to be the owners of the Province when we pass away, and the parents and exemplars of the more numerous race by which they in turn will be succeeded. In what spirit should a subject of this magnitude and importance be approached? *The defence of our country* unites us as a band of brothers. When *Railroads* are to be constructed, and our inter-colonial interests advanced, the voice of faction is hushed, and there is the union which presages as it is best calculated to ensure success. The erection of *light houses* around our coast is regarded as a work of general policy and benevolence, in the consideration of which we rarely disagree; and how honorable was that harmony displayed a few days ago, when, by unanimous vote, we resolved to *consolidate our laws*. Happy is the country where such exhibitions are frequent, and where the occasions for them are diligently sought by all.— Shall not this great subject of EDUCATION

then unite us? Is it wise to approach it in a mode which cannot fail to arouse the passions without leading to any satisfactory result? Our population now is estimated at 300,000. In 40 years our country will contain a million of people. Our children now are 60,000. In 1869 they will be 120,000. Before the close of the century 200,000. Let us contemplate this numerous race, for whom we are required to legislate, trained, intelligent, erect, self-confident, multiplying by science the productions of the earth—indefinitely extending their strength by making the water power of our streams do the work of many millions—traversing the continent by Railroads, the surrounding seas by steam—transmitting their thoughts over a continent by electric wires—condensing their physical strength on assailable points, for national defence, and diffusing intellectual life and energy over a progressive and happy country. Let us reverse the picture and see them prone to hatred and civil strife, choosing education and other kindred topics, not as common ground, on which, as at ancient festivals, deadly weapons are laid aside—but selected with the same feelings as the scenes of those treacherous conferences of the Fronde, to which men went armed, the object being to stab a rival, not to secure the tranquility of the state. A population so taught—so divided, must be ignorant and weak, a mockery to their neighbours, and must ultimately be crushed by the iron heel of the spoiler, issuing from some of those powerful combinations which even now overshadow our borders. This Legislature must decide what that future race shall be.— To a large extent their prosperity will be influenced by our measures—they will be inspired or cursed by our example. The time is coming, Sir, or I am much mistaken, when

this subject will be approached in a fairer and a calmer spirit. I had hoped that that time had arrived. We have been told, Sir, that Education is henceforward to be the battle ground of party—and that public men are to rise or fall—to be elevated or overthrown, upon this field, which should be dedicated to peace and generous exertion. By God's blessing this shall never be—but, Sir, the time shall come, when, if Education's but mentioned here, faction shall be hushed—personal rivalries forgotten—and ambition shall plume her wing for noble flights above the mire and strife of party. This, it may be said, is strange language to fall from my lips. Perhaps so—My own example may be quoted to condemn my precept, by those who mistook for a work of choice the dire necessities of my public position.

In this matter, as in many others, my principles and views may have been misunderstood. Struggling for a Constitution for our country, for the defences and securities of freedom, without which education, property, and even life itself, are of little value; engrossed by one object, and keeping it steadily in view, turning my face to the enemy wherever he appeared, it was not possible for me always to choose my weapons or my ground. Like the soldier combatting in hot blood, when the bitter waters of the soil were stirred to their very fountain, I may have besieged the Temples, from which the enemy fired, and smote them between the horns of the altar. But, now that the strife is over, (and that it is, the bills upon the table prove,*) I would be the first to repair the walls—to wash the stains of conflict from the pavement, and, if I dare not repent of what the cause in which I was engaged forbids me to regard as sacrifice, my heart may yet exult when the solemn strains of harmony rise again above the din of battle.

This question, above all others, pre-eminently demands the consideration, and the united action of the government. The time is not far distant when it will be so regarded, and the measures requisite so matured. But, unfortunately, at the present moment it cannot be wisely dealt with by any party, or set of men, that can aspire to conduct an administration. The passions, the prejudices, of the past, have not yet subsided, and union of sentiment, in a population so diversified as ours by contrariety of religious opinion, is not easy of attainment. I look along the ranks of the Opposition, on political questions sufficiently united—on this they are a rope of sand; and, judging from the opinions expressed by my own political associates, in this debate, they are, even on the collegiate branch of the subject, which is not the most important, divided into three sections. My honorable friend from Yarmouth and some others, are for no college at all—the Speaker and his followers are for a college in Halifax at some indefinite time after the others are destroyed; while my learned friend from Pictou is for a college any where, but without the slightest indication of when it is to be found.

* The Civil List and Departmental Bill.

ed, or where it is to be. With such a diversity of sentiment prevailing in the province the Lieutenant Governor thus wisely called our attention to the subject of Education in his opening speech:

“The acts which provide for the support of Education, and for the encouragement of Agriculture, will shortly expire; and I shall be gratified if, in the renewed consideration of these very prominent interests, the experience of the past conduct you to harmonious and successful legislation.”

It is in this spirit, Mr. Chairman, that I approach the question. Instructed by the experience of the past; and convinced that it, by mutual concessions, harmony can be secured, our labours may be successful. The Bill before the house is no novelty to me. I have voted for it two or three times, and shall now. It was originally introduced by my hon. friend the late member for Londonderry, in 1843, as a part of the general subject, then under discussion. In 1845, when my hon. friend for Yarmouth again asked leave to introduce it, I voted with him. On neither of those occasions did I regard it more highly than I do now—as a detail of a general question—a fragment of a great subject—a limb of the Tree that we were to prune and water, but not the tree itself. My objections, then, have been not to the Bill, but to the mode in which we have been irregularly, and, as I conceive, most unwisely dragged into an educational discussion, by which at last but one question can be decided, and that in a mode unnecessarily vindictive and ungracious. The learned introducer of this Bill, had he done me the honor to consult me on the subject, would but have evinced the confidence displayed towards himself and others, upon most important occasions. Had he paused to reflect that this topic might have been discussed and disposed of, with some regard to the position of the hon. and learned leader of the Government, and to the sentiments he was known to entertain, he might have felt that there were reasons for going into committee of the whole which could be more easily imagined than explained. But, whatever the motive which denied the ordinary courtesy, and to our friends the advantage of the usual consultation—for myself I make no complaint. I am ready to meet the question now, or at any time—and as to my learned friend and colleague, whether the Bill was designed, as it was calculated, to place him in a false position, I rejoice that he has manfully defended his favorite Institution, and though divided from his political supporters, has thrown, by his felicitous eloquence, and graceful independence, a charm over even an untenable position.

When, on a former day, I moved to go into committee of the whole on the general state of the Province, to consider the subject of Education, I did so, 1st, because to debate that subject on this Bill would be a needless waste of time. Was I right? Four days have been spent, a single point is not yet settled, and the general subject scarcely approached. 2nd. I feared that by an attack on a single Institution

we should have sermons, debates, and personal disputes, that might have been avoided by a general discussion. We have had them. 3rd. I saw, that while every thing would be discussed, but one point, in the end, would be decided, and that we should have, at last to go into committee of the whole, and go over the same ground again. Besides this Bill, when it passes here, may be perilled elsewhere. It would have been in less danger, emanating as part of a general measure from committee of the whole, and going elsewhere, sanctioned by a large majority. Suppose it is carried here, we must wait its fortunes, or go on in doubt, discussing the general subject—suppose it lost, we must commence anew, with all the passions roused, by an invicious and fruitless discussion.

I have been amused by the reasons given by learned and honorable friends for adhering to a course fraught with so little wisdom. "We wish to clear a foundation." For what? Have they told us? Do they know? Who clears a foundation till he is ready to build—till he has the estimate, and the design? Who removes a pig sty till he knows for what he wants the ground? A Jewish synagogue may be an offence to the christian faith. But, if a party intended to destroy it, one section desiring to build a Turkish Mosque—another a Chinese Pagoda, and a third, an English Church, the Jews would be entitled to our pity, and the positions of the christians would not be much improved. The Bastille was a nuisance, yet anarchly followed its destruction, because those who razed it, wanted the prudence, the cohesion, and the unity of design, to put any thing valuable in its place. The guillotine rose upon its ruins first, and an imperial despotism soon after.

To clear foundations without being ready to build—to dismantle till I am prepared to make use of the materials, is not my mode of proceeding and never was. When I voted in 1843 for this bill, and for withdrawing all the collegiate grants, I had Mr. Annand's resolutions in my hand, embodying a consistent scheme of education, the very foundation of which was a general University, to be endowed out of the money saved, and situated in the capital of the province. And if I vote now for this bill it is because I am prepared to build as well as to destroy—to secure equality first, and then, with due regard to existing interests and institutions, to lay the foundation of a Free College, independent of sectarian influence and control. It is possible that, amidst the conflicting opinions and adverse views of friends and foes, I may stand alone. I have often done so, and may again—confiding in the strength of my position, and in the generous purposes to which I minister. Happy shall I be, if resembling the pile that stands in loneliness amidst the billows: Though the lights that flash around it reveal the deadly strife of war, its steady beam, cheering while it warns, invites the combatants at last to a haven of security and peace.

Let me invoke gentlemen on all sides to turn to this question without reference to per-

sonal rivalries or party triumphs. Suppose this Bill before us burnt, and all that has been said upon it forgotten, the ability and the worth of my young friend from Sydney would still be as sincerely prized. It surely cannot be necessary to add weight to the character of my hon. friend from Yarmouth, that he should win a personal triumph on a point of form. I listened on a former evening with much pleasure to the Spenser's narrative of the early history of King's College; but I ask him of what avails ingenious arguments here, if they end but in the destruction of existing Institutions, without the creation of any other? and whether he thinks we shall not deal more wisely with the subject of Education, by mutual compromise and co-operation than by splitting the house in halves, and driving some of the ablest men in it into determined opposition? We want the learned Attorney General and the learned member from Annapolis, when we come to consolidate our laws. Do we not want them now? Is there no common ground? I think there is, and to both these gentlemen I would say, that they must be prepared to give up something before it can be wisely occupied. I take the broad subject of Education—we all agree that common schools shall be maintained, and that if the present law is continued, the largest possible sum shall be granted. We all agree that the people should be left to elect their own Trustees, and that the management should be popular. But we agree further. The Attorney General and the member for Annapolis are as enthusiastic as any of us in favor of a wider diffusion of common school privileges, in fact of universal Education. All admit the difficulties—but united all may hasten on the period when by a vigorous effort they may be removed. All are equally anxious to elevate our teachers as a class—all are agreed, I presume, that the County Academies shall be maintained. There is much common ground then, and if we differ on the college question, I am not without a hope that our differences may, by the application of a simple principle, be finally adjusted.

The first proposition to which I wish to invite attention is, the appointment of a Superintendent of Education, whose business it shall be to visit every school in the province in turn, inspect its management—suggest improvements, and report facts connected with the condition of education year by year, for the information of the Legislature and the Government. The old school Board was intended to perform this duty. It failed from its sedentary character, as any similar board must fail. But something better is required. In almost every county, almost every year, unseemly and perplexing disputes arise, the merits of which it is exceedingly difficult to elicit by correspondence. We have had these at Shelburne—at Clare—at Westport—at Shelburne—at Arichat—at Musquodobit, every where, and in some cases years have gone by before the facts could be discovered and gross injustice has been done for want of sufficient information. Into all such controversies a Superintendent would enquire

upon the spot—many he would adjust by his presence and advice—and where he could not do this, he would report the facts for the decision of the Executive. But a Superintendent would do more—he would collect information and diffuse it. Without having power to interfere with the popular control of the trustees, or the independent action of the commissioners, he would act as an aid and counsellor to both. He would offer, where required, valuable suggestions as to the site, the construction, the ventilation of school houses—the furniture and apparatus of the school rooms, the books in use, and the mode of teaching. If a good school existed in a county, with poor ones all around it, he would turn attention to its merits, and elevate the others to its standard. If meritorious teachers were found in obscurity, he would bring them forward—if districts were in want he would know where to supply them. If schools or academies did not earn the provincial allowance, he would at once report to the Executive. Such an officer would do more to systematize and elevate education in a single year than will be done by correspondence in twenty, and the moderate expense required to sustain him would be repaid by value received ten times over.

I examined the other evening the general abstracts and school returns and found them full of absurd anomalies. There appear to be three classes of Schools—*Grammar, Superior, and Common Schools*. Why the two former exist only in some places and not in others, and what are the distinctions between them, no man in the government or in this house I believe can tell. The counties of Cumberland, Guysboro, and Inverness have two *Grammar* schools—there is one in Barrington and one in Margaret's Bay, but none in the other counties.—Why? East Halifax and Barrington township have 5 *Superior* schools—there are 7 in Yarmouth—3 in Pictou—Hants, Colchester, and Guysborough have one each—while Richmond, Inverness, Cumberland, Digby and other counties, have none? Who can tell the reason? In 2 grammar schools in Cumberland there are 109 scholars—in 2 in Inverness but 67—in one in Halifax but 10. In Cumberland the people pay towards these schools £100, draw £80 from the Treasury, and teach 9 free scholars. In Margaret's Bay they pay £51, draw £20, and teach no free scholars. In Barrington they pay more than pound for pound, and teach four free. In Inverness they draw two pounds for every one they pay, and teach none free.

Take the *Superior* Schools. If the abstract is correct and the term appropriate, there are 226 scholars in East Halifax, 346 in Yarmouth, 185 in Pictou, 153 in Queens, and 166 in the township of Barrington receiving a superior education, and none others similarly taught in all the other towns and counties. Can this be true? And if so who can account for these anomalies and distinctions? For these schools the people of Yarmouth pay £4 for every £1 they draw—the people of East Halifax over 40s,—the people of Lunenburg and Queen's not 30s,—the people of Guysborough not

25s! Surely a Superintendent is wanted to enquire into this condition of things, and to tell us the reason.

I turn to the common schools, and find in my own county that Thomas Wilson, at the North West Arm, teaches 61 children—the people pay £6 for the half year, and he draws £8, while Sophy Thompson at the Plains teaches 12, the people pay 20s,—and she draws £7. Take Annapolis. Ichabod Corbett teaches 51 free scholars, and draws £19.—James E. Wheelock gets £14, and teaches only four free. Richard Harris draws £14 for teaching 42 scholars eleven months. Bathia Robinson draws but £7 for teaching 47 a year. Henry J. Nuxton get £17 10s. for teaching 44, while Jarvis Hart gets but £14 15s. for teaching 91! This may be all right, but I cannot comprehend it, and I doubt if there is a man in the Assembly in this respect much wiser than myself.

Taking the aggregate amounts drawn and paid for common schools, I find that Halifax and Queens pay more than £2 for every £1 drawn—Pictou £3, Richmond a trifle over 15s. Surely, Sir, this cannot be called a system, in which there is neither uniformity nor justice. A Superintendent would do much to improve it. But he would do more. He would elevate the character of the schools and improve their internal discipline and organization. At Musquodobit Harbour there is an admirable school, which the teacher has brought up to its present efficiency by generous devotion to his profession, and by introducing modern improvements. The man who would traverse the county of Halifax, and, by lecturing to the people, conferring with the trustees and teaching the teachers, elevate all the others to the same standard would confer an inestimable blessing on the county. An enthusiast might do it for love of Education—but an efficient man may be got for a moderate sum to do it not only in this but in all the other counties.

Improvements travel slow in every county—in a new one they are necessarily tardy.—The value of Oat Mills, of composts, of peculiar breeds and implements, may be estimated in some districts, yet years may elapse before the whole population obtain the information, or act upon it with zeal. Missionaries traverse every section of the country to propagate religion and temperance—to rouse, and to reform. Even in politics we adopt the same mode. The learned member for Annapolis—the learned Speaker, and myself, all became propagandists in our turn. What I want then is an Educational Missionary, enjoying the confidence of the Government and of this house, without respect to Party, who will go from county to county, and from school house to school house. On this subject we ought to agree, and I trust we will.

There is another well worthy of our attention. The establishment of libraries in connexion with common schools. In the organization of these, (and £5 would give a hundred useful volumes to each district,) a Superintendent would be of great value. Without attempting to dictate to, or control, the Trustees, freely

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elected by the people, he would be an agent to purchase or import—a friend ever ready to advise. He could effect exchanges of books between different districts—so, that if a county possessed 5000 volumes, each district in it could have access to the whole. The elevation of our teachers in the general scale of society is another topic, to which, at the risk of being tedious, I feel it my duty to call the attention of the committee. To pay them efficiently is a first step, but we must give them a pride in their art and end at their combined co-operation. We must learn to consult them—to care for—to promote them. I would assemble once a year at least all the teachers of a county in the shire town, and let them discuss the subject of education, and report their suggestions and advice for the guidance of the Executive and the Legislature. This would make them acquainted with each other, and with each others' modes of teaching—it would excite an honorable pride and a spirit of generous emulation. And who can doubt that many valuable suggestions would emanate from these meetings? I would reserve one or two county offices, in the gift of the Executive, as the rewards of long and meritorious service in the noble art of instructing the young. On such topics as this there can be no serious disagreement here. But, Sir, there is another branch of this subject that well deserves, as it may well repay, our grave and united deliberations. In 1841, I proposed to the Assembly to found Free schools for universal education over the length and breadth of the province. Had that proposition been adopted there would not have been at this moment an uneducated child within it. A respectable minority voted with me on that occasion. But a majority, fearful of the reaction of ignorance, rejected the proposition. Circumstances were not propitious when the School Act was revised in 1845—but, if we are united, may we not carry this vast improvement now? The property, real and personal, upon the surface of Nova Scotia, is estimated at £15,000,000—One per cent on this amount would give £150,000. But we require no such sum. We now pay about £12,000 from the treasury, and the people pay about twice as much more—in all perhaps £15,000, or less than 5s. on the £100 of all we possess; and this amount educates more than half our youth. Double it; raise the per centage to 10s. on the £100, and free schools would be provided for every child in Nova Scotia. We may not venture to take this bold step, but sure I am that we may discuss the subject amicably and to infinite advantage. But suppose this proposition to be put aside, may we not largely augment our school fund by a simple process without pressing hardly upon any portion of our population?—Can we not, by a slight tax on property, descending by legacy and inheritance, create, in every county, a fund which (like mental light money) shall be sacred to the objects of education. On an average of 30 years the whole human race pass off the stage of life, and if this people possess £15,000,000 of property £500,000 descends by legacy or inheritance every year. One per cent. on this amount, which

the dead would never miss and their heirs would cheerfully pay, would add £5000 a year to your common school fund. Two per cent would give £10,000; and, as property would increase faster than population, a fund might thus be secured for the ultimate training of all the youth of our country. Pardon me, Mr Chairman, if I believe that these topics properly belong to the subject upon which we have entered, and if I entertain the belief, that a few hours might have been well employed in discussing them in committee of the whole house.

I come now, Sir, to the more exciting topic of the colleges. Whatever may have been said or written by friends or foes, I neither created the Institutions nor the difficulties which they have presented. King's College was founded before I was born. When I was a boy the contents of about the Pieton Academy had been already begun. My first connection with it, in any official capacity, was as a Commissioner with Judge Desbarres to enquire into and report on its condition in 1838. It was then a wreck. Dalhousie College, also built when I was a boy, was at that time unoccupied and useless. By combining the resources of the two I hoped to found a free college in the capital of the Province. This design was frustrated by the Governors of Dalhousie, who placed three Presbyterian clergymen at the head of its classes, passing over a gentleman of acknowledged ability, belonging to another denomination, thereby conferring an exclusive character upon the Institution, and driving the Baptist body to break off from the rest of the dissenting interests, and enlarge their Seminary at Horton. I voted for the charter to Acadia College, upon the express condition that no larger grant should be asked than was then given to the Academy. But it was soon found that, to produce equality, the grant must be increased, but even that did not satisfy, and another £1000 was demanded. The St. Mary's Seminary sprung naturally from the desire of the Catholics to be equal with other religious bodies. The Sackville Academy, founded by an individual, was adopted by the Methodist body, who rallied round it about the same time.

With these Institutions shortly after I came into the Legislature, we had to deal. We at first tried to satisfy all, and place their colleges on a level, by raising the new ones to an equality with Kings. This mode was found to be burthensome to the Treasury—the sectarians were still dissatisfied and other Institutions were springing up. We were then driven to an attempt to equalize by the passage of McLellan's Bill, by withdrawing all the grants, to enable us to found one central university free from denominational control. This led to the fierce conflicts of 1843. In that year the question of one central university as opposed to sectarian colleges, was fairly presented to the country. It was discussed at Public Meetings—in the Press—and in every village and hamlet of the interior. The Elections followed, and, as I have ever contended and assert now, the country decided in our favour. But the question did not come up for discus-

sion in the Legislature until 1843. In the meantime the constitution had been dissolved.—The learned member for Annapolis had possessed for more than a year previous, a monopoly of patronage and power. Some members who had been elected by constituencies friendly to our views had been won over, and a compact majority welded together by political conflicts, defeated us on the college question. But we get a blow from an unexpected quarter. An embryo college had sprung up in Pictou, and my learned friend from that county, though voting with us on declaratory resolutions, lent his countenance to the system we opposed—by accepting a grant of £250 for the use of his own constituents.

Mr. G. R. Youso.—Do you say that this is a sectarian institution.

Mr. How.—I say that the Pictou members made the majority of those by which the grants were carried—that they shared the spoil. That the conduct of the learned member on that occasion I am sorry to recall, and wish I could forget. It was bad enough Mr. Chairman, to be beaten by a combination of circumstances, it was worse to have our friends share the plunder with our enemies. At this time Dalhousie was a wreck, and disgusted with the aspects presented on all sides, I scarcely thought of the subject of education from 1845 to 1848. Sometimes perhaps, I indulged the hope that "there was a good time coming." It has come at last. In 1847 the college question was not before the country. In so asserting, the learned member for Annapolis is correct. It may have been discussed incidentally, in a few places—but in many was not even mentioned, and the elections were run on stirring political questions of more prominent interest. But it is here now and must be dealt with. It comes to us, under more favourable auspices. Dalhousie has been rescued, and is about to be brought into activity. Three experienced teachers have been engaged, and an excellent mathematician. We have then, the nucleus of the contemplated Free College, and have now to consider which is the wisest course—to withdraw the grants from the county seminaries, and handsomely endow it, or to permit it to go unobtrusively into operation, continuing to the existing institutions a moderate allowance, until its metropolitan resources are developed, and its capacity to give the instruction they now afford is fully tested. I confess that my own mind inclines to the latter course. We know, by experience, that a large portion of our people favour the denominational mode of education. Though my own opinions are unchanging, I think it would not be wise to revive sectarian bitterness in the country again if it can be avoided. It would be equally unwise to break down seminaries doing much good before we have replaced them by something better—to scatter classes of young men pursuing their studies, until we have made some provision for completing their education. If we decide to withdraw the small grants now given we must at once largely extend the endowment of Dalhousie. We cannot take one part of the scheme of 1843 and

leave the other—we must take the whole or change our policy.

As respects Dalhousie college, I have always relied, under good management, upon the resources which spring naturally from its central position in the bosom of the metropolis.—The Institutions at Windsor, Horton, and Beekville, however useful or respectable, stand in thinly populated districts, destitute of the appliances and aids to knowledge supplied by the capital of the Province. Twenty thousand people surround Dalhousie within school going distance. One thousand families, within that space, can afford to send one boy at least into its classes. Hundreds of persons come daily into Halifax who pass the other Seminaries on the road, and hundreds more come by water from the towns and harbours east and west who never see them. Suppose one or both of the Railroads made, the population of Halifax and Dartmouth will be 50,000 in a few years. This population now have a strong claim on the legislature—in a few years they will demand that some provision be made for their Education. But aggregated numbers are not the only advantage possessed by Dalhousie. If young men are destined for the law, the courts are here—if for the church the pulpit orators of all denominations preach in Halifax from time to time. If the medical profession is preferred, here are the Hospitals and Dispensaries. Young fellows who are intended for tradesmen will learn more in the workshops of Halifax in a week than they could pick up in a village in a year. Those who desire to be merchants or countenances have the flags of all nations floating beneath their eyes every day—and if any of our pugnacious youngsters, with a large development of the posterior region, are ambitious of becoming soldiers, while studying at Dalhousie, they may take lessons in the military art by merely looking out of the window.

Such being the natural resources of a metropolitan college, I am content largely to rely upon and to develop these. All I ask for Dalhousie is, to be let alone, or if moderate academic grants are given in aid of the higher branches of learning, that it should, if it qualifies, be permitted to participate. If it is put into operation without any needless aggression upon other institutions, or any revival of denominational hostility and bitterness of feeling, not only will many Churchmen, Methodists, Baptists and Catholics, send their sons to its classes, attracted by their cheapness and efficiency, but young men who have been trained at Sackville, King's, Acadia and St. Mary's will go there to finish their education: these seminaries will, in fact, become feeders from which the central institution will be ultimately strengthened and nourished. If it gives to the population of Halifax the higher branches of education for £4, which now costs £10 or £15, students will not be wanting, and in a few years its further endowment may be sanctioned by public opinion, and if necessary the grants to the other seminaries be withdrawn. We must either adopt this mode of proceeding or carry out the policy of 1843—to sweep away

existing institutions and leave nothing in their stead, as seems to be proposed, would be utterly folly. From what I know of the state of public opinion in Nova Scotia at this moment, I do not believe that a majority of the people would desire to cripple the existing institutions to endow one, and certainly they would not approve of sweeping away the seminaries they have if nothing better is to be created.

But it may be asked, would you recognize the sectarian principle? Would you allow half a dozen Divinity chairs? Would you make Dalhousie denominational? Would you continue the permanent grant to Kings?—Certainly not. If any member moves a resolution here affirming the principle of that passed in 1845, I shall vote against it. I will not give a shilling to support Divinity chairs any where. Rather than make Dalhousie denominational, I would see it blown up. That King's college may share the fate of all the others, I shall vote for the bill before the house. How, then, are we to proceed? Is there any solution of difficulties? I have reflected much upon the subject, Mr. Chairman, and I think there is, and it is very simple—apply to the higher seminaries of the country the same principle that you apply to your academies and common schools, fix a standard of utility, place a tax in the hands of commissioners, to be appointed by the Governor, and allow the higher seminaries to draw from that fund an amount not to exceed £200, on proof that three professors had been employed throughout the year, in teaching the sciences, the classics and the modern languages. By adopting this course, you will neither recognize the denominational principle, nor provoke a needless contest with it. You give to those who desire a free University the means and the opportunity to try their experiment at no great cost, and you do not run a tilt against the prejudices and predilections of those who are conscientiously attached to the more exclusive plan of instruction. I cherish no feelings of hostility to any of the existing institutions. I never attacked any of them till unfairly pressed on and provoked. But I prefer the combined, the free, the provincial endowment for education.—Others, and by no means a small portion of our people, nay, of the people of all countries, prefer the denominational mode. Assume they are wrong, and I believe they are, their opinions, even their prejudices, are entitled to respect. The learned member for Annapolis and I are wide as the poles asunder on this point, and yet I cannot but admire the consistency with which he has maintained his opinions at every personal hazard. He was the leader of a government—he might have sat upon the Bench. His peculiar views of education created all his embarrassments, and have cost him all that he has lost. His opinions are shared by many others, and it is impossible to shut our eyes to the fact that the denominational principle has its advantages as well as its evils. The Presbyterian friends of the old Pictou Academy clung to it when it was only a wreck. One individual left £1000 to Acadia, another £1000 to Windsor, and a third £4000,

to Sackville. The friends of Acadia raise £100 a year by voluntary contributions—they have already expended £14,000 of their own funds—and within the last year the Alumni of King's College have raised £2500 towards the support of that institution. It is clear, then, that the denominational principle draws forth, and dedicates to the cause of education, funds which the Legislature could not command. It is equally undeniable that boys are attracted into these seminaries from the rural districts, who, but for them, would not be educated at all.

The arguments of the learned member for Annapolis on these points are sound. The different religious bodies must have their divinity chairs somewhere—either in the neighborhood of the central institution if you endow it, or in their own. And why not? If we must have ministers, we may as well raise as import them. You cannot destroy these institutions if you would. You may withdraw the grants and endow a free college, but they will, I have notwithstanding. If you sweep away Dalhousie, and so and so elsewhere, Nova Scotia will be left with nothing but denominational seminaries, and you will have done the very reverse of what we intended in 1843. If this is attempted at any future stage of this discussion, I shall resist it. If gentlemen with whom I have hitherto acted, adhere to the policy of 1843, I shall go with them, but after giving the subject due reflection, I see no necessity for asserting or negating an abstract principle, when, by applying to the higher seminaries of the country the policy which is applied to our common schools, we may arrive at a practical solution of a very difficult question. Fix a standard of secular education—define the branches to be taught, and the number of Professors and students, if you will, and then give as you would to a school in the Baptist settlement of Chezetook, without reference to sectarian distinctions of management, or to any other branches taught except those contemplated by law, and for teaching which the public money is paid.

This, Mr. Chairman, is the policy which, after hearing the conflicting views of gentlemen all round the house, I believe on my honor and conscience to be true wisdom at the present time. It may not please my learned friends who, engaged in the attack and defence of Windsor, like the soldiers attacking and defending the French Farm House at Waterloo, cannot or will not take an enlarged survey of the whole field. It may not please those who desire to affirm or to deny an abstract principle, to which one portion of our people will cling and which another will repudiate, even though you put a dozen resolutions on the Journals. It may not please those who seek a party triumph, or wish to sweep away everything and build up nothing. It may be inconsistent with the policy of 1843, but that has been deliberately abandoned by Mr. Huntington, Mr. Henry and Mr. Young, and but languidly affirmed by the hon. and learned Speaker.

My consistency is not that obstinate

quality which adheres to previously expressed views however circumstances change. I prefer to gather up the experience of the past, and set upon it, and I must have been a careless student, indeed, to have learnt nothing in the six years which have elapsed from 1843 to 1849. Experience has taught me this—that we may make education a battle ground, where the laurels we reap may be wet with the tears of our country. That we may outvote each other by small majorities, to have our decisions reversed every four years. But without mutual forbearance, and a spirit of compromise, we can do little good, and make no satisfactory and permanent settlement of these questions. Mr. Chairman, I regret that the other duties incident to my position, have left me but little leisure to present this subject to the notice of the committee with the clearness and ability which it ought ever to command. I know the

value of education by the want of it. The portals of Kings were closed against me, as a Dissenter, when a boy, and when I hear the felicitous eloquence of my learned friend the Attorney General, I might, prompted by feelings as natural as his own, be disposed to hostility to the institution which he so ably defends. I have no such feeling. From the old man between whose knees I was trained—who was in fact my only professor, I learned to respect all creeds and all professions—to prize knowledge for its own sake—to estimate the resources of religious zeal, even when ill directed, and to prefer peace on honorable terms to fruitless and aggressive war. In the spirit imbibed from that early training, and strengthened by our past experience, I would now invoke gentlemen on all sides to deal calmly, generously, and wisely with the great subject before the House.

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