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SCHOOL AND SOCIETY IN LONDON, CANADA, 1826-1871:
THE EVOLUTION OF A SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
VOLUME I

by

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Department of History

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Social Sciences
The University of Western Ontario
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ABSTRACT

The principal question investigated in the thesis is: were changes in school attendance behaviour primarily the result of socially differentiated family strategies. The behaviour analyzed is the decision of London parents to send or not to send their children to school between 1826 and 1871.

Parents in this study were divided into three cultural groups: Protestants, Roman Catholics and Blacks. They were also classified into occupational groups which were employed as surrogate measures for social class: upper, middle, and lower. Enrollments and attendance rates provided the proxy measure of the behavioural decision. The time frame was differentiated into four periods of study: 1826 to 1842; 1843 to 1852; 1853 to 1861; and 1861 to 1871.

A family strategies approach is employed in this research because of its significant explanatory potential, and its capacity to incorporate many of the approaches used by other historians. From this perspective, the primary concern of most parents in the last century was for the security and survival of their families. Thus, before the passage of compulsory school laws, their response to public schooling is viewed as calculative; that is, most parents measured schooling in terms of gains and losses for the family unit. Moreover, these decisions were not made in isolation. They were strongly influenced by the cultural and class background

of the parent; and they were reached in the midst of social, economic, political, and environmental changes.

Based on the literature concerning nineteenth-century school attendance, a number of hypotheses were generated and tested in each of the periods outlined above. In general, it was found that Protestant and upper and middle class males dominated schooling arrangements until Roman Catholic separate schools were established in 1858; that Protestants and Roman Catholics formed schools to transmit key cultural tenets to their children; that Protestant and upper and middle class children generally demonstrated higher attendance rates than Roman Catholic or Black and working class children; that lower class parents limited their children's education to the 3R's; and that family schooling strategies were directly linked to the future occupational destinations of children.

Archival files, annual reports, board and city council minutes, newspapers, personal papers, censuses, city directories, church records, and school syllabi were used to measure qualitatively and quantitatively the school attendance behaviour of London children in the past century.

In general, the hypotheses advanced by historians of education in Canada were substantiated in this study. Thus, when compared and contrasted to similar studies for other communities, these findings could furnish some additional truth about the relationship between school and society in nineteenth-century Canada.

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At this point in my life course, the words of T.S. Eliot are poignant: "What we call the beginning is often the end. And to make our end is to make a beginning. The end is where we start from."

During the course of the thesis I have incurred a number of substantial debts which are acknowledged here.

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DEFINITIONS

For clarity, the following terms are defined thus:

Common schools: schools which received financial grants from the government under the terms of the various common school acts.

Culture: "the integrated pattern of human knowledge, belief, and behavior that depends upon man's capacity for learning and transmitting knowledge to succeeding generations: the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group" (Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary, 1986).

Education: as "the entire process by which a culture transmits itself across the generations" (Bailyn, 1960, p. 14.).

Ethnicity: "groups that are differentiated on either cultural or physical criteria. This includes groups that are commonly called races, as well as populations that are distinguished on the basis of language, religion, foreign origin, history or other cultural characteristics" (Lieberson, p. 172).

Grammar schools: schools which received financial grants from the government under the terms of the various grammar school acts.

Private schools: schools where teachers charged fees; also schools which were free such as Sunday, Day, Charity, Evening, Institute and Society schools.

School attendance: the number of days that a student went to school per month, per quarter, per year, or number of years.

School attendance behaviour: the schooling choices of parents as manifested through enrollment and attendance trends.

School enrollment: the act of a parent(s) registering a child or children in school.

Social class: an analytic category that helps define the fundamental groups within the social structure of a society, which emerge from their relationship to the mode of production. Typically, classes have common properties such as vertical order, permanent class interests, class consciousness, and class isolation. Social contact between the classes is minimal and membership within the respective classes is often fixed (Ossowski, 1963, pp. 135-136.)

Socially differentiated family schooling strategy: a concept that links school attendance behaviour to the social characteristics (origin, place of birth, religion, occupation and social class) of the household head and the age and sex of the child. Family strategies were also dynamic; they unfolded over the life cycle of a family and they responded to the social, political, economic and environmental challenges of their time.

Stratification: the divisions within the class structure, that is, the "complex rank ordering of people in each class such as by wealth, ethnicity, and property" (Katz, Doucet, and Stern, p. 39).

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

Richard Talbot, an Irish Episcopalian gentleman, moved his family and about seventy settlers from County Tipperary, Ireland, to London Township, Upper Canada, in 1818, to start a new life.¹ Talbot was soon joined by many other compatriots. The Irish would make a significant impact on the future character and development of London, the community which emerged from the midst of the township in 1826 by administrative fiat.²

Talbot's eldest son, Edward Allen Talbot, was an inventor, militia officer, justice of the peace, teacher, author, and journalist.³ He published in 1824 a critical account of the state of education in his Province:

The inestimable advantages resulting from a well-educated and enlightened population, cannot be experienced in Canada for many years to come. The great mass of the people are at present completely ignorant even of the rudiments of the most common learning. Very few can either read or write; and parents, who are ignorant themselves, possess so slight a relish for literature, and are so little acquainted with its advantages, that they feel scarcely any anxiety to have the minds of their children cultivated. The axiom of the great philosopher does not seem to have obtained with the inhabitants of Canada, for they will not believe, that "knowledge is power;" and, being convinced, that it is not in the nature of "book-learned skill" to improve the earnestness of their sons in hewing wood, or the readiness of their daughters in spinning flax, they consider it a misapplication of money to spend any sum in obtaining instruction for their offspring....⁴

Was London a part of this educational backwater or was it different, perhaps even a beacon of educational progress? The official record is confusing and at times contradictory,

because only a few annual school reports for that community have survived and the recollections of prominent Londoners are often faulty and incomplete.

A brief overview of school attendance behaviour during London's first three decades highlights the problems which interpreters have faced. This overview here stops at 1860, since by then the vast majority of school aged children (5 to 16) in London were enrolled in school. A more detailed explanation from 1826 to 1871 will be provided in subsequent chapters.

The status of schooling in London during the 1830s is an enigma. Only a few annual school reports for the district and the township have survived, and no official data for the community of London itself were reported until 1842.⁵ Much of the information, therefore, is drawn from memoirs, which, as noted above, are not always reliable.

Sheriff Glass, for instance, a student in the 1830s, remembered a number of short-lived private schools, most of which, in his opinion, were poorly taught.⁶ C.B. Edwards, a former school inspector, partially substantiated this memory by claiming that no organized common schools were operated in London prior to 1848.⁷ Yet recent research has disclosed that about two dozen schools, including some impressive common schools, existed in that community during the first half of the 1830s.⁸ Moreover, literacy rates in London during the 1830s and 1840s may have been extremely high, perhaps over 90 percent.⁹

However, school attendance behaviour must have changed drastically in the late 1830s. The disappointment of the Reverend Benjamin Cronyn, chairman of the London district board of trustees, cuts through the annual report for 1838. In his opinion, progress at the district grammar school in London was slow; and enrollments were much lower than expected. As for the district's common schools, he declared that they were deplorable.¹⁰

The schooling picture becomes somewhat clearer in the 1840s. Although only a smattering of reports have survived, they seem to confirm the traditional view that few children attended school during these years. For instance, just 17 percent of the district's school age children were enrolled in 1841; and only about 40 percent annually attended London's common schools for most of the rest of the decade.¹¹

Nevertheless, contradictions abound for this decade as well. Literacy rates, for example, remained exceptionally high. Moreover, Nicholas Wilson, a prominent London teacher for sixty-two years, claimed that a William Taylor ran a successful private school in the early 1840s which was capable of holding seventy students. Indeed, Wilson declared that Taylor's school was the most popular one in the community prior to the advent of public schools.¹² In addition, a new finding divulges that no less than six common and six private girls' schools functioned in the London of 1842 alone.¹³ Unfortunately, student numbers were not provided.

The 1850s were a tumultuous period for schooling in London. Common school trustees' annual reports demonstrate that enrollments soared upwards in 1851, and rose meteorically in 1852 to be among the highest for any municipality in the Province. Almost nine of every ten London children attended a common school in the latter year. Nevertheless, these impressive gains were wiped out in a single year.

According to the annual school report for London in 1853, enrollments plummeted that year to almost the same percentage levels experienced in the 1840s; and they remained at that level through 1855. Commencing in 1856, however, an opposite trend began. From 1857 to 1859, about three-quarters of the total school population in London was enrolled in common schools. By 1860, percent enrollments had returned to the 1852 level, well above the average for the Province. Interestingly, enrollment trends for the grammar and private schools in London were the opposite of those for the common

schools throughout the 1850s, suggesting that a reciprocal relationship might have been in existence.

Were school enrollments in London during the mid-1850s as grim as the official record indicates? No, they were not, according to Judge John Wilson, who -except for four years- was the London common school superintendent from 1848 to 1863. In his last report to the trustees, Wilson asked an important question: "Were the children not attending the public schools [in London] in 1855 uneducated?" His answer was enlightening. Over 500 students were attending "large flourishing schools in many parts of the city, established and conducted by private parties on their own account."¹⁴

Canadian government officials subsequently discovered similar results. When preparing the 1871 federal census for publication, they recounted some of the school data gathered for the 1852 and 1861 censuses. Significantly, their revised total number of students for London in 1852 mirrored Wilson's pronouncements almost exactly.¹⁵

This overview highlights the contradictions and confusion which have blurred the portrait of school attendance behaviour in London's formative years, and it begs answers to two questions. Why was school enrollment behaviour in this era so volatile? Secondly, why were "official" and "actual" public school enrollments so strikingly different and inversely related to those of private schools? Clearly officials were counting some schools and not others! Why?

Before exploring these critical inquiries in subsequent chapters, it is necessary to answer two additional questions. First, how have educational historians answered these questions in analagous studies? Second, what framework did the writer establish to explore these questions in London?

Historians have made considerable progress in deciphering the origins and development of public education in Canada over the past thirty years. A number of important studies has expanded our understanding of the complex relations between

school and society. One very important gauge of this relationship is school attendance behaviour; in fact, Michael Katz has stated that "school attendance is the keystone of educational history."¹⁶ The approaches selected by educational historians have been wide-ranging: popular demand, social control, economic, spatial, ethno-religious, gender conflict, environmental, and family strategies.¹⁷

Initially, historians expected to find in communities similar school attendance patterns that could be generalized over time and space. Instead, they discovered trends that were characterized more by diversity than coherence. The critical differentiating factors appear to be gender, class, and ethnicity. This realization led Chad Gaffield to synthesize the current thinking on the history of education in Canada as follows:

Rather than being composed of general trends with certain diversity, the history of education now appears to be composed of general diversity with certain trends. Therefore, the real "coherence" which has emerged from research during the past 20 years involves the consistent evidence of complexity. The history of education in Canada is, in fact, many histories of education resulting from differentiating factors such as social class, gender, and ethnicity.¹⁸

The second question posed above concerns the framework established by the writer for examining school attendance behaviour in London. This query is answered in six steps. The first one explains the purpose of the study; the second specifies the behaviour examined. A presentation of the supporting theory, assumptions, and related findings from previous research form the next step. An explanation of the methodology, the sources used, and the significance of the study comprises the final three steps.

The purpose of this study is to explore the Gaffield synthesis in London, Canada, from its inception in 1826 until just prior to the passage of the Ontario Public Schools Act of

1871. Since the period under investigation antedates the passage of compulsory schooling legislation (1871) and truancy laws (1891), parents not the State were viewed as the prime decision makers concerning the school attendance of their children. The thesis builds upon Gaffield's work to make a closer link between school attendance and the cultural and class backgrounds of students and the schooling strategies of their parents.

The principal question explored in this work is: were changes in school attendance behaviour by school age children in London between 1826 and 1871 primarily the result of socially differentiated family strategies? The behaviour analyzed is the decision of London parents to send or not to send their children to school. The enrollment and attendance rates of London students provide the proxy measure of this behavioural decision.

The theory underpinning a family strategies approach to school attendance behaviour is based on a world-view that sees a society constructed, maintained, and changed by the actions of its people, but within certain constraints.¹⁹ That is, the goals and strategies of individual actors and groups, which were related to domination, status, and economic advantage, are examined in light of prevailing economic, social, political, and environmental forces. In this study, therefore, the school attendance behaviour of parents in each of the main cultural and social groups in London is related to the larger forces and structures which surrounded them.

The following assumptions about family, school, and society are derived from the above theory. Parents, not children (to age sixteen), routinely dominated schooling decisions. Furthermore, their choices were usually rational and strategic; that is, parents measured schooling in terms of gains and losses for the family unit in the present as well as in the future.²⁰ Two broad, related choices influenced these decisions. Parents could send some or all of their boys and

girls to particular types of school if they felt it was in the family's best interest to do so; or they could keep some or all of their progeny out of school when it was important for them to serve some other family role like working. Within the context of family decision making, then, both alternatives are rational and strategic.

Parental schooling decisions were also made in a complex society. This notion may be divided into the following sub-assumptions. Social, economic, political, and environmental conditions influenced school attendance behaviour. So too did the cultural (defined by origin or place of birth and religion) and social class (defined by occupation) background of the household head and the age and sex of the child.

School promoters acted in their own best interests too.²¹ When conditions changed, they opened schools to meet specific new needs, or they repackaged some or all of the principal properties of their old schools -their financial, administrative, curricular, and pedagogical arrangements- to market them more effectively to parents.

Opponents of schools also acted in their own best interests. For example, some property owners and adults without children did not support free schools because of the financial burdens they entailed. Lastly, schools were also agents of change. As central societal institutions, they had the potential to transform their surroundings significantly.

Many of these assumptions also intertwined to shape specific nineteenth-century schooling and educational practices.²² Although a variety of schools existed for young people in Upper Canada -common, grammar, private, denominational, Sunday, charity, and Evening, for example- the arrangements made by and for those schools were often ethnocentric, class-biased, and sexist.²³

It was assumed, for instance, that most young people in the colony needed only the 3R's, that is, instruction in literacy and numeracy, while a select few were to receive the

more advanced subjects. Gidney and Millar call this latter group of subjects "the discretionary sector."²⁴ This differentiation reflected traditional English and North American social attitudes, which were sanctioned by contemporary social, political, and economic theory, including the view that the various social classes should receive different educations.²⁵ For social and practical reasons, then, instruction in the 3R's and perhaps apprenticeship training was considered appropriate for the children of the "humbler classes."²⁶

Alternatively, it was assumed that two additional curricular tracks were available to the discretionary sector, leading to what was popularly known as a "common" (ordinary) or a "superior" (liberal) education. Both categories had the 3R's as their basis, as well as a number of other subjects like History, Geography, Practical Mathematics, Grammar, Physics, Religion, Morals, Book-keeping, and Natural History. Girls might also study plain needlework. This cluster of subjects was also called a "plain, good or ordinary English education."

A superior education was distinguishable from an ordinary one by its provision for classical instruction, primarily the study of Latin and Greek. These two subjects were the clear marks of a liberal education for boys, and had set the standard for centuries.²⁷ Moreover, a classical education was, or could be, the key to occupational success and leadership positions in the colony.²⁸

The study of the "accomplishments curriculum" signalled a superior education for girls. Based on the 3R's, and the more advanced English curriculum, it also included the "ornamental" subjects such as Modern Languages, Vocal and Instrumental Music, Drawing, Painting, and Fancy Needlework. In a sense, this too was a type of vocational preparation, for it recognized the special roles that women played as wives, mothers, and volunteers.²⁹ Thus, although there was

potential for overlap at the upper reaches of society, it seems that many middle class children tended to receive an ordinary English education whereas their upper class counterparts were generally given a liberal one.

As a result of these social attitudes and curricular orientations, and the moral problems associated with co-education, most people presumed that schools should be segregated by sex, and, where possible, by social class. Consequently, schools offering a superior education to mostly upper class children -grammar and ladies' schools, academies, and seminaries, for example- enjoyed a higher status than did common schools. Traditional class distinctions, therefore, were largely maintained through these schooling arrangements.

Furthermore, parents expected, as committee members, commissioners, councillors, and trustees, to dominate the schooling arrangements that were made for their children. Although participation was voluntary, and before 1871 so was their children's attendance, parents were integrally involved with all schooling arrangements. They hired and fired teachers; set rules and regulations; prescribed subjects with certain cultural, political, and economic concerns in mind; and supervised their children's progress. Indeed, many parents were prepared to pay heavily for such control. The general approach was "government financing if necessary, but not necessarily government financing."³⁰

Since schooling choices were critical to their families' future prospects, parents kept their eyes rigidly fixed on the occupational destinations of their offspring. They established or used schools with specific curricular goals in mind. For those students wanting to enter some churches, law, or medicine, Latin was a prerequisite. Some church ministries required Greek; but advanced Mathematics, not the classics, was necessary for engineering and surveying. On the other hand, a good English and commercial schooling was considered sufficient for the eldest son who was about to take over the

family business. And the 3R's were thought adequate for children who would pursue semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. These attainments also solidified class positions for those with more than the rudiments, which were considered satisfactory for most children headed toward skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled jobs.

In addition to the cognitive aspects, the affective side of schooling was also important to parents. Schools were to be small, intimate places, places which simulated the ideal Christian family where "parental" supervision could be exercised. Consequently, teachers were often relatives, friends, acquaintances, clergy, or parents themselves. And, when possible, schools were also selective to shut out "undesirable" students.³¹

Thus, family strategies, voluntary, or imposed by tradition and circumstance, determined the educational routemap for most children, because schooling, along with apprenticeship, land, and money, was a recognized, important form of patrimony that parents could pass on to their children.³²

In general, the scholarly literature on nineteenth-century school attendance behaviour in Ontario confirms these assumptions. For instance, researchers have discovered that the poorest school attenders in the colony were Irish Roman Catholic labourers and Blacks. The best school attenders were well-off and born in North America, England, or Scotland.³³ Family size,³⁴ upper and middle class (social control) motives,³⁵ school location,³⁶ and the economic structure of a community also influenced school attendance.³⁷

Financial and educational reasons also caused urban middle-class parents to alter their children's school behaviour and shift them from private to public schools at mid-century.³⁸ Concomitantly, the reforms instituted by Egerton Ryerson, the superintendent of education for Canada West and Ontario between 1846 and 1876, caused common school

attendance rates to increase significantly, especially those for girls.³⁹ Finally, as discussed above, school attendance, freely chosen or rejected, was influenced by family strategies.

In summary, the school attendance behaviour of nineteenth-century parents was family-oriented, strategic, rational, dynamic, complex, voluntary, and largely socially determined. This hypothesis is contrary to the conclusion reached by many nineteenth-century school officials and some revisionist historians, who have criticized the working class for apathy and indifference toward schooling.⁴⁰ Ironically, as will be shown below, their deduction was class-biased, misleading, and, for the most part, erroneous, because they have failed to understand that the choice by some parents not to send their children to school was also rational and strategic.

Nineteenth-century Londoners, like other historical actors, rarely left clear, detailed, and comprehensive records of their social relations with other community members. Had they done so, the task of relating school attendance behaviour to socially differentiated family strategies might have been much easier. Nevertheless, historians must do the best they can with the evidence at hand.

A comparative method, therefore, is essential to ascertain the popularity of schooling in London from its conception until 1871 -that is, a mechanism is required to compare and contrast the cultural and class characteristics of London families and their school attendance behaviour over time. For instance, if a number of groups had distinct attributes and responded differently to schooling opportunities, it can be inferred that certain group traits (for example, Irish origin or the need for child labor) engendered a particular response to schooling. Socio-economic profiles of Londoners at regular intervals were developed to support such inferences.

These socioeconomic profiles are based on the demographic data (birth, origin, religion, and occupation) for Londoners, which are contained on the Canadian censuses of 1842, 1852, 1861, and 1871. The data are used cautiously, however, for despite their seemingly objective nature, nineteenth-century censuses have intrinsic limitations, and must be recognized for what they are: often flawed social products.

Censuses in the past century typically reflected middle class biases,⁴¹ often were inaccurate and confusing, and systemically distorted or excluded certain populations such as the working class, women, the poor, and certain ethnic and minority groups.⁴² Despite these limitations, nineteenth-century censuses are valuable working documents, especially when used with other primary sources.⁴³

Published aggregate level data rather than manuscript nominal (individual) level data have been used in three of the four profiles for several reasons. Firstly, aggregate data are obtainable for the 1852, 1861, and 1871 censuses; they are not available for 1842. Next, the personal census sheets for London, upon which the 1852 published census is based, are missing; therefore, no other option existed but to use the aggregate data for that year.

A third reason for using the published data is that it is beyond the scope of this project to render machine readable all the data contained on the 1861 census of London, so aggregate data are used in this instance as well. The empirical necessity to compare like data over time provides the final reason for using the published demographic data. To extend the analysis back to 1842, however, nominal level data for that year were analysed, because the published version did not separate town and district data.⁴⁴

Having established the baseline socioeconomic profiles, a number of testable hypotheses about school attendance behaviour in London were generated and evaluated. These

hypotheses are based on the theory, assumptions, findings, and census data discussed above and are identified below.

Since key data are incomplete or missing in 1842 and 1852, it is impossible to determine the direct influence of demography on school attendance behaviour in those years. Only general trends are observable. However, direct connections are possible in 1861 and 1871, because nominal level data for those years have survived; and they have been made machine readable.⁴⁵ Consequently, quantitative analysis is employed in the latter two instances to determine the degree to which school attendance behaviour in London was directly related to socially differentiated family strategies.

Who were the people in the major cultural groups in the Province and in London? Fortunately, several historians have previously explored the influence of culture on school attendance behaviour in nineteenth-century Ontario. Typically, they have studied and reported on the attendance patterns of Irish Catholic, Irish Protestant, Scottish Presbyterian, English Protestant, Canadian Protestant, Canadian Catholic, and Black children.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, however, several researchers have de-emphasized this influence by using an overarching social class interpretive framework.⁴⁷

Although important, historians now realize that a social class approach by itself is reductionist; and with additional research it has become clear that cultural factors are themselves independent forces for change. For example, ethnic groups have often had distinctive objectives for schools, like assimilation, alienation, isolation, synthesis, and preservation.⁴⁸ Culture is not a secondary phenomenon, therefore. It is a blueprint for living—a strategy for the life course.⁴⁹ And, it is important to point out, most people view their cultural heritage as superior to others.⁵⁰

Thus, culture and class are treated here as powerful, parallel, and cross-cutting influences over school attendance

behaviour. Accordingly, it is speculated that various ethnic groups in London sought or created schools to transmit to their children the key tenets of their culture,⁵¹ as well as the opportunity for them to obtain economic advantage, status, and dominance.

Two important points about the inhabitants of the Province in the past century must be recognized: the population was strikingly homogeneous and it was culturally conscious. From the outset, the Province was dominated by White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestants from Great Britain, particularly the English and the Irish. Despite the massive immigration of the so-called famine Irish to Canada West in the late 1840s and early 1850s, many of whom were Roman Catholic, over 80 percent of the population in 1871 claimed their origin as Great Britain.

On the other hand, over 95 percent of Londoners in 1871 came from the British Isles, again most of them being English and Irish. Roman Catholics represented less than 20 percent of the population in London and in the Province at any time between 1842 and 1871.⁵²

Thus, a high degree of cultural consciousness flowed through this British Protestant society. Most people stood for the British connection, balanced government, and economic progress.⁵³ They saw themselves and their institutions as different and superior to those of the French, the Americans, the Blacks, and the Indians.

To test the relationship between culture and school attendance behaviour, the schooling strategies of three distinctive cultural groups in London during this period are examined: Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Blacks. It is important to note that most Protestants were from Great Britain, most Roman Catholics were from Ireland, and most Blacks were from the United States.

Five hypotheses are investigated: Protestant children generally had higher enrollment and attendance rates than did

Roman Catholic and Black children; Protestant children had access to a wider course of study, more schools, teachers, and financial support than did Roman Catholic and Black children; differentials in age and sex-specific school attendance behaviour among these major cultural groups declined over time; Protestants, particularly the Anglo-Irish, dominated schooling arrangements until the Separate School Act of 1855, when Roman Catholics were able to establish their own schools; and Protestant and Roman Catholic parents formed schools to transmit key cultural tenets to their children.

Having explained how culture is treated in the thesis, it is now necessary to explain how the concept of social class will be used below. In other words, which groups constituted the major social classes in the Province and London?

The establishment of a mechanism or a classification scheme to distinguish parental school behaviour by social class is problematic. Subjective statements made by historical actors about status distinctions can be biased, incomplete, and difficult for the historian to accurately check or even decipher and relate. It is necessary, then, to provide a theoretical link between social behaviour and social structure. An objective criteria for social class, therefore, is necessary for class differentiation.

Generally speaking, researchers have used criteria such as land, wealth, and occupation to ascertain the social relations of a community. A slight nod is usually given to wealth data, because nineteenth-century tax and assessment rolls recorded more personal information than did census schedules -for example, real and personal property and taxable income. Occupation, nevertheless, is used here for the following reasons.

Firstly, tax and assessment rolls can be deceptive, because they did not register the wealth of individuals who possessed property outside the municipality; and they missed people whose wealth was not invested in land. Moreover,

wealth information for Londoners is not regularly available until after mid-century.⁵⁴ In addition, the creation of several more machine readable files made this an unrealistic approach for the thesis, especially when a viable alternative was in existence. Finally, the most compelling reasons for this choice were that occupation data are accessible for each chapter in the study; and most commentators agree that occupation is a useful surrogate for social class.⁵⁵

Historians usually group occupations according to function (skill) or status (prestige) when reconstructing the social structure of a community. Caution must be the watchword, however, because serious methodological and conceptual problems are associated with both types of classification schemes.⁵⁶ As Gidney and Millar have said, "the construction of an occupational classification scheme, especially for the mid-nineteenth century, is an occupational hazard for historians."⁵⁷

Although researchers have formulated a number of classification schemes, and an extensive literature on the subject is available, no fully acceptable design has yet been produced.⁵⁸ Historians use or develop schemes which allow them to answer their specific questions. Nonetheless, these schemes must be used cautiously and critically; and their limitations must be clearly articulated.⁵⁹ To examine school attendance behaviour in London as thoroughly as possible, therefore, and in case one scheme masks social behaviour that the other could reveal, both functional and status occupational classification schemes are used in this thesis.

The functional occupational classification scheme used here was first developed by Canadian government officials to classify occupation data gathered during the taking of the 1871 federal census.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, no records are available to explain why the occupations of the people were divided into the following six groups; agricultural, commercial, domestic, industrial, professional, and not

classed (see Appendix 1, Volume II, for a detailed breakdown of the six groups by occupation). Government officials must have thought the groupings significant. They reclassified the occupational data amassed for the previous two censuses and included the revised results in the published 1871 census.⁶¹ Indeed, the scheme was only slightly expanded in 1881; and it also served as the basis for the 1891 survey.⁶²

Thus, the 1871 scheme represents the official view of Ontario society and its important component parts in the second half of the nineteenth century. Note that the census makers entitled the table of occupations in the various censuses, "Statement of the Component parts of the several **Classes** (my bolding) of Occupations." To extend the analysis back to 1842, the occupations of Londoners as contained on the census for that year were grouped according to the 1871 divisions.

Two hypotheses concerning the influence of parental occupation on school attendance behaviour are examined: children whose parents held commercial and professional occupations generally demonstrated higher participation rates than did children of parents who followed industrial, agricultural, domestic, and unclassified occupations; and differentials in age and sex-specific school attendance behaviour among the various occupational groups declined over time.

The scheme based on status used here is one that has found wide acceptance with historians of education in North America for almost two decades.⁶³ It was first developed for the Five Cities Project by Stuart Blumin, Laurence Glasco, Clyde Griffen, Theodore Hershberg, and Michael Katz. Remarkable similarities were observed in the occupational structures of Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), Buffalo, Kingston and Poughkeepsie (New York), and Hamilton (Ontario). Consequently, a vertical ranking scale was developed which classified the 113 most common occupations in those cities

during the 1860s. Occupations were ranked according to wealth, prestige, education, and power.

The first category (the highest ranking) was composed of mainly professionals and merchants, while the second category included minor public officials, clerks, and smaller proprietors. The next category (the most numerous) contained mostly skilled artisans, whereas category four comprised the semi-skilled (example, porters, teamsters, and servants). The final category encompassed the unskilled, primarily laborers.

The Five Cities Project scheme was subsequently expanded by Michael Katz and Ian Davey for the Canadian Social History Project.⁶⁴ This latter scheme was used in this study (see Appendix 2, Volume II, for a list of the occupational groups).

It must be stressed, however, that both of the above occupational classification schemes have serious weaknesses. The schemes are sensitive neither to the dynamic changes of occupational labels over time nor to life cycle implications. Furthermore, neither scheme accounts for the differences within occupations with respect to individual material circumstances nor the variable impact of occupation itself on school attendance behaviour. Therefore, because of these imperfections, and the scarcity and poor quality of nineteenth-century information, a rigorous analysis of London's social structure is neither possible nor justifiable.

However, sufficient evidence does exist to make a good case for a three-class model (upper, middle, and lower) of social class in London for two main reasons. Firstly, it corresponds closely to the general social divisions within the Province at the time, which were sanctioned by the Constitutional Act of 1791.⁶⁵ Upper class people, for instance, were usually large landowners.⁶⁶ They often traced their privileged beginnings to a forbearer who had held an appointed government, military, or clerical position in the colonial government.

Constitutional reform a half century later, however, replaced, in many instances, the appointive principle with an elected one; and a number of elites lost at least some of their regulatory power. Nonetheless, their wealth, property, and status guaranteed them and their families considerable power for decades if not generations.

Middle class people such as artisans, professionals, entrepreneurs, and farmers had some power in the first part of the century owing to their skills, educational qualifications, wealth, and property. That power was increased at mid-century because of significant political and economic changes.

On the one hand, the attainment of representative government, municipal institutions, and lower property qualifications for voting and office holding transferred more political power to property owners irrespective of their backgrounds. On the other hand, economic diversification and intensification, because of urbanization and the beginnings of commercial and industrial development, opened up new opportunities for the middle group. Many accepted the challenge, and the ranks and influence of the middle class swelled accordingly. Relatively self-reliant, skilled, and secure financially, this group increased in power and status, and had the potential, therefore, to be socially upwardly mobile.

Many lower class people, especially labourers, faced a bleak future. Their economic and social plight had been ignored by the constitutional and political changes of the 1840s; in fact, urbanization and industrialization had heightened it. Consequently, many working class people were powerless and trapped in a never ending cycle of poverty.

A political solution, moreover, was hopeless, for even those working class individuals who owned property discovered that voting qualifications were too high for them to obtain the privilege. In addition, many of these individuals lacked skills and could not secure sufficient wages and regular

employment. Without the vote, skills, and financial resources, most lower class people were incapable of obtaining the requisites for upward mobility. And as lower class numbers increased, and economic change promoted the deskilling of the trades, conditions worsened.

The second reason for using a three-class model of social class for Londoners is based on important objective and subjective evidence for this tiny pioneer community. According to land records, for example, London villagers were remarkably prosperous; by 1834 less than 8 percent of the population was working class.⁶⁷ Moreover, this striking characteristic endured. Using the Katz and Davey scheme to classify the occupations of the people listed on the various city directories and censuses between 1842 and 1871, revealed that London remained an overwhelmingly middle class community throughout this period (see Table 1. Note that all tables are in Appendix III, which is in Volume II of the thesis).

Observations by two contemporary educational leaders reinforced the legitimacy of the model. At a soiree in April of 1852, Hamilton Hunter, the Union School headmaster, and a graduate of the Royal Belfast College in Ireland, linked the soaring achievements of the previous few years to a decline in the "lurking remains of ... aristocratical feelings" in London. In his opinion, there were clearly three components to London's class structure:

It is considered by some to be wrong to educate the children of all classes of the community at the same school. They tell us practically that the children of the rich should not be educated with those of the middle and lower classes of the community....⁶⁸

A decade later, William McBride, the chairman of the London board of common school trustees, echoed Hunter's opinion in the annual report for 1862:

The period in the world's history has passed, when indifference to the education of the middle and

lower classes of a community could with safety be tolerated. The increase of power, falling in each succeeding year, into the hands of these classes in this country, renders their careful education a measure of State policy.⁶⁹

The first occupational group listed in Appendix 2 is used as a proxy for the upper class because of their prestige and power. The second and third occupational groups coincide with the middle class. These individuals either had control over the means of production or possessed sufficient skills to secure regular employment and sufficient income to position themselves for upward social mobility. The first three occupational groups constitute the "respectable" or "governing classes," as they were called in the past century. The fourth and fifth occupational groups were treated as a surrogate for the lower class. These groups were composed of semi-skilled and unskilled workers, and were often referred to as the "working class(es)."

Based on the above theory, five hypotheses about upper class school attendance behaviour are examined: upper class parents dominated schooling arrangements; their children displayed the highest attendance rates of all social groups; they segregated their offspring from others by patronizing select schools (private, grammar, and specialized technical and business schools); they hired highly qualified schoolmasters and schoolmistresses to provide a sexually defined superior education for their children; and they utilized a type of apprenticeship training for their sons and daughters to complete their education.

Three hypotheses about middle class school attendance behaviour are investigated: middle class parents increasingly gained control of the common schools during the Ryersonian period; their children's attendance rates were higher than those for working class children and similar to those for upper class children; and they wanted a superior or good

English, business, or commercial education for their children to enhance their future career prospects.

Three hypotheses relating to lower class school attendance behaviour are explored: lower class parents generally limited their children's schooling to the 3R's; their children's school enrollment rates increased significantly after the attainment of free schooling; and they usually rejected schools which charged fees and offered the classics.

Two general hypotheses about school attendance behaviour are also examined: most parents increased the enrollment and attendance rates of their children in the reformed common schools after about 1850; and some upper class Protestant and Roman Catholic parents patronized culturally distinct private schools.

Having identified the purpose of the study, the behaviour examined, the supporting theory, assumptions, related research findings, and methodology, what source material was analyzed to answer the major research question?

Theoretically, an ideal data bank would incorporate the minutes, reports, registers, and related documents from all the private, Sunday, Evening, grammar, and common schools that existed in London village, town, and city. Further context could be provided by an inclusion of directory, newspaper, census, and wealth data for those individuals who lived in London, London East, and London and Westminster townships between 1826 and 1871.

Regrettably, not all this information is available. Even if it were, it would be too difficult to incorporate it into the present project. Therefore, this work provides only a limited understanding of school attendance behaviour in London during this period.

What sources for London itself are available? At first there were few guideposts. Although some excellent articles about specific aspects of London's history exist, and a

handful of good general histories have been written,⁷⁰ useful, comprehensive, social, and economic histories of the community have not yet been penned. And, as discussed above, finding information about London schools in early times was a daunting task, especially when reputable historians have claimed that no common schools existed in London during the pioneer period, only private schools.⁷¹

The last assertion, although incorrect, became more understandable as research on the thesis progressed. Hard evidence about London's schools was indeed difficult to find. Board of education minutes date only from 1848; municipal council minutes from 1855; newspaper coverage is spotty until the later 1850s; and provincial school reports with London village data start only in 1844. Moreover, specific census information is not available until 1861 for the reasons discussed above. In addition, it is only because of fairly recent advances in computer technology that historians have been able to process large census data bases efficiently.

But there were guideposts, and evidence was found at the National Archives of Canada, the Archives of Ontario, the D.B. Weldon Library at The University of Western Ontario, and in the vault at the London Board of Education office. This information has helped to fill in some of the huge gaps in evidence about London's schools.

For example, at the National Archives, Record Group 5 (Records of the Provincial and Civil Secretaries' Office: Upper Canada and Canada West, 1791-1867), section B, contains thirteen school registers with students' names and ages, as well as some administrative, financial, curricular, and pedagogical information about four London common schools that were run between 1832 and 1835. Ironically, this material was accumulated by colonial officials to deal with a grievance submitted to the the Lieutenant-Governor by John Talbot, the teacher, of the Talbots identified at the beginning of this

chapter. At present, this information is the only known data of its kind for the Province.

Record Group 2 at the Provincial Archives (the massive record collection of the Education Department for Canada West) also provides important evidence. The most helpful documentation was found in RG 2, Series C-1, C-2, and C-6-C, which contain the outgoing and incoming general correspondence of the education department from the early 1840s to the mid-1870s; Series F-3-A, the annual reports of the district superintendents between 1842 and 1849; Series F-3-B, the annual reports of the local superintendents and boards of trustees from 1850 to 1870; Series G-1-A, the grammar school inspectors' reports from 1855 to 1871; and Series G-1-B, the grammar school trustees half-yearly returns and annual reports from 1853 to 1871.

Further context was provided by a careful reading of the appropriate Journals of the Legislative Assembly; the twenty-eight volume Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada (1790-1876) compiled by John George Hodgins (first Head Clerk, then Deputy Superintendent and later Deputy Minister of Education) at the Education Office in Toronto; and the published annual reports of the various assistant superintendents and superintendents of education after 1842.

As was discussed above, local school records became more complete after mid-century. Useful evidence was found at the offices of the London Board of Education, the Regional Collections and Government Documents departments of the D.B. Weldon Library in the University of Western Ontario, and the library at the Faculty of Education also in the University of Western Ontario. Other major sources consulted, and listed in the bibliography, include London Board of Education annual reports and minutes, newspaper accounts, personal papers, published and manuscript censuses, city directories, and private school syllabi. Records at St. Paul's (Anglican) and

St. Peter's (Roman Catholic) Cathedrals, and the Archives of the Roman Catholic Diocese, London, were also investigated.

The final step in this chapter is to explain the significance of this research. Community studies provide the potential for researchers to separate the unique from the general, the local from the provincial and national, as well as to determine the timing and magnitude of the differences between communities and the reasons for those differences.

The London study, therefore, should help historians better understand local variance in the history of education throughout the Province. London may have been different from other urban places like Hamilton, Kingston, Ottawa, Orillia, and Toronto. Its politics, economy, geography, demography, sociology, good fortune, size, administrative character, and the actions of its families and leading citizens may have created a unique configuration of factors that was more conducive to the development of schools in that community than in other places in the Province.

A study of London's educational history from 1826 to 1871 also provides a window into that community's life. Schools did not exist in a vacuum; they reflected and shaped the larger society of which they were an integral part. Thus, this study has the potential to expand our knowledge of historical developments writ large and small in London.

Moreover, London, as will be argued later, was a leader in the common school movement in the Province. It was among the first of the large urban municipalities in Canada West to establish free schools, and to bring virtually all of its school age children into common schools. Therefore, London is an exemplary community and worthy of study; and a discerning account of educational developments in London might help to reveal some of those factors which promoted (and retarded) school attendance elsewhere as well.

The next four chapters of the dissertation are divided into periods which coincide with the censuses of 1842, 1852,

1861, and 1871, so that changes in London's social structure can be systematically analyzed over time. These periodizations also roughly coincide with those established by previous historians of London, and relate to major changes in the community's economic, political, and social history.⁷²

Key developments, therefore, are traced from 1826 to 1842, 1843 to 1852, 1853 to 1861, and 1861 to 1871. Each chapter follows the same organizing principles. First, the major societal changes are addressed. Then, the educational response to those changes is examined. Finally, the major thesis question is evaluated: were changes in school attendance behaviour by school age children in London primarily the result of socially differentiated family strategies?

One last reminder is necessary: the reader should note that appendices (and supporting tables) referred to in the text or in the notes have been collected in a separate compilation and classified as Volume II of this thesis.

NOTES

1. Owing to the economic chaos which plagued Ireland (and Europe) after the Napoleonic Wars, Talbot was forced to immigrate to Canada if he wished to maintain the family lifestyle. See Daniel J. Brock, "Richard Talbot, the Tipperary Irish and the Formative Years of London Township: 1818-1826," unpublished M.A. Thesis, The University of Western Ontario [UWO], 1969; and Brock, "Richard Talbot," Dictionary of Canadian Biography [DCB] Vol. VIII, 1851 to 1860 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 855-856. Note that "Episcopalian" and "Church of England" (interchangeable terms) are used in the thesis rather than "Anglican;" they were the common terminology at the time.
2. London was situated in the territory called Upper Canada until 1840, Canada West between 1840 and 1867, and Ontario after 1867. For simplicity, London, Canada, will be used hereafter.
3. See Brock, "Edward Allen Talbot," DCB Vol. VII, 1836 to 1850, pp. 842-844; Fred Landon, "Some Early Newspapers and Newspaper Men of London," London and Middlesex Historical Society Transactions [LMHS Transactions], XII (1927), pp. 26-34; and Freeman Talbot, "The Fathers of London Township," LMHS Transactions, VII (1916), pp. 5-14.
4. E.A. Talbot, Five year's residence in the Canadas: including a tour through the United States of America, in the year 1823, vol. II (London, 1824), pp. 116-117.
5. Previously, scholars have believed that the first annual school report with data on London schools was the Provincial one which was published in 1844. Recently, however, the writer discovered a letter from the London Board of Police to Education officials in Toronto, which reported the names of six private and six common schools in the London of 1842. See Archives Ontario [AO], RG2, C6C, Box 1, George Railton, Deputy Clerk, London Board of Police, to Robert Richardson (assistant to Robert Murray, Deputy Superintendent of Education for Canada West, 15 September, 1842.
6. See History of the County of Middlesex, Canada (London: W.A. & C.L. Goodspeed, Publishers, 1889; reprinted, Belleville: Mika Studio, 1972), p. 288. Hereafter referred to as History of Middlesex.

7. C.B. Edwards, "London Public Schools, 1848-1871," LMHS Transactions, Part V (1914), p. 15.
8. See, for example, Nicholas Wilson, "Early Schools of London: Reminiscences of the City's Pioneer Teacher," London Free Press, 5 May, 1894; History of Middlesex, pp. 288-297; and Illustrated London, pp. 73-80, for an account of the early schools in London. For more detailed information on London schools in the early 1830s, see National Archives of Canada [NAC], Civil and Provincial Secretaries' Office, RG5, Vol. 5.
9. Harvey J. Graff, "Literacy and Social Structure in Elgin County, Canada West: 1861," Histoire Sociale - Social History, 6 (April 1973), pp. 25-48.
10. Upper Canada, Journal of the Legislative Assembly [JLA], 1839, Appendix, Vol. II, p. 281.
11. See Canada, Census of 1842 (London, Canada West), Manuscript on microfilm [No. C1345], Government Publications, UWO [hereafter Census of 1842]. For the government's annual school reports, which went by slightly varying titles over the years, see Canada West, Annual Report of the Normal, Model & Common Schools ... (Toronto: Education Office). Hereafter called Ontario Annual Report. No Ontario Annual Reports were compiled in 1841 and 1843 owing to operational problems. For more detailed information about London, see the reports filed by the London district superintendent with the Education Office. They are found at AO, RG2, F-3-A, Microfilm 5 915 (Rolls 1 & 2), Annual Reports of the District Superintendents and District Councils, 1842-49. The reports for 1847 and 1848 have not survived.
12. Wilson, "Early Schools of London."
13. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 1, George Railton, Deputy Clerk, London Board of Police, to Robert Richardson, assistant to Robert Murray, Deputy Superintendent of Education for Canada West, 15 September, 1842.
14. London, Report of the Public Schools in the City of London for the Year 1863 (London: J. Cameron, "Advertiser" Book & Job Office, 1863), pp. 4-5. Hereafter called London Board Annual Report.
15. Canada, Census of 1870-71 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1873), Vol. IV, p. 192 [hereafter Census of 1871].

16. Michael B. Katz, "Who Went to School?," in Paul H. Mattingly and Michael B. Katz, eds., Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past (New York: New York University Press, 1975), pp. 271-293. Katz was paraphrasing a quotation made by a G.A. Barber, superintendent of Toronto schools in 1854.
17. See, for example, Haley P. Bamman, "Patterns of School Attendance in Toronto, 1844-78: Some Spatial Considerations," in Education and Social Change, pp. 217-245; Katz, "Who Went to School," in Education and Social Change, pp. 271-293; Ian E. Davey, "School Reform and School Attendance: The Hamilton Central School," in Education and Social Change, pp. 294-314; Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975); Chad Gaffield, "Dependency and Adolescence on the Canadian Frontier: Orillia, Ontario, in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," History of Education Quarterly, 18 (Spring 1978), pp. 35-47; Gaffield, "Schooling, the Economy, and Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), pp. 69-92; Katz, Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); and Gaffield, Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario (Kingston and Montreal: McGill and Queens University Press, 1987). For separate schools, see the three volumes written by Franklin A. Walker. Walker's first volume was entitled Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada (Toronto: The Catholic Education Foundation of Ontario, 1955). His second and third volumes were entitled Catholic Education and Politics in Ontario (published in 1964 and 1986); and Murray W. Nicholson, "Irish Catholic Education in Victorian Toronto: An Ethnic Response to Urban Conformity," Histoire Sociale - Social History, 17 (November 1984), pp. 287-306.
18. Chad Gaffield, "Coherence and Chaos in Educational Historiography," Interchange, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer 1986), pp. 112-121.
19. The writer has been influenced somewhat by the work of Max Weber. See, for example, Max Weber, Economy and Society, Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, eds., (New York: Bedminster Press, 1968). Also see David Blackledge and Barry Hunt, Sociological Interpretations of Education (London: Croom Helm, 1985); and Frank Parkin, Max Weber (London: Tavistock Publications, 1982).

20. See, for example, Davey, "Book Review," History of Education Quarterly, 21 (Fall 1981), p. 376; Gaffield, "Demography, Social Structure and the History of Schooling," Monographs in Education: Approaches to Educational History (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1981), pp. 110-111; J. Donald Wilson, "The Picture of Social Randomness," Ibid., pp. 32-35; Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History, pp. 109-128; Wilson, "Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History," in J. Donald Wilson, ed., An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History (Vancouver: CSCI Publications, 1984), pp. 7-29; Gaffield, "Literacy, Schooling, and Family Reproduction in Rural Ontario and Quebec," Historical Studies in Education, 1 (Fall 1989), pp. 201-218; and Ibid., "Children, Schooling, and Family Reproduction in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," Canadian Historical Review, 72 (June 1991), pp. 157-191. Also see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, Family Fortunes: Men and women of the English middle class, 1780-1850 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987); Susan Houston and Alison Prentice, Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); and R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario Education (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).
21. See Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), for a good discussion about the school promoters of Upper Canada.
22. The writer has relied heavily upon the work of R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar to establish the links between nineteenth-century social assumptions and educational practices. See their Inventing Secondary Education, especially chapter two.
23. Ibid.; and Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario, Part One.
24. Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, pp. 11-13.
25. See, for example, J. Donald Wilson, "Education in Upper Canada: Sixty Years of Change," in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet, eds., Canadian Education: A History (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 190-213; S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and

- the Conservative Tradition," in Edith G. Firth, ed., Profiles of a Province: Studies in the history of Ontario (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1967), pp. 20-33; and Peter A. Russell, Attitudes to Social Structure and Social Mobility in Upper Canada 1815-1840: "Here We are Laird Ourselves" (Lewiston: The Edward Mellen Press, 1990).
26. R.D. Gidney, "Elementary Education in Upper Canada: A Reassessment," Education and Social Change, pp. 16-21.
 27. Frank M. Turner, The Greek Heritage in Victorian Britain (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 6; and Sheldon Rothblatt, Tradition and Change in English Liberal Education (London: Faber and Faber, 1976), chapter 5 (cited in Gidney and Miller, Inventing Secondary Education, p. 14).
 28. Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, pp. 13-15.
 29. See for example, Mrs. Holiwell, "Address to Parents on the education of girls," (Toronto, 1865), in Alison L. Prentice and Susan E. Houston, Family, School and Society in Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), pp. 244-252; George Paxton Young, "Report of the Grammar School Inspector for 1865," Documentary History of Education, Vol. XIX, pp. 96-8 (cited in Prentice and Houston, Ibid., pp. 252-255); Joyce Senders Pedersen, "Schoolmistresses and Headmistresses: Elites and Education in Nineteenth-Century England," in Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, eds., Women who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 37-70; Marjorie R. Theobald, "'Mere Accomplishments'? Melbourne's Early Ladies' Schools Reconsidered," Ibid., pp. 71-91; and Jane Errington, "Ladies and Schoolmistresses: Educating Women in Early Nineteenth-Century Upper Canada," Historical Studies in Education, 6 (Spring 1994), pp. 71-96.
 30. Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, pp. 23-30.
 31. Ibid. Also see, Alison Prentice, "Education and the Metaphor of the Family: The Upper Canadian Example," Education and Social Change, pp. 110-132.
 32. E.P. Thompson, "The grid of inheritance: a comment," in Jack Goody, Joan Thirsk, and E.P. Thompson, eds., Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe, 1200-1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p.

- 358 (cited in Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, p. 26).
33. See Katz, The People of Hamilton, pp. 38-40; and Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, pp. 296-309.
 34. Katz, The People of Hamilton, p. 38.
 35. For example, see Susan E. Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience," in Education and Social Change, pp. 83-109; "Politics, Schools and Social Change in Upper Canada," in Education and Social Change, pp. 28-56; "Social Reform and Education: The Issue of Compulsory Schooling, Toronto, 1851-1871," in Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, eds., Egerton Ryerson and His Times (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), pp. 249-271; "Late Victorian Juvenile Reform: A Contribution to the Study of Educational History," in David C. Jones et al., eds., Monographs in Education, pp. 7-23; and "The 'Waifs and Strays' of a Late Victorian City: Juvenile Delinquents in Toronto," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family In Canadian History, pp. 129-142. Also see Alison Prentice, "Education and the Metaphor of the Family: The Upper Canadian Example," in Education and Social Change, pp. 109-132, and her The School Promoters; Neil McDonald, "Egerton Ryerson and the School as an Agent of Political Socialization," in Education and Social Change, pp. 81-106; Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars; and Bruce Curtis, Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871 (London, Ontario: The Athlouse Press, 1988).
 36. Bamman, "Patterns of School Attendance in Toronto, 1844-1878," in Education and Social Change, pp. 217-245.
 37. See, for example, Katz, The People of Hamilton; Davey, "Educational Reform and the Working Class: School Attendance in Hamilton, Ontario, 1851-91," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1975; Gaffield, "Dependency and Adolescence on the Canadian Frontier" and "Schooling, the Economy, and Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century Ontario;" Katz, Doucet and Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism; and Gaffield, Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict.
 38. See R.D. Gidney and Douglas A. Lawr, "The Development of an Administrative System for the Public Schools: The First Stage, 1841-50," in Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, eds., Egerton Ryerson and his Times (Toronto: Macmillan, 1978), pp. 160-184; Ibid., "Bureaucracy vs Community? The Origins of Bureaucratic Procedure in the Upper Canadian School System," Journal of Social History, 13 (March

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39. Davey, "Trends in Female School Attendance Patterns."
40. See the various Ontario Annual Reports.
41. For a good historical overview of the larger statistical movement that was taking place at this time, see George Emery, "Ontario's Civil Registration of Vital Statistics, 1869-1926: The Evolution of an Administrative System," Canadian Historical Review, 64 (December 1983), pp. 468-493.
42. For a good critical assessment of the biases and purposes of state collection and presentation of census data see Emery cited above, and Shmuel Shamai and Philip R.D. Corrigan, "Social Facts, Moral Regulation and Statistical Jurisdiction: A Critical Evaluation of Canadian Census Figures on Education," The Canadian Journal of Higher Education, 17-2, 1987, pp. 37-58. For the development of a professional statistical service in Canada post-Confederation, see M.C. Urquhart, "Three Builders of Canada's Statistical System," Canadian Historical Review 68 (September 1987), pp. 414-430. For biases against women, see Margo A. Conk, "Accuracy, efficiency and bias: The interpretation of women's work in the U.S. Census of Occupations, 1890-1914," Historical Methods 14 (Spring 1981), pp. 65-72.
43. Gaffield, Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict, p. xvi; and Donald H. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984), pp. 355-356.
44. The writer is grateful to Dan Brock of London for access to his note cards and computer disc which contain most of the data recorded on the Canadian manuscript census of London for 1842. His painstaking work greatly

facilitated the writers in this area. The Census Act for 1842, passed 18 September, 1841, is found as, "An Act to repeal certain parts of an Act therein mentioned, and to provide for taking a periodical Census of the Inhabitants of the Province, and for obtaining the other statistical information therein mentioned," Statutes of Canada, 1841-43 (Kingston: Stewart Derbyshire and George Desbarats, 1841), pp. 277-282.

45. For 1861, the writer created a machine readable file that listed all families with children aged 5 to 16 (and their relevant social characteristics) who were registered on the Canada census of London for that year. This approach allowed a comparison of the characteristics of families who sent some or all of their school age children to school to those who did not. For 1871, the writer is indebted to Professor Emeritus Kevin Burley, of the Department of Economics, U.W.O., for allowing access to his computer tape which contains the data from the federal manuscript return for the 1870-71 census of London (errors of interpretation of course are the responsibility of the writer).
46. See, for example, Katz, The People of Hamilton; Robin W. Winks, The Blacks In Canada: A History (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1971); Jason H. Silverman and Donna J. Gillie, "'The Pursuit of Knowledge Under Difficulties': Education and the Fugitive Slave in Canada," Ontario History, 74 (June 1982), pp. 95-112; and Silverman, Unwelcome Guests: Canada West's Response to American Fugitive Slaves, 1800-1865 (New York: Associated Faculty Press, Inc., 1985).
47. For notable exceptions, see Chad Gaffield, Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict; and Franklin A. Walker's three volumes on Catholic education which were noted above.
48. See, for example, John W. Friesen, Schools With A Purpose (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1983).
49. See, for example, Jorgen Dahlie, "Learning on the Frontier: Scandinavian Immigrants and Education in Western Canada," Canadian and International Education, 1 (December 1971), pp. 56-66; J.D. Wilson, "Ethnicity and Cultural Retention: Finns in Canada, 1890-1920," Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science, 2 (1977), pp. 217-235; and Roberto Perin, "Clio as an Ethnic: The Third Force in Canadian Historiography," Canadian Historical Review, 64 (December 1983), pp. 441-467.
50. Friesen, Schools With A Purpose, pp. 1-2.

51. See Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of Amercian Society (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960) for a similar point of view.
52. The census of 1871 was the first to distinguish the origin of the people from their place of birth. The following comment was made in the introduction to the 1871 census: "What is given in previous returns under the head origin, was simply the enumeration of people by their place of birth. But a moment's reflection shows at once that these two subjects of information are as different as they are important." See Census of 1871, Vol. 1, Part VI. Note that where possible an individual's origin rather than his or her place of birth has been designated in the various tables which have been developed for the thesis. However, because of the classification change noted above a question was raised as to whether an individual's origin or birth should be, for the sake of an example, "Irish" or "Ireland." Here it was decided to use the descriptor "Ireland," although an equally good case can be made for the use of "Irish."
53. For more information, see Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963), pp. 109-110; and William Westfall, Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).
54. The only assessment rolls for London in this period are for 1854, 1859-61, and 1867-1871. The tax collector's rolls for London in 1844, 1861-68, and 1870-71 are also available. This information can be found at Regional Collections, in the D.B. Weldon Library, the University of Western Ontario.
55. See W.A. Armstrong, "The Use of Information About Occupation," in E.A. Wrigley, ed., Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 191-310. Also see Katz, "Social Class in North American History," pp. 577-599.
56. Katz, The People of Hamilton, p. 51.
57. Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, p. 340.
58. For example, see Russell, Attitudes to Social Structure and Mobility; Katz, Doucet and Stern, The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism, especially chapter 1; A. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871:

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59. See, for example, Stuart Blumin, "The Historical Study of Vertical Mobility," Historical Methods Newsletter, 1 (September 1968), pp. 1-13; and his "Mobility and Change in Ante-Bellum Philadelphia," in Stephen Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, eds., Nineteenth Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1960), pp. 165-208; W.A. Armstrong, "The Use of Information About Occupation," pp. 191-310; Katz, "Occupational Classification in History," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 3 (Summer 1972), pp. 68-88; Clyde Griffen, "Occupational Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America: Problems and Possibilities," Journal of Social History, 5 (Spring 1972), pp. 310-311; and Davey, "Educational Reform and the Working Class," p. 327.
60. For the occupational data in 1871, see Census of 1871, Vol. 2, pp. 250-345. For the occupational classification scheme, see Ibid., Vol. 5, pp. 96-99.
61. Census of 1871, Vol. IV, p. 193 (1852) and p. 268 (1861).
62. For the occupational classification scheme in 1880-81, see Canada, Census of Canada, 1880-81 (Ottawa: Maclean, Roger & Co., 1882), Vol. II, pp. 440-443. For the occupational listings by classification in 1890-91, see Canada, Census of Canada, 1890-91 (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893), Vol. 2, pp. 140-193.
63. See Theodore Hershberg, et al., "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," Historical Methods Newsletter, 7 (June 1973), pp. 174-215; and Hershberg and Robert Dockhorn, "Occupational Classification: The Philadelphia Social History Project," Historical Methods Newsletter, (June 1976), pp. 59-99.
64. See Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), Appendix Two, pp. 343-348; and Davey, "Educational Reform and the Working Class," Appendix B.
65. For more information, see Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years; J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas: The Growth of Canadian Institutions (1841-1857)

(Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1967); W.L. Morton, The Critical Years: The Union of British North America (1867-1873) (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964); S.F. Wise, "Upper Canada and the Conservative Tradition," in Edith G. Firth, ed., Profiles of a Province, pp. 20-33; C.F.J. Whebell, "Robert Baldwin and Decentralization, 1841-9," in F.H. Armstrong, H.A. Stevenson, and J.D. Wilson, eds., Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Essays Presented to James J. Talman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 48-64; Careless, "Some Aspects of Urbanization in Nineteenth-Century Ontario, Ibid., pp. 65-79; Michael S. Cross, "Introduction," in Cross, ed., The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 1-7; and Katz, The People of Hamilton, particularly chapter 4.

66. The writer's approach to social class was influenced by the work of Havi Echenberg. See her "Sport as a Social Response to Urbanization: A Case Study - London, Ontario, 1850 - 1900," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, U.W.O., 1979.
67. This statistic is based on the occupations of those persons who owned or rented land in the Old Town Plot of London between 1826 and 1834. This area is bounded by the Thames River on the south and west, North Street (now Queens Avenue) on the north, and present-day Wellington Street on the east. The writer is grateful to Dan Brock for granting access to his careful research in this regard. See London, Middlesex County Land Registry Office, 80 Dundas Street, Courthouse, London, Ontario.
68. London, "Union School Soiree," Canadian Free Press, 15 April, 1852.
69. London Board Annual Report, 1862.
70. See for example, C.O. Ermatinger, The Talbot Regime or the First Half Century of the Talbot Settlement (St. Thomas: The Municipal World, Ltd., 1904), especially chapters XX1 and XXX1; Fred Landon, "London in Early Times," and "London in Later Times," in Jesse E. Middleton and Fred Landon, eds., The Province of Ontario, Vol. 11 (Toronto: The Dominion Publishing Co., Ltd., 1927), pp. 1044-1064 and 1065-1083 respectively; Frederick H. Armstrong and Daniel J. Brock, "The Rise of London: A Study of Urban Evolution in Nineteenth-Century Southwestern Ontario," Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), pp. 80-100; Armstrong, The Forest City: An Illustrated History of London, Canada (Canada: Windsor Publications, Ltd., 1986); Orlo Miller, This Was London: The First Two

Centuries (Westport, Ontario: Butternut Press Inc., 1988); Miller London 200: An Illustrated History (London: London Chamber of Commerce, 1992); John Mombourquette, "London Postponed: John Graves Simcoe and His Capital in the Wilderness," in Guy St-Denis, ed., Simcoe's Choice: Celebrating London's Bicentennial, 1793-1993 (Toronto & Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1992), pp. 1-30; and C.F.J. Whebell, "The London Strategem: From Concept to Consummation, 1791-1855," Simcoe's Choice, pp. 31-66. Also, see Armstrong's helpful "Suggestions for Further Reading," in The Forest City, pp. 328-329.

71. Landon, "London in Early Times," p. 1058, and Armstrong, The Forest City, pp. 53-55.
72. See footnote 70 above.

CHAPTER 2:

SCHOOLING IN LONDON VILLAGE, 1826 TO 1842: THE FORMATIVE YEARS

1. INTRODUCTION

The story of London's formative development has been described by others.¹ Geography, the policy of Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe, demographic change, land policy, British geopolitical interests, and the hopes of prominent citizens led to the selection of London over St. Thomas, Delaware, and Dorchester as the new district town (see Map 1).²

The community's designation as the administrative and judicial centre for the district was confirmed by statute on 30 January, 1826.³ A survey by Mahlon Burwell, the district surveyor, was completed by 9 June, 1826.⁴ He set the 240 acre "Old Town Plot" within the perimeter established by the current Queens Avenue and Carling Street to the north, the Thames River to the south and west, and Wellington Street to the east (see Map 2).⁵

London's position as the leading community in the southwestern peninsula was secured once the district court house was located there. Over the next decade, it was further consolidated by free land grants; increasing immigration; an economic boom; financial, commercial, and manufacturing diversification; the actions of leading citizens; improved transportation and communications' systems; and institutional development.⁶

Except for the cholera scare in the summer of 1832, the pioneer period for London village witnessed fairly steady urban growth. By 1837, the population had reached 1,090,⁷ and the Anglo-Irish predominated.⁸ One observer noted that the

population consisted primarily of artisans, and that "blacksmiths, carpenters and builders are flourishing."⁹

Nevertheless, depression and rebellion united in mid-to-late 1837, briefly halting the growth of London village.¹⁰ The community recovered fairly quickly, however, owing in part to its excellent geographical location, to the arrival of the British troops in 1838, to the character of its leading citizens, and to road improvements. Settlement figures ballooned over 250 percent between 1837 and 1842, from the 1,090 noted above to 2,616.

To improve municipal services for citizens during this period, London was incorporated in 1840 as a police village. The new incorporation extended the town boundaries to Huron street in the north and Adelaide street on the east (see Map 3). For more effective administration, the village was divided into four wards. Voters in each ward elected a representative to a central coordinating agency called a Board of Police.¹¹ A fifth person, elected at-large, completed the Board's membership. The five then chose a president from amongst themselves; the first president was George J. Goodhue, a leading merchant.

What was London society like during its formative years? Middlesex County land records for London village from 1826 to 1834 (the Old Town Plot) and demographic data from the 1842 Canada census for London help answer this question. These two sources, along with other records, show that London's social structure changed significantly over its first sixteen years.

The year 1834 was chosen to examine London's social structure for both temporal and contextual reasons. 1834 represents the mid-point in the formative period, and is therefore a suitable point at which to identify potential changes in London's social structure. Contextually, several reasons are important. Firstly, land records between 1826 and 1834 contain the names of London household heads who owned or rented property in 1834, and, in most instances, their

occupations as well. Combining this data where possible with information about each individual's sex, religion, and birthplace (or origin), therefore, creates a population profile of Londoners in this year.¹²

The second contextual reason for selecting the year 1834 is that a population profile of Londoners in that year creates a socio-structural backdrop for the children who were written into the London school registers of the early 1830s, and who were briefly described in chapter one. Lastly, the Old Town Plot boundary captures the unofficial corporate identity of London village in 1834. Before the formal incorporation of 1840, it was commonly recognized as the area which constituted London's physical boundaries. Thus, five socio-economic snapshots of "corporate" Londoners were created in 1834, 1842, 1852, 1861, and 1871.

The limitations of the 1834 snapshot must be recognized. Several property owners were absentee landlords, but they may have played key roles in the village's development. Moreover, a number of significant figures undoubtedly lived outside the Old Town Plot and they were not included if they did not own property in the village. Lastly, the population was highly mobile at this time;¹³ and some of these people, particularly renters, remain anonymous, as do women, children, squatters, servants, and boarders. Nevertheless, the household heads included in this snapshot were the men who dominated London village, whether they lived there or elsewhere.¹⁴

The land records divulge the names of 202 household heads who lived in the Old Town Plot at the end of 1834 (see Table 2). Of the total number of people registered, the occupations of all but twenty-seven were identified. Yeoman farmers comprised London's single largest occupational group. They constituted thirty-six (almost 21 percent) of the 175 identified individuals (see Table 3). Undoubtedly, there were more. Of the nineteen individuals listed as gentlemen, several were also known to be yeoman farmers.

Carpenters were the next most prominent occupational group. The remaining people were distributed over an additional thirty-nine occupations. The largest occupational categories in this latter group in descending order were merchants, labourers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and painters. Following eight years of settlement, then, three groups dominated London's occupational landscape - yeoman farmers, gentlemen, and carpenters represented 44 percent of the registered workers. When combined with merchants, labourers, shoemakers, blacksmiths, and painters, eight groups comprised 59 percent of the work force.

Approximately 21 percent of London's household heads were engaged in agricultural occupations; 7 percent were commercial; 2 percent, domestic; 42 percent, industrial; 8 percent, professional; and 19 percent were unclassified. Gentlemen and labourers accounted for all but three people in the last group.

Moreover, Londoners were remarkably respectable in 1834. Twenty-four percent of the household heads were upper class, 68 percent were middle class, and less than 8 percent were working class (see Table 4). Even the working class must have had prosperous members, since nine of the twelve labourers who were identified in 1834 owned property by 1848.¹⁵

In addition, London's population was strikingly homogenous. As shown on Table 2, virtually every individual was Protestant (mostly Episcopalian) and from Ireland or England. Few Roman Catholics and Blacks appeared to live in London. Nevertheless, significant social change was in the wind, although London's respectable character would remain largely intact.

According to data on the 1842 Canadian census, London underwent several salient changes between 1834 and 1842. The number of household heads more than doubled, from 202 to 420, while the number of occupations increased from forty-two to sixty-nine. Moreover, eight groups now dominated the work

force. Labourers, carpenters, innkeepers, merchants, shoemakers, gentlemen, tailors, and grocers comprised 62 percent of those working in the village (see Tables 3,5).

Viewed through a slightly different lens, persons engaged in agriculture dropped substantially, whereas the unclassed group (mainly labourers) and the domestic group (primarily innkeepers) rose significantly. The remaining occupational groups retained roughly their percentage share of the marketplace -commercial and industrial groups increased slightly whereas professionals decreased slightly (see Tables 3,5). In less than a decade, then, the yeoman farmers of London had virtually disappeared, at a time when numbers of workers in every other category increased substantially.

These occupational changes led to an altered social reality in the London of 1842. Only 12 percent of the community's household heads remained upper class, whereas 58 percent were middle class, and 27 percent were working class (see Table 4). Therefore, when compared to 1834 the village's elite group had been cut in half, its working class had increased almost threefold, and its middling group, although still very large, had declined by almost 10 percent.

However, there was an important omission in the census totals. The British troops stationed in London after 1838 were never included in the population figures for the community.¹⁶ Their presence probably heightened class distinctions -at both ends- among Londoners also.

British Protestants continued to dominate in 1842. About 19 percent of the population was born in England and Wales, 9 percent in Scotland, 20 percent in Ireland, 45 percent in Canada (most of whom likely originated in Ireland¹⁷), and 7 percent in the United States. Almost 43 percent of the people were members of the Church of England, 14 percent were Presbyterian, 11 percent were Roman Catholic, 2.5 percent were Baptist, 19 percent were Methodist, and 9 percent were from other demoninational groups.¹⁸

The preceding overview summarizes the major social, political, economic, and environmental forces which influenced the growth of London village between 1826 and 1842. It also reconstructs elements of the community's social structure at two key points in time. Two important questions about London schools now emerge: what was the response of the schooling marketplace to these forces; and were changes in school attendance behaviour primarily the result of socially differentiated family strategies?

2. EARLY SCHOOLS

(1) The London District Grammar School

Little is known about the early years of the London district grammar school; and since the school was not transferred to London village until October of 1837, only a brief review of its early development can be included here.¹⁹

Arrangements for grammar school education in Upper Canada and Canada West were governed by the District Schools Act of 1807, which, with only a few changes, remained in force until the Grammar School Act of 1853.²⁰

The act of 1807 situated a grammar school in each of the eight administrative districts into which Upper Canada was then divided. Power to appoint not less than five trustees for each school was vested in the Lieutenant-Governor, but operational control was placed in the hands of local officials. Subject to the governor's approval, trustees were granted authority to nominate and remove teachers, to make rules and regulations for school management, and to pay teacher salaries which were set at \$400 per annum.

Minor alterations were implemented in 1819 and 1839. The District Schools Amendment Act of 1819 linked the common and grammar schools by providing, under certain conditions, up to ten grammar school scholarships for promising poor boys.²¹ The act of 1839 renamed the district schools grammar schools, thereby making them eligible for the endowment originally

intended for grammar schools in 1797. Among other things, the 1839 act provided support for two additional grammar schools per district as long as they were located more than six miles from the district court house and not less than sixty students were in attendance.²²

J.A. Bannister, historian of Norfolk county, a part of London district at the time, has argued that the London district grammar school was manipulated by a powerful local Family Compact (mostly English and Episcopalian) to provide for the educational needs of their children.²³ In his opinion, leading citizens in Vittoria used statute law to outmanoeuvre similar groups in Townshend and Dover townships to gain control of the district school in 1809.²⁴

Classes at this early school were held daily except for holidays and alternate Saturdays in 1822. Tuition for the 3R's was \$2 a quarter.²⁵ English grammar cost an additional fifty cents. Latin and the higher branches of education were \$4 per quarter. Students were required to provide a share of firewood in the winter. Senior students (censors) were used to monitor student discipline. Teachers were directed to keep careful attendance registers. Trustees were required to hold quarterly examinations and a public examination before the Summer break. And, teachers and trustees were charged "to excite emulation among the scholars and to promote such measures as shall tend to cherish the prosperity of the schools."²⁶

What was the purpose of such schools? According to historians Houston and Prentice, grammar schools were instituted to produce an "intelligent magistracy" to fill leadership positions in the district.²⁷ However, mainly elementary subjects were taught at the London district school. For instance, the Reverend Eli Chadwick, a classics master, and a Congregationalist minister from England, reported in 1828 that only seven of his twenty-eight students had read Latin that year. The remaining pupils, depending on their

level of attainment, studied English Grammar, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Writing, Reading, and Spelling.²⁸

How did parents respond to these arrangements? Fourteen mainly upper class families sent about forty to fifty students to the school during the winters of 1821 and 1822; twenty-eight were enrolled in 1828.²⁹ Most probably lived in the immediate neighborhood, and none came from London village. The enrollment consisted of eight girls and twenty boys, including five of the schoolmaster's children. Attendance was "uniformly good, and the progress in most instances respectable."³⁰

Chadwick was optimistic about the future: "With the new year it is probable the number will be considerably increased during the winter months at least. I have likewise the promise of several from a distance on condition of receiving them into my family for which I am making arrangements."³¹ Chadwick was a good prognosticator. One account described his school, which by then was on his farm, as "flourishing" in 1832.³²

Despite the apparent consolidation of grammar school education at Vittoria, once London village was incorporated with district town status in 1826, a change in the location of the district school was almost inevitable. That the transfer in location did not take place for over a decade reflects the tenacity of community leaders in Vittoria.

Between 1828 and 1837, a series of petitions requesting the transfer of the district school to London village were submitted to the Assembly by such leading figures as Ira Schofield, Mahlon Burwell, George J. Goodhue, William King Cornish, and Benjamin Cronyn. They pointed out that the Vittorians had neither erected a building nor operated a school in Vittoria as required by law since the burning of the Court House. Furthermore, they were undoubtedly pleased to advise the government that a "convenient" building existed in the new district capital ready to house the district school.³³

Mahlon Burwell, on behalf of the Grand Jury of the London district, submitted a petition to Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne on 15 April, 1831, which took a different tack from the earlier ones. Burwell's petition requested an endowment, which would immediately provide furnishings, a large headmaster's residence for boarders, and an annual income approaching \$2,000. This was to go to an already existing private school in London village which would be turned into a classical seminary and nursery for the University of King's College.³⁴ Failing that, they asked Colborne to consider endowing liberally all the district schools.

The reasons given by Londoners for their request in 1831 are important to acknowledge, because they constituted grounds for transferring the school. Londoners claimed that the grammar schools in Vittoria and Upper Canada College at York (Toronto) were too far away, too costly, and too dangerous for their children to attend (see Table 6 for a reprint of the petition).

Vittorians must have felt threatened, because Burwell's petition was followed by another from London village on 12 December, 1831. In fact, the next day, Norfolk County leaders, including John Harris and J.B. Askin, submitted one of their own to Colborne, which asked him to deny the London request and keep the district school in Vittoria.³⁵ Obviously, Harris and Askin had not yet moved to the new district town; and they wanted the school to stay where it was to benefit their own children.

London villagers maintained the pressure. They generated support to have the December petitions referred to a select committee of the House for study. This committee recommended the relocation of the district school to London village, and a bill was passed to that effect. When the bill was sent up to the Legislative Council for approval, however, it was turned down after second reading on the advice of yet another select committee. Some have speculated that London lost this

bid because, at the time, it did not have separate representation in the government.³⁶

Londoners finally attained success in the parliament of 1836-37, after Harris and Askin had removed their families to that village. No doubt their redirected efforts helped the cause. The Assembly's Standing Committee on Education was directed to consider a London village request, which was submitted by the Reverend Benjamin Cronyn on behalf of 134 other citizens.³⁷ Ironically, by that time, Burwell was London's government representative and the chairman of the Standing Committee. Opportunity had knocked! On 4 March, 1837, an act was passed which moved the district school to London village.³⁸

The London district grammar school officially opened in London in October of 1837. Again, the commissioners were prominent men in the district: Mahlon Burwell, John Harris, five Church of England clergymen (Benjamin Cronyn, Mark Burnham, R. Flood, John Radcliffe and D.E. Blake), and a Church of Scotland minister, the Reverend Alexander Ross (see Table 7).³⁹

But this time, London villagers dominated the commissionerships. Two of the trustees, Harris and Cronyn, lived in London village and several others nearby. And, as discussed previously, Burwell was sympathetic to London's interests, as was Askin the district clerk. The London village connection was strengthened further in 1839, when Cronyn, lawyer John Wilson, Harris, and Askin were appointed to the district board of education.⁴⁰

The Reverend Francis H. Wright, A.B., a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin (T.C.D.), was chosen headmaster over several other candidates.⁴¹ He was among the first of a number of important T.C.D. graduates who would shape the course of public schooling in London village and area over the next few decades.

Classes at Wright's grammar school ran from 9.00 a.m. to 3.00 p.m.. Students received ten days holiday at Christmas and four weeks in the Summer. Tuition fees in 1838 were \$5, \$4, and \$3 per quarter, depending on the program of study.⁴² The annual examination was at Christmas; friends and parents were requested to attend.⁴³

When Wright resigned in 1841, he was replaced with another Irishman, James C. Thompson, who taught at the grammar school only briefly before going to the St. Thomas school.⁴⁴ Thompson did not stay long there either. He quickly returned to London village and started a private school for boys preparing for the university course.⁴⁵ His successor at the London Seminary was the Reverend Benjamin Bayly, A.B.; like Wright, he was also a T.C.D. graduate. Bayly continued as the head of London's schools for the next thirty-seven years.⁴⁶

The district grammar school was both a day and boarding school in the early 1840s. Bayly, for example, advertised openings for four boys in 1842. He charged \$120 per quarter for board and tuition, including washing. Students had to provide their own bed and bedding. In addition to the grammar school program, Bayly provided "domestic comfort, and religious and moral instruction."⁴⁷

Despite the fact that "the disturbed state of the country" had retarded the progress of the grammar school in its first year, the trustees were pleased with the results in 1838:

Of the scholars at present in attendance, ten are learning Latin, and several of them have made respectable progress in the classics. The branches taught in the School are Greek and Latin, Mathematics, Arithmetic, Writing, Geography, and English Grammar. The boys generally, at the annual examination held on the 24th of December, 1838, answered much to the satisfaction of the Trustees present. Since the establishment of the district school in London, two scholars, who had previously been under the care of Mr. Wright ... have completed their education; - one of them has been

received at Osgoode Hall, and is now pursuing the study of the Law; the other has been taken into the office of the Bank of Upper Canada in this town.⁴⁸

The district school quickly became integrated into the village economy. Merchant Thomas Craig ran an advertisement in the London Inquirer in late 1842, which contained a list of school books for sale. The titles listed in this advertisement suggest that Craig had targeted respectable parents as his market (see Table 8). Craig grouped the texts by subject: Geography; History; Reading Books; Grammar; Mathematics; Dictionaries; Spelling Books; Scientific Class Books; and Classical Books, which he claimed were the same as "All those used at Upper Canada College."⁴⁹

Who attended the London district school between 1837 and 1842? The question is a difficult one to answer, because only one report for these years has survived. Just twenty male students registered at the district school in 1838, and no names were given.⁵⁰ Charles Oakes Ermatinger, however, lists the following grammar school pupils "in early days"; the Parkes, Scatcherds, Schofield, Trowbridge, McFadden, Thomas Robertson, Hugh Richardson, Rapelje, the Kents, Rob (probably Robb), Darling, the Harris', Askins, H. Hamilton, the Stevens', Lees, Hughes, Cronyns, Travers(e), Cornishes, Charles Duncombe, and W.C. Van Buskirk.⁵¹ These students were the scions of London's British, Protestant, upper class (see Table 9).

Thus, after nearly a decade of lobbying, prominent London village citizens had finally achieved their objective. By October of 1837, they had retained a partially State-supported grammar school teacher who was capable of preparing their sons for the professions and the institutions of higher learning. London was now a regional education centre for those who wanted a classical education.

The district school at London village was, like its predecessor in Vittoria, a preserve primarily for the sons of

the upper class. With fees as high as \$120 a year, plus bed and bedding, few parents could afford to send their children there. Mechanics (tradesmen), who earned from \$240 to \$300 per year in the late 1830s and early 1840s, and paid about \$50's rent annually for "a respectable looking house ... with parlour and kitchen on the ground floor, and three or four bed-rooms above, with celler and back-green" could ill-afford the fees or the boarding costs. For virtually all members of the working class, the grammar school simply was not an option.⁵²

The story of the London district grammar school will be discussed further below, because the struggle to win this school was inextricably linked to the way Londoners developed their common and private schools during the formative years.

(II) Common and Private Schools

Official school reports seem to support the allegation that London did not possess any common schools in this era, just private schools; and that even they, for the most part, were not very good.⁵³ Between 1827 and 1842, London district school officials submitted returns to the Legislature only for the periods ending 1 June, 1828, 1829, 1838, and 1839. No common schools were reported for London village.⁵⁴ The reports for 1838 and 1839, however, identified several prominent London village private school teachers as London township common school teachers. Why? To answer this important question required a critical reappraisal of the conventional perspective on pioneer schooling in London village.

Common schools in London village were governed primarily by the Common School Act of 1816.⁵⁵ Except for a few alterations, this act controlled common schooling in Upper Canada over the next quarter century. The act of 1816 enabled the inhabitants of towns, villages, or townships, under certain conditions, to provide common school(s) in their

respective municipalities. The stipulations included the provision of a school building, a minimum of 20 pupils per school, and subscriptions or fees to support a portion of the teacher's salary.

Under the terms of this Act, the State delegated most of the control over common schools to district and local officials. Each school was administered by three elected trustees, who were empowered by the State to hire and fire teachers and make rules and regulations regarding the good government of the school. Only those who were British subjects or had taken the oath of allegiance to the Crown could serve as teachers.

Trustees were also required, within certain guidelines, to make quarterly and annual reports to a district board of education regarding the state of their schools. Those boards were composed of up to five people appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor. In turn, the members of the district board (school commissioners) were ordered to submit their annual report to the Lieutenant-Governor for presentation to the Legislature.

Financial arrangements for common schools in 1816 were reasonably straightforward. The Receiver General paid out the designated legislative grant to the district treasurer. With the exception of \$400, which a district board might spend on textbooks, all monies were apportioned to teachers, on a half-yearly or yearly basis, as determined by the trustees.

Teachers collected their salaries from the district treasurer upon submitting a certificate signed by their trustees indicating that, in the trustees' estimation, all the conditions required for government support had been met. So far the arrangements are clear. However, there was potential for misinterpretation or manipulation in sections 10 and 13 of this act.

Section 10 required that government monies for teacher salaries were to be distributed according to student numbers.

Section 13, however, stipulated that the district board had "full power and authority" to apportion the money, and after "proportioning the same each of to the said Schools," to provide the Treasurer with a copy thereof so that he could pay the respective teachers. An annual salary cap of \$100 per teacher was imposed, although most teachers supplemented the government grant with tuition fees.

The Common School Amendment Act of 1820 reduced the government grant to the London district from \$2400 to \$1000.⁵⁶ It also attempted to clarify teacher salary policy. Section 3 specified that government monies released under this act were to be divided equally among the teachers, half-yearly or yearly, at the discretion of the trustees; and it limited teacher salaries to \$50. Whether or not the salary cap was for six or twelve months was not stated.

The Common School Act of 1824 further extended and refined the terms for common schooling in Upper Canada.⁵⁷ It supplied an additional \$600 for Sunday School books, "for the benefit of all classes of His Majesty's subjects"; and it extended the terms of the Acts of 1816 and 1820 to Indians. In addition, the act of 1824 introduced the notion of merit into teacher salary policy. Teachers, to obtain public monies, had to be examined by their respective boards of education, or certified by at least one board member indicating their "ability and fitness to teach the same due regard at all times being had to the degree of education wanting, or to the branches necessary to be taught."

Historians have often believed that the school laws of 1816, 1820, and 1824 were the main ones to regulate common schooling in Upper Canada prior to the act of 1841; but an additional seven acts (hereafter called common school amendment acts) were passed between 1833 and 1840. This information is significant because, under certain circumstances, these acts had the potential to revolutionize common school arrangements in some communities.⁵⁸

The common school amendment acts provided a total of \$22,600 per year to district school trustees who participated in the new scheme. This money was in addition to the State funds that were guaranteed under the acts of 1820 and 1824. Until 1838, London district received one of the largest annual grants (\$2,400) awarded under this new legislation. However, once the district grammar school was moved to London, this grant was gradually reduced so that by 1840 it was only half the original amount. Nevertheless, prior to 1839 the effect of the common school amendment acts was to more than triple the government monies that were allocated to London district schools -the grants rose from \$1,000 to \$3,400 (not including the Sunday school grant).

Contrary to earlier school laws, these common school amendment acts legislated a condition upon trustees who chose to participate in the new scheme. Trustees, who usually were parents, were required to guarantee to their respective district boards that they had obtained for their teachers a sum of money at least double the government appropriation. In other words, rich parents could obtain significantly more State financing for their schools than poor ones.

The school laws of the 1820s and 1830s were potentially contradictory. Their terms permitted the district commissioners to allocate funds for teacher salaries based on student numbers, examination results, academic credentials, public support, and curriculum taught. The manner in which this new scheme was applied to London district teachers was problematic for one London village teacher. His grievances and submissions to the Lieutenant-Governor help clarify the unprecedented schooling strategies which London's establishment adopted at this time, because an analysis of this documentation reveals how the grants under the new arrangements were distributed. Before deciphering this story, however, it is necessary to look at the evidence about schools and schooling in this period.

Historians and others claim that the first school in London village was opened in 1828.⁵⁹ Furthermore, they note the prominent role which the Irish played in the community's early schooling history.⁶⁰ However, as Campbell and others have written, some of these schools were better taught than others, because in early times most teachers were not professionally trained.⁶¹ Nevertheless, contrary to this negative portrayal, London's first schools were a mixture of private-venture, cooperative voluntary effort, and government funded common schools. This finding mirrors general trends throughout the colony, as shown by Gidney and Millar, and Houston and Prentice.⁶²

Peter Van Every, probably an Irishman,⁶³ and a temporary jailer at the court house until replaced by Samuel H. Parke, is usually regarded as the village's first teacher.⁶⁴ He taught a school in the attic of the original frame court house and jail, when not performing his other civic duties.⁶⁵ Van Every probably used this building for school purposes over several years. A number of observers have placed him there after the new court house was completed in 1829, and the old building was removed to the southwest corner of the Court House Square.⁶⁶ James Williams, later a successful village blacksmith, was a student at this school.⁶⁷

Commentators have not been kind to Van Every. The traditional "man-of-all-work" and "humble" schoolteacher representations have made him seem a mere country bumpkin.⁶⁸ Although there is little question that his school was inferior by later nineteenth and twentieth century standards, nonetheless, for Van Every's time these depictions are likely flawed. In fact, the balance of the evidence suggests that Van Every operated a reasonably good private school, probably for the children of skilled workers and a few district officials who had recently relocated to London.

This conclusion is based on the following deductions. Although school officials may have simply forgotten to report

his school, it is unlikely, for between 1826 and 1829 they registered three common schools for London township and four for Westminster township.⁶⁹ In addition, one commentator has claimed that there were only ten to twelve children of school age throughout London village in the early 1830s.⁷⁰ If he was correct, then Van Every's school would not have had the twenty students to qualify for a government grant; and it would not have been reported by school officials.

Furthermore, the fact that Van Every's school occupied a public building on the Court House Square for a few years, at a time when most schools were short-lived, meant that it probably was supported by respectable parents. Finally, the village's first schoolmaster was a man on the rise. As early as 1831, he was registered as a Petit Juror for the London district.⁷¹ By the 1840s, Van Every, then describing himself as a carpenter, was a property owner and seller. At one point, he held almost half an acre of land in the heart of historic London.⁷²

Who followed Van Every as the teacher? The recollections of four local nineteenth-century educational commentators - teacher Nicholas Wilson, sheriff William Glass, Doctor Clarence T. Campbell, and Mrs. Gilbert Porte- have dominated the telling of this story; but their accounts are incomplete and sometimes faulty.

For example, Nicholas Wilson recalled in an article written for The London Free Press in 1894 that the four most prominent male teachers between 1828 and 1837 were a Mr. Routledge (sometimes Rutledge), a John Hawkins, an Edward Allen Talbot, and his younger brother John. "Each of these kept school for a brief period only, and their duties were performed in the order in which they are mentioned," said Wilson.⁷³

Today, only the Routledge name is known; but he was probably the James Routledge who was a London township teacher in the late 1830s and 1840s.⁷⁴ Hawkins, whose school is

discussed below, was a London township teacher also. Edward Allen Talbot and his brother John were the two oldest sons of Richard S. Talbot, the leader of the 1818 Irish expedition previously mentioned. Both men had been well educated in Ireland, and their stature in London Township may have induced many parents, especially prominent Anglo-Irish parents, to enroll their children in the Talbot schools.

Both Talbots taught schools for fairly short periods. Edward Allen Talbot operated a school in London village, possibly in 1833 or 1834. His wife, Phoebe, instructed the girls upstairs; he taught the boys downstairs. Both were regarded as excellent teachers.⁷⁵ Only a few of their students' names are known: their two sons, and James McFadden, Jr., W.H. Niles, Ralph Lee, Edward Gibbons, and Ira Schofield, Jr..⁷⁶ All were from respectable families.

John Talbot ran a school in London township in 1830 and 1831, after having previously taught schools in Halifax and York. In 1832 he presided over a school in London village.⁷⁷ Some accounts put the school on Ridout street;⁷⁸ but Talbot in a letter to Lieutenant-Governor John Colborne mentioned that his school was located at the Seminary, that is, the old courthouse, or in the same building used by Van Every.⁷⁹ Talbot taught a second school in the village in 1834-35. Perhaps this one was on Ridout Street? The names of his students are reprinted on Tables 10 and 11.

Wilson, in another article, also referred to a school operated by a Mr. Waterman.⁸⁰ Shubal Waterman was born in either the United States or British Canada, although his family's origin was German or Prussian.⁸¹ He had five children -three boys and two girls. All, including his wife, were Congregationalists. Official records substantiate Wilson's contentions. Waterman taught school in the London area between 1836 and 1842, possibly longer.⁸²

Finally, Wilson recalled several schools that were taught by female teachers during this period. The most notable in

his opinion were those kept by Miss Stinson (actually Stimson), Miss Cronyn, and Mrs. Pringle. "All these schools [male and female] were dependent for their support on fees paid by the pupils, as at that time there was no provision made by government for the support of schools," he stated.⁸³

Clarence T. Campbell, M.D., remembered that Miss Kezia Stimson, the daughter (actually sister) of Dr. Stimson, and a "cultured lady," kept a good school for boys and girls.⁸⁴ This point was confirmed by a former student, a Mrs. Gilbert Porte (nee Ann McCormick).⁸⁵ Campbell described Stimson's first school in spartan terms, although he said that such a description was likely unfair. The second school was probably for girls only.⁸⁶ Miss Stimson was assisted by her niece, a Miss Grannis.

Campbell also mentioned a school run between August of 1835 and April of 1837 by a Miss Mary Proudfoot. Miss Proudfoot had received her education from some of the most outstanding teachers in Edinburgh, and for several years had taught in one of the largest seminaries near there.⁸⁷ In all likelihood, however, her father, the Presbyterian minister, the Reverend William Proudfoot, instructed the higher classes at his daughter's school.⁸⁸

Miss Proudfoot operated an expensive private boarding and day school mostly for young ladies. Fees, which were taken in cash or kind, were \$6 a quarter, with an additional \$4 for French, Music, and Drawing.⁸⁹ The curriculum included Arithmetic, Geography, English, French, Music, Drawing, and the Shorter Catechism. Most of her students were the children of London's Episcopalian elite (see Table 12). On her father's advice, Miss Proudfoot closed the school when the Rebellion of 1837 became imminent.⁹⁰

Mrs. Porte also attended Mrs. Pringle's school for girls. She recalled that Mrs. Pringle was very artistic, and taught her students to do "very elaborate and quite expensive fancy work" on satin and silk.⁹¹ Mrs. Pringle was the wife of

clockmaker George Pringle. She took in boarders, paid strict attention to manners and morals, and her studies included the "Useful and Ornamental Branches now taught in England and Scotland."⁹² Miss Cronyn was probably the daughter of Thomas Cronyn, but information on her school is not currently available.

Sheriff Glass has also reminisced about his early school days in London village. The first school he recollected was opened by a Mr. Taylor, apparently a cooper, in 1833. Glass labelled Taylor as an "asthmatic, consumptive person, who could scarcely master 'the three R's.'" Taylor was assisted by his wife, "a tough wiry little woman, with less education, but greater energy. They combined lath making with their educational duties," he recalled.⁹³

Glass always maintained that he attended this school with Mrs. Porte. She, on the other hand, did not have the same recollection, although she did recall attending a highly regarded school taught by a William Taylor, another T.C.D. graduate, in the late 1830s.⁹⁴ Campbell's recollection of the later Taylor, to further complicate the picture, has remarkable similarities to Glass' earlier Taylor.⁹⁵ Wilson's remembrance both helps and confuses at the same time:

The best school in London in those early days was established about the year 1838 by William Taylor. Mr. Taylor was a man of fine physique, good education and considerable experience as a teacher. He came to Canada from Queen's county, Ireland, where he had kept an academy for some years. He opened his school in a house on Talbot street, just south of York, but subsequently erected a more suitable building on Horton street, near Talbot, in which he taught for several years. The young Londoners who attended school before the establishment of the public schools received their education principally from Mr. Taylor.⁹⁶

Although Glass and Wilson had elements of truth in their recollections, salary records confirm that a William Taylor Sr. taught a common school in London township in 1834 and

1835.⁹⁷ The same records also disclose that William Taylor's son, William Taylor Jr., joined him as a London township teacher in 1835. Both Taylors, in fact, would teach for many years in the London area.⁹⁸ Thus, Glass and Wilson were describing the same Taylor. How, then, does one account for this confusion?

There is a simple explanation. Although Taylor Sr. taught school in London township in 1834 and 1835, he left the township for part of 1835 and 1836. However, the elder Taylor stayed in the district because an abstract of the annual school report for 1837 shows that beginning in May of 1836 he taught a twelve month school for James Mitchell in Norfolk County.⁹⁹

Father and son, according to the annual report for 1838, were reunited in London township late in 1837.¹⁰⁰ This time though it is clear that the senior Taylor's school was situated in or near the Old Town Plot, because his trustees were Lawrason, O'Dell, and Thomas Cronyn. Thus, Wilson was technically correct, but his account is misleading. These findings once again call into question the reliability of the recollections by Wilson, Glass, Campbell, and Porte.

After Taylor's school, a number of private schools opened and closed in rapid succession according to Glass. He recalled the names of three more teachers who were not on Wilson's list. In addition to Stimson and John Talbot, whom Wilson remembered, Glass identified a Mr. Busbee, a Miss Dyer, and a Mr. Wright.¹⁰¹ Busbee was likely the longtime Westminster township teacher Leonard Bisbee.¹⁰² According to salary records, Dyer was the Elizabeth Dyer who taught schools in Westminster and London townships between 1833 and 1835.¹⁰³ Wright commenced teaching in London in 1835, but more will be said about his school below. Glass concluded:

All taught private schools between 1833 and 1836. Most ... were but poorly educated. They were strong believers in the doctrine, 'to spare the rod

is to spoil the child,' and enforced most lessons with a liberal application of blue beach gads, which were then found in a swamp at or near the corner of Richmond and King streets.... The schools were opened by the persons named as a private enterprise, without government or municipal aid. The usual charge was from from [sic] \$1.25 to \$1.50 per quarter. It will be readily seen that the probable return was not such as to command the best talent, and this will also account for the rise and fall of so many schools in so short a time.¹⁰⁴

In summary, these early writers identified fourteen private schools and seventeen teachers in London village between 1828 and 1837. The ten male teachers were Van Every, Routledge, Hawkins, the two Talbots, Waterman, Taylor, Bisbee, Proudfoot, and Wright. Phoebe Talbot and the Misses Stimson, Grannis, Cronyn, Proudfoot, Pringle, and Dyer were the seven female teachers.

There were many more teachers than these, however. One source indicates that two young American women established an infant school in the village in May of 1835. Another source discloses that a Mrs. John H. Miller ran a children's school in October of 1835 - a John H. Miller operated a senior school in the same building. Fees were \$1 and \$2 per month respectively.¹⁰⁵ Additional sources refer to schools kept by a Mr. Gallagher, a Miss Merrill,¹⁰⁶ and a Henry Eyney.¹⁰⁷ Nothing more is known about Gallagher and Merrill, but Eyney was probably the London township teacher Henry Rigney.¹⁰⁸ Certainly there were private tutors as well.¹⁰⁹

Finally, two visitors left a bird's eye view of London village schooling in 1836 and 1837. Dr. Thomas Rolph of Ancaster in his "Statistical Account of Upper Canada in 1836" acknowledged that a "first rate Classical and Mathematical School" was run by a Mr. Wright, "a gentleman of unimpeachable character and high literary attainments;" and a boarding school for females was run by Miss Proudfoot, "a lady of high accomplishments and most respectable connections." He

concluded by saying, "In addition to these, there are several well conducted male and female schools."¹¹⁰ Another visitor the next year, Mrs. Jameson, wife of the Vice-Chancellor of the Province, also observed that there were three or four schools in London village.¹¹¹

These are the known teachers for London in this period. Thirteen male and eleven female teachers (hereafter called the designated London village teachers) taught nineteen private schools in or near London village between 1828 and 1837. It is noteworthy that until 1850, except for the Seminary, teachers, not the municipality, provided their own school buildings. This number of schools is remarkable, considering London's pioneer state and its reputation as lacking in schools during this era.

Of these twenty-four teachers, not one was ever reported to the authorities as a London district common school teacher (see Table 13 for an estimate of London village teachers). This result at first seems logical, because, based on the recollections of the four commentators, these were private schools. However, something about this educational portrait is wrong. It is hard to fathom that a growing centre like London did not have any State-aided common schools. These claims seem even more questionable when one recalls that prominent villagers were coincidentally exerting enormous pressure on colonial officials to move the district grammar school to their village.

Several more questions arise. Without a grammar school, how did respectable London village parents educate their children? Could parents afford the high private school fees and overlook government funds for common schools in a cash-poor economy? And why did district school officials continuously ignore the school law and not submit any annual reports between 1830 and 1838?¹¹² As is shown below, answers were found to most of these questions; and they seriously

challenge the major contentions of Wilson, Glass, Porte, and Campbell.

Middlesex county land records, for instance, disclose that the four commentators overlooked a John Headley who registered himself as a London schoolteacher when he purchased property in the village in 1829. It is not known if or where he taught a school in London. Located on Lot 1, Grey Street North, he received the patent for his land in 1848.¹¹³ Perhaps he was the same John Hedley who was a trustee for the London township schools taught by James Routledge between 1836 and 1839?¹¹⁴

Moreover, a promissory note signed by twenty prominent mainly upper class Londoners reveals that the four commentators also neglected a private school organized by Lawrence Lawrason and taught by a Henry Wright, probably at the Seminary in 1831-32 (see Table 14).¹¹⁵ The enrollment at this school totalled fifteen students. Support came from more than parents, however; eleven subscribers were financial supporters only. In total, an impressive \$520 was pledged to Wright, to be paid in quarterly installments.

In addition, an abstract of the London district annual common school report for 1832 divulges information indicating that, of the forty-seven common schools listed thereon, two London township schools served London villagers.¹¹⁶

For instance, Kezia Stimson, contrary to recollections, ran a common school just north of the Old Town Plot boundary from April of 1831 to May of 1832.¹¹⁷ The trustees, Ira Schofield, James O'Dell, and her brother, Dr. Elam Stimson, paid her \$17 plus fees. Similarly, John Hawkins operated a common school from September, 1831, to March, 1832. Trustees James Williams, John Scatcherd, and John Kent authorized \$8.50 for his services. Hawkins' school was situated in the village across from the market.¹¹⁸ The trustees' respectable stature suggests that these schools were run for the children of upper

and middle class parents, whether they lived in the village or the surrounding townships.

Newspapers also reported that several common schools were operating in London village in 1833 and 1834. One boosterish London newspaper claimed, for example, that the village had one school for boys and two for girls, "not inferior to many in the Province," plus a school house at the end of 1833.¹¹⁹ Similar articles, run in Cobourg, Brantford, and Montreal newspapers in 1834, recorded that Londoners had three public schools in that year.¹²⁰

One of these schools was taught by a George Boyce, also an individual not recollected by the four commentators. Boyce's school was a blend of good fortune and sound planning. Unable to secure a district school in the short term, respectable London village parents seized the opportunity presented by the first common school amendment act of 1833-34 to install a partially government supported classics master in a London village common school.

A committee consisting of Hiram D. Lee, Thomas Parke, John Scatcherd, John Askin, and William Proudfoot met on 13 November, 1833, to lay the groundwork.¹²¹ They placed the following advertisement in London, St. Thomas, and York newspapers:

The SCHOOL in the Town of London ..., hitherto taught in the public school house [John Talbot's school], is now vacant. A Teacher of Classical attainments will receive liberal encouragement. The person applying will be required to teach English grammatically, Arithmetic, practical Mathematics, Latin, and French; and also to produce recommendations or certificates, as to character, on or before the first day of January next, when an examination will take place.¹²²

Boyce was the successful candidate, and Parke, Lee, and Scatcherd were his trustees for all of 1834. The committee's strategy was an astute move, because under the terms of the amendment act about one-third of Boyce's salary was paid for

by the government. Had the school been a private one, all costs would have been borne by the parents. Boyce's students are listed on Table 15.

Correspondence between London village common school teacher John Talbot and Lieutenant-Governor Colborne confirms that Boyce ran a common school in 1834; it also discloses Talbot's allegation of malpractice by several London district school commissioners. This episode spawned a rich source of documentation (hereafter called the Talbot material), which clearly exposes the schooling strategies of London's most respectable families.¹²³

The Talbot material lays to rest the contention that London village lacked common schools in the pioneer period. Seven of the teachers' names contained on the Talbot material match those remembered by the four commentators. But, the key revelation is that these teachers -Talbot, Boyce, Hawkins, Stimson, Taylor, Dyer, and Wright- taught in sixteen six-month common schools, not private ones, in or near London village between 1833 and 1835 alone.

All of these schools, furthermore, were government supported, at least in part. The trustees, who arranged these matters, were pillars of the community: John Scatcherd, John Tenbroeck, Joseph B. Flannagan, Henry Van Buskirk, James McFadden, John Harris, Lawrence Lawrason, and Thomas Parke.

Why were these sixteen six-month common schools not reported? Was it because they each had less than the twenty pupils required by law to receive government funding? No, data in the Talbot material show that all the schools exceeded the minimum number. Was it because the reports were lost, or because the commissioners forgot or did not bother to submit them for some reason? Whatever the reasons, reports were not submitted for almost a decade.¹²⁴

These questions lead to one of school governance: who ran London district schools during this period? The Talbot material demonstrates unequivocally that the commissioners,

most of whom were upper class and parents, ruled their schools with an iron fist. Two letters from Talbot to the Lieutenant-Governor confirm the point.

Talbot initially wrote Colborne on 19 August, 1834, charging that the school commissioners were "neglecting their duty."¹²⁵ He based his charge on two major complaints. First, he claimed that the commissioners had not paid their teachers in over a year. According to Talbot, this omission contravened the school law, which required half-yearly payments; and the teachers were "kept out of their right while the treasurer [Harris] or some one [sic] of the commissioners enjoys the use of the money."

Talbot used his own case by way of illustration. His school had terminated on 3 September, 1833; and although he had regularly submitted quarterly reports to the proper authority, and despite repeated requests to the district clerk and Judge Mitchell, he had not been paid his salary.

Talbot's claim was not fully justified. As described above, the school law delegated the timing of teacher salary payments to the respective district boards. The London commissioners had selected the annual option. Their rationale was that owing to the seasonal nature of schooling, and the board's policy of equal pay for all teachers, salary disbursements would not be made until the schools' fiscal year (June 1st) was completed.¹²⁶

Talbot was not paid, therefore, because his first school had closed after the 1833 annual meeting. And since the annual meeting the following year did not occur until 5 September, 1834, the delay in payment was more the result of unfortunate timing than negligence on the part of the school commissioners.¹²⁷

Talbot's second complaint centered on the fact that the commissioners were "scattered over the District," thus inhibiting their ability to meet regularly and perform their duties.¹²⁸ Talbot maintained that London village teachers

were forced to visit the Reverend Mr. Burnham in St. Thomas for certification purposes, because Askin, who lived near London, and Mitchell, who travelled there five or six times a year, did not examine teachers.

Talbot suggested a remedy for these problems: three commissioners who lived in London village should be appointed to the district school board. He recommended the Reverend Mr. Cronyn, the Reverend Mr. Proudfoot, and John Scatcherd, the merchant. Talbot concluded by saying that his comments represented the "sentiments of all the Teachers in the District, many of whom have suggested to me the necessity of addressing your Excellency on the subject."¹²⁹

Colborne responded immediately. He directed his civil secretary, Colonel William Rowan, to send the London commissioners a copy of Talbot's allegations. Then he requested the commissioners "to insure the efficiency of the Board, that some of the members who reside at a distance from London should resign and others appointed who live in the vicinity of London where the Board could assemble without inconvenience."¹³⁰

In a show of solidarity and righteous indignation, the commissioners unanimously responded to Rowan on 10 September, 1834.¹³¹ They furnished documentation which demonstrated, in their opinion, that Talbot's charges were "unfounded in fact" and their actions complied with the provisions of the school law. They would continue, therefore, to run their schools as they saw fit:

We take the liberty of declining to relinquish a trust with which we have been honored by His Excellency or his Predecessors - until the necessity from doing so, 'to insure the Efficiency of the Board,' shall appear from some other evidence than the unsubstantiated assertion of an obscure individual.

Talbot savaged the commissioners in his second letter to Colborne (26 August, 1835).¹³² There he complained about

their "extraordinary proceedings." In his opinion, their misdeeds constituted a "public question of great importance," because they had instituted a "system of favouritism" in their salary allocations to district teachers. He alleged that a "flagrant injustice had been done to the schoolmasters, and through them to the people, of this District." He again cited his own situation by way of example.

Talbot's first teaching position in London village had commenced in September of 1832. Since his class was overflowing with forty-five students, he had hired an assistant, whom he paid \$60 out of his own pocket. Talbot sought recompense. He argued that he was more deserving of the public money than those teachers who had taught only the minimum number of students required by law.

Talbot put his case to Askin, who would not be swayed. In his grievance to Colborne, Talbot quoted the district clerk's rationale: "the law would not allow the commissioners to give more to one than to another - no matter what his attainments or what number he taught; that they had always acted on one plan - of giving an equal portion to all having 20 scholars or upwards, and they could not deviate from that." Talbot took Askin's explanation as fact, accepted his salary, about \$44, and resigned in September of 1833.

The commissioners' subsequent actions infuriated Talbot. He adduced that Askin and a few trustees promised George Boyce a "liberal salary," after Boyce took over the Seminary from Talbot. When London villagers were not prepared to meet this obligation, the commissioners had a serious problem on their hands. Talbot described Askin's subsequent actions sarcastically:

... and Mr. Askin seeing he would have to pay Boyce more than he anticipated unless the school law would bear a different construction from that in which he had always understood it, betook himself to a second reading; and he soon found out that the commissioners could give as much as they pleased to

one, and as little as they pleased to another. And then did he classify the Schoolmasters....

Askin grouped the teachers into four classes. Nonetheless, Talbot ridiculed the scheme. He asserted that Boyce, the sole first class teacher, was paid about \$100 for teaching, on average, 20 pupils for six months, while he was placed in the second class and paid roughly \$64 for teaching forty-five students.

Regarding the third and fourth classes, Talbot claimed that "there were some as well entitled as any in the second or first, yet to the third they gave about \$40, to the fourth about \$20." More to the point, however, Talbot believed that Boyce's salary was too high. His interpretation of the school law convinced him that the commissioners had paid Boyce "about 32 dollars more than they had any right to give any teacher whatever." Talbot's interpretation, however, was outdated; and, as will be shown below, his salary quotations were inaccurate.

Boyce left London village at the end of 1834 and was replaced, according to Talbot, by the Francis Wright mentioned earlier. Interestingly, it appears that Wright did not submit quarterly reports during 1835, because, in response to the Talbot incident, he produced an undated half-yearly report. The report, nevertheless, was signed by his trustees, the now familiar John Harris, Lawrence Lawrason, Thomas Pa ke, and John Scatcherd.

Wright's half-yearly return is intriguing. He reported that his classical and mathematical school, which operated from 14 January to 14 July, 1835, was "detached from the town." Since Wright had succeeded Boyce, there is no doubt that his school was at the Seminary.¹³³ Wright continued teaching there until 1837, when he became the headmaster of the grammar school.¹³⁴

Wright's comment highlights an anomaly. Before the annual report of 1838, no school at the Seminary -those taught

by Van Every, Henry Wright, Talbot, Boyce, or Francis Wright—was ever reported to the Legislature. The omission was understandable if the schools were private ones, but why were the common schools not reported? Was it because the Seminary was "detached from the town," as Wright said? Perhaps the commissioners did not register the Seminary schools because they were situated on (Middlesex) county property and reporting at the time was done by district and township only?

Talbot was upset by the terms of Wright's appointment as well. Again, he charged the commissioners with favouritism. He claimed that Wright, who was paid about \$64 for a six-month school, should have received nothing at all, because he did not have the minimum twenty students.

One more time Talbot pointed a finger at the district clerk. He stated that Askin "went around the town, and with great exertions got an accession of five or six small children but nevertheless the 20 could not be made out at any time during the first quarter" (see Table 16 for a list of Wright's students). Talbot may have been correct. No first quarter report was ever submitted to the colonial officials. Moreover, twenty-one of Wright's thirty-five pupils were age twelve or over; and eight of the last ten students registered on his report were between the ages of six and eight.

Talbot was embittered! He had received about \$41 for teaching forty pupils for six months. He concluded his letter to Colborne with a personal attack on Askin:

It will seem strange to your Excellency that they would dare to give anything to Wright, if he had not at least the lawful number. I tell your Excellency that he had not—the trustees knew it well—Mr. Askin knew it better! And I hope he is not above being called upon to explain.... I might go on to show that a system of favouritism has been carried throughout the whole classification—but I trust your Excellency has been told enough to conclude that a case has been made out which calls loudly for redress.

The commissioners unanimously rejected each of Talbot's allegations in a letter to Rowan on 5 October, 1835; and they furnished him with convincing documentation (local school reports and teacher salary lists) to support their actions.¹³⁵ They concluded with powerful evidence, which demonstrated that their new teacher and salary classification scheme had significantly improved the character of the district's common schools. By use of a simple table, the commissioners illustrated that within two years' time the number of first, second, and third class schools had risen dramatically, while the number of fourth class schools had plummeted (see Table 17).¹³⁶

Did the commissioners' new scheme reward teacher merit as they claimed or favorites as Talbot contended? The question can be answered by analyzing the financial, curricular, and pedagogical data that is contained in the Talbot material. This evidence clarifies how the respectable classes in London village institutionalized their view of social relations within a newly created hierarchy of common schools.¹³⁷

Annual parliamentary grants to the London district between 1833 and 1835 totalled \$1,000 under the act of 1820, and \$2,400 under the common school amendment acts of 1833-34 and 1835, minus the district clerk and treasurer's allowances.¹³⁸ The public money allocated under the act of 1820 was divided equally among the teachers. The grants approved under the common school amendment acts were distributed according to the commissioners' new criteria, which theoretically recognized student numbers, teacher qualifications, curriculum taught, student progress, and "the amount of provision made for their support by their employers." How these factors were weighted is never revealed. The important financial decisions, nonetheless, were made by the commissioners.

Two significant points emerge from the district teacher salary lists. The commissioners' claim that their new scheme

had improved district schools can be verified, at least on the surface. Considerably more teachers attained the top three salary levels in 1834-35 than in the previous year (see Table 17). Secondly, the commissioners who lived in or near London village dominated these decisions, because each year the top salary category was held by a few highly qualified London village teachers, who taught upper and middle class children in or near that community. However, these points require further elaboration.

In 1833-34, eighty-eight six-month common schools were operated in the district. This large number of schools, almost twice the number reported in 1832, reflected the financial boost resulting from the passage of the first common school amendment act and the swelling numbers of teachers who flocked to the area to take advantage of the new employment opportunities.

Several of these schools were taught by the designated London village teachers. Boyce was the sole first class teacher. John Talbot and William Taylor Sr. were placed in the second group. Stimson, along with thirty-three additional teachers, was a third class teacher, while Hawkins was in the fourth category with fifty-one others. All five were registered as London township teachers. Dyer, then a teacher in Westminster township, like Hawkins, was placed in the fourth class.¹³⁹

The government grant to these six designated London village teachers was \$364, considerably more than the \$25.50 paid to their two counterparts in 1831-32. However, the salary differential was even greater than these figures suggest. Since a purpose of the amendment acts was to improve the position of common school teachers, a reasonable assumption is that the fees legislated by these acts were higher than previous ones. Since the amendment acts required trustees to guarantee a salary at least twice that of the government grant, then the six teachers in 1833-34 actually

received about \$728 in subscription fees for a combined total salary of at least \$1,092. On the other hand, Hawkins and Stimson probably had annual combined earnings only in the \$75 to \$100 range.

Boyce' salary at \$90 was almost triple that paid to a fourth class teacher. With fees he earned about \$270 for six month's teaching. It is interesting that when doubled to \$540 to represent an annual salary, Boyce's projected salary is similar to that paid Henry Wright (\$520) in 1831-32. Perhaps this rate of salary was the standard one for a teacher of this calibre, or maybe it was just a coincidence?

A similar teacher classification scheme prevailed in 1834-35, although the government per teacher grant decreased by about one-third. Perhaps this salary cut explains why Boyce left London village at the end of 1834? Regardless, why did the commissioners reduce teacher salaries during a time of increasing government revenues? Was it because they were funding a rapidly expanding number of common schools and therefore needed to be more parsimonious with their grants? Was it because of John Talbot's grievances to the Lieutenant-Governor? Answers to these questions only partially explain the dynamics behind school funding in London village at this time.

The salary lists for London district in 1834-35 recorded twenty-five more common schools than in the preceding year - the number rose from 88 to 113. Despite this considerable increase, a more important revelation is that three of the five first class district teachers - Boyce, Taylor, and Wright - taught their schools in or near London village. How much money was spent on these classics instructors?

Considering their earlier salary distributions, the commissioners paid an enormous amount of money to these men. Boyce, Taylor, and Wright were paid \$189 for six months of teaching (July to December, 1834). Including fees (\$378), their combined half-yearly salaries were \$567; and their

annual salaries totalled \$756 (\$252 in grants and \$504 from fees). Thus, in 1834-35 the commissioners' classification scheme had produced three classics teachers in the London village area for what had previously been the price of one (see Table 18).

In some ways, this was a heavy price to pay. Hiring the classics masters meant substantially less money for the remaining designated London village teachers, \$534 as compared to \$822 the previous year. And the commissioners' decision to spend eleven percent of the district's money on 3.5 percent of its teachers and a small number of students likely caused Talbot's upset, because his second letter to Colborne was sent shortly after the district board's annual meeting of 6 August, 1835, which had set teacher salaries.¹⁴⁰ This remarkable sum of money indicates the high premium which respectable London village parents placed on a superior education for their children.

Talbot, Stimson, and Dyer, the remaining designated London village teachers in 1834-35, retained their salary classification from the previous year. They received a combined annual salary of \$534 (\$178 in grants and \$356 in fees). The gross annual salary for these six designated London teachers was \$1,290, that is, \$200 more than the 1833-34 amount. When all these adjustments are taken into account one can see how important the common school amendment acts were.

Important questions still remain unanswered, however. Why were there four classes of common schools? Did school officials differentiate between the working (respectable) and non-working poor, and provide charity schools for this latter group? Or were there racial and gender considerations to consider? Unfortunately, insufficient evidence currently exists to answer fully these questions, but a provocative clue is offered below.

Despite the striking improvement in the quantity and quality of London village common schools, Talbot felt desolate. Unlike Taylor, who had been promoted to first class teacher in 1834, Talbot remained in the second group along with seven others. Consequently, he denounced the commissioners for their "system of favouritism." In his opinion, they had spent the lion's share of the State's resources on only a few teachers and students. Nevertheless, it was abundantly clear that since he was not a classics master he was out of the race for the grammar school headmastership. With Boyce's departure, that battle now appeared to be between T.C.D. graduates Wright and Taylor.

Talbot's charge of favouritism might also have had a political twist. As 1834 and 1835 passed, the Tory dominated district school board probably regarded Talbot with growing suspicion, as his support of Reform objectives became more widely known; and they were likely increasingly reluctant to issue him State money for teaching a public school. Talbot, of course, could not reveal his political proclivities to Colborne.

With the benefit of hindsight, one realizes that Talbot had committed a grave error by publicly attacking Askin, as well as Harris and Mitchell, and by implication the remaining commissioners. These men were among the most powerful in the district, and Askin especially had a reputation for not forgiving. It is not surprising, therefore, that Tories like Askin, Harris, and Burwell used the Rebellion of 1837 to settle old scores and chase Talbot, who feared for his life, from the country forever.¹⁴¹ Talbot died in Robinson, Illinois, in 1874.¹⁴²

This bias by London's upper class for classical instructors was also paralleled by curricular developments in London village schools. Although specific data are not available until the latter half of 1832, when they are provided in the Talbot material,¹⁴³ evidence in London and

Westminster township annual reports for the late 1820s suggests that common school teachers in the area taught mainly the 3R's during those years (see Table 19). Henry Wright's private school was certainly the exception.

If this was the case, and it seems logical, then the character of common school curriculum altered significantly in 1832. John Talbot, for instance, boasted to Colborne that he had taught a "superadded" common school in 1832-33. Boyce, for example, offered Latin, French, and Greek in 1834; and his successor, Wright, taught Latin and Greek from 1835 to 1837, and in the following years as well.

Notwithstanding this trend, one common to other colonial communities, few London village students ever studied the classics.¹⁴⁴ Wright wrote in 1835, for example, "it is much to be regretted that the advance in classics is yet very limited."¹⁴⁵ And only one of his students, Sarah Harris, the district treasurer's daughter, studied French and Greek in 1834 and 1835.

Indeed, of the 184 students recorded on the Talbot, Boyce, and Wright school registers, only 7 percent took Latin. Most pupils studied Spelling (98 percent), Reading (96 percent), Writing (71 percent), and Arithmetic (56 percent), the staples of common schooling. An advanced few took Geography (32 percent), Grammar (20 percent), and Mensuration and Bookkeeping (2 percent each). And only Henry Askin, John Hughes, and Clarke Lee studied Euclid (see Table 20).

Although the annual school report for 1835-36 is missing, most of the trends discussed above continued in the next year. An abstract of the London district annual report for 1837 records that seven of the designated London village teachers - Rigney, Miller, Taylor, Waterman, Routledge, Stimson, and Wright- taught twelve six-month common schools in 1836-37. Once more the trustees were the usual leading citizens (see Table 21).¹⁴⁶ Teacher salaries continued the decline begun

in 1834-35; and, unlike earlier trends, numbers of schools (ninety-eight) and teachers (seventy-five) also fell.¹⁴⁷

London village teachers (Wright, Taylor, and newcomer John H. Miller) again dominated the first class teacher group in 1836-37 (see Table 17). Because Miller was paid the same half-yearly rate as Wright and Taylor, he too may have been a classical master vying for the grammar school position. Their collective salaries totalled \$675 (\$225 in grants and \$450 in fees), or \$81 less than that paid to Boyce, Taylor, and Wright two years earlier (\$756).

On the other hand, Rigney, Routledge, Stimson, and Waterman received an impressive \$1,197 (\$399 in grants and \$798 in fees), an amount more than twice that paid to their counterparts in 1834-35 (see Table 18).¹⁴⁸ The grand total allocated to these seven designated teachers in 1836-37 was \$1,872, the largest known annual payment to this group in these years.

Therefore, between 1831 and 1837 the designated London village teachers taught thirty-one six-month common schools. Even this large number of schools probably understates the real number, however, since the district school reports for 1833 and 1836 are missing. It is reasonable to assume that another five to ten common schools might have existed in those years as well, bringing the total number of six-month common schools to serve London villagers closer to forty.

Despite the significant effects of Depression and Rebellion between 1837 and 1839, John Askin, John Harris, Mahlon Burwell, John Wilson, and the Reverends Cronyn, Burnham, and Ross remained school commissioners, thus keeping the elitist London village connection on the district school board strong.¹⁴⁹ However, substantial changes were made at the teacher and school levels.

For example, the effects of Rebellion led to a depletion in the ranks of the designated London village teachers. Tory supporters, as mentioned above, had forced John Talbot to flee

his home during the Rebellion; and his brother, Edward, departed shortly thereafter. For similar reasons, John H. Miller and his wife also left the village.¹⁵⁰ There were probably others who were no longer welcome - Americans, for example, whose loyalty to the Crown was suspect.¹⁵¹

Moreover, the financing of the common schools was seriously affected by the Depression.¹⁵² Although the number of common schools in the district actually increased slightly, teacher salaries plummeted in 1837-38, and in the following year as well. However, the legislative grant was not reduced until 1839, when it was then dropped from \$3,400 to \$2,800 (see Tables 21, 22, 23).¹⁵³

Even the first class teachers in London village were not spared a salary cut. Wright and Taylor received \$333 in 1837-38, less than half the sum paid to the three classics teachers in the previous year (see Table 18). Taylor, the sole first class village teacher in 1838-39, was paid only \$192. Wright, by way of comparison, earned \$400 annually plus fees. This salary differential explains why competition for the grammar school headmastership was so keen.

The remaining designated London village teachers were rated as second and third class teachers in both 1838 and 1839, and they also received less money than in previous years. (The four salary categories were maintained, however, when the grammar school position is included.) Stimson, Routledge, Rigney, and Bisbee earned \$522 in 1837-38, or forty-four percent of the salary paid to this group the year before. The same individuals plus Waterman were paid only \$477 in 1838-39. In total, the designated London village teachers were allocated \$669, about one-third the sum paid to these teachers only two years' earlier (see Table 18).

The third major change to affect the development of the common schools in these years was the removal of the district grammar school to London village. Wright's transfer to this school, as well as the loss of the predominantly upper class

male students who followed him there, and their replacement by the increasing number of Irish Roman Catholics, Blacks, and Americans who were relocating to London village, meant a significant decline in status for the common schools.¹⁵⁴

This decline in status was further entrenched by the commissioners' decision to ban the classics from these schools and restrict such instruction to the grammar school where it was cheaper, and, given prevailing upper class social attitudes, more appropriately situated. This decision was deduced after analyzing the textbooks used by Wright and other common school teachers in the London village area at this time (see Table 19).

Yet another important change was introduced by the commissioners in these troubled times. It appears that free schools were opened in 1838, possibly earlier. Commissioners Cronyn, Harris, and Burwell commented on the problems associated with these schools in the annual report for that year:

There have been no returns made by the Trustees of Common Schools, of the children of poor parents, for gratuitous instruction; and the board is of the opinion, that under the present very defective system, the Common Schools of the country will rather repress than encourage a desire amongst the people for education of a superior description. The Trustees generally of the Common Schools, are men who do not know the value of a classical education, and the Masters chosen by these Trustees are often ignorant men, barely acquainted with the rudiments of education, and consequently jealous of any school superior to their own. In many cases too, they are foreigners, and therefore anxious to keep the people from acquiring a Liberal education, which they well know would be the surest means of protecting them from the delusions practiced upon them by designing men, and of strengthening their attachment to those institutions which are based upon the soundest principles of philosophy and christian truth, and which have, for ages, successfully withstood the united attacks of infidelity, false philosophy, and the restless desire of change so natural to man.¹⁵⁵

Certainly, the commissioners were not castigating trustees' Lawrason, O'Dell, Goodhue, and Harris, or teachers' Wright, Taylor, and Stimson. They might, however, have been referring to teachers like Shubal Waterman.

Waterman and his trustees fit the profile of teachers and trustees set out in the commissioners' report. His school was not registered on the annual report for 1838, although it was in 1837 and 1839, when it was reported in the lowest category (the fourth and third classes respectively). His trustees were not leading London citizens; he did not teach the classics; and he was a foreigner.¹⁵⁶

Certainly, the provision of free or charity schools for London's working class students, along with those for the respectable classes, would help explain the high literacy rates found by Graff for London villagers in this period.

The decline in the status of the common schools, and the transfer of upper class boys to the grammar school, also promoted new arrangements for respectable girls. John Harris, for instance, hired a governess, a Miss Jane Steers, to teach some of his family until the mid 1840's. The private schools run by Mrs. Pringle and Miss Cronyn have already been noted. In addition, a Mrs. Elizabeth Sarah Richardson also opened a private school for upper class girls in 1838.

Mrs. Richardson was the widow of Richard Richardson, the banker, who had died in the Spring of 1838. She probably turned to teaching to generate sufficient funds to support her large family.¹⁵⁷ According to Mrs. Porte, Mrs. Richardson ran a "fashionable and expensive establishment ... [which] took away quite a number of pupils [from Mrs. Pringle]." Two of Mrs. Richardson's daughters married future judges, D.J. Hughes and William Horton.¹⁵⁸ Her only son, Hugh, later became a London lawyer.¹⁵⁹

To summarize, between 1837 and 1839 the designated London village teachers operated thirteen six month-common schools, bringing the total number taught in the 1830s to over fifty.

However, the grand total of schools was probably closer to fifty-five or sixty, since the annual district school report for 1840 (1839-40) is missing, and a few common schools were certainly taught in that year as well.

Despite the impressive commitment to common schooling in the 1830s, London village's reputation for having unimpressive common schools and a low school attendance rate also stretches into the 1840s. This was so for several reasons.

At the provincial level, historians point to the structural changes and problems associated with the union of the Canadas in 1841 and the Common School Act of that year, both of which threw the common schools of Canada West into disarray.¹⁶⁰ For example, Richard Fowler Budd, an observer at the time, noted that more than 50 of the 177 common schools in London district were shut down in 1842 because of the defects in the act of 1841.¹⁶¹ These closures were probably owing to the fact that the district council had not realized that it was their duty under the act to levy an assessment in support of common schools. Thus, they were not able to pay district teachers any government money that year.¹⁶²

Because of these extraordinary circumstances, it is not surprising to discover census statistics which reveal that only 17 percent of the district's 5 to 14 age cohort were enrolled in school in 1842.¹⁶³ Data of this kind for London village students are not available, because, as noted above, township and village data were not reported separately until the annual school report of 1844. Even then, just 42 percent of the 5 to 16 population was enrolled in the village's four common schools.¹⁶⁴

There were additional challenges as well. The formal incorporation of London as a village in 1840, for example, increased the community's geographic area almost ten times, which must have added a large number of children to the common school rosters.¹⁶⁵ In addition, this rapid urban growth occurred at a time when significantly less money was available

to operate the schools. The legislative grant for instance, which had dropped from \$3,400 to \$2,800 in 1839, was slashed to \$2,200 in 1840 and again to \$1,000 in 1841. In 1842, it rose slightly to \$1,100.¹⁶⁶

Leading London village citizens, nevertheless, struggled to implement this awkward school legislation. In 1842, the London district council was organized.¹⁶⁷ The Reverend Benjamin Cronyn was the chairman with the Reverend W.F. Clarke as the secretary.¹⁶⁸ By year's end, London village was divided into three school divisions. The first school division followed the St. George's and St. Patrick's ward boundaries; the second, the St. Andrew's ward boundary; and the third, the St. David's ward boundary.¹⁶⁹

An important question arises from this discussion of schooling developments between 1840 and 1842. Did low district school attendance rates hide satisfactory ones in the London village area? George Railton, the deputy clerk for the London Board of Police, sheds some light on this possibility.

Railton advised the Education Office in September of 1842 that twelve schools were operating in London village that year.¹⁷⁰ Six of these schools were common schools taught by men; the Messrs. Taylor, Fairchild, Waterman, Percival, Elliot, and English.

Taylor and Waterman have been discussed previously; and English will be discussed in chapter three, when there is information on his school. Nothing more is known about Percival, but some information exists for Elliot and Fairchild.

Charles Elliott, A.B., was not just another common school teacher. Evidence indicates that he was a classical scholar, and possibly a M.C.D. graduate.¹⁷¹ In October of 1841, Elliott advised prospective clients that he would soon open a school in London village that would embrace all the branches associated with an English, classical, and Mathematical education. Elliott also informed his readers that he intended

to open an Evening school as well, and to give instruction in the Ancient and Modern Languages and Mathematics at reasonable terms.¹⁷² Elliot must not have stayed long in London, because no further evidence about his school has survived.

Even less information is known about Fairchild. However, a John H. Fairchild was listed as a schoolmaster on the 1842 census for London. He was between the ages of thirty and sixty; his wife was between the ages of fourteen and forty-five; and they had seven children who ranged in age from under five to age eighteen. All were Episcopalians and born in Canada.

The remaining six schools listed on Railton's report were private ladies' schools; and they were taught by the Misses Richardson, Stimson, Pringle, Ellice, Sheppard, and Williams.¹⁷³ The first three schoolmistresses were investigated previously. Little is known about the latter three teachers. However, Miss Ellice might have been the daughter of Epaphrus Ellice, the cabinetmaker. Sheppard may have been the Jane Sheppard who was listed on the 1842 census as a single parent (perhaps a widow) with two children. She was born in Scotland, but her children were born in Canada. All were Methodists. Perhaps Williams was the wife of James Williams, the blacksmith?

Thus, although student enrollment totals were not recorded on Railton's letter, his submission indicates that far more students attended London's schools in 1842 than the census for that year indicated.

Railton's report is only the tip of the iceberg. Some London parents enrolled their children in private schools outside London. One example for boys was the Caradoc Academy just outside Delaware, which was run by another T.C.D. graduate, William Livingston.¹⁷⁴ Another possibility was Upper Canada College, although current records show that the first London boy to attend this institution did so in 1843. Thus he is a subject for the next chapter.

Moreover, out-of-town opportunities existed for girls. For example, Lawrence Lawrason sent his daughter Louisa, who was a student at John Talbot's school in 1832-33, and Miss Proudfoot's school in the mid-1830s, to Elizabeth Rankin's boarding school in Toronto from 1842-44, and then to Mrs. Lake's school in Montreal in 1844-45.¹⁷⁵ Mrs. Hurlburt's Academy at Coburg, the Burlington Ladies Academy in Hamilton, and Mrs. Urlin's Seminary near Woodstock were other possibilities for well-to-do London girls; all advertised in London newspapers during these years.

Other sources reveal that London village itself was a thriving educational centre in the early 1840s. In addition to the common, grammar, and private schools, the educational panorama consisted of Evening, Sunday, dancing, painting, drawing, and vocal music schools,¹⁷⁶ a Mechanics' Institute, libraries, reading rooms, newspapers, and apprenticeships.¹⁷⁷

Families in the nearby townships also kept a good many common schools operating in this difficult period. In some cases, like the school run by Miss Stimson, their school houses were just outside the Old Town Plot. Since some village children attended these schools, and a few were later brought into the village through incorporation, a brief review of these schools is given here.

London township, for instance, despite the chaos engendered by the act of 1841, had sixteen of its twenty-two school sections open in 1842.¹⁷⁸ Indeed, Robert Wilson, later a prominent London village teacher, taught his first school with this group in 1842-43.¹⁷⁹ Moreover, contrary to conventional opinion, at least seven, and maybe more, of the twenty Westminster township schools were open in 1842, not five as previously thought.¹⁸⁰

The London district superintendent was reasonably impressed with these schools in 1842. He described the conduct of the London township teachers as "satisfactory," while the students' progress he thought "considerable."

"Exemplary" and "satisfactory" were the adjectives he chose to describe the common schools of Westminster township.

Some Westminster township parents also seemed pleased with their teachers' performance. Although subscription fees were generally not given in annual school reports, in 1842 the district superintendent recorded that parents had paid two of their teachers three times the government grant, suggesting that at least some parents still followed the rules which had been set out in the common school amendment acts.¹⁸¹

Lastly, several designated London village teachers still operated common schools in 1842. In addition to Taylor, Waterman, Richardson, Stimson, and Pringle, who were named on Railton's report, Rigney, Routledge, and Bisbee also taught common schools that year.¹⁸² In total, therefore, not less than fifteen teachers operated common schools in the immediate London village area in 1842 alone -sixteen if one counts Wilson.

Thus, in quantity and quality, the London village and nearby township common schools and teachers were significantly better than the reminiscences of those who remembered them or wrote about them earlier. These striking findings lead one to the following two questions. Who were these students, and was their school attendance behaviour primarily the result of socially differentiated family strategies?

(III) School Attendance Behaviour in London Village

The foregoing description of school and society in London, Canada, between 1826 and 1842 is two-dimensional only. It describes the major social, political, economic, and environmental forces which influenced the village's growth; and the schools which developed to meet that society's needs. The missing third dimension is the pattern of school attendance. That is, to what extent did the underlying social structure of the community -its White, British, Protestant,

respectable nature- influence the school attendance behaviour of children in the major cultural and social groups?

Unfortunately, the 1842 Canadian census for London provides only limited data about the individual members of the various households; and it does not identify which children went to school that year. Moreover, the Talbot information, which contains almost 200 student names, only covers the years between 1832 and 1835. These omissions are problematic, since before an analysis of school attendance patterns can proceed one must know the school population for London village; and of this group how many went to school? To resolve the problem, these data are estimated from the available population figures, school reports, and school registers.

London villagers experienced rapid urban growth in their first sixteen years. The population grew from about 133 to 2,616 between 1827 and 1842 (see Table 24).¹⁸³ Using the official calculation (22.22 percent) previously described, it was estimated that the number of school age children increased from roughly 30 to 581.¹⁸⁴ As was shown earlier, the number of schools also grew in response to the rising population and an increasing demand for educational services.

How many of these children attended school? Based on provincial annual report enrollment data (see Table 25), tolerably accurate enrollment figures were produced that identified several crucial schooling trends.¹⁸⁵ Nonetheless, these conclusions must be seriously qualified.

Based on the information compiled for Table 24, most London village pupils prior to 1838 attended a common school; and a lesser number went to private schools, although that figure did increase over time. Beginning in 1839, however, although absolute numbers of school age children increased generally, the percent enrolled fell significantly. By 1842, according to these estimates only 66 percent of the potential pupils were enrolled in school; and less than half of this group attended a common school. Nevertheless, it must be

acknowledged that the estimates for 1842 are probably about twenty percent high, because of the unusual conditions which prevailed at the time.

Who went to school in London during the formative years? To answer this question, the pupils listed on the Talbot, Boyce, and Wright school registers were assigned their fathers' demographic characteristics, which were derived from census data and city directories. According to these sources, virtually all of these students came from White, British, Protestant, upper and middle class, or establishment, backgrounds (see Table 26).¹⁸⁶

Further study reveals that even in a very respectable community changeable school attendance behaviour can result from socially differentiated family strategies. These strategies were identified after an analysis of the attendance patterns which emerged during the five phases of schooling developments that took place in London between 1826 and 1842.

Although attendance data for London village pupils prior to 1831 do not exist, evidence from London township records divulges that a number of respectable London village and area parents sent their children to several common and private schools in and near the Old Town Plot during the first phase of development.

Some Londoners sent their progeny to nearby London and Westminster township common schools. Tenbroeck, the lawyer, Joseph O'Dell, the farmer, Lee, the doctor, and O'Neil, the government official, for example, likely sent their children to common schools south of the Thames river in the late 1820s. All were trustees for Westminster township common schools between 1826 and 1829.¹⁸⁷

A number of London village parents must have sent their children to London township common schools as well. Although common school teachers probably lived closer to the Old Town Plot, James Parkinson a few miles to the north-west and John

Talbot to the north-east, are but two known examples of this possibility. There were certainly others.

Several respectable families also patronized the private schools operated by Van Every and Henry Wright. Prior to 1831, Van Every likely taught the children of prosperous craftsmen and district officials at the Seminary. Wright, on the other hand, operated a school at the Seminary in 1831-32 for the children of London's establishment (see Table 14).¹⁸⁸ Thus, the early emergence of private schools at the Seminary is indicative of the fact that a few upper class families wanted to segregate their children from the other social groups in London. As will be shown below, this strategy was a harbinger of things to come.

Two common schools also emerged in London village in 1831-32. Hawkins, as discussed above, operated his school in London's central business district; and Stimson's school was a stone's throw north of the Old Town Plot. Since both teachers had upper and middle class trustees, it appears that some upper and middle class families sent their children to school together. This strategy was also portentous of future trends.

The second phase of school development in London occurred in 1832-33. Wright's school closed sometime in 1832, perhaps because of the cholera outbreak, but more than likely because it was too expensive -the London Grand Jury had not been successful in obtaining an endowment to assure its continuance. John Talbot was hired to fill Wright's position at the Seminary in September of 1832. His school was a short-term, cheaper alternative.

Talbot's school in 1832-33 was much larger than the average common school in the area, showing that there was a strong demand for his services. He had fifty students from September to December, 1832, fifty-four from January to March, 1833, forty-five from March to June, and thirty-two from June to September (see Tables 10, 11, 27). It is also important to

acknowledge that Talbot's school was operating when Stimson, Hawkins, and others, were also teaching a large number of pupils in the London village area.

Most of Talbot's students were boys. They dominated the girls by a ratio of three or four to one. Males ranged in age from five to twenty, females from three to fifteen. Except for the summer quarter, the boy's average age was always slightly higher than that for the girls. Males, except in one instance, dominated three of the four age cohorts. Most of the girls were between the ages of thirteen and sixteen.

Talbot's students had similar social origins to Wright's (see Tables 10,11), but they were derived from a wider social spectrum. Whereas 85 percent of Wright's students had upper class backgrounds, only 56 percent of Talbot's pupils were from this group. Talbot, however, had three times as many children from middle class families: 44 percent as compared to 15 percent for Wright. Over one-quarter of the fathers of Talbot's pupils were professionals; a similar number worked in the industrial sector. However, at Wright's school over 40 percent of the fathers were professionals and almost 30 percent worked in commercial occupations.

Talbot's pupils were much more culturally diverse than his predecessors. Whereas Wright had received children from Episcopalian and Methodist families, Talbot's students were from Episcopalian, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic backgrounds. Although the Irish predominated, Wright's pupils had origins in Ireland and England, whereas Talbot's students were derived from Ireland, England, and Scotland.

One important trend must be emphasized, especially in light of subsequent events. Virtually all the establishment families who had enrolled their progeny with Wright also sent them to Talbot (see Table 28).¹⁸⁹ A simple explanation suffices for the three remaining families who chose another alternative. Harris' children lived in Vittoria until 1834

when they were removed to London, and no evidence exists to show that Goodhue and Richardson sent any more children to London village common schools in this period.

The passage of the first common school amendment act in 1833-34 launched the third stage of London's school development which lasted until 1837. George Boyce, Talbot's replacement at the Seminary, operated a slightly smaller than average common school from January to June of 1834; however, his school was about average or slightly larger than average between July and December.

Boyce instructed males only during his first six months. In the second half of the year, he received a few females (the Harris' and Busted girls) in addition to the males. Boyce's male pupils ranged in age from four to twenty-one, the females from six to thirteen. Over the year, the average age for boys dropped from 11.3 to 9.0, so that by the last two quarters of 1834 it was slightly lower than the girl's average age (see Table 27).

Most of Boyce's male students, similar to the findings for Talbot, were between the ages of nine and twelve. Unlike Talbot's situation, however, most of Boyce's girls were also in the 9 to 12 age cohort. Only a few girls in the 5 to 8 and 13 to 16 age groups attended Boyce's school, and none of his female students were over age sixteen.

Boyce's clientele was more exclusive than Talbot's group. About 63 percent of his pupils were upper class, while 37 percent were middle class;¹⁹⁰ and most of his students' parents were professionals. Among the religious groups, Episcopalians predominated, although there were also a few Presbyterians, Methodists, and Roman Catholics. Most students had origins in the British Isles.

Who attended Boyce's common school in 1834? Four of the seven elite families who patronized Wright's school (Askin, Cornish, Lee and Parke) also sent their children to Talbot and then to Boyce. One might also add another establishment

family, because Harris moved his children to London village that Summer, when he enrolled them in Boyce's school.

These students were then joined by children from several other highly respectable families, who had only recently moved to London village. Presumably, their parents chose Boyce over Talbot because he was a classical instructor. The later students were from the Chisholm, Robertson, Scatcherd, Stevens, and Terry households.

That London's elite families would select a classical instructor for their children is not surprising since Scatcherd, Parke, Lee, Askin, and Proudfoot had formed a search committee in 1833 to effect such a purpose. Moreover, all except Proudfoot supervised Boyce's school as trustees in 1834. This bias for classical instruction was continued into 1835, when Scatcherd and Parke were joined by Lawrason and Harris as the trustees for Francis Wright's common school.

It is important to note that Francis Wright was probably the Henry Wright who had taught at the Seminary in 1831-32. Trinity College Dublin records list that a Francis Henry Wright received a B.A. in 1827, making it theoretically possible for him to have taught in London village during both periods.¹⁹¹ Moreover, it is highly unlikely that two T.C.D. graduates with virtually the same name would teach in the same Upper Canadian community at almost the same time.

In addition, Lawrence Lawrason, the organizer of Henry Wright's school in 1831-32, was also a trustee at Francis Henry Wright's school in 1835, at least suggesting the possibility that Lawrason was once again supporting the same person. Lastly, another account claims that Francis Wright of the grammar school taught ten years in London village, when he was replaced by James C. Thompson. Since Thompson was hired in 1841, Francis Henry Wright was probably the Henry Wright of 1831-32.¹⁹²

Wright, like Boyce, was a classics master. In the first half of 1835, he also taught the children of London's

establishment. However, his female students were an enlarged group. They included the Busteed, Harris, Howse(?), Kent, Parke, and Scatcherd daughters.

Although Wright instructed more girls than did Boyce, males still outnumbered females by over two to one. Wright's boys ranged in age from six to sixteen, and his girls from eight to fourteen; their average age was identical at 11.5 years. Over half the boys in this school were in the 13 to 16 age cohort, one-fifth in the 9 to 12 group, and slightly less than one-third were in the youngest group. On the other hand, only a few girls were in the 5 to 8 cohort; and most female students were between the ages of 9 and 16. None of Wright's students were older than age sixteen.

Wright's school was extremely exclusive, suggesting that his trustees had maintained a highly selective admission policy, perhaps by setting the fees too high for most parents. Of the fourteen families to use this school, twelve were upper class; and the remaining two families were Irish and very respectable. Of these latter two families, one was headed by Thomas Parke the builder, formerly the architect for the courthouse and a consistent champion of classical education. The other family was headed by John Wright, a Roman Catholic yeoman farmer. Half of these parents were professionals, all were British, and all but Wright were Protestant.

Going to Francis Wright's select common school must have been like belonging to a restricted social club.¹⁹³ Five of "Henry" Wright's families (Askin, Cornish, Lawrason, Lee, and Parke) also enrolled their children in this school --seven if two of the original financial supporters, Harris and Abraham Rapelje, the deputy sheriff, are added. Moreover, of the second group of elite families (Chisholm, Robertson, Scatcherd, Stevens, and Terry) to send their children to Talbot and then to Boyce, only the latter two families were not present at Wright's Seminary in 1835. All were British and Protestant.

The hiring of Boyce and Wright should be viewed as a calculated strategy by the village's establishment to pass on a form of cultural capital to their children. Using their influence as commissioners and trustees, they manipulated the allocation of the school funds granted under the common school amendment acts to hire classical instructors for their sons (and a few daughters), thereby giving them distinct educational advantages over other children. After 1837, however, it would be the London grammar school that would assume this role as a key instrument of upper class reproduction and domination.

Despite significant support, Boyce and then Wright faced potentially serious competition from a returning well-known common school teacher in 1834-35. After a lapse of nine months, John Talbot decided to open another common school. Since this school ran from 11 June, 1834, to 11 June, 1835, and was probably on Ridout street, it competed directly with the Seminary school for the last half of Boyce's term and the first six months of Wright's tenure. Who were Talbot's trustees, and who were his students?

Joseph B. Flannagan, yeoman farmer turned innkeeper, was a trustee for both of Talbot's schools; and he enrolled two boys and a girl in each institution.¹⁹⁴ Another trustee at Talbot's first London school was John Tenbroeck, the lawyer, who met an untimely death. Tenbroeck sent two boys to Talbot. The third trustee was John Scatcherd, the merchant, who no longer supported Talbot in 1834, because rather than register his four sons at Talbot's second school, he kept them with Boyce. Moreover, when Boyce left the village Scatcherd sent eight of his children to Wright not Talbot.

Talbot's two new trustees in 1834 were Henry Van Buskirk, the builder, and James McFadden, the innkeeper, both of whom enrolled children in Talbot's school. Although these men were members of London's respectable classes, they were lightweights when compared to the village's commercial and

administrative leaders. This social reality was also mirrored in the composition of Talbot's students.

Talbot taught slightly fewer pupils in 1834-35 than at his earlier school, and on average they were a younger group. In contrast to the demographic trends at his first school, few girls in his later school were in the 13 to 16 age cohort, or older, but a large number were between the ages of 5 and 8. Moreover, most of Talbot's students were between the ages of 5 and 12, although boys outnumbered and were slightly older than girls. It is also interesting to note that Talbot instructed two twenty-one year old men at this school: James Blair, the son of a carpenter, and John Smith, the son of a merchant.

The parents of these students, as with Talbot's earlier school, were primarily British, Protestant, and respectable. However, this time his pupils were derived from a greater range of religious backgrounds. Of the twenty-one families identified on Table 11, ten were Episcopalian, six were Presbyterian, three were Methodists, and two were Roman Catholics.

Talbot's students were not the children of London's elite, however; only 41 percent had upper class backgrounds, 56 percent were middle class, and most held industrial sector jobs. Moreover, Flannagan and Lee, who had each sent one daughter only to Talbot, were the sole representatives from Wright's 1831-32 group. These findings once again point out why Talbot's chances of securing the grammar school headmastership were remote.

Two other important points should be noted. Both Talbot and Flannagan became leaders in the local Reform movement in 1836 and 1837. Perhaps political alliances were beginning to divide Londoners and common school students as early as 1834-35? This possibility, although largely speculative, should be taken seriously, because it occurred elsewhere in the district.¹⁹⁵ Secondly, Talbot's career as a schoolmaster,

just like his father's as a gentleman farmer, illustrates once again how some natural leaders from the homeland could not hold their place in a new environment.¹⁹⁶

These schooling arrangements appear to have remained largely intact until the opening of the grammar school in London village in October of 1837. Wright instructed a small, self-selected group of predominantly upper class children. Taylor and Millar taught some upper class but mainly middle class pupils. And the other designated London village teachers taught the middle and lower classes.

Despite the discriminating nature of the commissioners' classification scheme, it probably received wide-spread support from most London parents, because potential benefits existed for all. For instance, the new arrangements provided a superior education to the children of upper and middle class parents, who wanted such instruction and could afford the tuition. And, for little or no cost, lower class children could quickly acquire the rudiments that would make them functional in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.

Therefore, by the Summer of 1837 school and society in the London village area were a mirror image. For the most part, the common schools received children who were culturally homogenous yet streamed along class lines that were congruent with the society's underlying social divisions. Later that year, however, the inclusivity of the common schools was abruptly shattered. These changes initiated the next phase of development which took place between late 1837 and 1840.

As discussed earlier, the effects of depression, rebellion, and grammar school relocation in 1837 had downgraded the status of the common schools; and with the arrival of the British troops in 1838 class differences in London were accentuated even more sharply.¹⁹⁷ These distinctions were reflected in the new arrangements that were made for the village's public schools, which crystallized along class and gender lines.

For instance, twenty White upper class males attended the expensive London grammar school in 1838. Of the student names provided by Ermatinger, the Askin, Cornish, Harris, Lee, Parke, Rapelje, and Richardson children had previously attended Wright's school in 1831-32, while the offspring of the McFadden, Robb, Robertson, Scatcherd, Stevens, and Traverse families had started their London schooling with John Talbot in the next year. All of these students had been directed through the village's select schools until they entered the grammar school.

Furthermore, many middle class boys, and some middle class girls, were enrolled at the common schools run by Taylor, Rigney, Routledge, and Stimson. On the other hand, some middle class families probably turned to Taylor and Elliott for private instruction in the classics.¹⁹⁸ In addition, many respectable girls were sent to the ladies' schools which emerged at this time. Even here, however, girls were segregated from each other along class lines.

Moreover, based on the commissioners' statements in the annual report of 1838, an undetermined number of lower class students attended the free common schools run by Waterman and perhaps Bisbee. In all likelihood, some middle and lower class students and their parents attended Sunday and Evening schools as well as the various programs which were run at the Mechanics Institute.

Common schooling in the district during the last phase of development (1841-42) was chaotic, largely owing to the problems associated with implementing the Common School Act of 1841. Yet based on Railton's report, and the supplementary evidence reviewed above, it appears that this disorder scarcely affected London's schools.

Unfortunately, because evidence on the 1842 census was recorded only at the district level, and other sources are extremely spotty, little is known about the school attendance

behaviour of London's Black families and their children in this period.

Most of London's Blacks in the 1830s had migrated from the United States to Canada to find freedom, because Britain had abolished slavery in the empire in 1833, and many of the northern States were enforcing previously latent Black Codes.¹⁹⁹ London was a viable centre for Blacks because, as historian Fred Landon has shown, its inland location made it less conducive to kidnapping attempts; and it was easily accessible from the west, east, and south for refugee slaves.²⁰⁰

Landon claimed that about 200 Blacks lived in London village in 1839.²⁰¹ Based on the Education Department's calculation (22.22 percent), therefore, one might have expected about forty-four Black students of school age.

However, an analysis of the 1842 London census, in conjunction with other primary and secondary sources, discloses the names of only sixty-one Blacks from ten households. Of this group, forty-six were Methodists, seven were Episcopalians, two were Congregationalists, five were Baptists, and one was a Roman Catholic.²⁰² Only one household head was a female, seven were labourers, two were barbers, and one was a druggist.²⁰³ These ten families produced thirteen to twenty-four children of school age and eleven children under the age of five.²⁰⁴

Of the ten Black household heads, a Cato Ady, an Isaac Bird, a John Holmes, a Don Kean, a John Thompson, a Sarah Tillotson, and a George Winemiller were labourers. An Abby B. Jones and an Alexander Hamilton were barbers, and an Alfred T. Jones was a druggist. Kean also advertised himself as General Don Kean, the town crier and corporation bellman.²⁰⁵

Messrs. Ady, Bird, Thompson, Tillotson, and Winemiller squatted on land north of the barracks. Abby B. Jones and Hamilton held their land by bond, Alfred T. Jones and Kean by

lease, and Holmes by fee. All came to Canada between 1830 and 1838. Bird and Tillotson were natives of Canada.

Were Blacks accepted into London society? Did they prosper? And did they send their children to school in this period? Because of the paucity of information, one must turn to the words of the few Blacks who articulated their viewpoints in this regard. Interestingly, their stories, which are sketched out below, echo those for Whites. Some Blacks succeeded, most prevailed, and a few floundered. Because of prejudice and poverty, however, only a few Black parents sent their children to school.

Fortuitously, four of the ten Black household heads identified above described their experiences in London to Benjamin Drew, the author, who at mid-century published a book on the lives of refugee slaves. Their reminiscences must be accepted guardedly, however, because over the course of two decades all had prospered. Thus, their lives were atypical of Blacks. Nevertheless, their accounts provide a good glimpse of the opportunities which existed for some former refugee slaves in London.

Although Alexander Hamilton, a former slave from Missouri, could not read or write, and was virtually broke when he arrived in Canada, by the mid-1850s he boasted ownership of three houses and several parcels of land. According to information contained on the 1842 census, Hamilton had a school age daughter and a son between the ages of 14 and 18. Unfortunately, he did not comment on their school experience.

Hamilton offered this summary of the prospects for Blacks in London, and why many of them remained in that community: "The colored people in London are all making a living: there is no beggar among them. Some of us would like to live in the South if slavery was done away with, and the laws were right. I am naturalized here, and have all the rights and privileges of a British subject."²⁰⁶

John Holmes, of Virginia, and a labourer, expanded upon Hamilton's opinions. He found the work in London not as hard as in the South. Furthermore, he pointed out, "Those that will work, do well -those that will not -not: it is the same here as everywhere. It is the best poor man's country that I know of"²⁰⁷

Like Hamilton, Holmes thrived in his new land. By mid-century he owned his own house and a large acreage of land. Nonetheless, Holmes declared that he could have done better had he attended school: "If I had any knowledge how to calculate and scheme, as I should if I had learning, I should be worth ten thousand dollars."²⁰⁸

Holmes, who had a school age daughter, probably understood better than most the psychology of Black school attendance behaviour, as his following comments attest:

Many of our people remain poor for want of education. It cannot be expected that men who have just got away from slavery should look far ahead: they are only looking for to-day and to-morrow.... There is some prejudice, but not so much as there used to be. There is no separate school here.²⁰⁹

The Jones' brothers were originally slaves in Kentucky; however, this unfortunate beginning did not stop them from becoming successful businessmen in London. Moreover, each had a daughter who may have attended school.

Jones, the barber, understood the importance of schooling, learning to read and write after he obtained his freedom. He felt strongly about the numbing effects of slavery: "I believe it [slavery] ruinous to the mind of man, in that it keeps the key of knowledge from him: it is stupefying to man. I believe that all men should be made free at once."²¹⁰

According to Jones, when he arrived in London he was "not worth one cent." Yet he prospered and, as he put it, "placed my family beyond the reach of want." Jones was convinced that other Blacks who might come to London could also accumulate

enough property in a few years to provide a living for their families. He noted that "colored and white children are educated together in this place."²¹¹ Perhaps, then, the progeny of well-to-do Blacks were more easily accepted at London's schools than poor Black children?

Jones, the druggist, owned a large property on London's main street worth \$45,000. This Jones made two important observations. First, he noted that Londoners "from the old country" [British Isles] were unfamiliar with Blacks; and they consequently had some peculiar ideas about them, which he called a "second-hand prejudice."

Dr. Jones, however, probably unknowingly, expressed a prejudice of his own. His second observation was that "the majority of the people of color who come over here are not such as give a good idea of what the people of color really are. They are not refined and educated. But as some years are passed since the colored men began to come in, there is an improvement perceptible."²¹²

One final astute comment from Benjamin Miller, a former Missouri slave, a shoemaker, and a Methodist minister, which must be acknowledged. Although he was not registered on the 1842 census for London, Miller, a father of eight children, had lived there since the 1830s. He made the following poignant observations about the challenges which confronted London's Blacks in these years:

We that begin here illiterate men, have to go against wind and tide. We have a learned, enterprising people to contend with; we have a colder climate than we have been used to, to contend with; we have our own ignorance and poverty to contend with. It takes a smart man to do all that: but many do it, all make a living, and some do lay up money. I asked one of our old white 'squires [sic], if he ever saw a colored man that was well, in this township begging. He said,
No.²¹³

In summary, despite the spottiness of the data, several important trends about school attendance behaviour in London between 1826 and 1842 are observable.

Although geography and frontier conditions initially slowed the development of London village, schools were established almost immediately. Most children in early times were enrolled in the community's common schools, which quickly became differentiated by social class, curricula, and the credentials of their teachers. A small number of students also attended a few short-lived expensive private schools, which were established by wealthy parents.

These general school attendance findings are similar to those discovered by Phillips, Graff, Gidney, and Bamman for Canada West in the 1840s, Kaestle for New York in the 1790s, and Fishlow for Massachusettes in the 1830s and 1840s.²¹⁴

However, school attendance behaviour changed significantly near the end of the decade. Whereas students from all cultural and class groups had attended the common schools in the early to mid-1830s, the removal of the district grammar school to London in 1837 changed that trend. Thereafter, upper class males were sent to the grammar school; common school attendance rates plummeted; and numbers of private schools increased. Thus, class lines were further entrenched in London's public schools during this period.

In addition, although the evidence is fragmentary, and based on trends which will be discussed in future chapters, it seems that only a few Black children attended school; and they were probably the progeny of fairly prosperous parents.

A gender differential is also evident in the enrollment patterns at London's schools during these years.²¹⁵ For example, boys at the Talbot, Boyce, and Wright common schools outnumbered girls by two to one -only 61 of the 184 students were females. And in almost every age cohort the number of boys exceeded that for girls. Nevertheless, these findings do not mean that London females went unschooled. In addition to

the girls who attended the Talbot, Boyce, and Wright schools, females were sent to the common schools run by Stimson, Hawkins, Taylor, Dyer, Rigney, Miller, Waterman, Routledge, and Bisbee. They also received instruction at the private schools operated by the Misses Talbot, Stimson, Grannis, Proudfoot, Cronyn, Pringle, Merrill, Miller, Ellice, Sheppard, and Richardson. Some girls probably had private tutors or governesses as well.

Several conclusions with respect to school attendance can also be drawn. Again the data is spotty, but in the thirty month period (ten quarters) when Talbot, Boyce, and Wright operated their common schools, the average attendance per pupil was almost three quarters (8 months). This attendance snapshot might be misleading, however, since the school registers do not distinguish between recent admissions and younger or older pupils on their way in or out of school. This is an important distinction, because attendance patterns were influenced by the geographic mobility of families and the life course of parents and children.²¹⁶

For instance, six of John Harris' children appear on Boyce's last two school reports for 1834; they represented almost twenty percent of his students. However, since Harris did not remove his family to London until mid-1834 an inclusion of his children in an analysis of annual attendance rates at Boyce's school would distort the actual trends. In addition, such an analysis would not take into account the fact that all of Harris' school age children had previously attended a school, probably the Vittoria grammar school as suggested by their academic accomplishments.²¹⁷ Thus, obtaining precise school attendance rates for this period is problematic - probably only minimum figures have been deduced.

Another very important influence on school attendance behaviour was the control exercised by White, British, Protestant, males, who dominated schooling arrangements in London district during this period.²¹⁸ Initially, Victorians

had controlled the district school board, but in the mid-to-late-1830s the Lieutenant-Governor transferred this power to London villagers. Almost all of these individuals were English or Irish and Episcopalian. A similar situation prevailed at the trustee and teacher levels.

In London, very few teachers were not British or Protestant; and none were known to be Black. Furthermore, many of the teachers were Irish: the three Talbots, Wright, Taylor, Rigney, Cronyn, Thompson, Elliot, and Bayly, for example. This Anglo-Irish thread was to be the web and woof of public school leadership in London for most of the nineteenth century. Indeed, beginning in the early 1830s, and for about the next half century, the metropolitan influence of Dublin, Ireland, was to be the predominating influence in London's public school history.²¹⁹

For instance, Wright, Taylor, and Bayly, were the first of a number of highly qualified T.C.D. graduates to instruct in London's public schools. In addition, the Anglo-Irish clergyman, and T.C.D. graduate, the Reverend Benjamin Cronyn played a prominent role in the administration of that community's public schools for almost three decades until his death in 1871. Without question, then, it would be the British cultural heritage that would be transmitted in London's schools. This cultural fit between school and society was a key ingredient in the community's early educational development.²²⁰

Moreover, the quality of London's schools quickly made it an educational centre for the entire southwestern region.²²¹ John Scatcherd is a case in point. In 1830, Scatcherd moved from Wyton in Nissouri township to London, "with a view to educating the growing family."²²² He stayed five years to accomplish this objective.²²³ Other parents adopted similar strategies. Students from different contiguous areas were also sent to London: Charles Duncombe from St. Thomas, James

Salmon from Norfolk County, and James Ingersoll from Ingersoll, offer further examples.

Unfortunately, the quality of the data only allow general observations about the influence of occupation on school attendance behaviour. Nevertheless, a comparison of the occupations of parents who sent their children to Wright, Talbot, Proudfoot, and Boyce, to the general population profile depicted on Table 3, discloses that children whose parents held professional, domestic, and commercial jobs were overrepresented in these schools. On the other hand, students who had parents in the agricultural, industrial, and unclassified occupations were underrepresented.

Social class was another important determinant of school attendance behaviour in London village. As discussed above, a small number of upper class parents controlled the arrangements that were made for London's public schools at this time; and their children dominated the community's finest schools. Consequently, it can be assumed that these children attained higher enrollment and attendance rates than children from the other social classes. This assumption is borne out by the following personal school histories.

In the short term, based on the data contained in the school registers reviewed above, children from elite families demonstrated the greatest persistence rates. Charles Cornish, for instance, the son of William King Cornish, a lawyer and a doctor, attended the full ten quarters covered by the Talbot, Boyce, and Wright schools.²²⁴ Hiram and Rolph Lee, the sons of Hiram Davis Lee, the doctor, Ephraim and Thomas Parke, the sons of Thomas Parke, the builder, and the four sons of John Scatcherd, the merchant, also demonstrated perfect attendance records. Henry Askin, the son of John Askin, the district clerk, attended for eight quarters; and Hiram Chisholm, the son of Archibald Chisholm, the doctor, attended seven quarters, as did the four children of gentleman farmer Charles Sifton.

This trend held for the long term as well. The educational routemaps taken by Charles Cornish, Rolph Lee, and Thomas Scatcherd, which are sketched out below, show clearly that it was not unusual for the children of London's elite to attend school for about a decade in this period. Furthermore, it is also apparent from their choices that parents kept a clear eye on the occupational destinations of their children; and, with this objective in mind, they attempted to make suitable arrangements for their academic preparation.

Charles Cornish, for instance, first appears as a nine year old pupil at John Talbot's common school in 1832-33. In all likelihood, however, he attended Wright's private school the previous year where his father was a subscriber. When Talbot resigned in 1833, Cornish senior enrolled his son in Boyce's school, where he stayed until the end of 1834.

William King Cornish obviously chose not to send his son Charles to John Talbot's second London village school when it was opened in June of 1834. This decision probably related to the fact that Boyce offered five subjects which Talbot did not (Latin, French, Greek, Book Keeping, and Mensuration), and Charles was headed towards a career in law.

In total, Charles obtained eight quarters of schooling from Talbot and Boyce before enrolling in Wright's school in 1835. Thereafter, he studied at the London grammar school before apprenticing in his father's office to become a lawyer.²²⁵ Charles had two brothers, William and Francis, who also became lawyers. The former practiced law in Sarnia and Port Huron, the latter in London.²²⁶

The school course taken by Rolph Lee, one of nine children born to Dr. and Mrs. Hiram Davis Lee, also demonstrates the calculative nature of family schooling strategies in nineteenth-century London.²²⁷

Rolph Lee, actually John Rolph Lee, together with his siblings Elvira and Hiram, was first discovered at John Talbot's school in 1832. Elvira and Hiram then disappear from

the school record, but Rolph emerges as a student at Edward Allan Talbot's school in 1833 or 1834.²²⁸

Later in 1834, Rolph and Hiram were sent to Boyce's school, along with their younger brother, Simcoe. In 1835, these boys were transferred to Wright's school. Elvira, Simcoe, and another brother, James, next appear on Miss Proudfoot's school register for 1835-36. Several of the Lees also attended the London grammar school in the later 1830s.²²⁹ However, their education did not stop there.

After completing his studies at the grammar school, Rolph Lee attended the Rolph School of medicine in Toronto, graduating in 1848. Unfortunately, he was drowned later that year. Two of Rolph's brothers, Hiram and James, also studied medicine, although the latter died at age nineteen when apprenticing with his father. A third brother, Simcoe, eventually chose a different occupational path altogether. He gave up the law for an international acting career.²³⁰

Lastly, John Scatcherd's educational strategy for his large family, particularly that for his son, Thomas, for whom the best records exist, illustrates the lengths to which some upper class parents would go to secure a suitable schooling for their children.

Scatcherd, as discussed above, moved to London in 1830 to educate his family. One commentator has claimed that the Scatcherd children were first taught by Kezia Stimson, and they subsequently attended the district grammar school.²³¹ However, this statement is probably incorrect. Since Scatcherd was a trustee for John Hawkins' school in 1831-32, it is likely that he sent a number of his sons there, while enrolling Ann and Emily with Miss Stimson. In 1832 and 1833, however, Foster, James, John, and Thomas were sent to John Talbot's school. Like Charles Cornish and Rolph Lee, the four Scatcherd boys were then sent to Boyce in 1834.

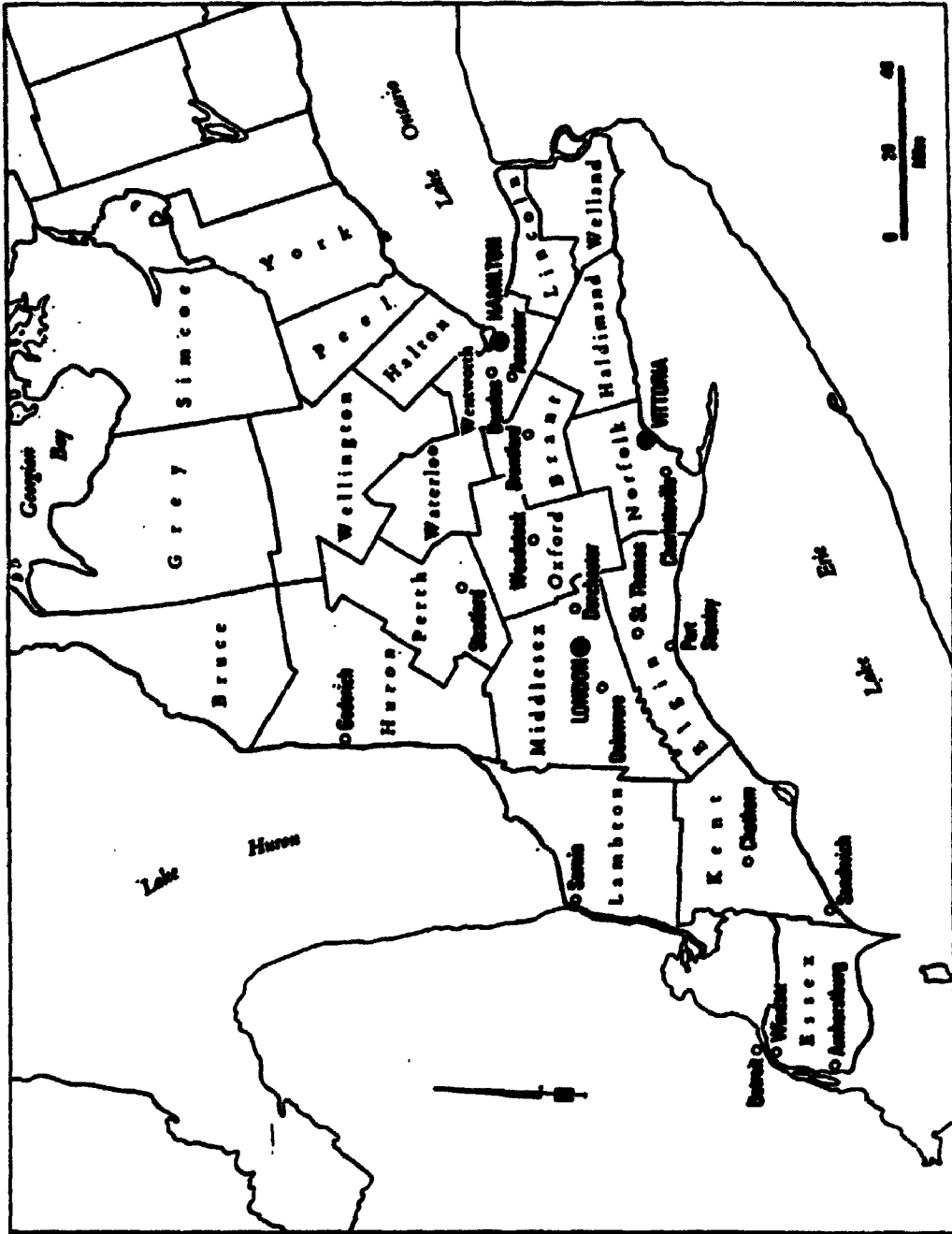
According to Mrs. Porte, Thomas Scatcherd was a classmate at William Taylor's school.²³² This situation probably

occurred between September of 1833 and January of 1834, since that period represents the interim between the closing of Talbot's school and the opening of Boyce's school. The Scatcherd boys were then enrolled in Wright's school in 1835, where they were joined by their younger sisters Anne and Emily and their younger twin brothers, James Jr. and John Jr.. Thomas Scatcherd, as did some of his brothers, went on to study at the London district grammar school. Then he articulated in London and Toronto before returning to practice in London, where he joined the elite for which he was trained.²³³

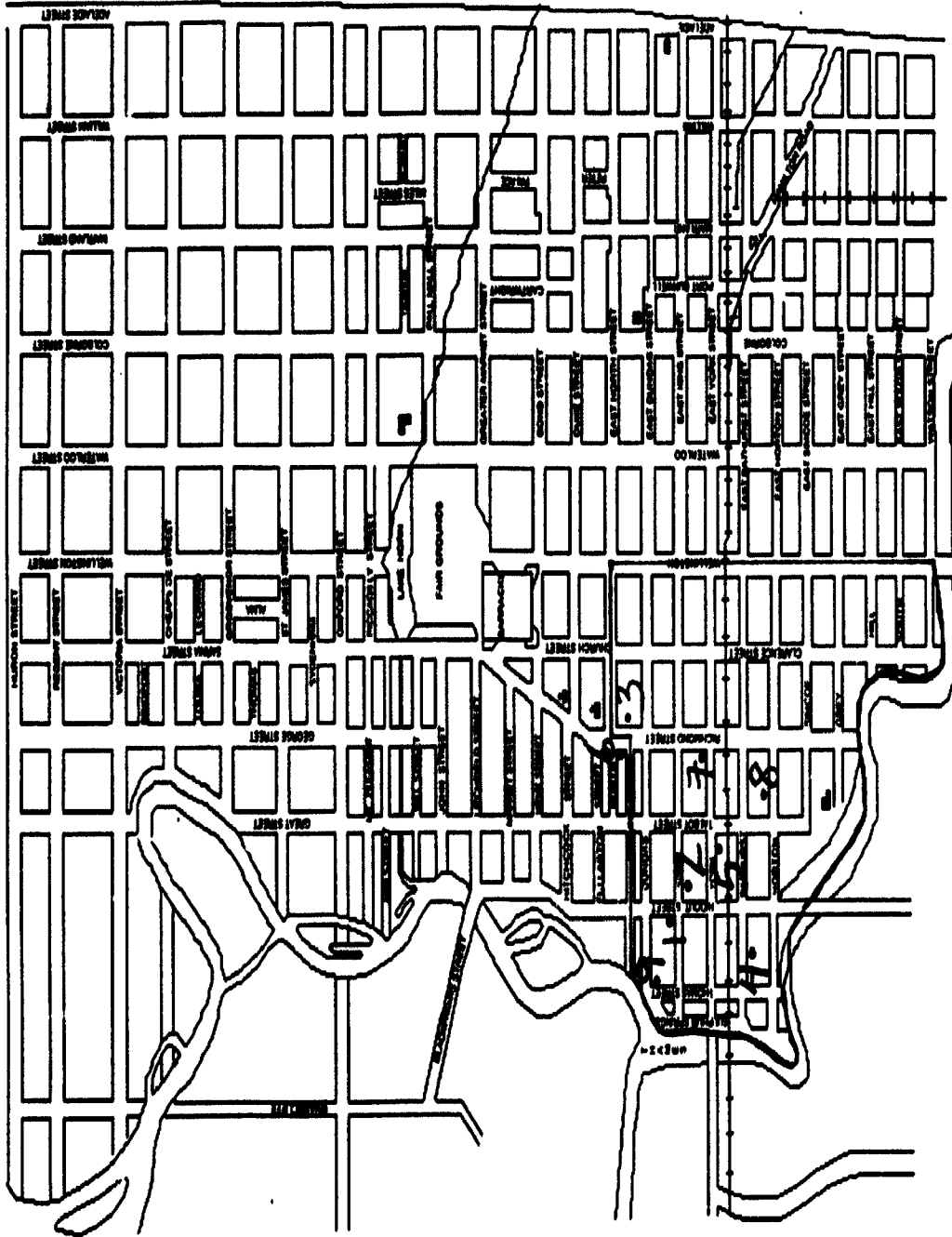
In conclusion, schooling in London between 1826 and 1842 was significantly influenced by a host of social, political, economic, and environmental factors. Nevertheless, the actual patterns of attendance, both short-term and long-term were calculated by parents with the best interests of their families in mind. These strategies were directly related to the cultural and class backgrounds of the parents and the future occupational destinations of their children.

However, as will be discussed in the next chapter, between 1843 and 1852 significant constitutional and administrative changes occurred at the Provincial and municipal levels, which would alter traditional attitudes and relationships amongst Londoners. These significant new developments were to be played out in microcosm in London's public schools.

MAP 1 - SOUTHWESTERN ONTARIO



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PRIVATE —
COMMON

- 1. Van Every
- 2. Hawkins
- 3. E. Talbot
- 4. E. & J. Talbot
- 5. Waterman

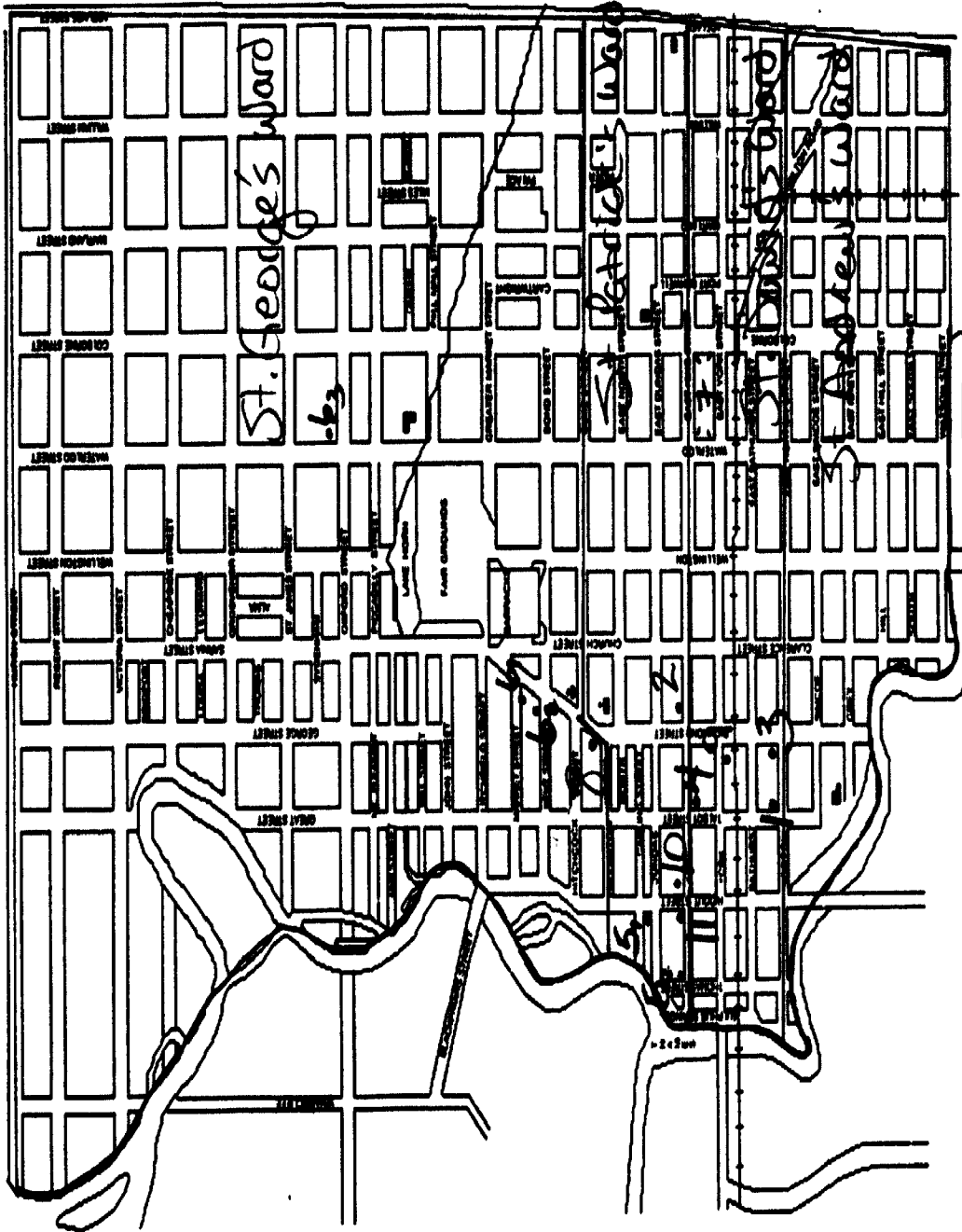
- 6. Stimson
- 7. Pringle
- 8. Taylor
- 9. Wright



PRIVATE —
COMMON

- 6. Stimson
- 7. Pringle
- 8. Taylor
- 9. Wright

- 1. Van Every
- 2. Hawkins
- 3. E. Talbot
- 4. E. & J. Talbot
- 5. Waterman



PRIVATE —
COMMON - -

- 1. Taylor
- 2. Watson
- 3. St. David's
- 4. St. Andrew's
- 5. St. Patrick's
- 6. St. George's

- 7. Union
- 8. Scott
- 9. Mutter & Kennedy
- 10. Godbold
- 11. London Grammar School

NOTES

1. See footnote 70, chapter one.
2. Ironically, district status was awarded to London because of negligence by a Vittoria teacher. Apparently, the teacher left some logs burning overnight in the furnace of the courthouse, which also served as a school. A burning log fell out on the wooden floor and the resultant blaze burned the building down. See History of Middlesex, p. 91; Ermatinger, The Talbot Regime, p. 123; and Samuel Baker, The Rise and Progress of London (London: Hayden Press, Ltd., 1924), p. 3. For more information on the settlement process in southern London district, see Alan George Brunger, "A Spatial Analysis of Individual Settlement in Southern London District, Upper Canada, 1800-1836," unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Geography, U.W.O., 1973.
3. History of Middlesex, p. 35.
4. Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Middlesex, Ontario (Toronto: H.R. Page & Co., 1878 [Reprinted Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1970]), p. 8 (hereafter Illustrated Historical Atlas). Burwell was at one point registrar of Middlesex county, a Member of the House of Assembly and a trustee of the London district public school.
5. Reid A. Worrall, "The Evolution of the Boundaries of the City of London," Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, U.W.O., 1980.
6. London became the administrative, judicial, commercial, manufacturing, financial and marketing centre for the peninsula. Also see Wilbert Harold Dalglish, "The Economic History of the County of Middlesex, Canada, Prior to the Building of Railways," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, U.W.O., 1923; and Benjamin S. Scott, "The Economic and Industrial History of the City of London, Canada, from the Building of the First Railway 1855 to the Present 1930," M.A. Thesis, Department of History, U.W.O., 1930, p. 37.
7. JLA, 1837-38, vol. 1, p. 251. The attainment of more than 1,000 citizens in 1835 meant that London villagers were entitled to separate representation from the County in the Legislative Assembly. Mahlon Burwell was London's first Member in 1836.

8. London was like the hole in a donut surrounded as it was by London and Westminster townships, which were overwhelmingly Anglo-Irish (Protestant) in 1825. When London was opened up to settlement in 1826, many of these individuals moved into the village. See Brock, "Richard Talbot and the Tipperary Irish," pp. 95, 100, where he estimates the population's ethnic distribution in 1825 as: Irish, 53 percent; English, 19 percent; American, 12 percent; Scots, 8 percent; Welsh, percent; Loyalists, 3 percent; and Others, 1 percent. Brock estimates the distribution of the population's denominational groups as: Episcopalian, 44 percent; Methodist, 21 percent; Presbyterian, 20 percent; Baptist, 6 percent; Roman Catholic, 1 percent; and Others, 8 percent. For 1839, see JLA, 1839-40, Appendix, vol. I, p. 151 (this information is from the 1839 census, the first to separate London village and township by religious affiliation). The appendix records the denominational distributions as: Episcopalian, 41 percent; Methodist, 17 percent; Presbyterian, 12 percent; Baptist, 3 percent; Roman Catholics, 11.5 percent; and Others, 15 percent.
9. Cl. T. Campbell, "The Settlement of London," LMHS Transactions, Part III, (1911), p. 27. These comments were uttered by Mrs. Anna Jamieson, wife of the Vice-Chancellor of the Province.
10. For the local impact of the Rebellion in the London area, see Colin Read, The Rising in Western Upper Canada, 1837-8: The Duncombe Revolt and after (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).
11. For the development of the ward system in London, see Jeff Leunissen, "London's Ward System 1840-1986: An Exploration in Municipal Geography," Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, U.W.O., 1987. "The Act to define the limits of the Town of London and to establish a Board of Police therein," received approval on 10 February, 1840. Major roadways were used as ward boundaries.
12. Middlesex County Land Registry records, the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, and London directories, newspapers, church records, and census data from the 1842, 1861, and 1871 censuses were used to indentify these individuals. The writer is also grateful to Dan Brock for his assistance in helping to identify these individuals.
13. See, for instance, Stephan Thernstrom, The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1870 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 222; Katz, The People of

Hamilton, p. 119; and David Gagan, Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), pp. 95-96.

14. Rose Talbot was the sole female household head.
15. See Middlesex County Land Registry records.
16. Armstrong, The Forest City, p. 327.
17. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, pp. 3-28.
18. The writer is indebted to Dan Brock for this information, the result of his careful handcounting of the census data.
19. F.W.C. McCutcheon, "The London Grammar School and the Collegiate Institute," LMHS Transactions, Part V (1914), pp. 30-40. For the history of the London district grammar school prior to 1841, see J.A. Bannister, Early Educational History of Norfolk County (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1926).
20. "An Act to Establish Public Schools in Each and Every District of This Province," in J.G. Hodgins, ed., DHE, Vol. I: 1790-1830, pp. 60-61.
21. "An Act to Repeal part of, and to amend, the Laws now in force for establishing Public Schools in the several Districts of this Province, and to extend the provisions of the same," Ibid., pp. 149-149.
22. "An Act to Provide for the Advancement of Education in this Province," Ibid., Vol. III: 1836-1840, pp. 170-171. Reaction quickly set in against parts of this Act and several subsequent measures which put central control and supervision of the grammar schools under the Episcopalian dominated King's College. Therefore, a repeal bill was passed in 1841. See "An Act to make temporary provision for the appropriation of the funds derived from the sale of School Lands, in that part of the Province formerly Upper Canada, and for other purposes," Ibid., Vol. IV: 1841-1843, pp. 55-56.
23. Bannister, pp. 68-72. For a good explanation of the term "Family Compact," see Craig, Upper Canada, pp. 107-111. Houston and Prentice in Schooling and Scholars, page 25, make the same point for Upper Canada in general.

24. Some of the district school trustees during this period were Thomas Talbot, Samuel Ryerse, Joseph Ryerson, William Hutchinson, Thomas Walsh, John Coltman, Daniel Springer, John Harris, John Bostwick, John Rolph, and Mahlon Burwell. James Mitchell, M.A., the Reverend George Ryerson, and the Reverend Eli Chadwick were district schoolmasters.
25. Since financial information in the original sources was given in pounds and dollars, this data has been converted to dollars to make it more understandable for the reader. The figures are based on the following calculations: 1 pound = \$4.00; 20 shillings = 1 pound; and 12 pence = 1 shilling = \$.20.
26. Landon, "London In Early Times," p. 1058.
27. Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, p. 27.
28. JLA, 1829, Appendix, pp. 12-13. Also see, NAC, RG5, B11, Vol. 3, "Educational Papers, 1828-9."
29. Egerton Ryerson, ed., Journal of Education for Upper Canada (Toronto: Queen's Printer, August, 1872), pp. 113-114.
30. JLA, 1828, Appendix No. 7, pp. 12-13. The Legislature's Select Committee on Education reported twenty-nine students of whom two were studying languages. See DHE, Vol. 1: 1790-1830, p. 270.
31. JLA, 1829, Appendix No. 27, pp. 12-13.
32. NAC, RG5 B11, "Educational Papers, 1831-32," Vol. 4, no date. Also see Bannister, pp. 142-143. From Bannister's account, it seems that the Vittoria petition was submitted on 13 December, 1831.
33. See JLA, 1829, p. 61; JLA, 1831-32, Appendix: Documents Relating to School Lands (also see "Memorial from the Grand Jury of the London District," DHE, Vol. 11: 1831-1836, pp. 43-44); JLA, 1836, pp. 350-351; and Bannister, pp. 140-142. For newspaper coverage for some of these petitions, see, for example, York, The Upper Canada Gazette, 18 September, 1828; Niagara, Niagara Gleaner, "Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada," 29 January, 1831; Kingston, The Kingston Chronicle, 29 January, 1831; York, The Upper Canada Gazette, 9 June, 1831; and, York, Supplement to The Colonial Advocate, 22 December, 1831.

34. This is an important point that many have ignored. Hodgins in the second volume of his Documentary History of Education probably has misled many of his readers by inserting "(grammar)" before the words "School of the London District, at London, in the District Town...." The district grammar school was in Vittoria in 1831, not London as the insertion implies. Thus, the Grand Jury was requesting support for a private school which was located in the old court house building, that several of them were sponsoring. Bannister also makes this point in Early Educational History of Norfolk County, pp. 157-158.
35. NAC, RG5, B11, "Educational Papers, 1831-32," Vol. 4.
36. DHE, Vol. II, pp. 65-66; and Bannister, Early Educational History of Norfolk County, pp. 140-141.
37. JLA, 1836-1837, pp. 180, 228, and 342.
38. "An Act to repeal part of an Act passed in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the Third, (1819,) intituled: 'An Act to repeal part of and to amend the laws now in force for establishing Public (Grammar) Schools in the several Districts of this Province,' and to establish the Public (Grammar) School for the London District in the Town of London," DHE, Vol. III: 1836-1840, p. 83.
39. Toronto, "Appointment of the First Trustees for the London District Public School in London in 1837," Upper Canada Gazette, 6 April, 1837.
40. RG7, G16C, Vol. 51, Civil Secretary's Letter Book, 1839, Vol. 52, p. 3.
41. An advertisement in a Toronto newspaper stated that the London district school commissioners were going to examine candidates for the headmastership of the district school on the 27th of September at the London schoolhouse. They were interested in teachers of classical and mathematical learning. See, The Patriot, 5 September, 1837. The advertisement is a reprint of one which had been run in London on 18 August, 1837.
42. JLA, 1839, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 281.
43. London, Canada Inquirer, 8 December, 1840.
44. Dillon, "The Irish in London," p. 97; and History of Middlesex County, p. 293. Also see an advertisement placed by Benjamin Cronyn, chairman of the London district board of trustees, in the Canada Inquirer on 13

October, 1841. The advertisement read that the office of teacher at the London district school was then vacant, and that an examination focusing on classics, mathematics, and the usual branches of an English education, was to be held for interested candidates on the 8th of November.

45. Campbell, Pioneer Days, p. 50.
46. London Board Annual Report, 1878, p. 8.
47. "London District Grammar School," London Inquirer, 5 August, 1842.
48. JLA, 1839, Appendix, p. 281.
49. "School Books at Craig's Book-store," London Inquirer, 7 October, 1842.
50. JLA, 1839-40, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 341.
51. Ermatinger, p. 149.
52. London Inquirer, 5 August, 1842; London Herald, 12 July 1843; JLA, 1839, Appendix, p. 281; and James Bryce Brown, Views of Canada and the colonists embracing the experience of an eight years' residence, views of the present state, progress, and prospects of the colony; with detailed and practical information for intending emigrants (Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1844), p. 110. Brown stated that in the London of 1843 "The wages of the bulk of the trades--as joiners, plasterers, painters--may be stated at from 4s. to 5s. a-day."
53. One exception to this view was provided by Mrs. Gilbert Porte who stated that "There were plenty of good private schools in London from the earliest days." See Harriet Priddis, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Gilbert Porte," LMHS Transactions, Part IV (1911-12), p. 65.
54. JLA, 1829, Appendix, "General Report of Common Schools reported to the Board of Education in the London District ... on the first day of June, 1828," pp. 15-16; JLA, 1830, Appendix, "Report on Common Schools ... for the year ending the first day of June, 1829," pp. 203-204 (also see NAC, RG5, B11, Vol. 3); Weldon Library, Regional Collections, Dr. Fred Landon Papers (hereafter called The Landon Papers), Box 4215, item 31, "Abstract of the Common Schools ... for the London District, for the year ending the first day of June, 1832"; JLA, 1839, Vol. 11, "Abstract of Common Schools ... in the District of London ... for the year ending the first day of June,

- 1838," pp. 283-285; and JLA, 1839-40, Appendix, Vol. 1, "Report of Common Schools in the London District for the Year 1839," pp. 426-430.
55. "An Act Granting to His Majesty a Sum of Money, to be Applied to the Use of Common Schools throughout this Province, and to Provide for the Regulations of said Common Schools," DHE, Vol. 1, pp. 102-104.
56. "An Act to amend [sic] continue, under certain modifications, an Act passed in the fifty-sixth year of His Majesty's reign (1816) intituled, 'An Act granting to His Majesty a sum of Money, to be applied to the use of Common Schools throughout the Province, and to provide for the Regulation of the said Common Schools,'" DHE, Vol. 1: 1790-1830, pp. 172-174.
57. "An Act to make permanent and extend the provisions of the laws now in force for the establishment and regulation of Common Schools throughout this Province, and for granting to His Majesty a further sum of money to promote and encourage education within the same," Ibid., pp. 197-198.
58. See Upper Canada, "An Act for granting to His Majesty a certain sum of Money in aid of the Funds already granted for the Support of Common Schools in this Province [Passed 13th February, 1833]," Statutes, of His Majesty's Province of Upper Canada, passed in the Third Session of the Eleventh Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada (York: Robert Stanton), Ch. LVI, pp. 179-180; Ibid., "An Act to provide additional aid in support of Common Schools in the several Districts in this Province [Passed 16th April, 1835]," Statutes, ... passed in the First Session of the Twelfth Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada (Toronto: Robert Stanton), Ch. XXIX, pp. 113-114; Ibid., "An Act to provide additional aid in support of Common Schools in the several Districts of this Province [Passed 28 November, 1836]," Statutes, ... passed in the Second Session of the Twelfth Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada; Being Reserved Acts to which the Royal Assent was subsequently promulgated (Toronto: Robert Stanton), Ch. LII, pp. 28-29 [also in DHE, Vol. II: 1831-1836, p. 344]; Ibid., "An Act granting a sum of Money for the support of Common Schools, for the Year 1837 [Passed 4th March, 1837]," Statutes, ... passed in the First Session of the Thirteenth Parliament of Upper Canada, Ch. CV, pp. 399-400; Ibid., "An Act granting a sum of money for the support of Common Schools, for the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-eight [Passed 6th March, 1838]," Statutes, ... passed in the Third Session of the Thirteenth Provincial Parliament of Upper Canada, Ch. LX,

- pp. 187-188; Ibid., "An Act granting a sum of money for the support of Common Schools, for the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine [Passed 11 May, 1839]," Statutes, ... passed in the Fourth Session of the Thirteenth Parliament of Upper Canada, Ch. LXII, pp. 122-123; and Ibid., "An Act granting a sum of money for the support of Common Schools, for the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty [Passed 10th February, 1840]," Statutes, passed in the Fifth Session of the Thirteenth Provincial Parliament, Ch. LXVIII, pp. 163-164.
59. See, for example, Nicholas Wilson, "Early Schools," and Goodspeed, p. 288.
60. Dillon, "The Irish in London," pp. 85-106.
61. For example, see Cl. T. Campbell, M.D., "Robert Wilson, The Pioneer Teacher," LMHS Transactions, Part V (1914), pp. 6-8.
62. For a good discussion of the various forms which colonial schools took, see Gidney, "Elementary Education in Upper Canada," pp. 3-21; Ibid., "From Voluntarism to State Schooling," pp. 444-445; Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, pp. 76-79; and Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, pp. 3-59.
63. Miller in Gargoyles and Gentlemen: A History of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Ontario, 1834-1964 (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966), p. 10, made this claim. Also, an Alice Van Every, age sixty-three, and a widow, is listed as a native of Ireland on the 1861 census. She may have been the wife of Van Every, the teacher (see Dillon, p. 104.) On occasion, Van Every was called Stephen Van Every (see History of Middlesex, p. 179).
64. See, for example, History of Middlesex, p. 288; Campbell, "The Settlement of London," LMHS Transactions, Part III (1911), pp. 9-51; Edmund J. Carty, "The Genesis of London," 1826-1926 Milestones London, Canada (London: City, 1926), [not paginated]; Armstrong, The Forest City, p. 55; and Ermatinger, pp. 138, 286. Peter McGregor, the first settler in London village, was also probably the first acting jailor; Van Every was the second.
65. See, for example, Wilson, "Early Schools;" Miller, Gargoyles, p. 15; Campbell, Pioneer Days in London (London: London Advertiser Job Printing Co., 1921), p. 46; and Ermatinger, The Talbot Regime, pp. 123-124, 286.

66. See, for example, History of Middlesex, pp. 179, 216, 288; Campbell, Pioneer Days in London, p. 46; and Ermatinger, The Talbot Regime, pp. 123-124, 286.
67. History of Middlesex, p. 179.
68. Ibid., p. 288.
69. JLA, 1828, Appendix, pp. 15-16; and JLA, 1829, Appendix, pp. 294-294. Some of these common schools undoubtedly served London villagers. John Webb, for example, taught a school in 1828-9; his trustees were John O'Neil, John McClary and Hiram Crawford. Thomas Harman taught in 1827-8. His trustees included Hiram D. Lee. John W. Clark taught in 1826-7. His trustees were John Tenbroeck, Bart Swart, and Joseph O'Dell. Gideon Bostwick taught in 1828. His trustees were the same as those for Clark the previous year.
70. History of Middlesex, p. 288.
71. JLA, 1831-32, Appendix: Documents Relating to School Lands. Also see Table 7.
72. Middlesex County Land Registry records. Land records register Van Every on Lot 15, Dundas street north (north-east corner of Dundas and Talbot streets) in 1830. Perhaps he earned enough money from teaching his private school to make a downpayment on this land? Van Every eventually owned this property, receiving his deed in 1842. He continued to own an interest in this land until 1849.
73. Wilson, "Early Schools;" and Campbell, "The Settlement of London," p. 43.
74. JLA, 1839, Vol. II, p. 283. Also see History of Middlesex, p. 180, where Routledge was recorded as a "legal" teacher in London township during 1842-3.
75. Brock, "Richard Talbot," p. 14. For more information on the Talbot brothers, see Brock and James J. Talman, "John Talbot," DCB, Vol. X, 1871 to 1880, p. 671; Brock, "Edward Allan Talbot," DCB, Vol. VII, 1836 to 1850, pp. 842-844; Landon, "Some Early Newspapers and Newspaper Men of London," LMHS Transactions, Part XII (1927), pp. 26-34; and Freeman Talbot, "The Fathers of London Township," LMHS Transactions, Part VII (1916), pp. 5-14. Also see, Harriet Priddis, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Gilbert Porte," LMHS Transactions, Part IV (1911-12), p. 66.

76. History of Middlesex, p. 288. McFadden's father was an innkeeper. Niles and Schofield were the sons of yeoman farmers. Lee was a doctor's son. Gibbon's father was either a saddler or a merchant.
77. Ibid., p. 179. Also see, Brock and Talman, "John Talbot," p. 671.
78. History of Middlesex, p. 179.
79. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 497, John Talbot to Sir John Colborne, August 26, 1835.
80. Wilson, "History of London Schools." This article was probably the text of a speech given by Wilson to the LMHA. A typed copy of the speech can be found at the London Public Libraries and Museums (LPLM), London Room, Box 120. The typed copy, which was taken from the original, was donated to the library by Dr. John Dearness, in May of 1954. Also see JLA, 1839-40, Appendix, vol. 1, part 2, p. 430, where Waterman is listed as a London township teacher in 1838.
81. Waterman may have been from Bavaria, since this is where Isaac Waterman was born. See "Personal Sketches of some of the Prominent Men of the County of Middlesex," Illustrated Historical Atlas, p. 16.
82. See, for example, Weldon Library, Regional Collections, Box 4181, Papers of John Harris, Treasurer for London District and Commissioner of Rebellion Losses Claims Commission, London, 1808-1850, (hereafter called John Harris Papers), "An Abstract of Common Schools reported to and approved of by the board of Education in London District for the issue of an authority to the Treasurer for the payment of Teachers for the year ending the first day of June 1837;" JLA, 1839-40, Appendix, p. 430; and AO, RG2, C6C, Box 1, George Railton to the Education Department, 15 September, 1842.
83. Wilson, "Early Schools."
84. Campbell, "The Settlement of London," p. 43.
85. Priddis, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Gilbert Porte," p. 66.
86. Illustrated London, pp. 73-74.
87. London, The Upper Canadian Times, 5 March, 1836.

88. Campbell, "Schools and Schoolmasters," Pioneer Days in London (London: Advertiser Job Printing Co., 1921), p. 46; and Weldon Library, Regional Collections, Box 4273-4, Journals No. 23, 14, 17, 19, 24, 26, 28 August, 1835, No. 24, 4 December, 1835, Papers of William Proudfoot.
89. For more information, see Priddis, "Extracts from the Account Book of Miss Mary Proudfoot," pp. 30-33; and Campbell, Pioneer Days, p. 46.
90. Priddis, ""Extracts from the Account Book of Miss Mary Proudfoot," pp. 30-33; and Campbell, pp. 46-47.
91. Priddis, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Gilbert Porte," p. 66.
92. London, London Gazette, 28 October, 1837. The Pringles later moved their businesses to St. Thomas (see St. Thomas, Weekly Dispatch, 10 July, 1856).
93. History of Middlesex, p. 288. Mrs. Porte recalled that Glass described this Mr. Taylor as a cooper. See Harriet Priddis, "Reminiscences," p. 65.
94. Priddis, "Reminiscences," pp. 65-66.
95. Campbell, "The Settlement of London," pp. 43-44.
96. Wilson, "Early Schools of London." Taylor died in 1849.
97. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 471.
98. William Taylor Sr. died in 1849, but his son remained in London township for another two decades until his death in 1876 or 1877.
99. John Harris Papers, "An Abstract of Common Schools ... for the year ending the first day of June 1837." Whether or not Taylor Jr. left the township is not known for certain. However, he did change schools at the very least. From 17 November, 1836, to 17 May, 1837, his trustees were Henry O'Neill, Ralph Deacon, and Thomas O'Neill. From October, 1837, to 29 April, 1838, his trustees were John Ferguson, Patrick Smith, and James Monahan.
100. JLA, 1839, Appendix, p. 284.
101. Because of the sequence of teachers' names, the writer has assumed that Glass was identifying Francis H. Wright.

102. John Harris Papers, "An Abstract of Common Schools ... for the year ending the first day of June 1837," File 1842, September to December; Ibid., File 1843, January to June; JLA, 1839-40, Appendix Vol. 1, part 2, p. 430; and AO, RG2, L-2, Box 5, School Accounts, 1856, "Annual Report of the Treasurer or Sub-Treasurer of School Moneys for the Township of London ... for the year 1856."
103. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 471.
104. History of Middlesex, pp. 288-289.
105. History of Middlesex, p. 288.
106. Illustrated London, p. 74.
107. Dillon, "The Irish in London," p. 86.
108. JLA, 1839, Appendix, p. 284; and JLA, 1839-40, Appendix, p. 401. Rigney was also reported as a "legal" teacher in London township in 1842-3 (see History of Middlesex, p. 180). In addition, he was on the London township paylists in the 1850s. See, for example, AO, RG2, L-2, Box 1, School Accounts 1853, H-L, "Annual Report of the Treasurer or Sub-Treasurer of School Moneys for the Township of London ... for the year 1853;" and Box 3 for similar information in 1855.
109. John Harris Papers, James Fitzgibbons to John Harris, 9 February, 1836. Fitzgibbons recommended a Miss Jane Steers as a governess to Harris, at a salary of about \$240 per year. According to most accounts, she would stay until 1844 or 1845.
110. DHE, Vol. II, pp. 345-346.
111. Campbell, "The Settlement of London," p. 26.
112. London was not the only district to default on its reporting duties. This was a pre-civil service era. There was no Ryerson or Hodgins with power to force conformity to the rules.
113. Middlesex County Land Registry records.
114. John Harris Papers, "An Abstract of Common Schools ... for the first day of June 1837;" and JLA, 1839-40, Appendix, p. 432.
115. Middlesex County, Ontario, Clerk of the Peace, Quarter Sessions Records, London District, 547A Box 1, London

District Quarterly Session Papers, 1832, Regional Collections, U.W.O..

116. The Landon Papers, Box 4215, item 31.
117. Stimson's school was located in the area now between Maple and Carling Streets, Richmond Street, and the river (see Edwin Seaborn, The March of Medicine in Western Ontario (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1944), pp. 110-111). Hawkin's school may have been in the village (near the market) or, like Stimson's, just north as well judging by the trustees' names. Since John Kent was a trustee, it may have been near present day Kent Street.
118. Campbell, "The Settlement of London," p. 43.
119. London, True Patriot, 7 February, 1834. This article was also carried in the Montreal Gazette, 18 March, 1834.
120. The Cobourg Star, 13 August, 1834. This article first appeared in the Brantford Sentinel, according to the Montreal Gazette, 26 August, 1834.
121. Journal No. 16, 13 November, 1833, Papers of William Proudfoot.
122. York, Christian Guardian, 27 November, 1833.
123. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, nos. 405, 416, 426, 427, 460, 462, 468, 469, 471, 481, 482, 491, 497, and 499.
124. The London district board of education was not the only school board to be remiss in its reporting duties, but for most of the 1830s they seem to have been one of the worst offenders. To deal with the widespread problem, Government House sent two circulars in 1839 to district boards of education and trustees of district schools complaining about poor reporting practices and offering suggestions for improvement. See NAC, RG7, G16C, vol. 51, Civil Secretary's Letter Book, 1839, pp. 86-88. It is interesting to note that in 1838 the London board was cited for exemplary reporting. See DHE, Vol. III: 1836-1840, pp. 252-253.
125. RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 460, John Talbot to Sir John Colborne, 19 August, 1834.
126. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 462, London district school commissioners to William Rowan, Esquire, 10 September, 1834.

127. This point was made by the commissioners, and it is supported by a review of salary disbursements throughout the second half of the 1830s.
128. A London district trustee had complained of this problem as early as 1816. See NAC, RG5, "District Trustees to the Office of the Lieutenant Governor," 21 November, 1816 (cited in Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, p. 26).
129. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 460, John Talbot to Sir John Colborne, 19 August, 1834.
130. Colborne's directions were written on the letter jacket to Talbot's letter. The official letter was found at NAC, RG7, G16C, vol. 31, Civil Secretary's Letter Book, 1834, 26 August, 1834.
131. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 462, London district school commissioners to William Rowan, 10 September, 1834.
132. Ibid., no. 497, Talbot to Colborne, 26 August, 1835.
133. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 491. The school site was confirmed by an article which ran in the Christian Guardian on 17 December, 1834. The advertisement was almost identical to the one run the previous year for Boyce.
134. Bannister, p. 166.
135. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 499, Askin to Rowan, 5 October, 1835.
136. The commissioners' table listed only the number of district schools by class.
137. A close inspection of the teacher salary lists led to the discovery of the common school amendment acts. Fortunately, the London district commissioners had recorded the parliamentary sources of their grants on these lists. However, because the commissioners had abbreviated the titles of their sources, and used the old British form (for example, 3rd Wm. IV), the importance of the designation was at first overlooked. However, while trying to fit these abbreviations to the known common school acts, the writer realized that several school acts had been missed. A review of the pertinent legislation at the U.W.O. law library revealed the common school amendment acts identified above. Thanks are extended to law librarian Pat McVeigh for her assistance.

138. "Payments on Behalf of Education in Upper Canada from 1830 to 1843," DHE, Vol. V: 1843-1845,6, pp. 256-257.
139. James Parkinson, who taught near Hyde Park, which is a few miles north and west of London, was rated as a third class teacher on these salary lists.
140. In 1833-34, \$2,308 was available to the district for common school purposes, after the allowances for the treasurer and the clerk were deducted. Boyce, Taylor, and Wright were paid \$252 or 11 percent of this sum. On the other hand, eighty-eight teachers taught 113 six month schools. London village's three classical teachers represented 3.4 percent of this total.
141. See, for example, Campbell, "The Settlement of London," p. 15; J.J. Talman, "John Baptist Askin," DCB, Vol. IX, 1861 to 1870, p. 9; and Read, The Rising, p. 100.
142. Brock and Talman, "John Talbot," DCB, Vol. X, 1871 to 1880, p. 671.
143. Houston and Prentice note that such an omission is not unusual in this period. See Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, p. 72.
144. Ibid., p. 44.
145. NAC, RG5, B11, vol. 5, no. 491.
146. John Harris Papers, "An Abstract of Common Schools ... for the year ending the first day of June 1837."
147. A few of the data on the abstract are incomplete or slightly confusing. For example, in one case the school term was not given. In another case, a teacher of a three month school was paid a half a year's salary.
148. In actual fact, the figure was higher. Henry Rigney was not paid for a school which he ran between 16 December, 1836 to 16 June, 1837 until the annual report of 1839. Rigney received \$66 (\$22 in grants and \$44 in fees) for his services.
149. JLA, 1839, Appendix, p. 282. Burnham resigned from the district board of education on 4 August, 1838, because he lived in St. Thomas and it was not convenient for him to attend the business of the Board in London village. See NAC, RG5, B11, Vol. V, Educational Papers, 1838-39, Reverend Mark Burnham to the Honourable John McAuley, 4 August, 1838.

150. History of Middlesex, p. 435.
151. JLA, 1839, Appendix, p. 282. J.B. Askin, in the annual common school report for 1838, noted that a number of American-born teachers returned "from whence they came" in 1837-38.
152. The London district annual school reports for 1837, 1838, and 1839 must be used cautiously. The report for 1838 listed only eighty-eight schools. However, in previous years the district clerk had counted the total number of six-month schools separately. To be consistent, therefore, the 1838 total should be revised to 117 schools. In addition, the annual report for 1839 gave 130 six-month schools, but thirteen of these schools were run during the 1838 school year; and two were taught during the 1837 school year. In effect, then, the number of six-month common schools increased from 96 or 97 in 1837 to 117 in 1838 with a slight decline in 1839 to 115.
153. The legislative grant which was \$3,400 in the mid-1830s was decreased to \$2,800. in 1839. See "Payments on Behalf of Education in Upper Canada from 1830 to 1843," DHE, Vol. V: 1843-1845, 6, pp. 256-257. Note that although Table 16 lists seven designated London village teachers in 1836-37, there was one more, Rigney as mentioned in footnote 154 above. After careful reflection, the writer left the teachers in the year reported, because to move them would have caused distortions in the financial data. However, the numbers of designated teachers probably reached a high of eight in 1836, declining to seven in 1837-38 (if one includes Waterman), and seven again in 1838-39.
154. Dillon, "The Irish in London," pp. 52-54; and Winks, The Blacks in Canada, chapter 6.
155. JLA, 1839, Appendix, p. 281.
156. JLA, 1840, p. 430. Waterman taught only Arithmetic, Reading, Spelling, and the Bible.
157. According to data on the 1842 census returns for the town of London, Mrs. Richardson may have had seven children. There was one boy between the ages of 5 and 14; another between the ages of 14 and 18; and six females between the ages of 14 and 45. Presumably Mrs. Richardson was one of the six females, and the remaining group were her children. All but one of these family members were Episcopalian; the other was a member of the Church of Scotland.

158. Priddis, "Reminiscences of Mrs. Gilbert Porte," p. 66.
159. D.J. Hughes, "Bench and Bar In The Early Days," LMHS Transactions, VII (1916), p. 26.
160. For all practical purposes, this first attempt at legislating a new school system for Canada West failed. The struggle to implement this stillborn school legislation caused monumental problems for Robert Murray, the first assistant superintendent of common schools. In brief, although the act of 1841 set a theoretical model for future school legislation, Murray was not given sufficient financial or political support to make the fledgling common school system work. Local officials, moreover, were not notified of their duties under the act, and many of the terms were confusing. School management under the proposed system was next to impossible. For a good review of school legislation in this period, see J.D. Wilson, "The Pre-Ryerson Years," in McDonald and Chaiton, eds., Egerton Ryerson and His Times, pp. 9-42; Gidney and Lawr, "The Development of an Administrative System for the Public Schools: The First Stage, 1841-50," Ibid., pp. 160-184; and Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, pp. 108-132.
161. AO, RG2, C6C, Richard Fowler Budd to Alexander Murray, 8 November, 1842 (cited in Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, p. 111).
162. "Notice to Teachers," London Herald, 13 May, 1843.
163. Canada, "Census of Canada, 1842," Census of Canada, 1870-71 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1873), Vol. IV, pp. 136-139.
164. "Annual Report of ... Schools, 1844," JLA, 1846, Appendix (P).
165. The annexed area was commonly referred to as "The New Survey."
166. "Payments on Behalf of Education in Upper Canada from 1830 to 1843," DHE, Vol. V: 1843-1845,6, pp. 256-257.
167. Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars, p. 111.
168. History of Middlesex, p. 289. It is not clear, however, whether this was at the district or township level.
169. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 1, London Board of Police to Robert Murray, Deputy Superintendent of Education, 5 December, 1842.

170. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 1, George Railton, Deputy Clerk, Board of Police for London Village, to the Education Department, 15 September, 1842.
171. A Charles Elliott, born in 1802, received his B.A. from T.C.D. in 1823 and his M.A. in 1843. See George Dames Burtchaell, ed., Alumni Dublinenses: A register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity College, in the University of Dublin (London: Williams and Norgate, 1924), p. 261.
172. Canada Inquirer, 20 October, 1841.
173. Stimson must have started teaching a private school sometime after 1840, although the historical record is confusing. Seaborne (pp. 110-111) claims that in 1838-39 Stimson's schoolhouse was on property owned by George J. Goodhue, and that she bought this property from Goodhue in 1846 to open her own private school. There is no official data, however, to suggest that Stimson taught a London village common school during the 1840s.
174. Rev. John Morrison, "The Caradoc Academy," LMHS Transactions, Part II (1909), pp. 45-52; and Ermatinger, p. 289.
175. Lawrence Lawrason to Louisa Lawrason, 17 August, 1842, 14 November, 1843, 31 January, 1844, 19 February, 1845, Papers and Scapbooks of the Lawrason-Ridout-Pennington Families.
176. Mr. P. Burns advertised a Dancing School in 1840; see London Gazette, 9 January, 1841. F. Sexton, Jr., advertised a Painting, Drawing, and Vocal Music School in 1842; see Canada Inquirer, 29 April, 1842.
177. For information on London's Mechanics Institute, see, for example, London Gazette, 9 January, 1841; Canada Inquirer, 21 January, 1842; and London Inquirer, 28 October, 1842; For information on book stores, see London Gazette, 19 May, 1838 (Yeamans & Latimer); Canada Inquirer, 8 September, 1841 (Craig); London Gazette, 23 April, 1842 (Lawrason). For information on John Norval's reading room, see London Gazette, 9 November, 1840; Canada Inquirer, 13 October, 1841; and Ibid., 21 January, 1842.
178. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 1, "Return of the number of Schools which have been in actual operation in the London District with the time they have been open since 1st January 1842 -also the number of School Districts in which no Teacher has been employed." In addition, see

John Dearness, "Sketch of the History of Education in the County," Illustrated Historical Atlas, p. 14.

179. London Inquirer, 3 March, 1843.
180. AO, RG2, F3A, Annual Report of ... 1842. J.B. Strathy, the district clerk, noted on supplemental information to the 1842 report that more district teachers existed than had been published; but because they had not presented themselves to the commissioners for examination these teachers were not registered on the 1842 return. For more information about the school boundaries for London and Westminster townships, see AO, RG2, F-1, "School Boundaries 1842."
181. Ibid. Adam Murray received 7 pounds, 3 shillings (about \$28) from the government grant; tuition fees provided him with another 26 pounds (\$104). James Aiken was paid 7 pounds, 6 shillings, and 10 pence from the government, and 25 pounds, 5 shillings from parents for a total of about \$130.
182. AO, RG2, F-3-A, Annual Report to the Superintendent of Education, by the Municipal Council of the London District, for the year ending the 31st December, 1842. Interestingly, Routledge had twelve students over age sixteen.
183. The population figure for 1827 was taken from London, City Year Book, 1908, p. 30. No data have survived for 1828. The 1829 figure was taken from Austin Steward, Twenty-two years a Slave, and Forty years a Freeman; embracing a correspondence of several years, while president of Wilberforce colony, London, Canada West, (Rochester, 1856), p. 181; the 1830 figure from JHA, 1831, Appendix, p. 53, and Ibid., 1839-40, Appendix, p. 178; 1831 from Hamilton, The Western Mercury, 8 September, 1831 (from the London Sun); 1832 from The Toronto Mail, 1 March, 1886; 1833 from JHA, 1833-4, Appendix, p. 144; 1834 from Sandwich, The Canadian Emigrant, 9 August, 1834, p. 1; 1835 from JHA, 1836, Appendix, pp. 46, 49 (may have included population figures for the military reservation); 1836 from JHA, 1836-37, Appendix, p. 8; 1837 from JHA, 1837-8, Appendix, p. 251; 1838 from JHA, 1839, Appendix, p. 447; 1839 from JHA, 1839-40, Appendix, p. 151; 1840 from JLA, 1841, Appendix T; 1841 from JLA, 1842, Appendix M; and 1842 from the Census of Canada for London. The writer is grateful to Dan Brock for his help in determining the population figures for London in the early years. This information should be considered as only tolerably accurate.

184. The 581 figure compares favourably with the number of 5 to 16 year old children (564) listed on the 1842 census.
185. Based on the student numbers given on Table 25, the average number of students in London village common schools was twenty-nine. To obtain the figures contained in column 4, therefore, the number of common schools per year, as listed on Table 13, were multiplied by that figure. This calculation produced an estimated number of common school pupils for the London village area. It was arbitrarily decided, moreover, that fifteen students would constitute an average sized private school. This was the number of pupils which were taught by Henry Wright, although Mary Proudfoot had many more, and undoubtedly other teachers had less. A similar procedure was followed to determine the figures in column 5. These figures should be considered as very rough but tolerably accurate estimates.
186. Table 26 is a summary of the data contained on Tables 2, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, and 16.
187. JLA, 1828 and 1829.
188. Of the thirteen fathers who supported this school, eleven were in the first occupational category, two were in the second. Simeon Morrill, who is listed as a tanner, was placed in the first category rather than the third because he owned his own business. It is also important to note that Mathews and Flannagan, a builder and a hotelier respectively, were very prominent and successful individuals.
189. Most of these families were Episcopalian and Irish. It should also be noted that Askin was probably only a financial supporter of Wright's school in 1831-32, because he had not yet moved his children to London. Later, however, he enrolled his son, Henry (age 9), and his daughter, Cynthia (age 8), in John Talbot's first London village school in 1832-33.
190. Twelve families were in the first occupational group, five were in occupational group 2, and two were in occupational group 3.
191. Burtchaell, Alumni Dublinenses, p. 897.
192. History of Middlesex, pp. 292-293.
193. F.H. Wright married the eldest daughter of William King Cornish, the sister of one of his students, Charles. See History of Middlesex, p. 292.

194. The usual spelling is "Flannagan." However, on the school registers it is consistently written, presumably in his hand, with one "n," that is, Flanagan.
195. Bannister, pp. 163-164.
196. Brock, "Richard Talbot," p. iv.
197. Campbell, "The Village of London," p. 14; and Priddis, "Reminiscences," p. 66.
198. Priddis, "Reminiscences," p. 66.
199. For information on the Black experience in Upper Canada and Canada West, see Benjamin Drew, The Refugees: A North-side View of Slavery (Boston: Jewett & Co. 1856), pp. 147-188; Fred Landon, "Fugitive Slaves in London Before 1860," LMHS Transactions, Part X (1919), pp. 25-38; Donald George Simpson, "Negroes in Ontario from Early Times to 1870," 2 vols. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, U.W.O., 1971; Winks, The Blacks in Canada; Silverman and Gillie, "The Pursuit of Knowledge;" Allen P. Stouffer, "A 'Restless Child of Change and Accident': The Black Image in Nineteenth Century Ontario," Ontario History, 76 (June 1984), pp. 128-150; Silverman, Unwelcome Guests: Canada West's Response to American Fugitive Slaves, 1800-1865 (New York: Associated Faculty Press, 1985); Stouffer, The Light of Nature and the Law of God: Anti-Slavery in Ontario (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1992); and Shirley J. Yee, "Gender Ideology and Black Women as Community-Builders in Ontario, 1850-70," CHR, Vol. LXXV, No. 1 (March 1994), pp. 55-73.
200. Landon, "Fugitive Slaves in London Before 1860," p. 25.
201. Ibid., p. 26.
202. The other sources were the 1861 and 1871 Canada censuses for London and Drew's, The Refugees.
203. Alfred T. Jones is listed as a hairdresser on the 1842 census; however, on virtually all other accounts he is recognized as a druggist.
204. On the 1842 Canada census, the age categories for males are 5 and under, 5 to 14, 14 to 18, 18 to 21, 21 to 30, 30 to 60, and 60 and above. For females, the categories are 5 and under, 5 to 14, 14 to 45, and over 45. One can not determine, therefore, how many of the 14 to 45 year old females, and 14 to 18 year old males, were of school age.

205. The Times, 10 October, 1845.
206. Drew, The Refugees, p. 178.
207. Ibid., p. 172.
208. Ibid., p. 173.
209. Ibid.
210. Ibid., p. 151.
211. Ibid., pp. 150-152. Jones' home in 1854 was worth about \$4,000. He also owned a brick building in the business quarter which he rented out, and several building lots near the freight depot of the Great Western Railway.
212. Ibid., p. 152.
213. Ibid., p. 188.
214. See Phillips, The Development of Public Education in Canada; Graff, "Towards a Meaning of Literacy," and "Literacy and Social Structure in Elgin County;" Gidney, "Elementary Education in Upper Canada;" Bamman, "Patterns of School Attendance in Toronto;" Carl F. Kaestle, The Evolution of an Urban School System; New York, 1750-1850 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); and Albert Fishlow, "The American Common School Revival: Fact or Fancy?," in H. Rosovsky, ed., Industrialization in Two Systems (New York: Wiley, 1966).
215. This result is commensurate with that found for Canada West in general in the late 1840s and 1850s. See Ian Davey, "Trends in Female School Attendance Patterns," pp. 238-254.
216. See, for example, Tamara K. Hareven, Transitions: The Family and the Life Course in Historical Perspective (New York: Academic Press, 1978).
217. According to Edward Harris, Sarah, Amelia, Mary, Eliza, and Charlotte were taught the classics. See Edward Harris, "A Key to the Diary of Charlotte Owen Harris, 1848-1851," Weldon Library, Regional Collections, Box 4186. Since the three Harris sons all became lawyers, it is likely they received classical instruction as well.
218. Houston and Prentice claim that this arrangement was common in Upper Canadian schooling. See their Schooling and Scholars, p. 58.

219. See Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," pp. 1-21. Dillon in "The Irish in London" (p. 85) states that "men of Irish background made their main secular contribution to the growth and development of London in the field of education."
220. This finding is similar to that found by Akenson for Leeds and Landsdowne townships and rural areas in Canada West, and that by Gaffield for Prescott County. See, Donald H. Akenson, The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); and Gaffield, Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict.
221. This point has been made by earlier historians of London. However, they do not acknowledge London's leadership role in this area until the coming of the grammar school in 1837.
222. Ermatinger, p. 147.
223. Ibid.
224. The senior Cornish had been a solicitor in England, but upon his arrival in Upper Canada he was told that to practice law he would have to serve an apprenticeship of five years. Therefore, Cornish associated himself with Dr. Charles Duncombe and studied to be a doctor. However, Cornish did not practice medicine for long; and he once again turned to law, articling with John Tenbroeck. See Seaborn, The March of Medicine, pp. 179-180.
225. Ermatinger, p. 149.
226. Seaborne, The March of Medicine, p. 180. As will be discussed in the next chapter, Francis Evans Cornish also attended the London grammar school. He was born in 1831 and called to the bar in 1855. See Hartwell Bowsfield, "Francis Evans Cornish," DCB, Vol. X, 1871 to 1880, pp. 197-198. No information about the school course of William Cornish is currently available.
227. Lee's children in descending order of age were Elvira, William (died at age 11), Rolph, Hiram, Simcoe, James, Louisa, Ann, and Edmund. See, Seaborne, The March of Medicine, pp. 120-122.
228. History of Middlesex, p. 288.
229. Ermatinger, p. 149.

230. Seaborn, The March of Medicine, pp. 121-122.
231. Ermatinger, p. 148.
232. See Priddis, "Reminiscences," p. 66.
233. Richard B. Splane, "Thomas Scatcherd," DCB, Vol. X, 1871 To 1881, pp. 644-645.

CHAPTER 3

THE BUILDING YEARS: 1843 TO 1852

1. INTRODUCTION

The rise of common schooling in London between 1843 and 1852 mirrors the rise of the middle class in that community. With the creation of municipal institutions by the Province in the late 1840s, the decline of the appointive principle and the broadening of the electoral one, London's large middle class, along with some members from the two other social groups, actively sought elected positions on the key bodies which came to govern educational decision-making in that community.

These groups were forced to take this action because their children were barred from the grammar school and thus a classical education by London's establishment, who remained trustees of that institution. Although some respectable parents initially turned to private teachers for advanced instruction, that alternative proved too costly. Consequently, many middle class parents joined forces with other disgruntled upper and working class parents to reorganize the arrangements for London's common schools. By the end of this period, their actions had shifted the financial burden of discretionary education off individuals to property owners, and provided their children with the necessary requisites for their future careers.

At mid-century, then, non-establishment groups in London came to dominate the politics of common school education in that community; and even though it was controversial and expensive, permanent, multi-purpose, and comprehensive common schools came to provide the best option for most people.¹

To investigate these developments, the large-scale forces affecting London's evolution between 1843 and 1852 are examined, followed by an investigation of the community's underlying social structure. The dynamic relationship between London's grammar, private, and common schools is investigated next, as well as the new arrangements that were developed for London's common schools. Lastly, variable school attendance behaviour in these years is linked to socially differentiated family schooling strategies.

London's first sixteen years were eventful; but the demographic, economic, political, social, and environmental changes experienced in the next decade lifted that community out of the pioneer stage, although some fundamental aspects of London's society remained unaltered.

London's population almost tripled between 1842 and 1852, increasing from about 2,616 in 1842, to 4,668 in 1848, and to 7,035 in 1852. Municipal services quickly crumbled before this onrushing stream.² To deal with the challenges of rapid urban growth, the municipality underwent another incorporation, acquiring town status in 1848 (see Map 4).

Industrial, commercial, and financial growth in these years was stimulated by this enlarged population, the spending of the British troops, the acumen of prominent citizens, and an improved communication system. Despite two major fires in 1844 and 1845, serious outbreaks of cholera in 1847 and 1849, and the depression of 1846-48, the community became the key centre for the entire southwestern peninsula.³

London's pioneer phase had clearly ended by mid-century, and life took on a more sophisticated tone. The military, for instance, gave London a "gaiety and sparkle that it had never known before."⁴ And there was more leisure time for balls, clubs, societies, parties, theatricals, match-making, and sports like steeple-chasing, cricket, curling, and rowing.

Londoners, it seems, had found their land of opportunity. Or had they? What type of society did Londoners possess in this period? And how had it changed since 1842, if at all?

Denominational changes over this decade were minimal. Although about ten churches were established by 1846,⁵ Church of England parishioners still predominated in 1852, followed by Roman Catholics, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists (see Table 29).⁶ Roman Catholics had the largest single group increase, while Methodists and Episcopalians experienced relative decreases. An increasing number of refugee slaves from the United States, sent northward by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, formed their own Episcopal Methodist Church in 1852.⁷

The affiliation of Londoners by place of birth changed very little over this period as well. Those from English, Welsh, Scottish, American, and other backgrounds retained their share of the population, whereas the Irish-born experienced an increase and the Canadian-born a decrease (see Table 30).⁸

On the other hand, the occupational classification schemes used here disclosed significant differences in population characteristics. For instance, applying Katz's occupational scheme to the relevant data revealed that between 1842 and 1852 London's upper class was reduced by half, its middle class remained constant, its lower class declined modestly, and its unclassed group increased five-fold (see Table 31). Curiously, these significant changes took place when the percent numbers of persons engaged in agriculture, commerce, domestic activities, industry, and the professions remained virtually the same (see Table 32).⁹ How does one account for these changes?

The answer to this query is that London underwent significant growth in this decade. Population figures increased 269 percent; numbers of household heads with an occupation increased 419 percent (from 420 to 1,760); and

numbers of occupational titles increased 194 percent (from 69 to 134) -see Tables 5 and 33. These changes reflected London's expanding economy, especially in those jobs now placed in Katz's occupational categories 2 through 6 (see Appendix 1 and Table 31).

Despite this growth, London's upper class did not keep pace with the population increase; it rose by only 212 percent in this interval. Nevertheless, the remaining social groups increased their numbers significantly. The middle class, in absolute terms, swelled by 423 percent, the lower class by 355 percent, and the unclassed by 1,955 percent. However, a closer examination of this latter group suggests that Katz's classificatory scheme likely underestimates the working class.

Many of the individuals placed in Katz's unclassed group, for instance, could be classified as working class, especially the ninety servants (fourteen males and seventy-six females) and three washerwomen.¹⁰ Such a reclassification raises the lower class group to 28.5 percent and reduces the unclassed group to 6.9 percent of the population (see Table 31).¹¹ Insufficient information currently exists to reassign the remaining unclassed individuals. Nonetheless, these findings suggest that social relations in London were crystallizing by 1852; and that social mobility was sharply curtailed owing to a decreasing upper class, a stable middle class, and an expanding lower class.

Applying the census scheme to this data, however, reveals that all occupational sectors experienced impressive absolute growth between 1842 and 1852; and only the professional and unclassed categories declined in percent terms. The agricultural sector, for instance, increased by 1,550 percent, the commercial by 606 percent, the domestic by 457 percent, the industrial by 444 percent, the professional by 323 percent, and the unclassed by 310 percent. Since occupational sector growth in all cases exceeded population growth, a strong argument can be made that opportunity existed for all

members of London's work-force at mid-century (see Tables 5,33).

Which occupations in London's broad occupational sector groupings experienced the most expansion? To answer this question, London's eight largest occupations were ranked numerically in 1842 and 1852. The largest eight occupational groups in 1852, similar to those identified in 1842, contained a majority (50.5) of those persons identified with an occupational title. Four groupings were carryovers from 1842; labourers, carpenters, shoemakers, and tailors (see Table 34). For the most part, the new groups reflected the opportunities which were created by London's maturing economy: clerks; female servants; dressmakers; and blacksmiths.

Therefore, between 1834 and 1852 London's social structure had become much more distinctly defined. The upper class had decreased significantly, the middle class had declined and then stabilized, and the lower class had increased substantially and then seemed to reach a plateau (see Table 31).

In summary, by 1852 London was an administrative, legal, marketing, financial, religious, and educational centre for the region. It was also a community undergoing striking economic growth, most of which was commercial and domestic.¹² Moreover, significantly fewer labouring jobs existed in London in 1852 than in 1842, because London's industrial development was not labour intensive¹³ and most work in that community took place in the home.¹⁴ Contrary to Hamilton, therefore, working class opportunity was not found primarily in factory work. In London, jobs were available in all economic spheres.

2. A UNION SCHOOL FOR LONDON

(I) The London District Grammar School

As discussed in the previous chapter, the London district grammar school prior to 1853 was governed by the act of 1807 and the amendments which were passed in 1819, 1839, and 1841.

As the number of grammar schools increased over time, the mandatory number of pupils for grant purposes was steadily reduced until the requirement was completely eliminated in 1853.¹⁵

How many students attended the London district grammar school between 1843 and 1852, and what arrangements were made for them? These questions are difficult to answer fully because grammar school registers and personal census sheets identifying students in this period have not survived; and, as mentioned earlier, grammar school enrollments were not published until 1849. A reasonable assumption, however, is that between 1843 and 1848 the London grammar school met the minimum student number requirements which were passed in 1841 (fifty) and 1846 (thirty). According to the provincial reports published between 1848 and 1852, the number of London grammar school students ranged from fifty to fifty-five annually.¹⁶

According to a newspaper article recording the names of prize winners by subject at the July, 1843, half yearly examinations, Bayly taught a curriculum that ranged from the basics to a classical education. Prizes, for example, were awarded for excellence in the following subjects: Graeca Analecta Minora; Greek Grammar; Cicero; Virgil; Caesar; Delectus; Latin Syntax and Grammar; Latin Grammar; Geometry; Roman History; English History; Geography; English Grammar; Spelling and Explanation; Writing and Arithmetic.¹⁷

As in the previous decade, Bayly's grammar school continued to serve the sons of the London district elite. In fact, most of these boys were drawn from London village's small establishment group, as is shown by the names of the sixteen prize winners; Hamilton, Leonard, Cronyn senior, Goddard, Askin, Bayly, Lee, Lawrason, Gray, Worthington, Smith, Fraser, Harris senior, Wood, Richardson, and Clench.

Did Bayly successfully prepare boys for the higher institutions of learning? Little evidence has survived, but

at least two of these boys went to Upper Canada College (UCC) between 1843 and 1846. Thomas Cronyn, son of clergyman Benjamin Cronyn, was in the fifth form at UCC in the latter year. Willy Lawrason, the merchant's son, attended this school between 1843 and 1846.¹⁸

Moreover, Cronyn and Charles Askin subsequently confirmed their academic excellence at King's College in 1847 (became the University of Toronto in 1849), where they were medical students. Both were prize and honour men. Askin won the Anatomy and Physiology prize for the senior class, and took second place in Practical Anatomy in the junior class. Cronyn was prizeman in Materia Medica, and second in Anatomy and Physiology.¹⁹

Were patrons satisfied with Bayly's efforts in the 1840s? Apparently so, for Cronyn, Harris, and Proudfoot, who were parents and trustees as well as powerful members of London's establishment, stated that they were "most satisfied" with the results of the half-yearly examination in July of 1848. They did feel, however, that "the presence of Parents and friends of the Pupils ... would be calculated greatly to benefit the school...."²⁰

(II) Common and Private Schools

Five important common school acts were passed between 1843 and 1852. Unfortunately, space does not permit a full review of these laws here, or the role of Egerton Ryerson in the re-establishment of the provincial school system. Fortunately, though, others have done that elsewhere.²¹ Nevertheless, when appropriate these influences will be integrated with the developments of London's common and private schools as they occurred during this period.

Who dominated common schooling in London between 1843 and 1852, and did the locus of control shift over time? Were there private schools, and if so what role did they play in this period? What was the program of studies? Who were the

teachers and the students? And was the school attendance behaviour which evolved in these years related to socially differentiated family strategies? These questions will be answered below.

There is no question that during the formative years the London school commissioners, the majority of whom were members of the London village elite, controlled schooling decisions in the district. However, with the introduction of municipal institutions in 1849 that dominance was broken.²²

London village leaders in the next decade were almost entirely a new group, and they were predominantly middle class. Of the twenty-four men who served on London's Board of police between 1843 and 1847, two-thirds were middle class and one-third were upper class (see Table 35). Most of these men were Episcopalians and skilled craftsmen from the British Isles.

According to the terms of the Common School Act of 1843, urban councillors chose their own superintendents.²³ London's Board of police, and later its town council, chose prominent individuals for superintendents. John Wilson, a Scot, a Presbyterian, a farmer turned teacher, and later an outstanding lawyer, judge, and politician, was appointed county superintendent in February of 1844.²⁴ In April of that year, the Anglo-Irish clergyman, and future Bishop of Huron, the Reverend Benjamin Cronyn was appointed town superintendent for London.²⁵

Wilson held this office until May of 1845, when William Elliot, whose background was almost identical to Wilson's, assumed the position until its abolition by the Common School Act of 1850.²⁶ Elliot, like Wilson, was committed to improving the common schools in his district; and his efforts on behalf of the schools were much appreciated by Ryerson who paid him the following compliment in 1846: "with a fellow labourer in each District so competent and active as yourself,

I could confidently hope for a very great improvement in our common schools in the course of a few years."²⁷

The strength of Elliot's zeal is reflected in the following circular which he sent to London district common school trustees in 1846:

... just as important in result is the faithful performance of duties which are not enforced in any legislative enactment, but without which the Law itself can be but of little avail towards the great end to be accomplished, namely, the judicious education of the youth of the country. The duties I allude to, are-to endeavour to allay all local disagreement operating injuriously upon the school-to combat that foolish prejudice which insists that the best qualified teacher should have no higher remuneration than the most unlettered labourer-to quicken that apathy which seems to oppose the introduction of any better description of books; which stands in the way of the adoption of any improvement, no matter how favourable to the advancement of the pupil, so long as it is attended with an additional farthing of expense; and which makes the most frivolous duty at home a sufficient reason to detain a child from school-to use every effort to keep the schools in constant operation-to avoid, wherever it is practicable, the pernicious practice of having the teacher to live in alternate houses-and to encourage him, where he is faithful to his trust, amidst his arduous and all-important labours.²⁸

Apart from these few facts, much confusion has surrounded common school developments in London village and town during the 1840s and early 1850s. The lingering impression is that London's common schools did not recover from the effects of rebellion, depression, and constitutional and administrative change until mid-century; and, consequently, its teachers were not very effective.²⁹

County superintendent John Wilson, for instance, unwittingly contributed to this cloud of misinformation when he complained in May of 1844 that school officials could not obtain competent teachers for more than half the schools: "Teaching has been undertaken too much as a matter of course

... "[an] opening for the idle, in which they might lately exist in a kind of degrading dependence, but this should not be tolerated."³⁰

Nonetheless, Wilson must have been speaking about teachers elsewhere in London district, because, as is shown below, newspapers, reminiscences, and an annual school report divulge that the community's common schools were in very capable hands throughout these years.

Apart from William Taylor Sr. and Mr. English, it is not known how many of the remaining common school teachers who were listed on Railton's report in 1842 continued to teach in London throughout the 1840s (see Table 13). However, some information about the latter teacher was discovered.

A Mr. J. Cameron visited London in February of 1843. While there he attended an examination run by Mr. English, who operated a common school in the vestry of the Wesleyan Methodist Church on King Street.³¹ Cameron was impressed with the students' performance, who were examined in Arithmetic, Geography, English Grammar, Algebra, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy. Thus, Mr. English provided a good English education, not just the basics, the kind of schooling that most middle class parents would want for their children in this period.

Nicholas Wilson also recalled several details about the teachers of London's various ward schools between 1843 and 1849. One can determine from Wilson's descriptions that many, if not most, of these men were upwardly mobile and on their way to distinguished professional careers.

According to Wilson, the Mr. English noted above and a Mr. Buckle taught at the common school in St George's ward, before he himself took the position in January of 1847. Wilson's salary that year was composed of the school fund for his district (no. 1), plus a Rate-bill of 75 cents per student, which was due each quarter.³² To earn this stipend Wilson was to teach and to provide a school house and

firewood. His trustees were a William Oakley, the carpenter, a Richard Hobokon, and a John McDowell, the innkeeper.³³ While Wilson was training at the Toronto Normal School in the third session of 1848, his substitute was a Mr. A.M. Ross.³⁴

Except for six months, Robert Wilson was in charge of the common school in St. Patrick's ward from 1844 to 1849. When he went to study at the Toronto Normal School in the first session of 1847, his substitute was a Mr. Rogers (later a Presbyterian minister).

At various times, the following teachers were in charge of the common school in St. Andrew's ward: an R. Jackson, a Neil McIntyre (later a lawyer), a John Frazer (later a Presbyterian minister), and a Francis Beamish. One more teacher almost served at the St. Andrew's ward school. Trustees Philo Bennett, the bailiff, and E.P. Ellis, the cabinetmaker, appointed an Edwin Rowley as a teacher at this institution in February of 1845. He never was to assume that role, however, because the school superintendent, Benjamin Cronyn, refused to examine him for the position since he was an alien.³⁵

The common school in St. David's ward was kept on property owned by William Taylor, the T.C.D. graduate, who taught at this school from 1844 until his retirement in 1847. His successors were a Charles Cowly, who was a graduate of the London grammar school, a Joseph Cortishly, and a Peter Murtagh, who was a graduate of the Dublin Normal School and a former schoolmaster of an Irish National school before immigrating to London.³⁶

William Elliot, the district school superintendent, was also very satisfied with the common school teachers in London village; and in his annual report for 1845 he linked the quality of these teachers to their high salaries. Elliot observed that they were "Better than the average in the country; the remuneration is greater, and the Teachers consequently are better qualified persons."³⁷ That there was

general recognition of this principle is reflected in the increasingly large sums of money which Londoners raised for their teachers and schools in this period (see Table 36).

Despite their competence, most London teachers taught their charges in second and third-rate school houses; and there was no permanency in the arrangements. In September of 1846, the trustees for school district no. 3 in London, R.J. Jeanneret, the watchmaker, James Grant, the carpenter, and Ephraim Evans, the clergyman, explained this convention in a letter to Egerton Ryerson:

.... The trustees, finding no authority in the Act to levy a rate for the erection or renting of School Houses, adopted the method of causing suitable rooms to be rented, and by an arrangement with the teachers the amount of rent was to be added to their salaries, and covered by the amount levied in the rate bills. Thus, virtually, the rent was included as part of the salary, and the teachers found the school rooms....³⁸

Not until 1850 would Londoners dedicate a public building other than the old Seminary (grammar school) solely for school purposes.

Despite effective common school teachers, average enrollments in London's common schools remained very low in the 1840s, usually in the 40 percent range (see Table 37). How does one account for these findings? Two of district superintendent Elliot's annual common school reports have survived, and they help explain the low attendance figures. These reports show substantial variances in enrollment rates and teachers' salaries amongst the five ward schools.

For example, average annual enrollment rates at London's common schools ranged from 34 to 55 percent in 1845, and 19 to 62 percent in 1846. The lowest teacher salary in 1845 was \$240, whereas the highest salary was \$502. In 1846, the corresponding salaries were \$156 and \$312 (see Table 48). William Taylor probably remained the highest paid common school teacher in London during this period.

These data suggest, therefore, that London's common school teachers in this decade, as in the previous one, were paid according to their attainments. This conclusion is based on the following findings, which were deduced from the information contained on Elliott's annual school reports in 1845 and 1846. Teachers were paid differentiated salaries. Teacher salary rankings were maintained in both years. And no relationship existed between the number of pupils, enrollment rates, and teacher salary allocations (see Table 38).

Differences in teacher attainments were only one important factor to influence common school enrollments in London village during the mid-1840s. According to the trustees for school district no. 3 in that community, the "Great Fire" of April 13, 1845, caused a "great derangement in the state of the Schools, by the necessary change of residence of many of the inhabitants"³⁹ This conflagration, which left half of the village in ruins, was the stimulus for their letter to Ryerson.

Trustees in school district no. 3 were concerned that they would be held liable by the owner for the unpaid rent of their school building in 1845 and 1846. They pointed out that parents in the burned out areas, their district being one of the hardest hit, had suffered such losses they could not afford to send their children to school. This catastrophe had seriously diminished pupil attendance at the schools and put trustees in a quandry: how to pay the rents without raising the Rate-bills and "threaten[ing] the schools with extinction?"⁴⁰

According to the trustees for school district no. 3, the situation was further exacerbated by the actions of other school officials in London. The creation of five school districts in 1846, rather than four, reduced the total student population in school district no. 3 so that their share of the school fund was almost cut in half.⁴¹ Their problems were further complicated when some teachers and trustees with

increased pupil numbers lowered their Rate-bills, thereby enticing pupils from other districts to attend their schools. Under threat of legal action, therefore, and with no hope of raising the rent money through Rate-bills, the trustees from school district no. 3 were desperate for solutions.

First, they attempted to find a local solution. At a general meeting of village trustees held early in the year, a near unanimous decision was undertaken to distribute the school fund for 1846 equally among the five districts.⁴² The superintendent (Cronyn) was willing to carry out this request, as long as he was not "involving himself in any maladministration." Hence the trustees sought Ryerson's advice.

Ryerson responded by saying that he would not require the town superintendent to make an exception in their case, "but I will give him every sanction in my power; and I have no doubt the District council, to which he is immediately responsible, will be satisfied with his conduct."⁴³

The results of these communications can be determined from Elliot's annual report in 1846. As allowed under the school acts of 1843 and 1846, two school districts were declared free that year, numbers one and three.⁴⁴ Thus, the voice of the trustees in school district no. 3 had been heard.

Environmental forces like fires, therefore, could seriously affect school attendance. Conflagrations altered the material circumstances of people, they changed school enrollment and attendance patterns, and they destroyed school buildings. Certainly, William Taylor's school house, which lay in the path of the fire, must have been ravaged, probably others too.

In all likelihood, the smaller but still significant conflagration which took place in London on 8 October, 1844, had a similar effect on the schools, as did the deadly outbreaks of cholera in 1847 and 1849. These environmental factors, along with the depression of 1846 to 1849, help

explain the low enrollment rates at London's common schools in the 1840s.⁴⁵ They also shed some light on the reasons why the trustees provided free schooling to twenty-nine pupils in 1847, thirteen in 1848, thirty in 1849, and two in 1850.⁴⁶

Despite obstacles like these, parents and trustees in London continued their efforts to reconstruct the community's common schools in ways that would suit their purposes. Between 1844 and 1852, they undertook a number of significant steps or measures which eventually would return most of London's school age children to the common schools. Of course, many of these changes were initiated by the formalizing patterns which were evolving from Toronto under Ryerson; but they could only be fully activated if local school promoters and civic leaders supported the thrust of his innovations.

Local superintendent Benjamin Cronyn took the first step. On 10 June, 1844, Toronto instructed him to divide the town into districts for school purposes. His recommendation that each of the four existing town wards be made a school district was adopted.⁴⁷ Four ward common schools were operated in London in 1844, 1848, and 1849; and five were open between 1845 and 1847. All of the common school teachers were males. (An attempt was made to locate these schools on Map 3).

The selection of a board of common school trustees for the town of London, which was in operation by 15 January, 1848, was another important step in the process of school reconstruction, because after this date these trustees would assume the role that was previously played by the district commissioners. Under the terms of the Common School Act of 1847, the task fell to the newly elected mayor and council.⁴⁸

London's first town council was composed of nine elected persons -two from each of the four wards, plus a mayor who was elected at large. These men were drawn from each of the three major social groups in London, although they were predominantly middle class. However, in contrast to the

former village council, only two or three of this group were Episcopalians (see Table 39).⁴⁹ Subsequent councils between 1849 and 1852 also reflected the middle class character of the town (see Tables 39,40).

Not surprisingly, the council appointed six men to the board of common school trustees -Samuel Eccles, William Begg, Harding O'Brien, Henry Dalton, John S. Buchanan, and Henry Mathewson- whose social class backgrounds mirrored their own (see Table 41). One labourer, Harding O'Brien, was selected as a trustee. Council next appointed prominent lawyer, and former county superintendent, John Wilson, local superintendent of common schools.⁵⁰ Then the common school trustees struck a committee of management for each school, which was also composed of mostly middle class men (see Table 42),⁵¹ as were subsequent boards of trustees in this period (see Table 43).⁵²

According to Nicholas Wilson, the new trustees wanted to "place the schools on a better footing, so as to be more in keeping with the requirements of the rising town."⁵³ Thus, the board, rather than the teachers, assumed the operating expenses for the common schools. They also increased the salaries of their best teachers, released the inefficient ones, and placed better equipment in the schools.⁵⁴

Teachers Nicholas Wilson, Mr. Fraser, Joseph Cortishly, and a Robert Rogers were hired in 1848. Each was engaged at a salary of \$200 a year plus fees, which they were obliged to collect. A minimum student fee was set at 50 cents per quarter, and the use of the Irish National School Books, which was a province-wide measure, was sanctioned.⁵⁵

A third step in the reorganization of London's schools was taken by the common school trustees at their meeting of 14 March, 1848. At that time, they directed the secretary to write Robert Wilson, a Londoner originally from England, who was attending the Toronto Normal School, to ask if he would be interested in accepting a teaching position in London.⁵⁶ The

position would commence 1 May, 1848, and pay \$240 annually plus fees (about \$1.25 to \$2.00 per student).⁵⁷ Wilson's formal acceptance was recorded at a board meeting about two weeks later.⁵⁸ According to board minutes, five teachers were on staff by the end of 1848 with a total enrollment of 362 students and an average attendance of 252.

Robert Wilson was an important figure in the acceleration of public education in London. That the board extended themselves to search him out indicated that a fairly progressive climate prevailed among London's civic leaders and educators. Wilson was the first London teacher to obtain training from the recently opened Toronto Normal School.⁵⁹ Once he commenced teaching, the board had a benchmark by which to evaluate all other London teachers.

From all accounts, Robert Wilson was an impressive exemplar. Superintendent John Wilson, his mentor, wrote in the annual report for 1848 that Robert Wilson's school, which followed the new methodology taught at the Toronto Normal School, was clearly superior to the other common schools in London.⁶⁰ Consequently, he recommended that Wilson's approach be adopted in all the ward schools in the following year.⁶¹

Robert Wilson came to be held in such high esteem that in September of 1848 the board granted him three weeks' leave to examine schools in the United States.⁶² Before leaving, he was instructed to secure ideas and plans for a proposed school designed to accommodate all of the town's pupils, some 350 to 400, in a single building.

This scheme, a novel concept for its time, came to fruition a year later when the Union School was built. The Union School, or the Central School as it became known, would dominate London's educational scene for the next forty years. Wilson, however, must have had a falling out with some of London's most influential politicians, because he never received its headmastership which he felt he deserved.⁶³

Robert Wilson resigned from teaching in June of 1849 and went into business.⁶⁴ Unfortunately, he never attained his fullest potential as a businessman or teacher, because he died of typhoid fever in 1854 at the age of thirty-seven.

The next important measure taken by the common school trustees was the hiring of Nicholas Wilson an Irishman. This man also left his mark on London education, even more so than Robert Wilson.⁶⁵ Nicholas Wilson, as discussed earlier, had accepted his first teaching position in London in January of 1847.⁶⁶ Apparently, his teaching potential was much appreciated, because at a board meeting in November of 1848 he was granted permission to attend the Toronto Normal School to upgrade his qualifications.⁶⁷

The decision to send this Wilson for further teacher training was enlightened, but it may have been also calculated to deflect some of the charges of extravagance that were being directed at the proposed new Union School.⁶⁸ Certainly, the presence of two Toronto Normal School graduates on a staff of three would help counter some of this opposition.

The two Normal School graduates must have made life very interesting for Londoners at mid-century, because both applied for the headship of the Union School which was to open in 1850. The initial selection committee consisted of the Reverends Cronyn and Proudfoot, Father Thaddeus Kirwan, and John Wilson. Therefore, it was representative of Protestants and Roman Catholics, but it was dominated by the town's establishment.⁶⁹

Who would be successful? Would it be Robert Wilson, the well-liked Englishman, prodigy of the Scottish school superintendent John Wilson, or Nicholas Wilson, the Irishman, who had letters of reference from Benjamin Cronyn, William Elliot, and the Reverend Charles Brough?⁷⁰ Both candidates were Episcopalians.

The board treated the contest as an important public event. Advertisements for the new position were placed in

Toronto and London newspapers. Applications were requested and several were received. However, it seems that the prospect of a public examination lasting for two full days quickly narrowed the field to the two Wilsons.

The final examiners were men of distinction from Toronto and London: Egerton Ryerson (who was unable to attend), Benjamin Cronyn, William Proudfoot, John Wilson, and Thomas Jaffray Robertson, the headmaster of the Toronto Normal School, who conducted the examination. Questions were based on the Toronto Normal School curriculum. A considerable number of trustees and interested citizens attended.⁷¹

During the evening of the second day of the examination (16 February, 1850), a board meeting was held at Balkwill's Inn. There it was announced that Nicholas Wilson had been selected as headmaster.⁷² His salary was set at \$600 a year. Robert Wilson was appointed second master at \$500, and Peter Murtagh was engaged as third master at \$400. Later in the year, two female teachers, the Misses Haigh and Wharing, joined the Union School staff. They also were recent graduates of the Toronto Normal School.⁷³

Although Nicholas Wilson was headmaster for only one year, being replaced by Hamilton Hunter, a classics master, in 1851, his association with the Union School for almost sixty years provided it with the stability that it needed. In the final analysis, Nicholas Wilson, was a more enduring institution than the Union School itself, which was razed in 1890. His distinguished career spanned sixty-two years ending with his retirement at age seventy-nine in 1907.⁷⁴

One of the most important and controversial decisions taken by school reconstructionists in these years was erecting the Union School. This move was an attempt by some of London's leading citizens to thrust their town into the vanguard of urban educational practice. Apparently they achieved their goal. Ian Davey has claimed that the Hamilton Central school was the "first 'representative institution' in

Canada West to classify students properly, to grade classes systematically and to introduce 'the most approved methods' of instruction."⁷⁵ School officials in London introduced these methods at the Union School two to three years earlier than their counterparts in Hamilton.

According to Nicholas Wilson, there had been some rather warm debate about the best option to follow. One group, including most if not all of the trustees, favoured a single large school house that would provide sufficient accommodation for years to come. In their opinion, the current schools were unfit, "too small, badly ventilated, badly warmed, etc." rendering the children "sickly and squalid, and the teacher emaciated and pale."⁷⁶

A second group disagreed with the trustees' assessment of the schools and the community's capacity to absorb the cost of a large new brick school house. They thought the trustees' course of action "rash;" the costs of the venture exorbitant; the ward arrangements to be convenient; and the buildings ample and repairable. Furthermore, they objected to the institution of a property tax to pay for the new school building; and they disagreed with the location of the school, stating that its "isolated position must render it unavailable to at least half the children needing Common School instruction for several years to come."

In the pleading tone of one who knows that his cause has been lost an editorialist wrote:

Our small town is really much poorer than it seems to be, and much less able to sustain expensive public enterprises than many are prone to think. We are chiefly living for appearances and for the most part can do little more than keep square with the world. Such being the case, how far should the support of Public Schools be made compulsory upon us? We think to the extent that duty enjoins, or necessity requires. And how may this duty or necessity be defined? We conceive the obligation to be comprehended and met in giving every child in

the community a "free" Common School education, efficiently, but with strict regard to economy.⁷⁷

Initially, at least, the proponents of the single large building won out. H.C.R. Becher, the lawyer, drew up the by-law. He wrote that Londoners wanted to have "one large school building, where scholars could be classified according to their knowledge. Each class should have a teacher, and all work under the direction of a headmaster."⁷⁸

The idea for building a Union School first appears in the board minutes on 14 March, 1848, when trustees decided to raise \$1,200 that year to construct their own school building. One month later, the board officially noted that the town council, under mayor Simeon Morrill, the tanner, had agreed to their plans, which envisioned a building capable of accommodating 350 to 400 students.⁷⁹

In fact, at the 24 April, 1848, board meeting, it was minuted that the town council had agreed to grant \$1,600, four hundred dollars more than requested, to be paid over a three year period.⁸⁰ John Wilson then proposed, and the motion was carried, that the common and grammar school trustees exchange lands so that the Union School could be built at the head of York Street.⁸¹

However, council's generosity did not stop there. In the Summer of 1848, council advised the school board that it was about to grant \$4,000 for school improvements over the next quadrennial.⁸² This partnership between the members of the common school board and the town council, who were almost synonymous in this period, was instrumental in the re-establishment of London's common schools; and it shows how much things had changed since the formative years. The conservative Tory view that a superior education was appropriate only for the sons of the upper class would never hold sway again in London. Henceforth, the blueprint for that community's common schools would be stamped with the imprimatur of the middle class.

One Tory spokesman attempted to hold the line in 1849. Thomas C. Dixon, the new mayor, was one of the four Tories on the nine man town council that year -the rest were Reformers. When a motion came forward to establish a special tax for the new school building based on the value of one's property, he refused to put the question, adjourned the meeting, and left. The remaining councillors promptly recommenced the meeting and passed the motion.⁸³

It is important to underscore once again the importance of this close-knit relationship between the council and the board of education. Before the school act of 1846, no legislative provision was in place for school officials to tax their inhabitants for school buildings or other improvements. This omission explains why common school teachers were forced to rent or own their school buildings in this period. Furthermore, until London became a town in 1848, and municipal government was instituted in 1849, the wishes of those London villagers who may have wanted to change this policy were subordinated to London's elite, that is, the large property owners who controlled the London district council.

It was not until the Common School Act of 1850 was passed that London's common school trustees had the power to compel their town council to raise the funds which they requested (see Table 43).⁸⁴ Therefore, the actions of council between 1848 and 1850 were voluntary, and serve to illustrate the high demand that existed for schooling arrangements of this type.

The final plans for the Union School were completed in 1849. At a March meeting of the board, it was accepted that the new building would be made of brick and capable of accommodating 600 students. Tenders were advertised and estimates requested.⁸⁵ In May, Mr. Thomas was appointed architect to oversee the building of the school house.⁸⁶

The laying of the cornerstone ceremony for the Union School took place on 25 June, 1849. It was described the next day in an article which appeared in the Canadian Free Press:

The weather was fine, and a large concourse of spectators were on the ground. The procession formed in the Court-House Square about twelve o'clock, and took its course shortly afterwards along Dundas Street, to the ground. A long array of children attending the different public schools accompanied by the teachers, with the school trustees, several of the magistrates ... formed the first part of the procession. The Free Mason's Lodge mustered strong in all the pomp and paraphernalia of their order, and closed the procession which was preceded by the drums and fifes of the Twentieth regiment.⁸⁷

Two orators addressed the cheering crowd. Simeon Morrill, the former mayor, "expressed the delight he felt at the near accomplishment of an object which he had ... endeavored to have carried out."⁸⁸ Next, school superintendent John Wilson delivered a speech in which he stated:

... the satisfaction it gave him to see the progress that had been made towards the erection of a school-house ... where all might receive ... (instruction) ... on the improved plan ... and where opportunity would be afforded to banish from the minds of the rising generation those ... distinctions which it was the tendency of private schools to continue.⁸⁹

On 2 January, 1850, the four ward schools moved into the Union School, which, according to Ryerson, was a "noble example" of a large central school.⁹⁰ Until the latter part of February, each of these schools and their respective students were placed in a separate room along with their previous teacher. Thus, initially, only four of the six spacious rooms in the new school were utilized.⁹¹

Shortly thereafter, however, the pupils were divided into three classes and taught in separate rooms - three for the girls and three for the boys.⁹² The rates for non-resident students, which were payable in advance, were \$1 per quarter for those studying Reading, Writing, and the first five rules of Arithmetic; \$1.50 per quarter for those learning English

Grammar, Geography, Natural Philosophy, and the more advanced rules of Arithmetic; and \$2 per quarter for all other branches beyond these mentioned.⁹³ The tuition for resident pupils per quarter was much less: 25 cents for the first class; 50 cents for the second; and \$1.00 for the third.⁹⁴

According to a report by a committee from the Hamilton common school board, who had come to study London's system of public instruction, the Union School "as regards size and architectural beauty, [is] by far the finest school house in the Province." The report went on to describe London's premier school as follows:

It is a large, two-story edifice, in the Elizabethan style, built of light-coloured brick, having a frontage of 133 feet, composed of a centre of 68 feet, and two ends of 32 feet 6 inches each; the depth of the centre portion is 30 feet; that of the ends, 49 feet each. It, like the Brantford schools, stands in the outskirts of the town, more than a mile from the opposite limits. It is placed nearly in the centre of a plot of five acres, presented to the Trustees by the Government. It is arranged with accommodations for 800 scholars, and there are already in attendance about 500. The building affords six school-rooms, three in each story, all the same size, 47 by 30 feet. There are two front entrances, one for boys, another for girls, and the entrance-halls are furnished with suitable conveniences, for the orderly arrangement of the out-door garments of the children. The Lancasterian mode of seating has been adopted, but it is the intention of the Trustees to introduce the improved plan of having separate desks and seats for each two scholars. The rooms are well provided with maps, Holbrook's instruments, blackboards, coloured drawings, illustrations of Natural History, and a great variety of illustrated lessons for the younger children. Each of the six rooms is supplied with a large stove, but the Board have determined to abandon the use of the stove-heat, which is found objectionable in various ways, and introduce a hot air-furnace. An efficient mode of ventilation has been adopted. The Trustees intend, so soon as their means will permit, to enclose the whole five acres by a neat and substantial fence six feet high, and to divide the grounds into yards, one for boys, the other for girls, with

suitable out-buildings, shade-trees, and shrubbery. The system adopted, as regards the number and location of the schoolhouses, is precisely the same as that of Brantford. 'One large Central School, called the Union School, has been established, to the entire exclusion of Sectional or Ward Schools.'⁹⁵

Despite the hard work of London's leading citizens to upgrade common schooling between 1844 and 1850, many London parents at first did not alter their children's enrollment patterns. Less than 40 percent of school age students were sent to the Union School in 1850 (see Table 37). Why?

One reason was behavioural. Apparently, staff and students at the new school suffered from growing pains, as the following quotation attests:

The first months at the Union School were very trying for the teachers especially at recess time, for the pupils were arranged by wards in separate rooms. Since local ward loyalty caused warm, not to say hot, feelings, teachers were called upon to keep the peace by using means which in these days would be regarded as savouring of harshness. Not only were the pupils separated as to wards but also as to sex, and on March 5 [6], 1850, the following motion was adopted: 'Proposed by Mr. Mathewson, seconded by Mr. Carling, that the headmaster be required to have the female school dismissed in the evenings at ten minutes before the male departments.' Whether this was to give the girls a head start in the race for safety, or just to get them home earlier to help mother, can only be conjectured.⁹⁶

School location and lack of teachers were two more causes of poor enrollment rates. For instance, many parents in the St. George's ward, like John Carling the brewer, felt that the distance to the Union School was too great for their children to walk, especially their young daughters. Hence this group wanted a school in their own ward.⁹⁷ Parents in the remaining three wards sought a common school too, but the supply of teachers and schools fell far short of demand.⁹⁸

A third possibility might have been timing. Since the Union School had opened in January, and most private schools operated on a September to June school year, it would have been imprudent for parents to relocate their children to a new school at that time. Uncertainty may have also contributed to low enrollments. Many families likely wanted to wait and see if the new school would be successful.

Surely one of the most important reasons for poor enrollments was the trustees' decision in January of 1850 not to offer the classics at the Union School. As a result of this decision, the new secretary of the Board, and a future chairman, George G. Magee, the merchant, requested that his personal protest be entered into the minutes.⁹⁹

Lastly, even though the number of students in the common schools in percentage terms was very low in 1848 and 1850, it is critical to note that the absolute number of pupils actually increased by 236 students - a reflection of the community's growing population. When this reciprocal trend occurred in the 1850s and 1860s, female enrollments at the common schools also declined whereas private and grammar school enrollments increased. After further research, it was discovered that these tendencies occurred in London's schools during the late 1840s as well; and, as the following discussion will show, these relationships explain many of the reasons for the socially differentiated schooling strategies which occurred at the time.

For instance, a review of the relevant provincial reports reveals that four to five private schools existed annually in London between 1847 and 1849, while only one was recorded in 1850 and no such schools were registered in 1851 and 1852 (see Table 44). Unfortunately, the reports do not disclose whether these schools were for boys or girls. However, newspapers and other sources indicate that at least twenty-two private schools existed between 1843 and 1852; and half of these institutions were known to be for females.

Evidence about London's private schools in these years is spotty; but, similar to the trends found by Gidney and Millar for the Province in general, it appears that most were short-lived.¹⁰⁰ Apart from the schools run by Mrs. Pringle and Miss Stimson, it is not known whether any of the other ladies' schools reported by Railton in 1842 were still in operation the next year.

The known private schools for girls were those run by the Misses Pringle, Penn, Stimson, Travers, Raynard, Giffin, Irwin, Mutter and Kennedy, Scott, Storie, and the Corrigan sisters. After reviewing the curriculum offered by these teachers, it is clear that they targeted both upper and middle class girls.

For example, Mrs. Penn advertised openings for twelve girls in 1843. Her curriculum included "every branch requisite for a solid and refined Education."¹⁰¹ Mrs. Travers offered English, Drawing, Music and Fancy Work, French, and Painting to young Ladies in 1844. The next year, Mrs. Raynard taught the 3R's, English Grammar, Geography, Ancient and Modern History, and Plain and Ornamental Needle Work for \$4 per quarter. She also provided Music after hours at the same rate.¹⁰²

In 1846, Miss Giffin opened a very expensive "Select Ladies School." In addition to the 3R's, she provided instruction in English Grammar, Geography, Natural Philosophy, History, Chemistry, and Rhetoric. Tuition was \$3 per quarter.¹⁰³ And, contrary to the provincial annual report which registered no private schools for London in 1852, a newspaper article advertised a boarding and day school opened by the Misses Corrigan in January of 1852. The course of instruction at this school included the 3R's, English Literature, Book-keeping, Geometry, Algebra, Natural Philosophy, Geography, the use of Globes and Maps, French, Drawing, and Fancy Needlework --"all according to the most

recent improvements." The Corrigans also provided private tuition after hours.¹⁰⁴

On the other hand, Mrs. Pringle and Miss Stimson, whose schools were described in the previous chapter, probably taught London girls from middle class backgrounds until the mid-to-late 1840s.¹⁰⁵ In addition, in 1845 and 1846, and perhaps for an even longer period of time, common school teacher Robert Wilson tutored middle class girls in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English, Grammar, and Geography, before or after his day school program.¹⁰⁶

Although less information is known about the following private schools or arrangements for girls, it is clear that they also served a respectable clientele. For instance, in the Spring of 1846 Miss Harriet Theodosia N. Scott opened a ladies' school which ran for at least a year.¹⁰⁷ At about the same time, a young lady from Goderich advertised that she was "qualified to give instruction in the minor branches of a genteel Education." She hoped for a situation at a school or with a family, thereby indicating that domestic teaching opportunities may have been available in London at this time.¹⁰⁸

Two years later, Miss Irwin, from Dublin, Ireland, opened a day school for young ladies, while the Misses Mutter and Kennedy opened a school for female children.¹⁰⁹ And again contrary to official reports, evidence was found which shows that a Miss Storie taught a small private school in 1852.¹¹⁰

These were the London based private schools for girls. However, parents of means, who were dissatisfied with local arrangements, or wanted some extra polish for their daughters, found other alternatives. As noted previously, Lawrence Lawrason in the mid-1840s sent his daughter Louisa to Mrs. Rankin's boarding school in Toronto and then to Mrs. Lake's school in Montreal.¹¹¹ And there were also the private schools for girls in Hamilton, Burlington, Woodstock, and Cobourg, which were mentioned above.

In addition to these schools for girls, a few mixed private schools were also opened in London. Mr. Korde's piano and singing school, which was opened in 1846,¹¹² and the writing academy operated by a Davis I. Pencille in 1850, are but two examples of these.¹¹³ A Mrs. Sanders also offered to teach writing in the family home in 1846.¹¹⁴

Private schools were also available for middle and upper class boys in this period. In 1845 and 1846, middle class boys were encouraged to attend an Evening school at the Mechanic's Institute;¹¹⁵ and apparently it was not unusual for John Wilson to go to Morrill's tannery to teach fifty or so young boys History, Arithmetic, and the rudiments.¹¹⁶ Moreover, some middle class boys from London probably attended the County Model School, which was established for teacher training in St. Thomas in March of 1845.¹¹⁷

On the other hand, a few alternatives to the grammar school existed locally for some London boys from respectable families. A Dr. Thomas Philips, with recommendations from professors at the Universities of London, Dublin, and Edinburgh, opened a medical school in London in 1843. He held classes on Monday and Thursday evenings.¹¹⁸

In addition, the Reverend William Proudfoot was appointed by the Missionary Presbyterian Synod of Canada, and the United Associate Synod of Scotland, professor and director of a theological institute which he opened in London in 1844. The goal of the institute, known as Divinity Hall, was to educate young men for the Ministry, owing to the lack of trained men from Scotland. Tuition in Philosophy, Literature, and Divinity was free, whereas room and board cost approximately \$1.50 per week. Hebrew and Greek were added to the curriculum in 1846, and the course of study was extended to four years.

Apparently, Proudfoot took only three or four students at a time. One of his students was his son, John, who graduated in 1848. In 1850, Divinity Hall was transferred to Toronto where it affiliated with the University of Toronto.¹¹⁹

Moreover, in December of 1845, an expensive "Select High School" was organized by a Mr. McKay at the Mechanic's Institute. This school was to be limited to a number of hand-selected students regardless of social rank, especially those preparing for the university. The curriculum was to include "all the higher Branches of an English, Scientific and Classical Course." Tuition was \$5 to \$8 per quarter depending on the subjects studied.¹²⁰ With expensive fees like these, however, surely only the very wealthy could attend.

Early the next year, a John McPherson, A.M., opened an academy where he offered instruction in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and English languages.¹²¹ The following year, an A. J. Godbold operated a school, which provided the various branches of an English education and the rudiments of French and Latin.¹²² Moreover, two Mr. Watsons also ran private schools in the early 1850s. The one Mr. Watson, who was from Lower Canada, kept what was regarded as a popular school for some years. The other Watson was a David Watson, who later became a Presbyterian minister; he operated a classical and English school.¹²³ And, as discussed previously, William Taylor gave private tuition throughout these years.¹²⁴

London parents also went outside London to obtain a suitable education for their sons. Lawrence Lawrason again serves as an example, sending his son Willy to Mr. Barron in Toronto.¹²⁵ And, as mentioned above, some far lies removed their boys to Upper Canada College and the University of Toronto. Others like the Woods, Givens, Brouchs, Eccles, Handys, Labatts, and Balkwills looked closer to home. They patronized the Caradoc Academy, the school of T.C.D. graduate William Livingstone.¹²⁶

Although many of these private schools were short-lived, it appears that London's common schools suffered from the competition, which drew off the children of middle and upper class families.¹²⁷ Common school trustees, therefore, were confronted with a serious challenge in the latter part of the

1840s and early 1850s: how to eliminate the private school competition and entice those students, especially the girls, back into the common schools.

Enrollment patterns at London's common schools between 1848 and 1852 confirm that parents were initially very reluctant to send their daughters to these schools. Whereas the town's population increased by 150 percent in this quinquennial, common school enrollments rose by almost 450 percent; and while enrollments for boys increased by 350 percent those for girls soared by 634 percent. Therefore, a major gain in common school enrollments during this period was achieved by convincing respectable parents to enroll their daughters in London's common schools. How and why did this happen?

The provincial annual school report for 1848 recorded 1,081 school age children for London (see Table 37). Only 362 (34 percent) of these children were enrolled in common schools, and of those pupils 243 (67 percent) were boys and 119 (33 percent) were girls.¹²⁸

These enrollment figures must be interpreted very carefully, because additional information was presented in London board minutes which indicates that girls were far more underrepresented in school than the 33 percent figure given above indicates. For example, minutes for the meeting of 30 March, 1849, contain assessment data showing that 521 of London's 1,081 school age children were male and 560 were female.¹²⁹ Therefore, London parents actually enrolled just 47 percent of their sons and 21 percent of their daughters in the community's common schools in 1848.

Despite the improvements made by the board, it is obvious that many London parents were not convinced they should enroll their children in the common schools, especially their daughters. However, respectable parents probably sent their girls to the private schools which were recorded on the provincial annual report for 1848 (see Table 44; -143 pupils

attended these five schools. The report also indicates that almost 600 children of school age were not attending any school; but, as was their tendency, provincial authorities may have seriously undercounted the number of private schools in London that year.

According to the provincial annual report for 1849, London parents sent 139 more children to the common schools that year than in the previous one. Girls accounted for seventy-six (55 percent) of these pupils. Unfortunately, assessment data listing the number of boys and girls in the community were not given in the board minutes for 1849; but the provincial annual report for that year recorded 1,201 children of school age, of whom 499 (42 percent) were enrolled in common schools. Of these 499 pupils, 195 were girls (39 percent) and 304 were boys (61 percent).¹³⁰

In 1850, ninety-nine more students were enrolled at the Union School than in the common schools of 1849; of this group seventy-two (73 percent) were girls. By mid-century, therefore, females represented 45 percent of the students who were attending the Union school. Attendance patterns had been significantly altered. Why?

One important reason for the shift in enrollments was that the common school trustees had agreed to pay a Miss R.J. Dawsey to teach a "colored school" for forty Black pupils in 1849.¹³¹ Apparently, the arrangement lasted into 1850.¹³² This concession may have resulted from a letter which was sent in 1847 by the London Branch Bible Society to William Henry Draper, the Provincial Attorney General, who then passed it on to Egerton Ryerson. Members of the Society complained that Blacks were being excluded from London's common schools because of prejudice.¹³³ The creation of a separate school for Black students, therefore, would have silenced these complainants and eliminated much of the opposition to the common schools that was based on cultural and class biases.

The trustees also took action on several more fronts. They hired professionally trained female teachers;¹³⁴ constructed separate boys' and girls' classrooms and school entrances; provided separately fenced-in playing fields for the two sexes and suitable out-buildings; dismissed the female school ten minutes before the male school; created committees of trustees to visit each school weekly; and empowered the headmaster to dismiss any pupil guilty of obscene or indecent conduct.¹³⁵ All of these measures should be read as attempts by the common school trustees to alleviate the concerns of respectable parents for their children, particularly their daughters.¹³⁶

And it worked. The Union School dominated the schooling marketplace in London in 1851 and 1852. The provincial annual report for 1850 recorded only one private school for London that year, and none were reported in 1851 and 1852.¹³⁷ Although the provincial annual school reports were not always accurate, it is true that the number of private schools had been considerably reduced.

However, the trustees' work was not over yet. Three other significant measures were taken in 1851 which changed the face of schooling in London before the year's end. In April of 1851, the trustees hired Hamilton Hunter, a graduate of the Royal Belfast College in Ireland, to replace Nicholas Wilson as headmaster of the Union School.¹³⁸ Hunter, who was paid a salary of \$800 per year, was brought to the Union School to teach the classics, and thereby prepare the sons of London's respectable families who could not obtain entry to the London grammar school for the universities and the professions.

With the acquisition of Hunter, the program of studies offered at the Union School was comprehensive. In addition to the more elementary subjects like the 3R's, Geography, and English Grammar, Union School students could study Algebra, History, Physiology, Geometry, Book-keeping, Practical

Mathematics, Vocal Music, Drawing, and Physical Geography, as well as the Classics.

Hunter's appointment placed the Union School in direct competition with Bayly's grammar school. Consequently, many Londoners called for a joint board of education to manage the town's schools more efficiently. Grammar and common school trustees would meet in July of 1854 to discuss this possibility, but for reasons which will be articulated in the next two chapters the merger was not effected until 1865.

The next critical measure that was undertaken by the trustees to reconstruct the common schools was their decision to provide free schooling to all London children. This move was part of an intercontinental movement in Britain and America, had been discussed for several years in the Province, and was included as an option in the school act of 1850.

The discussion of the controversial free school issue first appears in board minutes at the meeting of 27 February, 1850.¹³⁹ Two weeks later, the following motion was passed: "That the trustees are of the opinion that the schools should be supported by an assessment upon property, and that the mayor and town council be requested to carry out the same."¹⁴⁰ Some procedural objections, however, delayed the adoption of the free school system until 1851.¹⁴¹

The opponents of free schooling are never clearly identified in the various primary and secondary sources which contain information on the issue; but the words of prominent London school officials leave no doubt that the main objectors to this method of school finance were upper class citizens, many of whom were also large property owners. Ironically, many of these individuals were also actively working to reorganize the common schools.

William Elliot, for instance, the former district school superintendent, was secretary of the London board of common school trustees in 1850. By this time, Elliot had become a part of London's establishment; and he did not support a free

school plan based on a property tax. Nevertheless, he was integrally involved with common school reconstruction, as were John Wilson and the Reverend Benjamin Cronyn, two other members of London's elite.

Elliot's thoughts on the issue, which were given in a letter to Francis Hincks, the Provincial Inspector General, might represent the position taken by others of his class in London. Elliot explained in this letter that he did not believe "the time has yet arrived for supporting all the schools by a uniform taxation." He recommended abolishing the Rate-bill, and substituting in its place a provision which would give the trustees "the power to levy an annual rate upon every child between 5 & 16 years of age resident in the section" (his underlining). Thus, Elliot, and perhaps other members of London's establishment, could support free schooling if it was based on a user pay principle, but not if it was borne by a general tax on property.¹⁴²

Another school official, Hamilton Hunter, the Union School headmaster, was more blunt than Elliot in his comments about the free school issue. In 1852, he observed that the "lurking remains of those aristocratic feelings which divide the inhabitants of European countries into castes, almost as exclusive as the castes in India " prevailed to some extent in London.¹⁴³

Hunter claimed that the London rich considered it wrong to educate their children with "those of the middle and lower class of the community;" and he referred to a lecture that had recently been given in the town where the speaker, whose name remains unknown, asserted:

... that the wealthier classes should be educated apart from the poorer because by coming in contact with the inferior classes, feelings of pride and haughtiness are engendered by the consciousness of worldly superiority. This same sentiment is expressed by others in different language and other reasons are assigned for the propriety of educating the children of different classes apart. It is

said that by educating all at one school we bring them to the same standard and that a 'low standard.'¹⁴⁴

This elitist bias by prominent men in London's upper class was not peculiar to London. Egerton Ryerson himself acknowledged that the main opposition to free schools would come from the rich, who did not want to educate "all the brats in the neighbourhood."¹⁴⁵

Nevertheless, free schooling represented a major victory for London's middle class; and it provided a critical turning point for London's common schools. Free schools, supported by a general property tax and government grants, put that community's schools on a firm financial foundation, one which would prove to be much more solid than that provided for the London grammar school. Nonetheless, from 1851 on, London's common schools would be public institutions nurtured by public funds. Fees were required until 1870, however, from those who lived outside the town's boundaries or did not own property within the town's limits.

Thus, London's reorganized common schools in the early 1850s, like their counterparts in the mid-1830s, provided something of practical relevance for all classes of citizens. For the respectable classes, a superior, English, or business education could be obtained at London's Union School from highly qualified teachers.¹⁴⁶ For the lower class, schooling was free and practical, and without the stigma of charity schooling. In addition, with the changing economy it was clear to many parents that future careers would be in the domestic, professional, and commercial sectors - those areas which for the most part, required a solid schooling background.

The next important step taken by the trustees in the revamping of the common schools was the opening of St. George's school in 1851; it was a two-room brick structure bounded by the current Oxford, St. James, Waterloo, and

Colborne streets.¹⁴⁷ The building of this school was important for two major reasons. It was a concession to the parents in the northernmost ward, many of whom were advocates of a two-school system because of their fairly substantial distance from the Union School. And it was a compromise with London's Roman Catholic community, because its first headmaster, William Irwin, was an Irish Roman Catholic.¹⁴⁸ Over 200 students attended this institution in its first year of operation.

The result of the efforts by school builders in these years was manifested by exploding enrollments at London's two common schools in 1851, which spiralled from 598 pupils in 1850 to 1,143 the next year. Trustees were ecstatic that the free schools had brought the "masses" into the common schools.¹⁴⁹ An impressive 64 percent of the school age population was enrolled in the community's two common schools.¹⁵⁰

The increase in enrollments was probably facilitated by two additional factors. Between 1850 and 1851 trustees increased the number of qualified teachers at London's common schools from five to ten, five males and five females.¹⁵¹ Secondly, London's major religious groups -Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and Christian and Disciple- were represented in the teaching force.¹⁵²

Curiously, in 1851 only 39 percent of London common school students were females.¹⁵³ This figure is deceptive, however, because increasing numbers of girls were swamped by an ocean of boys. In fact, female enrollments between 1850 and 1851 actually rose by 170 percent; but male enrollments increased by 212 percent. Nevertheless, the next year an additional 300 girls followed the boys into the Union and St. George's schools; and enrollment ratios by sex almost reached parity (see Table 37).

The net effect of these changes was significant. Almost ninety percent of London's school age children were enrolled in its two common schools in 1852. In just three years, then, the number of 5 to 16 year old children in these schools had risen from about 598 in 1850 to 1587 in 1852; and the average daily attendance had increased from 339 to 653 students.¹⁵⁴

Thus, although it had taken almost a decade, London's non-establishment school reconstructionists had reorganized the common schools so that these new, publicly financed, multi-purpose, comprehensive institutions were supported by almost all of London's cultural and social groups. In spite of the collective nature of this movement, its leadership and agenda was clearly middle class. James Daniell, the lawyer, and board chairman in 1852, captured the motivation for this agenda in his annual report of that year:

The Board of Trustees deeming it proper to place within the reach of every class of the community, and of every child who might evince a taste and talent for a more extended range of studies than are generally pursued at Common Schools, facilities for the acquisition of Literary and Scientific attainments, equal to those afforded by the higher order of Academies, directed the Principal to introduce, in addition to the other studies, that of Classics¹⁵⁵

In summary, a "one best system," to use David Tyack's now familiar phrase, had been created.¹⁵⁶ School administration was more clearly defined. Division of labour had been established. Professional, certified teachers had been hired. Recommended curriculum was adopted. An impressive new Union School had been built. And a free school system with shared financial commitments between the local board and the provincial government had been settled. Indeed, from all appearances, the progress of the common schools seemed inexorable.

Daniell was content with both the progress and the future prospects for common schooling in London:

Under these circumstances the Board are satisfied that the progress of Common School Education in London is onward, that it has realized their expectations, and that the inhabitants enjoy educational advantages, second perhaps to no town or city in the Province. The trustees do not make this statement unadvisedly but are perfectly willing that any person should test the accuracy of this report by a minute personal examination.¹⁵⁷

The discovery that most school age children in London were enrolled in common school in 1852 is significant. This finding means that unlike in Hamilton nearly universal common school enrolments were obtained in London before industrialization occurred. The "correspondence" between systems of public instruction and industrial capitalism made by scholars like Katz and Davey and Bowles and Gintis did not apply in London at mid-century.¹⁵⁸

Common school trustees at mid-century realized that this new-found support for their schools was fragile, and they were becoming especially anxious about the growing Roman Catholic population in London. The board correctly saw the potential for future sectarian strife in a request by a Wesleyan Methodist minister to have the Bible used as a class book during school hours. If such a possibility was allowed, it might upset the relatively tranquil balance among London's various denominational groups. However, in the short-term, London was a model of religious toleration for the Province:

The Board of Trustees have to express their gratification that whilst efforts have been made in different parts of the Province to establish Sectarian Schools, no such demand has been made in London, and no evidence manifested that any section of inhabitants would desire thus to impair and destroy the efficiency and uniformity of our present system, which is a conclusive proof of the general satisfaction felt with the manner in which this Board has administered the important trust committed to its charge by the people, and with the general management and character of our public schools.¹⁵⁹

Nevertheless, the trustees' concern about religious toleration within the common schools was a harbinger of things to come.

One final amusing aspect about London's school children in this period should be noted, and it relates to the large number of Irish teachers in London. A commentator has made the following revelatory remark about the children who attended the Union School: "the accent and pronunciation of the school children of these days took on a peculiar type, which might be called Irish Canadian."¹⁶⁰

(III) School Attendance Behaviour

Since common school registers for London students in this period have not survived, and the personal census sheets from the 1852 census for London are missing, the extent of chairman Daniell's claim that Londoners in the latter year enjoyed educational advantages second to none in the Province cannot be fully scrutinized. However, sufficient evidence does exist to conclude that between 1843 and 1852 most London parents continued to make educational decisions for their children that were strategic and socially determined.¹⁶¹

Whether or not Protestant children had higher attendance rates than Roman Catholics or Blacks is difficult to answer with any degree of accuracy. However, it is reasonable to assume that since Protestants and Roman Catholics participated together in local government, and as common school trustees, teachers, and committee members, their children also attended school together.

In addition, according to London's common school trustees in 1852 it appears that Roman Catholics were satisfied with the schooling arrangements, because they had not requested a separate school for their children, as had some of their religious compatriots in other parts of the Province. Nonetheless, because Roman Catholics, more so than Protestants, tended to be concentrated in lower class jobs, it

is likely that their children had slightly lower enrollment and attendance rates than their Protestant counterparts.

According to the personalized accounts memorialized by Benjamin Drew, and the letter written by the London Branch Bible Society, both of which were discussed previously, few Black parents sent their children to school in this period because of prejudice. However, there were signs of change. A separate school for Blacks was opened in 1849-50, although it was short-lived. And Nelson Moss, another refugee slave who had submitted a contribution to Drew's text, was somewhat optimistic when he looked into the future. For him, the common schools were the key to fundamental social change.

Moss, a shoemaker, had immigrated from Pennsylvania to London in the late 1840s. Although he had experienced prejudice in London, he felt that the laws were impartial, his children had access to the common schools, and prejudice might be stamped out if Black and White children could go to school and grow up together. He concluded, "under the free schools, I am of opinion [sic] that we are progressing."¹⁶² Moss' seven year old daughter, Emily, would later be registered as attending school on the 1861 census for London (see Table 78).

Despite Moss' positive attitude, and as will be shown in the next two chapters, it would remain extremely difficult for Whites and Blacks to attend school together in London. Racist attitudes, therefore, caused many Black children to have lower enrollment and attendance rates than Protestant and Roman Catholic children.

Insufficient evidence currently exists to make precise deductions about declining differentials in age and sex-specific school attendance behaviour over time. However, because annual common school reports disclose that enrollments for the school age population in general rose from 42 percent in 1844 to 88 percent in 1852, one can conclude that by the latter date more equal numbers of boys and girls were enrolled

in school; and that they attended for longer periods of time than previously.

Protestants, as commissioners, councillors, trustees, teachers, and committee members, clearly dominated school arrangements in London, although a few Roman Catholics participated at most levels. Furthermore, the selection of Protestant teachers, particularly Dublin, Belfast, and Toronto Normal School (which was based on the Dublin Normal School) graduates, and the choice of the culturally distinct Irish National Readers as the main textbook of instruction, demonstrates that Protestants in London were using the common schools to transmit the British cultural heritage to their children.

Only the most general conclusions about the influence of occupation on school enrollment behaviour can be drawn from the evidence which has survived for this period; but, based on the occupations of those men who served as town councillors, common school trustees, and committee members, it appears that the overall trends were similar to those found for the 1830s. Fathers with professional, domestic, and commercial occupations dominated the management of the common schools, whereas those with agricultural and unclassified occupations played lesser roles. These findings were likely reflected in school enrollment and attendance rates as well.

Unlike the pattern for the previous period, however, it seems that fathers with industrial occupations took a more active part in the management of their children's schooling than in the preceding era. This discovery suggests that they also increased the school attendance rates of their children over those for the previous period.

Several important conclusions about the influence of social class on school enrollment behaviour can be deduced. As Hamilton Hunter's comments in 1852 attest, the attitudes and objectives of London's elite had not changed from the previous decade. They still operated under the traditional

assumption that a superior education was appropriate for only a select few, who were to receive substantial State financial assistance because they would be the future leaders of the colony. Their educational strategies are transparent in the arrangements which they made for the grammar school.

For example, London's elite controlled entry into the grammar school for their sons through the positions they held as trustees. Therefore, it appears that class distinctions remained more important to this group than cultural distinctions, since their ethnic backgrounds were similar to most other Londoners. While segregated in this social nursery, the highly qualified T.C.D. graduate, Benjamin Bayly, provided these boys with the cultural capital that they would require to be admitted into the institutions of higher learning and the professions. It is hypothesized, therefore, that upper class children had higher enrollment and attendance rates than children in the two other social groups.

Verschoyle Cronyn, the son of the Reverend Benjamin Cronyn, who was also a trustee of the grammar school, is an example of this patronage system at work. The younger Cronyn, who was born in 1833, was a prizewinner at the grammar school in 1843. Later he studied with Colonel James Shanly of London, and Crooks and Cameron of Toronto, before entering the University of Toronto where he graduated in law and was called to the Bar in 1860 at age twenty-seven.

After completing his formal education, this Cronyn returned to London to take his place among the community's elite. Like his father, he demonstrated a talent for entrepreneurship. In addition to his law practice, Cronyn speculated in land, and was a prominent figure in the Huron & Erie Loan and Savings Company and in the London Street Railway.¹⁶³

In the late 1840s, however, with the creation of municipal institutions, and the extension of the political franchise, London's huge middle class began to break down many

of the barriers of privilege and class which had limited their school attendance in the past. This trend first becomes noticeable in civic government in 1843, but beginning in 1849 its influence on common schooling is unmistakable.

The harmonization of interests among the non-establishment classes in London is the important story behind the changes which took place in London's common schools during the building years. Effectively blocked from the grammar school, London's middle class parents, along with others in the upper and lower classes, took control of their children's destiny. In relatively quick order, they empowered themselves through the electoral process to dominate future boards of common school trustees. Thus, the process of school reconstruction was begun in earnest; and the politics of common school education in London would never be the same again.

Theoretically, after 1851 any child in London could attend the common schools for free, where they would be provided with the necessary requisites for any trade, occupation, or profession. Thus, it is postulated that enrollment and attendance rates for middle class children approached those for their upper class counterparts by the end of the period. However, only about twenty-five Union School pupils studied the classics in 1852, whereas fifty-four took Algebra, 180 took Mental Arithmetic, and fifty took Mental Algebra, in addition to the other subjects which were noted above.

A practical program of study would have proven beneficial to the following students from respectable London families, most of whom attended London's common schools in these years. All of these pupils were later apprenticed to their fathers or other family members before running their own businesses in that community: Daniel S. Perrin (baker); John Carling (brewer); Hiram Davis (bricklayer); John Cooper (carpenter); John Green (dry goods merchant); William Glass (flour and

grain dealer); Andrew McCormick (merchant); Frank and Charles Leonard (ironmonger); Henry Haskett (painter); Philip Cook (shoemaker); and John McClary (tinsmith . Most of these men apprenticed at about age sixteen or older for six to eight years before entering into partnerships or commencing their own businesses.¹⁶⁴

Very little information is available about London's lower class and their school enrollment behaviour in these years. One can only conclude that, based on their precarious financial situation and limited resources, most working class parents rejected schools which charged fees and offered the classics; and that their children's enrollment and attendance rates were lower than those for the two other social groups.

However, London's labouring parents were not passive historical actors. A few fathers took positions as councillors, trustees, and committee members, which shows that some at least took an active interest in their children's schooling. Moreover, because of the significant increase in common school enrollments after mid-century, it is obvious that many working class parents chose, for their own reasons, to send their children to London's common schools. These reasons were probably related to the general prosperity and rising standard of living at this time which made child labour less crucial for the family's survival and the fact that London's common schools were free, comprehensive, and without the stigma of charity schooling.

Despite these developments, the inclusivity which had characterized the middle class triumph at the Union School in 1852 was torn asunder virtually overnight. Enrollments at the common schools plunged to the fifty percent range over the next three years, and it would take until the end of the decade to recover the level reached in 1852. The years 1853 to 1860 were a bewildering time of boom and bust; and, as will be shown in the next chapter, the educational response was

dominated by the cultural and class biases of that changing community.

NOTES

1. Splane has made the point that "Much of Ontario's progress, at least from 1850, is attributable to the willingness of the people of the province to govern and tax themselves at the local level...." See Richard B. Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario 1791-1893 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 284. Cited in J. Donald Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West," pp. 222-223.
2. Landon, "London In Early Times," p. 1062."
3. Landon, "London In Early Times," p. 1060; Dalglish, "The Economic History of the County of Middlesex, Canada," pp. 110-111; Miller, This Was London, p. 58; and Armstrong and Brock, "The Rise of London," pp. 91-92. Also see Alison Joyce Simmons, "A Study of the Evolution of the Land-Use Pattern of London, Ontario," Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, U.W.O., 1961; and David C. Nielsen, "London, Ontario as a Village, 1844," Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, U.W.O., 1971, pp. 53-54.
4. Landon, London in Early Times, p. 1059.
5. Ermatinger, p. 251.
6. Canada, Census of Canada, 1851-52 (Quebec: John Lovell, 1853), Appendix No. 1, pp. 68-69 [hereafter Census of 1852].
7. See, for example, Fred Landon, "Fugitive Slaves in London Before 1860, pp. 25-38; Simpson, "Negroes in Ontario from Early Times to 1870;" and George Railton, Railton's Directory for the City of London, C.W. (London: Hunter & Culbert, 1856), p. 289.
8. Census of 1852, Appendix No. 1, pp. 32-33.
9. Census of 1871, pp. 192-193.
10. Servants were classed as domestic workers according to the census occupation scheme.
11. Katz put servants in the unclassed group whereas census officials placed them in the domestic sector. It is reasonable, therefore, to put them in the lower class category.

12. Scott, "The Economic and Industrial History of the City of London," p. 4.
13. Census of 1861, Vol. 11, p. 259. Of the thirty mills and manufactories listed on the census, the overwhelming majority employed less than ten hands.
14. Carol Lynn Scott, "The 'Working Class' of London, 1856 to 1868," Unpublished B.A. Thesis, Department of Geography, U.W.O., 1977, p. 25.
15. Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, p. 88.
16. See Annual Reports of ... Schools, 1847 through 1852.
17. London Herald, 12 July, 1843.
18. Weldon Library, Regional Collections, Box 4731/X1736, Lawrence Lawrason to Louisa Lawrason, 14 November, 1843, and Elizabeth Rankin to Louisa Lawrason, 9 November, 1846, Papers and Scrapbooks of the Lawrason-Ridout-Pennington Families.
19. London Times, 16 April, 1847.
20. "London District Grammar School," London Times, 4 August, 1848.
21. See, for example, J. Donald Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West," Canadian Education, pp. 214-240; Gidney and Lawr, "The Development of an Administrative System for the Public Schools: The First Stage, 1841-50," Egerton Ryerson and His Times, pp. 160-183; the relevant sections in Houston and Prentice, Schooling and Scholars; Curtis, Building The Educational State; and Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education. For a critical appraisal of the service rendered by Egerton Ryerson, see R.D. Gidney, "Egerton Ryerson," DCB, Vol. XI, 1881 to 1890, pp. 783-795.
22. D.J. Hughes, "Bench and Bar in the Early Days," LMHS Transactions, Part VII (1916), pp. 22-23. Also see John Harris Papers, Series 2, Box 4181, 1839-48, where Harris explains how he was voted out of office as district treasurer.
23. "An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada," DHE, Vol. IV: 1841-1843, pp. 251-262. Throughout this period, legislators and others persisted in calling the Province Upper Canada rather than Canada West.

24. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 3, J.B. Strathy to Dominic Daly, 17 February, 1844. For more information on Wilson, see History of Middlesex, pp. 133-136.
25. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 3, George Railton to Alexander Murray, 10 April, 1844.
26. Illustrated Historical Atlas, p. 14; and History of Middlesex, p. 181. Elliot, on 19 May, 1845, notified MacNab that he had been appointed superintendent of the common schools for London district; see AO, RG2, C6C, Box 4.
27. AO, RG2, C1, Letterbook "C", pp. 85-86, Ryerson to Elliot, 1 April, 1846.
28. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 5, W. Elliot, Superintendent of Common Schools, London district, to Trustees of the Common Schools in the London district, December, 1846.
29. See, for example, "To Teachers," London Inquirer, 24 February, 1843; "Notice to Teachers," London Herald, 13 May, 1843, for examples of the financial problems encountered by teachers as a result of the disastrous school act of 1841. Also see AO, RG2, C6C, Box 3, J.B. Strathy to Alexander Murray, 5 January, 1844, where Strathy advised Murray that the London district council did not levy an assessment for the support of common schools in 1843. Later that year, however, Murray advised John Wilson that the Executive Council had decided to pay teachers who kept schools in 1843, in proportion to time and numbers. See AO, RG2, C1, Letterbook "C", pp. 91-96, Murray to Wilson, 30 March, 1844.
30. "Address of John Wilson Esquire, Warden of London District," London Inquirer, 24 May, 1844.
31. "Examination of the School taught by Mr. M. English in the Vestry of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, King Street," London Inquirer, 24 February, 1843.
32. Wilson's salary was probably in the \$156 to \$178 range, based on Elliot's reports for other teachers in that school in 1845 and 1846.
33. LPLM, Box 120, London Room.
34. Perhaps this was the same A.M. Ross who was listed as a school superintendent for Westminster in 1868. See History of Middlesex, p. 183.

35. History of Middlesex, p. 289.
36. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 7, Murtagh to Hodgins, 3 November, 1849.
37. AO, RG2, F3A, Annual Report of the London district superintendent, 1845.
38. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 5, Trustees, London school district no. 3 to Egerton Ryerson, 23 September, 1846.
39. Ibid. For more information on the London fires of 1844 and 1845, see Dan Brock, "'Half Of London In Ruins!' London's Great Fires of 1844 and 1845," Simcoe's Choice, pp. 116-136.
40. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 5, Trustees, London school district no. 3 to Egerton Ryerson, 23 September, 1846.
41. The trustees' description of events seems to indicate that 1846 was the first year that five school sections were created in London. However, according to the provincial annual report for 1845, there were five school sections that year as well.
42. The letter records that there was one dissenting vote.
43. AO RG2, C1, Letterbook "C", pp. 140-141, Ryerson to Evans, 28 September, 1846.
44. See "An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada," DHE, Vol. IV: 1841-1843, pp. 251-262; and "An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada," DHE, Vol. VI: 1846, pp. 59-70.
45. For a good review of the influence of environmental factors on school attendance, see Ian Davey, "The Rhythm of Work and the Rhythm of School," Egerton Ryerson and His Times, pp. 221-253.
46. Annual Report of ... Schools, 1847, p. 41; Ibid., 1848, JLA, Appendix Z.Z.Z.Z., p. 15; Annual Report of ... Schools, 1849, p. 22; Ibid., 1850, p. 72.
47. History of ... Middlesex, p. 289.
48. "An Act for Amending the Upper Canada Common School Act of 1846," DHE, Vol. VII: 1847, 1848, pp. 26-28.

49. Orlo Miller in This Was London, p. 65, claims that only two councillors were Episcopalian; however, it appears that there may have been three men who were members of the Church of England.
50. Wilson held this office continuously from 1848 to 1863 except for the years 1852 to 1856 when the Reverend W.F. Clarke was the superintendent.
51. London Board Minutes, 26 January, 1848.
52. There is some question about who served as common school trustees in 1850. The confusion is understandable because the board minutes are not very clear on the point. Moreover, there were two different sets of trustees that year. This aberration occurred because the school act of 1850 changed the conditions under which the trustees were operating at a critical time in the development of London's common schools. Consequently, the trustees at their meeting of 15 January, 1850, agreed to work together until later in the year (September) when elections were held for a new group. Only the names of the trustees who signed the manuscript annual report on 31 December, 1850, were placed on Table 43. See AO, RG2, F3B, Box 40, London Trustees Annual Report, 1850. In most local reports, the trustees are listed as Henry Dalton (chairman), William Elliot (secretary), Henry Mathewson, Samuel Eccles, James Reid, George G. Magee, John Buchanan, William Dalton, John Carling, William Begg, D.M. Thompson and Samuel Condon. These names also appear as trustees in other years.
53. Nicholas Wilson, "History of London Schools," p. 6.
54. Ibid.
55. London Board Minutes 26 January, 1848. Once again, Thomas Craig, the merchant, saw an opportunity to make money from the education market. He ran an advertisement in at least one local newspaper advising his readers that he had the Irish National School Books for sale at reduced prices. See "The Irish National School Books," London Times, 26 May, 1848. For an assessment of the Irish National School Books, see Houston and Prentice, Schools and Scholars, pp. 237-244; and Donald H. Akenson, The Irish Education Experiment: The National System of Education in the Nineteenth Century (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 227-240.
56. Clarence T. Campbell, "Robert Wilson, The Pioneer Teacher," LMHS Transactions, 1914, pp. 5-13.

57. Ibid., p. 10.
58. London Board Minutes, 31 March, 1848.
59. Campbell, "Pioneer Teacher," p. 10.
60. Campbell, "Robert Wilson," p. 7.
61. Ibid. Also see a letter from a travelling American who had attended the quarterly examination at Wilson's common school in September of 1847, and was pleased with the result. See London Times, 8 October, 1847.
62. London Board Minutes, 19 September, 1848. Wilson went on this tour with letters of introduction from Ryerson and John Wilson. See London Times, 24 November, 1848.
63. Campbell hints that Robert Wilson's politics may have cost him the job. Like his mentor John Wilson, both had been Tories in their earlier years. However, John Wilson grew increasingly disgusted with, and condemned the behaviour of some Tories at the time of the Rebellion Losses Bill controversy. This reaction caused John Wilson to lose the support of prominent Tories in London; and, according to Dr. Campbell, Robert Wilson's teaching career may have been adversely affected by association. See Campbell, "Robert Wilson," pp. 10-12.
64. Ibid.
65. Campbell, Pioneer Days in London, p. 48.
66. London Annual Report, 1871, Appendix D. Also see "Agreement between Nicholas Wilson, teacher, and the trustees of S.S. No. 1 in the Town of London, January 15, 1847," LPL, London Room, Box 120.
67. London Board Minutes, 9 November, 1848. Also see Campbell, "Pioneer Teacher," p. 10. Nicholas, after Robert Wilson, was the second Londoner to attend the Toronto Normal School. He made the best of his opportunity. A footnote to Appendix D in the London board annual report for 1871 indicates that Nicholas Wilson held a Normal School Certificate of Session 1848-9 of the highest grade A in every subject; he also possessed a certificate entitling him to teach a Model School, dated 4 January, 1850. In addition, two letters of reference for Wilson by William Elliot and Benjamin Cronyn (dated in January of 1848) can be found at the London Public Library and Museum.
68. "Union School," London Times, 16 February, 1849.

69. London Board Minutes, 12 February 1850.
70. LPLM, London Room, Box 120.
71. Nicholas Wilson, "History of London Schools," pp. 8-9.
72. The trustees' offer to Wilson was dated 18 February, 1850. It can be found at the LPLM, London Room, Box 120. The writer is indebted to Glen Curnoe for bringing this information to his attention.
73. London Board Minutes, 2 March, 1850.
74. Miss Alice McFarlane, "The Union School," [Talks given at the unveiling of plaques erected by the Historic Sites Advisory Committee, 1970-1972], in Our Past Made Present (London: LPLM, occasional paper number XVIII, July, 1974).
75. Ian E. Davey, "School Reform and School Attendance: The Hamilton Central School, 1853-1861," in Education and Social Change, p. 294.
76. Wilson, "History of London Schools," p. 8.
77. London Times, 16 February, 1849.
78. History of Middlesex, p. 290.
79. London Board Minutes, 14 April, 1848.
80. This grant was not based on a unanimous decision. Reformers outnumbered Tories five to four and they carried the day. See Miller, This Was London, p. 66.
81. This five acre vacant property had been brought to the attention of local authorities by A.S. Abbott, the tax collector (later city clerk for forty-two years). Then it only remained for John Wilson to exercise his influence with the government to secure the land for school purposes.
82. London Board Minutes, 10 July, 1848.
83. Miller, This Was London, pp. 65-66. According to Miller, Dixon acted in this manner fairly regularly with respect to other issues also.
84. "An Act for the better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada, Annual Report of ... Schools, 1850, p. 217-242.

85. London Board Minutes, 7 March, 1849.
86. Ibid., 11 May, 1849.
87. "The New School-House," Canadian Free Press, 26 June, 1849.
88. Ibid. Morrill then donated \$400 toward the purchase of a school bell, which today rings at a reconstructed school at the Fanshawe Pioneer Village just outside London.
89. Ibid.
90. Annual Report of ... Schools, 1850, p. 310. Ryerson cited the central schools in Hamilton, London, Brantford, Brockville, and Chatham.
91. See Nicholas Wilson, "Early School Days."
92. Ibid.
93. LPLM, London Room, Box 120, Elliot to Nicholas Wilson, 2 March, 1850.
94. London Board Minutes, 17 April, 1850. These rates were to commence in February of 1851.
95. Annual Report of ... Schools, 1850, pp. 195-196.
96. The History of Our School (London: London Central Secondary School, No Date), p. 6. This document was printed for the Central Secondary School's 150 year celebration.
97. Bamman, "Patterns of School Attendance in Toronto," Education and Social Change, pp. 217-245.
98. "School Examinations," Times and Western Advertiser, 22 August, 1851. One observer in this article commented that four teachers was insufficient for the number of pupils who wanted to attend the common schools.
99. London Board Minutes, 21 January, 1850.
100. Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, pp. 46-50, and Appendix A, pp. 333-337.
101. "Boarding and Day School," London Herald, 27 May, 1843. It appears that Mrs. Penn had left London by 1846, for she advertises her new school in Hamilton that year.

- See, "Mrs. Penn's Establishment," London Times, 2 January, 1846.
102. "Female Education," The Times, 15 August, 1845.
103. "Miss Giffin," Western Globe, 26 December, 1845.
104. "Boarding and Day School," Canadian Free Press, 15 January, 1852.
105. Seaborne, March of Medecine, pp. 110-111.
106. "Private Tuition," The Times, 23 May, 1845; and London Times, 1 May, 1846.
107. "Miss Harriet Theodosia N. Scott," London Times, 17 April, 1846, and 28 May, 1847.
108. London Times, 8 May, 1846.
109. London Times, 9 June, 1848; London Free Press, 29 December, 1848; and Ibid., 27 February, 1849.
110. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 13, Robert Boyd to Egerton Ryerson, 7 May, 1852.
111. See letters from Lawrence Lawrason to Louisa Lawrason, "Papers and Scapbooks of the Lawrason-Ridout-Pennington Families, 1818-1934."
112. London Times, 15 May, 1846.
113. The Times, 12 July, 1850.
114. London Times, 3 July, 1846.
115. The Western Globe, 4 December, 1845.
116. History of Middlesex, p. 135.
117. The Times, 27 April, 1845; and Ibid., 14 November, 1845. This school lasted about a year. William Elliot was not pleased with the principal, a Mr. D. Campbell, of the model school. See AO, RG2, C6C, Box 4, Elliot to MacNab, 17 August, 1845; and 1 November, 1845.
118. Dillon, "The Irish in London," pp. 11-12.
119. Harry E. Parker, "Early Presbyterianism in Western Ontario," LMHS Transactions, Part XIV (1930), pp. 68-70; Journals No. 31, 22-24 May, 1844, 2 October, 1844, 15, 20 October, 1846, 13-14, 18 January, 1847, 21 June, 1847, 19

July, 1848, 4 September, 1848 [No. 32], 2, 5 August, 1850, Papers of William Proudfoot; and Toronto, The Banner, 20 September, 1844. The writer is grateful to Daniel J. Brock for these references.

120. Western Globe, 4 December, 1845. By January of 1846, this school was transferred to a building on Dundas Street which was across from the Covent Garden Market. See Western Globe, 23 January, 1846.
121. London Times, 2 January, 1846.
122. See "Academy in London, C.W.," London Times, 2 January, 1846; "Prospects of the London Writing Academy," The Times, 12 July, 1850; and London Free Press, 10 January, 1851.
123. Nicholas Wilson, "Early Schools of London."
124. A John Gilbert Armstrong may have taught a classical school in London or the immediate area in the late 1840s or early 1850s. While living in London, Armstrong wrote Ryerson in November of 1849, asking for assistance in finding a teaching position. He included testimonials regarding his character and qualifications as a classical and English teacher. Based on this information, Ryerson said that he had "no hesitation in expressing my respect for your character, and my favourable estimate of your qualifications and abilities as a Teacher" See AO, RG2, C1, Letterbook "E", pp. 70-71, no. 117, Ryerson to Armstrong, 22 November, 1849.
125. Lawrason-Ridout-Pennington Family Papers.
126. History of Middlesex, p. 473.
127. According to Gidney and Millar, between 1830 and 1870, 70 percent of London's private schools lasted two years or less. See their Inventing Secondary Education, p. 334.
128. "Annual Report of ... Schools, 1848," JLA, 1849, Appendix (Z.Z.Z.Z.).
129. London Board Minutes, 30 March, 1849.
130. "Annual Report of ... Schools, 1849," JLA, 1850, Appendix (X.X.).
131. History of Middlesex, p. 290.

132. The London Board of Common School Trustees Annual Report for 1850 listed a separate school for that year. Since Roman Catholic separate schools were not established until 1857, it was probably the one for Blacks that was taught by Miss Dawsey.
133. AO, RG2, C1, Vol. 3, Ryerson to John Fraser, president, London Branch Bible Society, 13 April, 1847.
134. Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada, 1845-1875," Histoire Sociale - Social History 8 (May 1975), pp. 5-20.
135. The communication empowering the headmaster to dismiss any pupil guilty of obscene or indecent conduct was discovered at the LPLM, Box 120, London Room. See William Elliot to Nicholas Wilson, 11 March, 1850.
136. Murtagh in correspondence with Hodgins in March of 1850 wrote that the Misses Haigh and Wharing are "highly thought of here, they have only the girls under their charge at present, but it is expected they will get an assistant female teacher and then perhaps a number from the male juvenile department will be committed to their care." See AO, RG2, C6C, Box 8, Murtagh to Hodgins, 22 March, 1850.
137. However, the census of 1852 for London records that there were five schools in London that year. Since there were only two common schools, and one grammar school, perhaps there were an additional two or three private schools as well. One wonders if this difference might help to explain the extra 500 pupils that were found by census officials in 1871 when they recounted the enrollment data for London's schools in 1852?
138. London Board Minutes, 25 April, 1851. Most local accounts state that Hunter was a T.C.D. graduate, but they are mistaken. Hodgins wrote a letter of recommendation for Hunter supporting his candidacy for the London headmastership. There he claims that "Mr. Hunter is a man of very high literary attainments, as you will observe from the very gratifying and flattering testimonials from the Royal Belfast College in Ireland." Before going to London, Hunter had been superintendent of schools for the County of York from 1844 to 1851, losing his position when the Act of 1850 created township superintendencies. See AO, RG2, C1, Letterbook "E", pp. 504-505, No. 1108, Hodgins to Daniell, 22 April, 1851.

139. Ibid., 27 February, 1850. Note that the Reverend Mr. Inglis had lectured on this topic at the Mechanics Institute as early as February of 1848. See "Lecture on Education," London Times, 25 February, 1848.
140. Ibid., 13 March, 1850.
141. Peter Murtagh, the Union School teacher, astutely captured the significance of the free school motion in a letter which he wrote in March of 1850 to J.G. Hodgins, the head clerk at the Education Office. Murtagh prophesized that "if the 'free school' system be carried out we expect to have a considerable increase [in pupils]." See AO, RG2, C6C, Box 8, Murtagh to Hodgins, 22 March, 1850.
142. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 8, William Elliot to Francis Hincks, 29 January, 1850.
143. "Union School Soiree," Canadian Free Press, 15 April, 1852.
144. Ibid.
145. Ryerson to W.H. Draper, 20 April, 1846, in C.B. Sissons, Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited), II, p. 101. Cited in Wilson, "The Ryerson Years in Canada West," p. 223.
146. As Gidney and Millar have shown for the Province in general, once conditions were propitious in London these groups left the private schools in droves for the common schools. See their "From Voluntarism to State Schooling: The Creation of the Public School System in Ontario," Canadian Historical Review 66 (December 1985), pp. 443-473.
147. London Board Minutes, 3 February, 1851; 10 February, 1851; and 20 March, 1851. The school was built at a cost of \$1,000.
148. Father Kirwan was also a member of the selection committee for this position. See London Board Minutes, 24 February, 1851.
149. "Annual Report of ... Schools, 1851," JLA, 1852, Appendix (J.J.).
150. The St. George's ward school also had professionally trained teachers -one was male and one was female. See London Board Annual Report, 1851.

151. London Board Annual Report, 1852. One commentator noted in a newspaper article that "Until a very recent date the number of teachers employed by school trustees was far from being sufficient for the numerous attendance of pupils. There were formerly but four, at the present time there are seven teachers, and the number is yet said to be rather small." See "School Examinations," London, Canada West - Times and Western Advertiser, 22 August, 1851.
152. AO, RG2, F3B, Box 40, Annual Report of the Board of School Trustees, 1851.
153. Again this figure slightly overstates the case. Females represented just over 51 percent of the total school population aged 5 to 16. See London board minutes, 25 March, 1852. The census return for 1851 indicated that 918 of the 1,789 students were females.
154. London Board Annual Report, 1852.
155. Ibid.
156. David B. Tyack, The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974).
157. London Board Annual Report, 1852.
158. See Katz, The People of Hamilton; Davey, "Educational Reform and the Working Class;" and Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America (New York: Basic Books, 1976).
159. London Board Annual Report, 1852.
160. See Campbell, Pioneer Days in London, p. 49.
161. It should be noted that census officials in 1871 recounted some of the data from the previous censuses, and they recorded their findings in Volume IV of the federal census for that year. With respect to school enrollments in London in 1848, they registered 501 students (277 boys and 224 girls) as going to school. By way of comparison, the provincial annual school report registered 362 school age pupils for London (243 boys and 119 girls). On the other hand, census officials discovered a difference of 500 pupils when they recounted the 1852 census data for London. In 1852, census takers recorded five schools and 1,130 students (621 boys and 509 girls). However, officials in 1871 counted five schools and 1,630 students (1,121 boys and 509 girls).

Perhaps this difference was the result of a clerical error, but an irony exists in that the difference of 500 pupils is identical to the number of students which John Wilson said were attending private schools in 1855. Since the 1852 census was taken in January of 1852, and the school questions asked parents whether or not their children had attended school during the past year, the census enrollment total should be compared to the provincial annual school report total for 1851 (1,157) not 1852 (1,617). See Census of Canada, 1851-52, Vol. 1, pp. 307,317; and Census of Canada, 1870-71, Vol IV, pp. 169,192. For information on the enumerator's instructions for the taking of the 1852 census, see David P. Gagan, "Enumerator's Instructions for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861," Histoire Sociale - Social History 7 (November 1973), pp. 355-365.

162. Drew, The Refugee, pp. 153-154.
163. History of Middlesex, pp. 777-778.
164. History of Middlesex, pp. 711-1076.

CHAPTER 4

THE VOLATILE YEARS: 1853 TO 1861¹

1. INTRODUCTION

London's first quarter century was eventful, but the years between 1853 and 1861 experienced a volatility that cannot be matched in the community's first half century. Technological, economic, demographic, political, and environmental changes radically reshaped critical aspects of the maturing community. At the same time, however, key structures remained rigidly fixed.

London's schools in these years were buffeted by the same forces and with analagous results. The social consensus which had produced the Union School at mid-century dissolved by the mid-1850s in a maelstrom of ethnocentrism, racism, and elitism. A radical reconstruction of the common schools was required, but it would take until the end of the decade before it was achieved by a new and complex strategy devised by the trustees. This, as well as fortuitious events, returned attendance levels at the common schools to those experienced in 1852.

In the interim, the dynamic links between culture and class and London's grammar, common, separate, and private schools would be exposed once again, and the city's common schools would suffer considerably by comparison to the others. Nevertheless, by 1860 the trustees' strategy, which included a school building campaign, the bureaucratization of school procedures, a social, religious, and geographical reclassification of students, and the continued feminization of the teaching force, would regain for the common schools their position of dominance in the community.

The first major force to affect the city was the railways. Soon they radiated from London in many directions. The Great Western Railway (GWR), for example, was completed from Hamilton to London on 15 December, 1853. It was extended west to Windsor and Detroit in 1854, to Sarnia in 1858, and east to Toronto in 1855.²

Londoners also chartered the London and Port Stanley Railway (L&PS) in 1853, which, when completed in 1856, gave them a seaport to the world.³ In 1858, London was linked to the Grand Trunk Railway (Montreal-Toronto-Sarnia) by a spur-line to St. Marys. Before the end of the decade, then, London had become a railway centre. Located in the granary of British North America, it was well-situated to consolidate its position as the metropolis of the southwestern peninsula, because all exports and imports for London and its hinterland passed through the city.

Railways accelerated the demographic and economic growth begun in the earlier period.⁴ After taking a decade to double in the 1840s, London's population more than doubled between 1852 and 1855 -from 7,035 to about 15,000.⁵ Consequently, the community was given city status in 1855. While the overall municipal boundaries did not change from the 1848 town incorporation, London was divided into seven wards for administrative purposes (see Map 4).

Railways also helped stimulate a dramatic change, broadening London's economy. Distant markets were suddenly placed within reach. Goods were transported more quickly resulting in savings in time, labour and money, which were put back into local businesses.⁶ Real estate boomed along the railway lines leading to widespread speculation. Paper fortunes were made overnight.⁷

The initial coming of the railways was perfect. The beginning of the Crimean War in 1853 and the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1854 meant that Canadian wheat was in high demand. Wheat, which soared in price during

this period, was sent to the United States and Europe, as well as eastern Canada.⁸

Railways also changed London's industrial patterns.⁹ Once transportation costs were reduced by railway travel, inefficient local industries could no longer survive.¹⁰ Unfortunately, however, railways also played an important role in the panic and financial depression of 1857.

During the railway mania of the mid-1850s, many Londoners, including the city fathers, had overextended their financial resources speculating on the railways. All might have gone reasonably well under normal conditions. However, shortly after the Crimean War ended in 1856, a financial depression hit the entire Western world. It was compounded in London when bad weather destroyed the wheat crop in the fall of 1857.

The result of these unforeseen events was that banks refused to make loans, and many Londoners were put in desperate straights. Real estate speculators were ruined; farmers were destroyed; three-quarters of the local businesses failed; the population declined to about 11,000; the debtors' prison was full; the soup kitchen was empty; and the city had to take extraordinary financial measures such as issuing its own money and raising taxes.¹¹ London's recovery, nevertheless, was soon aided by the discovery of oil in Lambton County in 1857. A few years later, the American Civil War (which began in 1861) created a demand for Canadian beef.¹²

London experienced considerable social diversification in these years. The community's Black population, which had increased substantially after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in the United States in 1850, found temporary accommodation in the military barracks, which had been vacated by the British troops in 1853 when they left for the Crimean War. There were over 500 blacks in London by 1854.¹³

London also became an important religious centre in the late 1850s. Roman Catholic officials created the Diocese of London in 1856 under Bishop Pinsonneault.¹⁴ The next year, the Church of England established the Diocese of Huron with Benjamin Cronyn as its first bishop.¹⁵

These momentous changes altered London's society. Between 1852 and 1861, the population distributions by religion, birth, class, and occupation remained remarkably stable (see Tables 45 to 49). The exceptions were the Irish-born, the Canadian-born, the lower class, the unclassed social class group,¹⁶ the commercial and domestic sectors, and the unclassed occupational group.¹⁷ Nevertheless, these general data do not tell the whole story.

London's population rose by 171 percent in this period. However, persons with occupations increased by just 141 percent, from 1,760 to 2,475, while occupational titles rose by only 102 percent, from 134 to 137 (see Tables 33,49). These findings suggest that London's population growth was slowing down by 1861 and that its economy was stabilizing after the failures of the late 1850s.

An analysis of social class distributions by class in 1861 indicates that numbers of persons within London's three major social classes did not keep pace with population growth over the decade (see Table 47). The upper class increased by 127 percent, the middling group by 140 percent, and the working class fell to 99 percent of the 1852 total. This last finding was unexpected. It had been assumed that London's lower class would continue to grow between 1852 and 1861. It was questioned, therefore, whether or not the composition of the unclassed group, which rose by 227 percent in this decade, again distorted the picture of London's social structure in 1861 as it had done in 1852.

Further examination of the occupational categories listed in the unclassed group disclosed this situation to be the case. Seventy-seven percent of the unclassed individuals

registered on the 1861 census -that is, 349 female and 26 male servants- could be categorized as lower class. Reassigning these servants to occupational group five raised the lower class proportion of the population to 31.4 percent and reduced the unclassified group to 4.5 percent.

These adjustments lead to the conclusion that between 1852 and 1861 London's lower class actually increased by 190 percent, thereby exceeding the rate of population growth for the community during the same period. The remaining 112 unclassified persons were left in Katz's occupational category 6, since there was insufficient information to reclassify them.

Thus, between 1834 and 1861 London's social structure had become much more distinctly defined: the upper class had decreased significantly; the middle class had declined and then stabilized; and the lower class had increased substantially and then roughly plateaued.

On the other hand, applying the 1871 census classification scheme to the occupation data listed on the 1861 census discloses that considerable opportunities existed for people who worked in specific economic sectors. For instance, between 1852 and 1861 numbers of individuals in the commercial sector rose by 195 percent; in the domestic sector by 317 percent; and in the professional sector by 210 percent. However, numbers of people working in the agricultural, industrial, and unclassified sectors did not keep pace with population growth, although an increment of 133 percent in the industrial sector indicates that some new jobs were available in this sphere of economic activity (see Tables 33,48,49).

Six of the eight numerically largest occupations in 1861 -labourers, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, clerks, and female servants- held similar rankings in 1852 (see Table 50). Merchants and railway employees joined this group in 1861. And the eight largest occupations once again represented more than 50 percent (51.2) of Londoners with an occupational title.¹⁸

Merchants had always played an important role in developing London's economy. They ranked as one of the eight largest occupations in 1834, 1842, and 1861, and ninth in 1852. Railway employees reflected a new occupational reality for Londoners, as the 1861 census was the first to capture these people as members of London's work force.

Three additional striking changes in occupational distributions in London between 1852 and 1861 must be highlighted: the numbers of labourers decreased significantly (from 340 to 258); the numbers of servants increased substantially (from 90 to 375); and most servants were females (male servants rose from 14 to 26 while female servants increased from 76 to 349).

In summary, London remained the leading municipality in its region in 1861; but it was a community undergoing commercialization not industrialization.¹⁹ Significantly fewer labouring jobs existed than in the previous decade, and industrial development was not labour-intensive.²⁰ Furthermore, most work in London during this period took place in the home.²¹ Opportunity for London's working class youth, therefore, was not in the factory like in Hamilton and Toronto, but in the commercial, domestic, and professional economic sectors.

2. PUBLIC INSTRUCTION FOR LONDON

(I) The London District Grammar School

The Grammar School Act of 1853 introduced important changes in this period. For instance, it was the first act to make these schools responsible to a government body, the Council of Public Instruction, and an administrator, the superintendent of schools, Egerton Ryerson. In addition, the new act tied the allocation of the Grammar School Fund to a county's population. Trustees were appointed by county councils not the Crown as formerly. The schools were required to offer a practical English and Commercial education as well

as the classical program. And the union of grammar and common schools was permitted.²² The next major grammar school act was not passed until 1866.

The London grammar school also experienced change at this time. These modifications are examined by investigating the new arrangements that were made for the school during these years, as well as the enrollment trends and the social characteristics of the students.

Bayly, the headmaster, as required by the act of 1853, sent detailed annual and half-yearly reports thereafter to Toronto. Of his forty-eight students in 1853, fourteen were in the elementary classes, studying reading, writing, and other elementary English branches. All could read and write. The remaining students took the advanced classes: twenty-three in English Grammar and Composition, thirty-four in Latin, eleven in Greek, thirty-four in Arithmetic, nine in Algebra, and twenty-three in Euclid. No students took Natural Philosophy and Mechanics or Trigonometry.²³

Surprisingly, an explosion of students confronted the grammar school in the mid-1850s. Enrollments almost doubled in one year, rising from forty-eight in 1853 to eighty-seven in 1854, before tapering off to fifty-eight in 1860. No existing account adequately explains the reasons behind this sudden increase, or why in 1854 the proposed union of the grammar and Central schools failed. Several possible explanations are reconstructed below, and they emphasize the significant cultural and class divisions which existed in nineteenth-century London.

Who governed the grammar school in the 1850s? For the most part, the trustees were drawn from the old establishment group who had been active since the 1830s: Benjamin Cronyn, George J. Goodhue, John Wilson, John M. Kerr, Richard Flood, William F. Clarke, William Elliott, and John Proudfoot (see Table 51).²⁴ Bayly continued as the headmaster throughout these years. However, Thompson, who was the second master

(Mathematics) until the end of 1859, was succeeded by James Wright, a Presbyterian Scot, and a graduate of the Glasgow Normal School.²⁵ Bayly's annual salary was \$1,200, while Thompson received \$800 and Wright \$600. Student tuition at \$5 per quarter was reasonably expensive.

Commencing in 1854, Bayly and Thompson taught the revised program of studies as required by the act of 1853. More boys than in previous years took Latin, and many also studied French, English, Mathematics, History, Geography, the Physical Sciences, and several miscellaneous subjects (see Table 52). In all likelihood, the revised curriculum helped to attract this enlarged number of students to the grammar school.

According to Bayly's reports, about 160 families enrolled 221 boys at the London grammar school between 1855 and 1860 (see Table 53). Of this group, ninety-nine parents (or guardians) were identified. Ninety parents were males and nine were females; sixty-eight lived in London, twenty-one in Westminster township, and ten in London township (see Table 54).²⁶

An analysis of the backgrounds of these parents disclosed that they were more socially diversified than their counterparts in previous decades. Yet, as will be shown below, the typical London grammar school student in the 1850s remained White, Protestant, British, and from a highly respectable background.

Episcopalians, for instance, constituted almost 40 percent of the parents who sent their children to this school; the next largest groups were Methodists, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, and then others. All but the first and last groups were underrepresented when compared to their distribution in the general population (see Table 55). Conversely, Episcopalians were significantly overrepresented as were members of the other category who were predominantly Protestants. No Baptists attended the grammar school.

Most parents were British. Almost 40 percent came from Ireland, 33 percent from England and Wales, and 18 percent from Scotland. These levels were about double their respective proportions in the population (see Table 56). Canadian household heads, it is important to note, were significantly underrepresented; and there was minimal representation from the United States and other countries.

Almost 59 percent of these parents were middle class; 32 percent were upper class; 1 percent was lower class; and 8 percent were unclassified (see Table 57). Only two labourers sent their sons to the grammar school, while no Blacks attended. Of the nine female household heads, four were middle class (a grocer, teacher, and two hotel keepers) and five were unclassified.

Without question, then, the grammar school was the social nursery and academy of London's most respectable classes. However, even these compelling statistics underestimate the class bias of the school.

Although middle class parents enrolled substantially more boys in the grammar school than in previous decades, the numbers only equalled their share of the population. Some middle class individuals, moreover, based on Katz's occupational classification scheme, are probably misplaced. Skilled tradesmen like James Glen, the tailor, Ellis Hyman, the tanner, and Sam McBride, the tinsmith, were wealthy businessmen, and should be placed in the upper not the middle class. On the other hand, upper class parents continued to be significantly overrepresented. They sent six times the number of children to the grammar school that their numbers might have warranted.

Family strategies from an occupational sector perspective are equally illuminating. Parents with agricultural, commercial, and professional backgrounds sent their children to the grammar school in overwhelming numbers. To a lesser extent, so did the unclassified group, three-eighths of whom were

gentlemen. On the other hand, parents with domestic and industrial occupations were significantly underrepresented (see Table 58). With the declining availability of farmland, the insecurity of occupational futures, and the nature of economic opportunity in London, these strategies were probably directly related to patrimonial considerations.

Twenty farmers' and fifteen merchants' sons attended the grammar school, dominating the sons from all the other occupational groups. The latter was expected but not the former, since farmers represented only 1.3 percent of London city household heads listed with an occupation in 1861. The explanation for this apparent anomaly is simple: all but one of these farmers's sons were non-residents. Eleven lived in Westminster township, eight in London township, and only one in London city. Clearly, then, the London county grammar school reached beyond the city's corporate boundaries, although its catchment area appear to have been fairly limited.

Gidney and Millar in their study of five nineteenth-century southwestern Ontario communities found that average annual grammar school attendance rates were very low.²⁷ This trend was also replicated at the London grammar school, as between 1855 and 1860 attendance rates ranged between 28 and 43 percent (see Table 59). Curiously, these figures are even lower than those discovered for London's common schools in this period. These findings may be misleading, however, because average daily attendance rates per month were consistently high, between eighty and ninety percent;²⁸ and more students always attended the first term (January through June) than the second.²⁹

Bayly recorded student ages for the January to June term in 1856. His students were older than the typical common school students. Of his sixty boys that term, 62 percent were in the 13 to 16 age cohort; 23 percent were in the 9 to 12 group; 13 percent were seventeen years of age or over; and

only one boy was in the 5 to 8 age range. Almost 82 percent of these boys were between the ages of twelve and sixteen. Only one boy was age seven, another was nine, three were ten, and one was eleven. At the opposite end of the age spectrum, two boys were age seventeen, two were eighteen, one was nineteen, two were twenty, and one was twenty-two.

Did the grammar school continue to meet parental expectations in the 1850s? This is an intriguing question, because the answer appears to be both yes and no. Some local school users like the Cronyns, Lawrasons, Leonards, Askins, Lees, Baylys, Harris', and Richardsons must have been quite satisfied with "their" grammar school; others probably were not. Moreover, some education officials in Toronto probably wanted substantial changes. One must be cautious, therefore, to differentiate between the biases of local spokesmen and the rhetoric of provincial school reformers.

There is no question that the grammar school building by the mid-1850s was inadequate. In fact, the town council had turned down the trustees' request for a new building in 1852.³⁰ Bayly himself, in his annual report for 1854, claimed that the school was in a "very bad" state of repair.³¹ One year later, the Reverend William Ormiston, a provincial grammar school inspector, rated the building in the lowest category. He described the depressing state of the old school thus:

The building itself is an old two story frame building, dingy, dark, and dilapidated altogether out of date for the city of London. The outward aspect is forbidding, and the inside arrangements are not much better, the ceilings are low - the windows small and the staircase narrow steep and worn - a part of the lower story is occupied by the person who takes charge of the building - and the first room you enter is occupied by the Headmaster, as a recitation room - The whole of the upper flat is used as a school room, where the second master oversees the pupils at their studies, and teaches the mathematics. The desks are long and arranged around the wall - the forms are movable and without

backs - and there is neither seat nor desk for the master, - except a small common chair and rickety table - The house is warmed by a stove....³²

In 1856, Thomas Jaffray Robertson, another provincial inspector, called the school house "a disgrace to London;"³³ and, in 1859, Ormiston, tongue in cheek, wrote, "Schoolhouse - as when last described - old and ready to vanish away - little matter how soon."³⁴

Why then did London's most privileged families continue to send their boys to this forbidding and disgraceful school? A number of critically important reasons, most of which have never been fully articulated, can be suggested.

One reason was financial; there was insufficient public money to improve the old Seminary building or to build a new grammar school. School law during this period restricted the raising of public monies for school purposes to common school trustees.³⁵ And since London's common schools, like the grammar school, were overrun with students, they too needed substantial amounts of money for new buildings. Thus, common schools were given priority over the grammar school when it came to raising public funds. Moreover, with the depression of the late 1850s, and the economic drain caused by railway overexpansion, money was in short supply. In addition, the town council was continually in a deficit position during these years.³⁶

Access to public funds were also stymied by a political stalemate. On the one hand, since the grammar school building was on county property, the municipality of London would not improve it. On the other hand, neither would the county council, for they "considered it would be appropriating the money of their constituents not for their benefit but for that of the citizens of London."³⁷

Familiarity may have been another reason for remaining with the current building. Many rich establishment families had sent their progeny to the Seminary for over two decades.

Perhaps, then, from their viewpoint, the building was tolerable under the circumstances? Certainly this group had the resources and connections to rent or share another building had they thought the building dangerous.

Supply and demand, geography and convenience, were probably factors also. Few good grammar schools existed close by and boarding was an expensive proposition, even for wealthy parents. In addition, the high enrollments of the mid-1850s were extraordinary; and they reflected London's spectacular population growth in the early part of the decade. In the past, the Seminary had probably been adequate for thirty to forty students daily. And since only a few families had expected their boys to complete the classical program, and Bayly had concentrated on that group, most elite parents had probably been satisfied. After all, it was the teacher who made the school not the building.

There is ample evidence to support this last contention. Powerful establishment members ran the grammar school. They shaped it to meet their needs, which were to provide an academically, culturally, and socially distinct schooling for their sons. Had they not been pleased with Bayly and his efforts they simply would have replaced him, as they did Thompson in 1859. Bayly, however, was another matter altogether. The trustees provided him with one of the highest, if not the highest, endowments in the Province.³⁶

In addition, Bayly had the right characteristics. He was White, British, upper class, a Church of England clergyman, highly educated, and he provided first-rate classical instruction. Although Bayly's methods were criticised by two provincial inspectors in the second half of the 1850s, his shortcomings were understandable given the difficult conditions under which he worked - besides their most damaging critiques were directed more at Thompson than Bayly.

In fact, at times, Bayly received considerable praise from the two provincial inspectors. Ormiston, for example,

rated the London grammar school as one of the best in the Province in 1855.³⁹ Even Roberston, the harsher of the two critics, acknowledged that "no one could have a well disciplined school in so unfit a house."⁴⁰ In spite of their criticisms, the inspectors held Bayly in high regard as a scholar. As a teacher he was highly respected by his colleagues and well-liked by students, parents, and others.⁴¹

Equally important Bayly's efforts met parental objectives. Although the annual numbers were never very large, he successfully and continuously prepared a number of upper class sons for the professions and several institutions of higher education. In addition to those noted previously, the following London boys were sent to Upper Canada College in the 1850s; Humphrey E. Buchan, T. Cronyn, C.J.S. Bethune, C. Gibbons, Charles Henry Connon, and R.L. Becher. Most, if not all, of these students must have been taught by Bayly.⁴²

Nicholas Monsarrat, the banker's son, for instance, and three more unnamed students prepared for the University of Toronto examinations in 1855.⁴³ Apparently all entered with honours.⁴⁴ Two additional students studied for university entrance in 1856 -the one for Toronto and the other for Queen's College.⁴⁵ Three students studied for the Law Society's examinations in 1857.⁴⁶ Two passed the Law Society's exams in 1858; four more pupils obtained scholarships at matriculation.⁴⁷ Six students took the Law Society's exams in 1859, one of whom was George Becher Harris, a son of the late district treasurer.⁴⁸

Finally, the most glowing testimonial to the headmaster was the expensive choice made by London's most respectable parents to send their sons regularly and punctually to Bayly, when an attractive alternative existed close by.⁴⁹ Beginning in 1851, Hamilton Hunter, and then J.B. Boyle, offered the classics at the Union School much more cheaply than did Bayly at the grammar school.⁵⁰

Nonetheless, these financial, political, personal, economic, and geographical reasons for using the old Seminary building could have been eliminated in one stroke, that is, by uniting the grammar school with the common school board. This option had been available since the common school act of 1843, and it was certainly a very attractive possibility after the impressive Union School was built in 1850. What obstacles blocked such a union?

There were two reasons, one public and one private. When union talks failed in 1854, the publicly stated reason was that the two groups could not agree on the program of studies. Grammar school trustees wanted a curriculum that focused on the humanities, rather than the wider curriculum which was being promoted by common school trustees.⁵¹ However, this difference was resolvable as demonstrated in later years.

Surely the more important, private reason had been revealed by Hamilton Hunter in 1852, when he described the caste system which still dominated London's social relations. These "aristocratic feelings" affected school attendance behaviour in the following two ways.

On the one hand, upper class parents were alarmed by the increasing number of refugee Blacks who had immigrated to London in this period; and they took steps to deal with the perceived problem. For instance, Whites often excluded Blacks from London's common schools;⁵² or when Blacks were admitted they removed their children.⁵³ Racial attitudes, therefore, helped to block a union of the grammar and the common schools in the 1850s.

On the other hand, Hunter claimed that the London rich considered it wrong to educate their children with "those of the middle and lower class of the community." With the significant rise in immigration during this period, much of it lower class, Black, and Irish Roman Catholic, a union with London's establishment was also unlikely for this reason,

especially when, as in 1854, some immigrants brought cholera with them.

These two points are central to an understanding of cultural and class relations in this mid-nineteenth-century community, and they will be underscored in the section below, which concerns further developments in the municipality's common and private schools. London's small establishment patronized the grammar school because they wanted to segregate their sons from Roman Catholics, from Blacks, and from middle and lower class children. Consequently, those who could afford it, and who had the right connections, sent their sons to the grammar school. Others enrolled their children, particularly their daughters, in the private schools.

In summary, ethnocentric, racist, sexist, and elitist attitudes blocked grammar and common school union until 1865. Then and only then, once Roman Catholics had developed their own school system, and most Blacks had left London, could a union of the two school types be consummated. In the interim, London's establishment sent their sons to a barely adequate school house that had noisy, crowded classrooms, poor student classification, and inadequate furnishings and apparatus.⁵⁴ Bayly and his classical curriculum were the school's sole redeeming graces.⁵⁵

(II) Common and Private Schools

In the years from 1853 to 1860, London's common schools were buffeted by a bewildering array of forces, some of which promoted their development while others acted to retard their growth. These forces interacted in such a way that the widespread demand for schooling in London during this period and the relatively quick and effective response of school trustees to the challenge have long been obscured from view.

As noted in chapter one, while common school enrollments generally increased between 1853 and 1856, percent enrollments plummeted; and when absolute numbers of common school students

declined slightly, at the end of the decade, percent enrollments soared. Coincidentally, private school enrollments experienced a reciprocal trend. What is the explanation for this peculiar school enrollment behaviour?

A partial explanation can be found in the spectacular variances in population numbers which London experienced, particularly in the mid-1850s (see Table 60).⁵⁶ But school attendance behaviour in these years was influenced by more than the rise and fall of pupil numbers. Enrollment patterns were also indelibly coloured by cultural and class concerns. As will be shown below, the consolidation of London's system of public instruction in this period was one of literally and figuratively accommodating these various forces.

As discussed above, the arrival of the railway in 1853 was a major turning point for London.⁵⁷ For common school trustees, railways brought one of the greatest challenges of the decade: how to accommodate vast numbers of immigrant working class children, many of whom were Irish Roman Catholic and Black.⁵⁸

Interestingly, although absolute enrollments for school age children at London's common schools increased slightly in 1853 over those for 1852, percent enrollments declined substantially, dropping from about 88 percent in the latter year to 53 percent in the former. Demographic growth accounts for a part of this change; London's population rose from 7,035 in 1852 to 10,000 in 1853, and the 5 to 16 age group increased from 1,800 to about 3,000 (see Table 60).

In all likelihood, however, the 3,000 figure is inaccurate. This deduction is based on the following developments. The Great Western Railway did not reach London until 15 December, 1853. So the new wave of immigrants to ride the iron rails to London (including school age children) probably arrived after that date. Nor is the chaos which surely would have followed such a population explosion evident in a commentary about the common school examinations which

took place in August of 1854. An observer wrote, "the children are ... clean, neat and well-conducted and on the whole manifesting a marked degree of improvement."⁵⁹

Moreover, common school enrollments in 1853 increased by only fourteen boys and nine girls, while grammar school enrollments declined and no private schools were reported in that year (see Tables 60, 61). These findings are contrary to the trends which took place in the 1840s, which indicated that when immigrant, working class, and Black children entered London's common schools the number of girls therein declined and enrollments in the grammar and private schools increased.

Equally significant was the board's policy regarding the annual census of students. In fact, their actions may have distorted the school population at this time. If trustees proceeded as they had in previous years, they probably did not take the 1853 school census until well into 1854.⁶⁰ This possibility is extremely likely since the trustees had not provided the school age population on their annual report when it was submitted to the Education Office on 4 April, 1854.⁶¹ Therefore, it is highly likely that the rounded off 3,000 figure is an estimate only.

Evidence also exists which discloses that some serious changes were underway in the schools in 1853, and that a number of respectable families had reconsidered the schooling options available to their children. For instance, board minutes divulge that trustees built a gallery in each of the two centre rooms at the Union School in 1853. Seating arrangements were reorganized as well, so that in the upper rooms pupils sat two abreast while in the lower rooms they were placed four abreast. In addition, a request to the school board for an infant school in St. David's ward was "laid over".⁶²

Moreover, contrary to information contained on the provincial annual reports in 1853, two private schools for upper class girls were located in local newspapers. The

Misses Corrigan, for instance, continued to operate their Ladies Academy begun in the preceding year. They also advertised vacancies for four boarders in 1854. Secondly, a new London Ladies Institute was opened by a Miss Edmonds in 1853. She was "lately from London, England, and the European Continent," and was "endeavoring to establish a school of a permanent and high order."⁶³

Trustees' reports in 1855 and 1856 record that a Miss Wilkinson and the Misses Stevens also started private schools in London in 1853.⁶⁴ In addition, it is likely that the two Mr. Watsons operated their schools in this year as well.

According to the provincial annual report for 1854, London's school population that year was identical to the one recorded for 1853 -that is, 3,000 pupils. However, no total was submitted on the trustees' annual report for 1854, indicating once again that a school census had probably not been taken that year either. Thus, this figure, like the previous one, was probably an estimate.⁶⁵

Nonetheless, while in 1854 an additional fifteen male students attended the common schools than in 1853, the number of female pupils decreased by fifty-five. Therefore, it appears that some London families had withdrawn their daughters, and perhaps some of their sons, from the common schools. Where did they go?

These children probably comprised a large portion of the 200 pupils who, based on the provincial annual report, attended London's five private schools in 1854 (see Table 61). One of these institutions was located in St. Paul's church.⁶⁶ Another, which initially was for boys only but later included girls, was run by a Charles P. Watson. A third school was administered by the Colonial Church and School Society (CCSS).⁶⁷ The two remaining schools have already been discussed -those operated by the Misses Corrigan and Miss Wilkinson. All five of these schools were a response to the

needs of a changing community, in which segregation along cultural and class lines figured.

These institutions had reasonably long histories. The St. Paul's school would run through 1857, Wilkinson's school until 1855; Watson's school, with a brief interlude in 1857, well into the next decade; and the CCSS school until 1859.⁶⁸ All of these schools offered a superior or an advanced education, and they ended only when their original objectives could be met by other means.

As discussed earlier, a considerable number of respectable parents chose to send their sons to the grammar school in the mid-1850s. In 1854, for example, enrollments at that institution almost doubled those for the previous year. Whether or not the decision by the grammar school trustees to admit this large influx of students was related to the prospect of union with the common schools, the unsatisfactory financial and physical condition of their own institution, or the significantly altered demography of their community, is not known.

Whatever the reason(s), it appears that a substantial number of middle and upper class London parents had once again rejected that community's common schools -that is, its new buildings, professionally-trained teachers, and free schools. Clearly, and this point will be considered below, when common school trustees admitted the children of working class immigrants and Blacks into their schools, many respectable families retreated to the bastions of educational privilege - private schools. Thus, although enrollments in London's common schools in 1853 were almost identical to those in 1854, there was a significant difference in the social composition of the student body.

This last point is confirmed with crystal clarity by a London editorialist, who was extremely blunt in his analysis of social relations in London and how racial prejudice affected the school attendance behaviour of respectable White

parents. He wrote that Londoners had strong feelings against "well-grown boys and girls of the negro race" being admitted to the Central School, particularly as it affected their daughters. He continued:

... We are confident, however much as our fellow-citizens, as a people, may sympathize in the sufferings and moral degradation of the unfortunate African in the neighbouring Republic, and throughout the world, that were each to express the genuine sentiments of his own heart, he would boldly declare his unwillingness that his daughter, verging upon womanhood, should be constrained to associate, for six hours in the day, with negroes of either sex....⁶⁹

Continuing this line of argument, the writer stated that trustees should not be surprised if London's "wealthier classes, who are able to afford their daughters an education in a private school, refuse to have them seated at the same desk with the children of the colored inhabitants."⁷⁰ In his opinion, the future of the common schools was at stake, as was the condition of the White race which he felt would surely "deteriorate" if school integration was allowed. These contentions would re-emerge time and again in the heated discussions which took place in the 1850s and 1860s about whether or not to admit the children of Blacks into London's common schools.

The first indication that London's common schools were bursting at the seams in this decade comes in 1854. In his annual report, chairman Daniell noted that the board had passed two resolutions in 1854 which had reduced attendance rates slightly. The first one prohibited non-residents from attending common schools unless there was room. The second resolution reopened the common schools on Saturdays, a day which generally experienced "extremely limited attendance."⁷¹ However, Daniell also noted that "the summer season was unusually sickly, and its effect upon the general attendance was such that the board deemed it expedient to give a vacation

during the continuance of the epidemic."⁷² This was the typhus epidemic that also claimed the life of Robert Wilson, the former teacher.

These two resolutions were appropriate under the circumstances, because the Union School, which had been built in 1850 to accommodate 700 to 800 pupils, enrolled 1,174 students by 1854.⁷³ The facility must have been extremely crowded at times. A similar situation likely prevailed at the much smaller St. George's school where the annual attendance was 426 pupils.⁷⁴

Daniell next emphasized how important it was to the community to have a "well-managed system of free common schools," and he noted complaints by parents and teachers about a lack of general improvement among scholars.⁷⁵ In the trustees' opinion, these problems were not the fault of the schools; and they were the responsibility of parents to correct. One solution, according to Daniell, was for parents and guardians to send their children regularly to school:

The Board have learned with regret, both from the complaints of the teachers, and from an examination of the class rolls, that the parents and guardians of too many of the children attending our public schools are remiss in not enforcing a more regular and uniform attendance. If children only attend school one or two days of the week, or one or two weeks in the month - and this system the Board have learned, with regret, is too much practiced - it is utterly impossible that the best effects of the most energetic teachers can fully succeed in their labors. A satisfactory improvement cannot be made under such circumstances. The classes, especially in a large institution, are disarranged, and the irregularity acts prejudicially, both upon those who absent themselves, and upon those regular in their attendance. In nine cases out of ten, where complaints of no improvement are made, the cause can be traced to the above circumstance. The Board have felt it to be their duty to make these observations, knowing that the evil complained of is of wide extent, and most ruinous in its consequences, acting as a barrier against

that full measure of success which our London common schools are in a position to realise.⁷⁶

The rapidly deteriorating state of affairs in the common schools probably swayed the grammar school trustees against the proposed plan of amalgamation with the common school board in 1854. Union might have seemed possible in 1852 and 1853; but with the introduction of more Blacks and Irish Roman Catholic immigrants into the common schools in 1854, the flight of respectable parents to the grammar and private schools, and the lack of agreement on a program of studies, the grammar school trustees turned down the proposal.

The situation in the common schools was to degenerate even more the next year. London's population exploded from 10,060 in 1854 to about 15,000 in 1855. This swell of immigration was reflected in the school population, which, according to the provincial annual report, increased from 3,000 to 3,600 persons (see Table 60).

Once again, however, the provincial figure is inaccurate, because the common school trustees' annual report for 1855 registers only 3,200 children of school age. Thus, 56 percent rather than 50 percent of this group attended the city's common schools that year. The result of this population explosion was chaos, both in the schools and in the community, where it was estimated by the local superintendent, the Rev. W.F. Clarke, that 750 students were not attending any public or private school whatsoever.⁷⁷

Board minutes in 1855 reflect a rapid debasement in student deportment, something which the trustees would not permit. Hereafter one can detect the implementation of the techniques and practices of educational governance of which sociologist Bruce Curtis speaks -teacher training, the examination, report cards, student classification, attendance records, and expulsions to name a few. Certainly London's recalcitrant common school students were to be disciplined;

but, contrary to Curtis' interpretation, the catalyst for change in London was initiated locally not by the State.⁷⁸

For instance, at the 11 January, 1855, meeting of the school board, the superintendent was directed to visit the schools and thereafter to submit his recommendations for improvement to the trustees. About two weeks later, notice was given that a "colored boy" had been suspended for misconduct and a janitor for negligence.⁷⁹ At a February meeting, the board went into a committee of the whole to devise a new set of rules and regulations for the common schools.⁸⁰ In the third week of March, a parent complained that his boys had been beaten by a teacher.⁸¹

Common school trustees were irate. In a response to the complainant, they issued a strong message to the public that they would no longer accept unruly behaviour in their schools. Furthermore, they maintained that the punishment meted out in this instance was "not undue, and that if pupils did not conform with the regulations of the school they had better not be allowed to attend."⁸²

Despite an increase of 223 students between 1854 and 1855, almost all of the additional students were males. The absolute number of girls had increased by just eleven students. In percentage terms their enrollments had plummeted to the lowest rate experienced during the decade. Why?

To tease out the dynamics that influenced school attendance behaviour between 1855 and 1860, three approaches have been used. The first traces the rise and fall of the private education sector in London, because focusing on school type and curricula reveals who attended these schools and why. The second approach examines the efforts of Roman Catholics, who were predominantly Irish, to develop schools that would transmit key cultural tenets to their children. The third investigates the efforts of common school builders to reorganize their schools so as to regain their position of dominance in the schooling marketplace.

At various times, about forty-five private schools were opened in London between 1855 and 1860. Most of these schools were operated between 1855 and 1858 and targeted respectable families who wanted to provide their children with a superior education. For analysis, these schools have been divided into girls, boys, and mixed or unknown schools (see Table 62).

Four private schools and 593 students were recorded on the provincial annual school report for London in 1855; however, more complete details are furnished in the trustees' annual report for that year, which registered one unnamed private academy and three private schools. Seventy pupils attended the academy, thirty-three the diocesan school, 410 the CCSS school, and eighty Miss Wilkinson's school.⁸³

However, at least seven more private schools existed in London than were registered on the official reports; and all offered a superior or an advanced education. The unregistered girls' schools were those run by the Misses Busby,⁸⁴ a Mrs. Lawrie,⁸⁵ the Ladies of Loretto, and the Misses Stevens.⁸⁶ The boys' schools were those kept by a Mr. Luke,⁸⁷ a Mr. Deadman,⁸⁸ the already noted Charles P. Watson,⁸⁹ and a Mr. McDonald.⁹⁰

The seventh school, which was also advertised in local newspapers in 1855, has been mentioned previously; but because of its significance for understanding school attendance behaviour in this period it will be discussed in detail here.

The Colonial Church and School Society was operated under the auspices of the Church of England and was intended for Black children between the ages of three and sixteen. The CCSS mission school offered a course of study that would "afford an English education of a high order after the most improved modern system and be combined with religious and moral training, taking the Holy Scriptures as its lone foundation."⁹¹

George Railton's city directory for London in 1856-57 records that the CCSS mission school had four teachers (two

males and two females) and 450 to 500 pupils; surprisingly, as is revealed below, most of these students were White.⁹² The chief of this school was the Reverend Martin Marmaduke Dillon, M.A.. The two female teachers, who were Blacks, were the Titre sisters, Sarah and Mary Ann; they were natives of Dominica. The third Black teacher was the principal, a Mr. R.M. Ballantine, who was a graduate of the Mico Charity Training College in Kingston, Jamaica.⁹³ The school ran from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m., and the teachers followed the Glasgow training system. There was also a lending library with over 500 volumes and a portable museum of natural substances.⁹⁴

The CCSS's mission was to evangelize Blacks in Canada through their schools and clerical agents⁹⁵ and break down racial prejudice.⁹⁶ Initially known as the Newfoundland School Society (NSS), the CCSS had been ministering in the Diocese of Quebec since 1841, its first Canadian mission. However, with the increasing immigration from the British Isles to the Province, the NSS amalgamated with the Colonial Church Society.⁹⁷

An examination of the students who attended the London mission school is important, because it provides a brief but decisive look at the dynamics underlying socially differentiated family schooling strategies in that community during the mid-1850s. The school, originally intended for Blacks, temporarily served as an alternative for hundreds of White London parents to obtain instruction for their children.

The mission school opened in July of 1854, when the Society sent Dillon to Toronto to organize a school for Blacks. For a number of reasons, the project did not succeed; and, late in November, Dillon was moved to London. This new community was a good site for Dillon to commence his work, because, as historian Fred Landon has shown, London was a major centre for Blacks. A large number of refugee slaves had congregated there after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act (1850).⁹⁸

Dillon received an enthusiastic response from the Church of England clergy in the area, especially from Benjamin Cronyn and Isaac Hellmuth, because the CCSS reflected the evangelical ethos of low church Anglicanism and was congenial to the views of Cronyn and Hellmuth. The mission school, as is discussed below, also aided in alleviating the key cultural and class concerns of London's establishment at this time. That too would have appealed to Cronyn and Hellmuth.

Before the year was over, Dillon, with Cronyn's assistance, had started two inter-racial schools at the military reserve. In less than a week, fifty students were in attendance at the first school.⁹⁹ The pupils were both coloured and White. Many of the Whites were the children of the soldiers' families.¹⁰⁰ By the beginning of the following year, the CCSS schools were second in numbers only to the common schools.

Dillon moved cautiously in 1854. He was not certain how Londoners would respond to racially mixed schools taught primarily by Black teachers. However, the response of Londoners to the Society and the school was overwhelming; and a branch of the CCSS was set up early in 1855. Prominent Episcopalians were members: Cronyn, Brough, Flood, Hayward, Goodhue, Lawrason, Wilson, Beecher (Becher?), Labatt, and Bailey (Bayly?).¹⁰¹

On 8 January, 1855, Dillon opened the second school. According to one historian, he was forced to turn away 115 students in the first week. By the end of 1855, three CCSS schools, and an additional two teachers (a Mr. John Hurst and a Miss J. Williams), served 450 to 500 (410 were officially registered) students. Fees of about \$1 per quarter were charged to those parents who could afford the cost.¹⁰² Another 450 to 500 students were turned away because of a lack of room.¹⁰³ Most students at the CCSS school, however, were White not Black. Apparently only about 75 students were coloured, although even that figure might be high.¹⁰⁴

Despite its promising start -separate schools for younger and older girls and boys, a Sunday school, an adult school, cottage lectures, and weekly meetings for adult women- the mission school had a meteoric history.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, it did serve two important purposes. On the one hand, it segregated most Black and lower class immigrant children (some of whom were Irish Roman Catholics) from those of London's respectable classes. This result was probably the major reason why London's establishment supported the Society. On the other hand, the mission school provided many Blacks and immigrants with schooling at a time when there was insufficient room for them in London's common schools.

The mission school was largely finished as a major schooling institution in London by December of 1855. For financial reasons, the local CCSS executive committee decided to cut back on its activities. Some of the underlying causes for this decision are contained in two barely legible letters written by Dillon in the Summer of 1855 to Egerton Ryerson.¹⁰⁶

In June, Dillon informed Ryerson that he had 260 students in his schools representing all the Protestant denominations in the city, as well as thirty Roman Catholic students. Furthermore, he expected to have 450 children in his school by July, once the military barracks had been refitted for their use. However, the expense of refurbishing the barracks, plus the costs of school materials for the students, which they supplied, was very great. Dillon inquired of Ryerson whether or not his school was eligible for the government grant.¹⁰⁷ The chief superintendent responded that he funded municipalities not schools, and he suggested that the mission school might be recognized by the London board of common school trustees¹⁰⁸ -a possibility that never came to pass.

In his second letter, Dillon described the significant challenges confronting him as he attempted to prepare his school for the arrival of 450 children. He wrote: "My

expenses for school-buildings ... have been so very great and that without local aid [his underlining], that I can scarcely afford the \$26 for them [music sheets] at this moment."¹⁰⁹

Then Dillon gave Ryerson a progress report. Again he noted the religious pluralism of his students, "even fifty [his underlining] Roman Catholics - Some of whom have even found their way into the Sunday School." Moreover, of the 504 letters from or on behalf of applicants for admission, some were from clergymen and "the most respectable inhabitants of London."

Apparently, there was such demand for schooling in London that Dillon had to refuse applications from seventy Roman Catholic parents because of insufficient room. He commented, "We have to increase the numbers of this class." Dillon concluded his letter with a comment about the spiritual side of his duties: "We have 810 coloured children and 300 adults under Christian instruction. You may easily imagine my hands are full and that I have but little time to myself."¹¹⁰ Perhaps, then, many of the 750 children noted by the Reverend Clarke as not being in school in 1855 might have been Blacks and Roman Catholics?

Having dedicated himself to this labour of love, Dillon was furious at the committee for their decision to cut back on the Society's activities in London. Eventually, he suffered a nervous breakdown and resigned in April of 1856.¹¹¹ Three other teachers left the mission school as well.¹¹² Only 160 students were reported at the school by the common school trustees in the annual report for 1856, even though it was free to coloured students.¹¹³

Interestingly, after Dillon departed, a large number of Blacks entered the school.¹¹⁴ In July of 1857, a Mr. Hughes, a CCSS teacher from England, took control of the boy's school. He was also prepared to accept a few students for teacher training. Miss Williams continued with the girls' school, and a Miss King, also from England, consented to teach the infant

school for free.¹¹⁵ Common school trustees reported that 178 students attended the mission school in 1857, and that the school was "free or nearly so."¹¹⁶ The following year two CCSS teachers taught 275 students.¹¹⁷

The mission for fugitive slaves carried on at a reduced level until the Summer of 1859 when it closed, ostensibly because London's common schools were accepting Blacks.¹¹⁸ However, this last point is misleading. According to one commentator, although a number of Black students entered the juvenile classes, "only a stray member of this dusky race has made its way to the benches of the Central School."¹¹⁹

Nonetheless, this allegation is itself deceiving, because according to the trustees' annual reports twenty-four Blacks attended the Central school in 1855, seventeen in 1856, twenty-two in 1857, and ten in 1858. Moreover, an additional eight Blacks were enrolled at the ward 7 school in 1856 -three in 1858; eight at the ward 3 school in 1857 -seven in 1858; and twelve at the ward 5 school in 1857 -twenty-five in 1858. Also, two more Black students attended St. Peter's separate school in 1858. Thus, a total of twenty-four Blacks were sent to the common schools in 1855, twenty-five in 1856, forty-two in 1857, and forty-seven in 1858, the last year for which there are records of this nature.¹²⁰

There is little question that the experience for most Black children at London's common schools in these years was not good; and that many parents of this race hesitated to send their children there for their own reasons, some of which are captured by the next two commentators.

Benjamin Drew himself visited London's common schools on 21 June, 1855, finding thirteen Blacks in attendance at the Union School and four at the St. George's school. In his opinion, the prejudice of Whites was the reason why most Black parents did not send their children to school:

The principal reason for this neglect of common school advantages by the colored people, is the

prejudice of whites. Many of the whites object to having their children sit in the same forms with the colored pupils; and some of the lower classes will not send their children to schools where the blacks are admitted. Under these circumstances, it is unpleasant to the colored children to attend the public schools -especially if any of the teachers happen to be victims of the very prejudice which they should induce others to overcome.¹²¹

Henry Morehead, a refugee slave from Kentucky, who came to London in the early-to-mid 1850s, offered a slightly different perspective than Drew on the psychology underlying the school attendance behaviour of Blacks:

The colored people here have not sent their children to school in London, so generally as desirable, for this reason. The fugitives who come to this country for freedom from bondage, have been kept down in such a manner, that these privileges granted to them seem somewhat strange, and they have to take some time to consider whether they shall send their children to school with the white children or not. This free school is something so unusual to them, that they can't realize it, until they become naturalized to the country. Although they know they are free, they have a kind of timidity about them, so that they cannot mingle with the whites of this country, as they would if they had been free born. Yet the day, I believe is fast approaching, when the people of color will see that they stand in their own light by not sending their children to school. The time is now, when the colored men begin to see that it is the want of education which has kept them in bondage so long.¹²²

Despite his optimism in the mid-1850s, Morehead, a labourer, may have been overwhelmed by the prejudice of Whites in London. Not one of his five school age children (four daughters and one son) were registered as going to school in 1860-61 (see Table 78).

As will be discussed below, a plethora of private schools burst upon London's education scene in 1856 and 1857, in reaction to the increased number of Blacks and immigrants in London.¹²³ The provincial school report for 1856 listed five

private schools and 118 students. However, the trustees' annual report for the same year registered four private schools and 265 pupils.

According to the latter report, thirty students attended the diocesan school where a Miss Mary Lester was the teacher; 160 students were sent to the mission school; thirty pupils attended the Misses Steven's school; and forty-five students were enrolled at Mr. Watson's school.¹²⁴ Interestingly, as enrollments at the mission school between 1855 and 1856 decreased from 410 to 160 students, total enrollments in the common schools increased by 406 students.

However, these schools were just the beginning. Evidence from Railton's directory and local newspapers disclose that school officials had significantly undercounted the number of private schools in London in 1856. An analysis of these two sources reveals that a total of thirty-one private schools operated in the city that year.

The private girls' schools were those run by the Misses Busby, the Ladies of Loretto, the Sisters of Providence,¹²⁵ a Mrs. Moncrieff,¹²⁶ a Mrs. Bristow and a Miss Andrews,¹²⁷ the Misses Robinson,¹²⁸ and the Misses Stevens.¹²⁹ Five private boys' schools were opened by the Messrs. Watson, Deadman, McDonald, Moncrieff,¹³⁰ and Luke.¹³¹

Lastly, there were fifteen unclassified private schools and one mixed private school in 1856. Eight of the unclassified teachers offered music instruction. They were a Miss Birt (who also taught languages), a Rudolph Bretzell, a Mrs. Denny, a William T. Erith, a Henry Haacke, a Charles Holland, a Miss Ivans, and a Miss Sullivan. The remaining unclassified schools were conducted by a Michael Cronican (Crunican?), a Miss Grace Hayden, a Mrs. Irwin, a Mrs. and Miss Kessack, a Mrs. McKay, a W.H. Tregeur, and a John McLaren.¹³² Mrs. George Moore taught the mixed school, a preparatory school for children from ages four to six.¹³³

Again, an intriguing difference exists in the private school statistics which were provided by school authorities in 1857. The provincial annual report listed five private schools and 277 students for London, whereas the trustees' annual report registered just three private schools and 213 students: a Professor McGauley with fifteen students; the diocesan school with twenty students; and the mission school with 178 students.¹³⁴ Yet, according to local school superintendent Hamilton Hunter, the private school sector was more than twice this large.

Hunter made an important notation on a side margin of the trustees' annual report. He acknowledged that of the 984 pupils not attending any school in 1857 "about 250 scholars have attended the Roman Catholic and two or three small female schools from which we can get no returns."¹³⁵ One wonders, therefore, how many more private school teachers and students went unreported in other years as well?

Between 1856 and 1857, a marked change in school attendance behaviour took place. Enrollments in the common schools rose from 2,229 to 2,737, while they increased from 118 to approximately 500 or more in the private schools. Part of the explanation for these trends was that the number of common schools had increased from two to four. But why the rise in the private school enrollments? Perhaps this change represented a domino effect? When former mission school students and others were admitted to the expanded common school system in 1857, respectable families removed their children to the new private schools.¹³⁶ This hypothesis seems to be confirmed after a review of the schools which served Londoners in 1857.

Of the thirty-one private schools to operate in London in 1856, all but the Ladies of Loretto, Busby, and Moore schools operated in 1857.¹³⁷ In addition to these schools, three new ones commenced operations in 1857. They were opened by the

Misses McKinnon,¹³⁸ the Misses Walker,¹³⁹ and a Professor James William McGauley.¹⁴⁰

In 1858, private schools continued to play an influential role in London's schooling marketplace. Provincial and local school officials both registered three private schools and 341 students for London in that year. McGauley taught one of these schools; he had thirteen students and received \$780 in fees. Obviously, only very wealthy parents could afford to send their children to his school. The names for the two other private institutions were not provided, but one must have been the mission school because the trustees recorded that 275 students had attended this school gratuitously. Three teachers taught at the third private school, which was established in 1854. Fifty-three scholars attended this institution.¹⁴¹

Once again, provincial officials seriously underestimated the actual number of private schools that were opened in London in 1858. Newspapers indicate that at least three of the private schools from 1857 -those run by the Sisters of Providence, Charles P. Watson, and Professor McGauley- also operated in the next year (see Table 62). And, in addition to this group, six more private schools (five for females and one for males) were opened in 1858.

The private girls' schools were opened by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart,¹⁴² a Mrs. Beddome,¹⁴³ a Mrs. Holmes and a Miss Lawford,¹⁴⁴ a Mrs. Henry L. Shaw,¹⁴⁵ and a Mrs. James T. Mercer.¹⁴⁶ The first three schools operated until at least 1860, with some lasting into the next decade. A Mr. C.J.D. Trenchard operated the new private school for boys.¹⁴⁷

The heyday for London's private schools in this decade was over by 1859. According to the data contained on official reports, only 120 students attended four private schools that year.¹⁴⁸ Moreover, only five private schools were listed in newspapers in 1859; and all had been established in previous years. They included the girls' schools conducted by the

Sisters of the Sacred Heart, the Misses Holmes and Lawson,¹⁴⁹ and Mrs. Bedomme,¹⁵⁰ as well as the mixed schools run by Mr. Watson and the CCSS. Furthermore, as noted previously, the boys' school operated by McGauley might have run on into 1859.

Official sources recorded identical private school figures for London in 1860 -four private schools and 130 students. Some of these schools were fairly long-standing ones; and, based on the trustees' report, they were established in 1854, 1856, 1858, and 1860.¹⁵¹ On the other hand, newspapers recorded seven not four private schools. Four were established ones and three were new. The established schools were those run by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, Mrs. Beddome, the Misses Holmes and Lawford, and Charles P. Watson. The new schools included an Evening school,¹⁵² and those kept by James C. Thompson,¹⁵³ and a Reverend T.D. Luard.¹⁵⁴

Londoners, as in previous periods, did not restrict the schooling of their children to the community's corporate boundaries in these years, and there were considerable choices even within the same family. For example, John Walsingham Cook Meredith, a T.C.D. graduate, and a prominent clerk in London, had eight sons and four daughters. Meredith sent his first three sons to London's public schools. The third son also went to Woodstock College. The fourth son attended the private schools run by Watson and Luard. His four youngest sons, who were born between 1847 and 1861, were enrolled in different private schools in London, Galt, and Toronto. No information is available on the schools attended by Meredith's four daughters.¹⁵⁵

The actions of the Leonard and Labatt families in this period also demonstrate the lengths to which some London families were prepared to go to obtain a suitable education for their children. Elijah Leonard Jr. enrolled his son Frank in the Worcester School of Technology in the United States to

obtain the necessary skills to run the family tannery in better fashion.¹⁵⁶

Similarly, in 1859 John Kinder Labatt sent his son, John, who had attended London's public schools and the Caradoc Academy, to Wheeling, West Virginia, in the United States, to study under an English brewmaster who was located there.¹⁵⁷

Cultural and class biases, therefore, stimulated the establishment of a substantial number of private schools in London during the mid-to-late 1850s. Without question, these schools played an important role in the schooling of children from London's respectable families. However, cultural and class considerations also significantly shaped another key aspect of school attendance behaviour in London at this time. Submerged in a sea of Protestantism, London's relatively small Roman Catholic population by the end of the decade created their own private and separate schools to transmit key religious tenets to their children.

As discussed in the review of school developments between 1843 and 1852, most Roman Catholic children during that period were sent to London's common schools. Moreover, a number of Roman Catholic parents participated actively in these schools, as councillors, trustees, and teachers. However, London's Roman Catholic population increased fairly substantially in the early 1850s; and new circumstances caused this consensual school participation pattern to change. Consequently, before the end of the decade Roman Catholics would have their own schooling institutions.

The first Roman Catholic private school in London, a boarding school for young ladies, was established by the Loretto Order of Nuns in November of 1855 at the invitation of Father Kirwan. The Sisters, under the Principal Mrs. Lawlor, used the rectory at St. Peter's Church for their school. Apparently, it prospered beyond expectations.¹⁵⁸

However, when Bishop Pierre-Adolphe Pinsoneault arrived in London in 1856 he quickly made changes.¹⁵⁹ Pinsoneault,

a zealous French-Canadian nationalist, dismissed the predominantly Irish Sisters of Loretto in favour of the Sisters of Providence from Montreal. These nuns ran a private school for girls from September, 1856, to January, 1858, when they returned to Montreal. Fifty-six girls immediately enrolled at this school, and by late December student numbers had increased to 136.¹⁶⁰

In September of 1857, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, under Mother Gilluly, started an expensive day and boarding school for girls in their Convent at Mount Hope.¹⁶¹ Tuition for boarders was \$100 annually, whereas the charge to day students was \$25 per year;¹⁶² some poor children were admitted free.¹⁶³ Twenty-six pupils attended this school by the end of the year, of whom nineteen were day students.¹⁶⁴

The curriculum at the Mount Hope Institute was based on "those Ornamental Arts and Sciences, which are considered requisite in a finished education; while propriety of Deportment, Politeness, Personal Neatness, and the principles of Morality, will form subjects of particular assiduity." Moreover, "the knowledge of Religion and of its duties will receive that attention which its importance demands, as the primary end of all true Education, and hence will form the basis of every class and department."¹⁶⁵

St. Peter's, a coeducational school, was also established in 1857; and classes began in late September.¹⁶⁶ This school was a four room frame building, and it was built just north of St. Peter's church. The following year, St. Peter's school was absorbed into the newly established Roman Catholic separate school board for London.

It is important to acknowledge the class and gendered nature of these institutions. It can safely be assumed that, because the instructors charged fees, the schools run by the Ladies of Loretto, the Sisters of Providence, and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, served girls from primarily respectable

Catholic families. On the other hand, it appears that the St. Peter's school was open to all Roman Catholic children.

Where, then, did the sons of wealthy Roman Catholic parents attend school? A few might have attended St. Peter's school; but, as will be argued below, many were probably sent to the several private schools which had emerged in London. Such an action suggests that respectable Roman Catholic and Protestant parents acted similarly when lower class and Black students entered the common and the separate schools.

The establishment of a Roman Catholic separate school board was a significant event in London's schooling history. An introspective look at the men behind this move highlights the distinctions between Protestant and Roman Catholic world views, and some of the key reasons for socially differentiated family schooling strategies in London at this time.

In January of 1858, London's Roman Catholics decided to exercise the right granted to them under the Separate School Act of 1855 to establish a separate school in each of London's seven wards.¹⁶⁷ Apparently, the use of a library book called "Near Home" in the common schools had offended their feelings.¹⁶⁸ In accordance with the relevant terms of the act, five or more freeholders or householders in each ward called a public meeting for that purpose; and three trustees were to be elected to oversee the management of each school.

The names of the participants at these meetings were recorded on a document which, as required by the school law, was submitted to the chairman of the London board of common school trustees, George Magee (see Table 63).¹⁶⁹ A reconstruction of the occupations and social characteristics of these participants discloses two important facts. Firstly, over half of these men, as classed by the Katz occupational scheme, were working class (see Table 64). In addition, according to the census classification scheme most worked in unclassified and industrial occupations (see Table 65).

These meetings were dominated by labourers. Of the 132 men whose names were contained on the document, at least fifty-six were labourers.¹⁷⁰ Of these labourers, an impressive forty-five signed their own names, while ten labourers and one gardener signed only an "X" opposite their name.¹⁷¹ The remaining seventy-seven men held thirty-six different occupations. No other occupational group was predominant.

These labourers were active not passive participants in this endeavour. Thirty-seven men called the seven ward meetings; all but three were identified with occupations. Of these thirty-four men, fourteen or 41 percent were labourers; and two others (gardeners) were also members of the working class.

However, either the labourers recognized their limitations or they could not control the electoral process. Of the twenty-one men who were elected trustees, all but two were identified with occupation; and only three of those nineteen trustees were members of the working class (two labourers and one gardener). Most trustees, it is important to note, were middle class. Therefore, although the drive to create London's separate schools for the most part was dominated numerically by Irish Roman Catholic labourers, school management was left to the Roman Catholic middle class, similar to the situation in the common schools.

The participation of Irish Roman Catholic labourers in the separate schools is significant. Dillon has shown that of the 258 labourers listed on the 1861 census, 222 (86 percent) were Irish, of whom 67 percent were Roman Catholics.¹⁷² These findings suggest that many of London's lower class schooled their children in the separate schools. As will be shown below, many Protestant working class parents exhibited similar school behaviour but in the common schools.

Despite their efforts to establish seven boards of trustees for seven separate schools, London's Roman Catholics

eventually decided on one united school board and one school at St. Peters. This decision was controversial because of the distance that some students would have to walk to school.¹⁷³ Moreover, the financial and academic arguments put forward for just one school were similar to those advanced earlier by the advocates of the Union School; and they carried the day.¹⁷⁴

Nonetheless, senior Roman Catholic girls continued to receive their education at the Mount Hope Institute; and plans were formulated to offer classical instruction to boys at a new Roman Catholic College to be constructed within two years.¹⁷⁵ Evidently, a Roman Catholic establishment was patronizing or creating schools to segregate their children not just from Protestants and Blacks but from other Roman Catholic children as well.

In 1858, a separate school board was formed in London because Bishop Pinsonneault left Roman Catholics no other alternative. He and his clergy told their parishioners in September of 1857 that with the establishment of Roman Catholic schools "parents were not to consider themselves at liberty to send them [their children] any longer to Protestant schools and academies where many of them had hitherto been acquiring instruction."¹⁷⁶

This move by Pinsonneault was part of a provincial campaign begun in the early 1840s by the Roman Catholic bishops in Canada West to establish separate schools wherever possible.¹⁷⁷ Bishop Charbonnel of Toronto was to lead this battle in the 1850s, and in 1856 he decreed in a lenten pastoral that Roman Catholic parents had to enroll their children in Roman Catholic separate schools under the threat of the penalties of mortal sin.¹⁷⁸

Father Kirwan of London defended Charbonnel's actions. Kirwan condemned mixed schools as "sectarian" and "negative as regards Christianity." Furthermore, he claimed that county councils often appointed "sectarian ministers" as local superintendents; Roman Catholic children were frequently

forced to read the Protestant Bible; and trustees repeatedly rejected books for their libraries that were written by Roman Catholics.¹⁷⁹ Thus, Pinsonneault was operating well within the mainstream of Roman Catholic thought at the time.

According to an article written in the London Free Press, Pinsonneault made an important distinction between "teaching" and "education:"

... teaching ... was merely imparting knowledge, and such branches as writing, arithmetic, and the like; whereas education was a much graver matter, and was especially attended to in the Catholic schools and institutions, vis., training the young in morals, in deference to authority, in mutual respect, and in submission to their parents; in fact, forming their characters and regulating their youthful impulses....¹⁸⁰

In other words, religion was an indispensable part of a Roman Catholic's education; and it would be part and parcel of the instruction imparted in London's separate schools, but not in its common schools.

Consolidating the separate schools in 1858 was not an easy task. James Egan, the artist, and separate school board chairman in 1858, claimed that the school law made it difficult to obtain the school taxes paid by Roman Catholics that year. And he devoted a lengthy section of the annual report to clarifying the issue and calling for parliamentary redress.¹⁸¹

Starting up a new school system was expensive. Fortunately, the Bishop provided a school-house (St. Peter's),¹⁸² where Mrs. J.E. Murphy taught the junior grades for a very low salary.¹⁸³ Five lay teachers (three males and two females) instructed at this school during 1858; one had attended a Dublin teacher training institution.¹⁸⁴

In addition to Mrs. Murphy, a John Brennan, and a Mary Mull(en?) taught Reading, Arithmetic, Grammar, History, Writing, and Book-keeping to 146 boys and 133 girls in 1858.¹⁸⁵ About 100 students were in regular attendance at this

free school.¹⁸⁶ Edward Murphy, the shoemaker, along with Egan were trustees; the name of the third trustee was not recorded.¹⁸⁷

In addition, there were unplanned expenses. Trustees decided during the course of the year to fit up a school-house at Mount Hope for the substantial sum of \$235.60. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart, under Lady Superior Madame Hardy, Madame Henratty, and Madame McKenna, opened this school on September 1st. Ninety-five female pupils attended during the first four months of operation. The Sisters taught Reading, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, History, and Writing.

Nevertheless, the St. Peter's school was almost closed down permanently in the Summer of 1858, due to a lack of resources, "strong prejudices," "discouraging predictions," the depression of the late 1850s, the loss of the Sisters of Providence, and the disappointment of not obtaining the Christian Brothers, who were to have taught the female and male departments beginning in August of that year.¹⁸⁸ While the board scrambled for solutions, the school was closed for the month of August and most of September.

The issue took on larger overtones, according to Egan in his annual report for 1858:

Our career has, the last twelve months, been watched with the greatest anxiety by the Catholics of Western Canada generally, and the Diocese of London in particular.

Had the Catholics of the Episcopal City failed in sustaining the the [sic] principle of Separate Schools in their first attempt, the argument would have been that they had not that regard for the education of their children they professed to have, or if they had, they were unable or indisposed to pay for it, or unwilling to make any sacrifice to secure it.¹⁸⁹

Creative and opportune financing saved the day for London's Roman Catholics. A discounted loan from the Commercial Bank, private subscriptions, school taxes, and a donation (\$80) from parliamentarian Thomas D'Arcy McGee of

Montreal allowed the school to reopen in late September. Thereafter Roman Catholic separate schools became a permanent fixture in London's educational environment.¹⁹⁰ Enrollments in these schools grew slowly between 1858 and 1860, from 374 to 418.¹⁹¹

How did separate school arrangements compare to those instituted for the common schools between 1858 and 1860? First, the trustees for both sets of schools were dominated by middle class Irish males; however, most separate school students had parents that were Irish and working class whereas most common school pupils had parents that were middle class. Next, common school teachers on average were better qualified than their separate school counterparts.¹⁹²

In addition, Roman Catholics had significantly fewer schools, teachers, and financial resources than did the Protestant dominated common schools. Despite their differences, both groups backed their schools financially. Common school supporters furnished six to seven times, and separate school supporters four to five times, the amount of money provided by government grants (see Table 69).

Did common school students attain higher levels in their studies than separate school students? The question is not an easy one to answer. School registers for this period have not survived, but a rough proxy measure of school attainment levels can be obtained by examining selected tables that were prepared for the annual school reports in these years.

In 1858, the Council of Public Instruction recommended a tripartite program of studies for the common schools, which corresponded to the five books of the Irish National Readers. The third or highest division of the program of studies incorporated the Fourth and Fifth Books, as well such subjects as Trigonometry, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration, and Natural Philosophy. Following the distribution of students in the two highest books allows one to make some reasonable judgements

about the number of students who were engaged in the senior level of the school programme.¹⁹³

In 1858 and 1859, more separate school students than common school students were enrolled in the Fourth and Fifth Books: 39 percent versus 29 percent, and 27 percent compared to 24 percent, respectively (see Table 67). However, in 1860 these positions were reversed. Almost 24 percent of common school students were reading the Fourth and Fifth Books compared to only 19 percent of separate school students.

In 1860, the difference in reading attainments between separate and common school students is not as clear-cut as it was in the two previous years. More Roman Catholics than Protestants read the Fifth Book in 1860, but a substantially larger number of Roman Catholic students were also enrolled in the First Book that year than in the previous two years. Why? One obvious reason is that Mount Hope was closed in 1860. That action likely accounts for the overall drop in enrollments in the Fourth and Fifth Books, from 39 to 27 to 19 percent between 1858 and 1860.

Yet, several questions are left unresolved. Why did the number of Roman Catholic students who were reading the Fifth Book increase so substantially in 1860 over previous years, while not one student was registered in the Fourth Book? And why did the number of separate school pupils studying the First Book rise so dramatically?

Whatever the reasons, between 1858 and 1860 Roman Catholics generally pursued a lower level of studies and a narrower range of subjects than did their Protestant counterparts. According to the trustees' annual reports for those years, most separate school pupils focused on Arithmetic, Grammar, and Writing, while a smaller number of pupils took History and Geography. Few if any Roman Catholic students studied Book-keeping, Algebra, Mensuration, Geometry, Natural History, Vocal Music, and Linear Drawing (see Table 68). On the other hand, substantial numbers of common school

students received instruction in almost all of the above subjects.

Unfortunately, provincial officials did not publish any information about the number of common or separate school students taking Latin, Greek, or French between 1858 and 1860.¹⁹⁴ Hence, one must turn to the printed local annual reports to see if the respective chairmen made any comments in this regard.

Such information is not given by the separate school trustees in their annual reports; and it is unlikely that any Roman Catholic boys studied Latin or Greek at St. Peter's school, although it is reasonable to conclude that some upper class girls were taught French at Mount Hope. Upper class Roman Catholic boys who studied Latin and Greek probably did so in London's private schools, at the Central School, or by private arrangement.

On the other hand, George G. Magee, the chairman of the common school board, claimed in 1858 that the highest department of the Central school, in terms of numbers and proficiency, ranked with any grammar school in the Province.¹⁹⁵ The classical department at the Central school, which in 1857 had forty-eight boys in Latin, thirteen boys in Greek, fifteen boys and twenty-six girls in French, had grown so that by 1859 there were eighty-two boys in Latin, twelve boys in Greek, and about eighty-two students in French. Magee boasted that "The course is sufficiently extensive to qualify the students for matriculation in University College, to pass the Law Society's examination, or enter upon the study of any other of the learned professions."¹⁹⁶ No information about these subjects was given in 1860.

Roman Catholic and Protestant students exhibited striking differences in the number of days that they attended school between 1858 and 1860 (see Table 69). Almost 58 percent of common school students went to school more than 150 days in 1858, and 71 percent attended more than 100 days. The

corresponding figures for separate school students were 11 percent and 20 percent, respectively. One reason for this significant difference is that the Roman Catholic schools were closed for almost two months in 1858.

Nonetheless, differences in attendance rates between common and separate school students remained significant in 1859 and 1860. On the one hand, slightly less than 60 percent of Protestants attended school more than 150 days; about 70 percent went more than 100 days. On the other hand, only about one-quarter of Roman Catholic pupils attended more than 150 days; and about one-half attended more than 100 days.

In summary, private schools and Roman Catholic schools were significant educational forces in London during the 1850s. However, by the end of the decade, non-denominational private schools, which had served mostly respectable families in the mid-1850s, were in decline. At the same time, the continued ascension of Roman Catholic schools bore evidence that religious and educational concerns were a high priority for that religious community, the overwhelming majority of whom were Irish.¹⁹⁷

Despite the competition from private and Roman Catholic schools in the educational marketplace, London's common (including separate) schools, which contained only one of every two school age students in 1855, by 1860 enrolled nine of every ten. Who were the individuals who promoted these schools, and what strategies did they employ to win back the confidence of London's respectable classes?

Leading citizens, especially middle and upper class British Protestants, took the lead in reorganizing the community's common schools at mid-century. To achieve their educational goals, many of these men sought powerful positions as councillors and school board trustees; in fact, a substantial number of these men sat on both municipal institutions, which explains the cooperative relationship between the two bodies (see Tables 70,71).

For instance, James Daniell, the lawyer, and George G. Magee, the merchant, chaired the school board for all but one year in the 1850s; and Nicholas Wilson, Hamilton Hunter, and James B. Boyle were the headmasters of the Union School during this decade. All were Anglo-Irish.

Daniell, first a trustee in 1850, was chairman of the school board between 1851 and 1854. He was also a councillor for most of the years between 1849 and 1855.¹⁹⁸ Magee, a trustee in 1849 and 1854, was school board chairman between 1855 and 1860, and chairman of the finance committee for the city council in 1855 and 1856.¹⁹⁹ Wilson and Hunter were discussed above, and Boyle's contribution will be reviewed below. All five of these men had children in the common schools.

In addition, five of the ten mayors between 1848 and 1860 (Morill, Dixon, Adams, McBride, and Moffatt) were either trustees or chairmen of the common school board. Alexander S. Abbott, school board secretary from 1850 to 1892, was also city clerk during much of this period.²⁰⁰ And men like John Labatt, John Carling, Edward Adams, John Ashton, Hugh Stevenson, James McGauley, Hamilton Hunter, and Sam McBride, in addition to their ties to the school board, were either councillors or aldermen in the 1850s. Moreover, school board meetings took place at the town or city hall. These men also were British and Protestant, and most were Irish and parents of children who they sent to the common schools.

As noted earlier, common school trustees realized in 1855 that they had a significant problem on their hands. London's respectable classes were taking their children out of the common schools in droves. One long-term strategy employed by these trustees was to continue a practice begun a year or two earlier; they would hire several of the more prominent private school teachers to provide instruction in the common schools.²⁰¹ Immediately, however, they took two steps. First, they requested the superintendent to look for ways to reform

the schools. Secondly, they began a widespread and much publicized search for a new headmaster.²⁰²

This quest led to the hiring of James B. Boyle, another graduate of Trinity College Dublin. In later years, J.G. Hodgins, a leading education official in Toronto, referred to Boyle as "one of the ablest all-round teachers and inspectors that ever served in the province."²⁰³ His selection was announced at an April board meeting.²⁰⁴

When trustees in May of 1855 asked his opinion of London's common schools, Boyle wisely sidestepped the question. He stated shrewdly that the Union School was "capable of being made one of the Best Common Schools in the province."²⁰⁵ However, quick to get on with the job, he added that three additional teachers were needed immediately. Consequently, the board advertised these new positions in May; and in June it was minuted that they had received thirty-one applications for the three jobs.²⁰⁶

Trustees continued their work in 1855 to upgrade the common schools. Another partition and gallery were erected at the Union School,²⁰⁷ the schools were whitewashed, and new earth was placed on the school grounds.²⁰⁸ In addition, Boyle was requested to visit the St. George's School periodically and make suggestions for its improvement.²⁰⁹ Then the board tried to raise teacher morale, which must have been under considerable strain during this period of unruliness. A ten percent increase in salaries was awarded to all teachers commencing in 1856.²¹⁰

The actions taken by the board in 1855 showed promise almost at once. Almost 72 percent of common school pupils in 1855 attended school more than six months; 52 percent attended more than nine months; and 30 percent attended the full twelve months.²¹¹ Moreover, in 1856 enrollments for the school age population rose 13 percent over the previous year; twice as many girls as boys entered the common schools; and private school and grammar school enrollments declined substantially.

The battle for the schooling marketplace seemed to be turning in favour of the common schools.

To accommodate the flood of new enrollments to the common schools, the board of trustees took an ad hoc approach to the situation. In the end, however, they decided upon both a long-term and a short-term strategy. In February of 1856, a committee of seven, one from each ward, was struck to determine the expediency of building more schools.²¹² Later, the committee was reduced to five members; and it was instructed to coordinate its activities with the city council's committee on printing and education.²¹³

Common school enrollments must have accelerated rapidly toward the close of the first term in 1856, because in July of that year the trustees directed chairman Magee to approach city council for permission to use the upper rooms of the Engine Houses on King and North Streets for temporary school purposes.²¹⁴ In August, the board decided that a more comprehensive strategy was necessary.²¹⁵ In the short-term, however, it was necessary to strike a separate committee to secure temporary school accommodation. Two possibilities were discussed: using the hospital in the frame Barrack's building, and the purchase or lease of a house and lot on Horton Street.

In September, upon Magee's recommendation, a resolution was passed to request \$12,000 from city council to be put toward the purchase of school lands and buildings.²¹⁶ The request was subsequently approved by the city council, and recorded as such at the board meeting of 16 September, 1856.²¹⁷ At the same meeting, Magee was directed to sign a lease for the land on Horton Street, since the price was too high to purchase; and he wanted to start the school "with as little delay as possible."

Enrollments for the school age population rose by another 14 percent in 1857, from 2,192 in 1856 to 2,704 the next year. By 1857, therefore, 77 percent of London's children aged 5 to 16 were enrolled in the community's common schools. The

average attendance was 1,083, and the actual attendance was 1,361. This surge of students was fairly evenly divided between the sexes, and it probably reflected the opening of the Horton Street school (ward 3) in 1856 and a juvenile school on the Union or Central School grounds (ward 5) in 1857. To accommodate this rising demand for schooling, the board employed eight males and nine females as teachers.²¹⁸

Magee touted the declining costs and the burgeoning enrollments as evidence of the superiority of the free school system:

This is conclusive evidence that even in an economical point of view, the Free School System deserves the confidence and support of the community; but when it is considered that this system is the only agency, yet discovered, by which a good education has been brought within the reach of all classes of our fellow citizens, indiscriminately, by which the whole talent of the country may be made available for the country's progress, its claims upon the continued patronage and fostering care of an intelligent people scarcely admit of controversy.²¹⁹

He further concluded that the major reasons for the change in school attendance behaviour were the popularity of the schools, the sound and comprehensive system of instruction adopted therein, and the talent and dedication of the teachers.²²⁰

Despite Magee's boosterish pronouncements, approximately 500 students attended London's private schools in 1857. This choice probably reflected an antipathy on the part of some parents to the forty-two Black students and the increased number of immigrant children, especially Irish Roman Catholics who were attending the common schools.

Hamilton Hunter, the local superintendent in 1857, estimated that about 734 students were not attending any school whatsoever.²²¹ Black students may have comprised a significant number of these pupils too, if many of the 801 Black children seen by Dillon in 1855 still remained in

London. At this point, however, it is impossible to know the details; but one thing is for certain: all was not as well as Magee claimed.

The trustees were in a predicament. Although the common schools were bursting at the seams with students, they contained substantial numbers of immigrants, Roman Catholics, and Blacks; a situation which repelled most upper and wealthy middle class parents. Therefore, the trustees were compelled to design a new strategy -one that would bring order back into the common schools, differentiate the school population by cultural and class characteristics, and convince respectable parents to return their children to these schools.

Magee's comments in his annual report for 1857, when considered in this light, make perfect sense. There the chairman reported that fairly large numbers of children had studied Latin, Greek, and French during the year under Principal Boyle; and he reminded his readers that entry to the classical department was by parental application only. Of course, Magee's unstated message was that this school policy also separated the social classes since most working class parents did not want their children to study the classics.

Magee made additional comments about the circulating library which were cast in a similar vein. His observations were meant to reassure respectable families that the character and tone of the common schools, particularly the Central School, was changing for the better:

It is only reasonable to suppose, that much good has been effected by this means; that, as the books generally are of a superior class, much useful information has been diffused, a taste for more rational amusements and intellectual pursuits acquired by the readers, and a laudable ambition excited in some, which may lead them to labor in acquiring a name and position among their fellows.²²²

In the concluding paragraph of his report, Magee noted that for the previous two years he had recommended to the

board the necessity of building more schools in suitable places, implying, therefore, that a greater attention to the geographic location of the schools would result in higher enrollments therein.

Although the depression which started in 1857 had temporarily dried up any funds that might have been available to build new schools in that year, Magee challenged the incoming board to find a solution. He noted that the "system will never be perfect, nor give entire satisfaction to the people, until this object had been achieved."

When the chairman sang the praises of London's common schools, he selected his words carefully:

On the whole, however, I feel myself fully justified in saying, that the schools, whether judged by the orderly conduct of the students, by the general proficiency of the classes, or by the continued and steady increase in the number of respectable families, who avail themselves of the means of education here provided, are second to none in the Province at the present time, and well merit a continuance of the confidence and patronage of the intelligent community of London.²²³

Board minutes for 1857 again reveal the concerted efforts of trustees to restore public confidence in the common schools. Also, from this point on the school system began to acquire those characteristics which sociologists contend are the mark of bureaucracy: hierarchy, division of function, specialization, precision, continuity, rule-following, and discretion (that is, power of decision making).²²⁴

The search for order and efficiency in London's common schools had started earlier than 1857, but it gathered momentum from this year onward.²²⁵ Detailed rules and regulations for running board meetings were established.²²⁶ A resolution was passed to call future board meetings by special notice.²²⁷ The board agreed to copy all of the principal's reports into a minute book. Standing committees for improving the three common schools and the library were

appointed.²²⁸ And in 1857 the board procured a corporate seal.²²⁹

The trustees next sought a source of funds for the rebuilding and expansion of the school system. Money was scarce during the depression years, but difficult times often engender creative thinking. In this case, the creative act involved the local clergy reserves.

At a meeting in the third week of January, Magee was directed to apply to the city council for the unappropriated clergy reserve fund.²³⁰ This money was earmarked to purchase land and build schools, "to meet increasing demands for further school accommodation in the City." On April 1, the board slightly amended their instructions to the chairman. He was directed to apply for the said clergy reserve money, but to divide it into three instalments spread equally over the next three years.²³¹

The trustees' next measure boosted teacher morale. In mid-February, teachers were awarded a second ten percent raise in pay, retroactive to the first of January.²³² Then the board sent Boyle to the Toronto Normal School to hire the top ranked graduate there in 1857, a Mr. John Brebner. This move was a signal to respectable families that common school trustees in London were serious about upgrading the schools. Lastly, the board sent a signal to the public that improprieties would no longer be tolerated at the common schools. Boyle suspended three boys: two for "repeated acts of obscene and immoral conduct; the latter for an ungovernable propensity to theft and falsehood."²³³

Following these measures, the board worked to expand the physical capacity of the system. For two years, the principal had drawn attention to the overcrowded conditions in the junior classes at the Central School. Boyle felt strongly that this situation had to be rectified. He went on record as saying that, "satisfactory progress is simply out of question

... the health of both teachers and children will be endangered."²³⁴

Finally, a major breakthrough came. Late in April, the board announced that the city council had approved their request for the clergy reserve appropriation.²³⁵ The trustees immediately appointed a committee to look into building a new school on the Central School grounds. Within three weeks a tender was accepted.²³⁶ Boyle planned to use the new juvenile school to institute an important reform. Some 268 students would be moved from the Central School to the new juvenile school, permitting a more accurate classification and division of all the classes from the fourth down to the first.²³⁷

The shape and intent of the new classification scheme was clear by the end of 1857. First, trustees restricted teachers in the wards 3 and 5 schools to the First and Second Books of the Irish National Readers, as well as Arithmetic, Geography, and Writing. Teachers at the ward 7 school (St. George's) were allowed to give instruction in all five books of the Readers, as well as Arithmetic, Geography, Writing, Grammar, and Vocal Music.

On the other hand, teachers at the Central School taught from the Second through the Fifth Books, to which was added History, Book-keeping, Mensuration, Algebra, Geometry, Natural Philosophy, Linear Drawing, Latin, Greek, and French.²³⁸

This reclassification of students by school and curriculum, therefore, enabled the children of the city's non-establishment classes to obtain the credentials necessary for class maintenance or upward social mobility in a socially and geographically segregated school environment.

In other words, the concept of union (cultural, social, and academic), which had permeated common schooling in London during the early 1850s, was formally over near the end of the decade. It is not surprising, then, that the trustees changed

the name of their flagship institution from the Union to the Central School.

Thus, the creation in the wards of primary feeder schools leading to the Central School was not a decision based solely on academic grounds, such as separating advanced students from elementary ones. It was a variation on the classification scheme employed by the London district school commissioners of a generation earlier. It was designed to segregate the children of wealthy, respectable families from those of the lower class.

The school building campaign which was begun in 1857 was continued into 1858. A new building site in Ward three (Horton Street) was purchased; and plans for the immediate construction of a new school were set in motion, because the lease for the old building was about to expire. Moreover, a new juvenile school was built in Ward two (Talbot Street) for those children who were unable to attend the city's other common schools. Lastly, a future school site was designated in Ward six.

Eight male and ten female teachers were hired in 1858. Teachers in the Ward three and Ward five schools were limited to the first three Books of the National readers, while the arrangements made for the St. George's and Central schools were similar to those followed in the previous year. However, the differentiation of students at the Central School was made a bit sharper; instruction was provided only from Books three to five.

Magee confidently expressed the opinion that once the new schools were built Londoners would have "ample accommodation for years to come, and ... a system of Central and Ward schools unsurpassed by that of any city in Canada." Then the chairman repeated his claim that the classical department at the Central School was the equivalent of any grammar school in the Province. He extolled the virtues of the Circulating

Library and congratulated the board and the community on the efficient state of the common schools.²³⁹

Had the trustees' efforts attracted most of the community's school age children back into the common schools by 1858? The answer is a qualified no; but the developments are complex, and the explanation must be unravelled carefully.

Enrollments for the 5 to 16 age group increased only slightly in 1858, from 2,704 to 2,789; and the overall percent enrolled remained unchanged from 1857. Since 3,642 school age children lived in London that year, and 341 attended private schools, one can deduce that 468 children did not attend any school whatsoever. Nonetheless, a significant number of pupils, perhaps 200 to 250, must have attended the seven other private schools which have been identified as existing in that year (see Table 62).

The year 1858 was a critical turning point in the development of London education. As discussed previously, it was also the first year of operations for the new Roman Catholic separate school board in London. Consequently, most Roman Catholic parents transferred their children from the common to the separate schools, so that, according to Magee, "they might enjoy a course of instruction more agreeable to themselves." Magee further claimed, and this was borne out in the above analysis (see Table 69), that this action by Roman Catholic parents had the effect of lowering enrollment numbers but slightly increasing attendance rates in the common schools.

It is important to point out that provincial authorities did not differentiate between common school and separate school enrollment totals in their annual reports for London between 1858 and 1860. One must look, therefore, to the trustees' reports to clarify this situation. The trustees' annual report for 1858 discloses that only 1,005 school age children attended the Central School that year, compared to 1,422 the previous year; and that another 1,414 students went

to the common schools in Wards 3, 5, and 7, bringing the total number of pupils in the common schools to 2,459. The average attendance was 1,104 students, and the actual attendance was 1,337.

The development of separate schools in 1858 was propitious for both Roman Catholics and Protestants. Not only did the change allow Roman Catholics to instill their particular religious and educational values in their students, but the transition also facilitated an important redistribution of students. For the first time since 1854 or 1855, the supply of public schools came close to meeting the public demand. With the addition of two separate schools to the four common schools in 1858, most school age pupils in London could be accommodated in the city's public schools.

Moreover, it appears that the new scheme had the potential to satisfy most London parents, because it provided additional schools, more professionally certified teachers, and thus better pupil/teacher ratios. In addition, it is likely that even the cultural and class biases which suffused the new arrangements were not offensive. Most upper and middle class parents would be satisfied with the new scheme because by attending the Central School their children would be segregated from working class children. And most lower class parents would be content to send their children to the nearby ward schools even if it was only for a few years.

Evidence exists to demonstrate that the trustees' new strategy was working in 1858. Firstly, there was a slight decline in the number of private schools (see Table 61). There was also, as Magee wrote, a "rapid increase in the number of pupils, whose parents require for them a higher course of instruction than what is usual in common schools." Lastly, only ten of forty-seven Black students attended the Central school; seven went to the ward three school; twenty-five were enrolled at the ward five school; three were sent to the ward seven school; and two entered St. Peter's school.

The extremely weak financial condition of the city forced retrenchment upon the board in 1859. For instance, a male teacher was dismissed; a less costly female teacher was substituted in his place;²⁴⁰ and a graduated scale of reduced salaries was established for the teachers.²⁴¹ Despite irate teachers, these changes enabled the board to save \$900.²⁴²

The trustees employed eight male and eleven female teachers in 1859. The increase in the number of women teachers was controversial because, according to Magee, some fellow-citizens were concerned with the propriety of such an arrangement. Due to the harsh economic situation, he asked them to give the experiment a fair and impartial trial.²⁴³ Only aggregated information was given about the curriculum taught in the schools, but it is assumed that the arrangements remained the same as in the previous year.

Magee pointed out in his annual report for 1859 that both the school population and pupil enrollments in the common schools had decreased slightly that year. In consulting Boyle for an explanation, the chairman discovered that the principal had tightened up the registration practices. No longer were re-entrants registered more than once within one school year, as had happened on occasion in the past. Magee concluded that "as nearly all the youth of the City are now educated in the Public Schools, and as it is supposed that the population has not increased but diminished during the last two years we may conclude that this attendance has reached its maximum for the present."²⁴⁴

Magee then challenged the argument of London's establishment that "nothing beyond a mere elementary course in a few common branches, should be taught in schools supported at the expense of all, by general taxation." Time, he stated, had passed these gentlemen by. Local self-government required responsible and liberal education; and it was the duty of school authorities to prepare all children, high and low, for the proper discharge of their duties. The opinion that the

"children of the masses should be educated with a view to a certain sphere in life, for a certain social condition, and for the performance of a very limited routine of duties" was an "exploded dogma," and in Magee's view, "narrow minded and impolitic," and against "the spirit of the age:"

The question even in Great Britain may be said to be virtually settled. Her most enlightened statesmen, taking it for granted that every succeeding year must witness new accessions of power falling into the hands of the middle and lower classes, point out the necessity of providing a careful and liberal education for the whole people, that they may be prepared, as far as education can prepare them, for a wise and judicious exercise of those powers and privileges which must inevitably devolve upon them.²⁴⁵

As will be shown below, the facts do not support Magee's allegation that nearly all of London's youth were being educated in the common schools in 1859. But, several interesting developments were at work which would completely change this situation by the next year.

The combined total number of school age pupils in London's common and separate schools decreased from 2,789 in 1858 to 2,664 in 1859. This trend reflected London's temporarily declining population, which dropped from about 17,000 in 1858 to near 16,000 in 1859. Moreover, the pupil population at the Central School, which was 1,387 in 1855 and 1,736 in 1856, fell to 1,455 in 1857, 1,055 in 1858, and 876 in 1859. Concomitantly, student numbers in the common schools in Wards two, three, five, and seven soared to almost twice that many pupils, that is, 1,460 students.

Local superintendent John Wilson wrote that about 600 pupils had not attended any school whatsoever in London in 1859.²⁴⁶ Wilson's observation is corroborated by the trustees' annual report for that year, which showed that 3,555 children of school age lived in London in 1859, of whom 2,739 had attended a separate or a common school. Moreover, seventy

students had enrolled at the grammar school, while 120 had attended the private schools. Based on these numbers, therefore, 626 students rather than 600 were not attending a school. Perhaps Wilson was also taking into account the two additional private schools that have been discovered in newspapers in 1859, but which were not recorded on the trustees' annual report?

Between 1859 and 1860, the school population, reflecting the dramatic decline in the city's population which dropped from 16,000 to 11,581, decreased sharply, from 3,555 to 2,674. Thus, although the number of pupils aged 5 to 16 dropped by only 881 students, because of the smaller population base the percent enrolled in the common schools increased substantially, even surpassing that achieved in 1852. This significant fact was not lost on Magee, who stated in his annual report for 1860:

With the exception of the children taught at the Grammar and Separate Schools, there are very few, indeed, who now receive their education in any other quarter than in the public schools of the city, and this is the very position which they ought to occupy. It has always been my aim, as I hope it will be the aim of the gentleman whom may be elected as my successor in this honorable office, to convince his fellow citizens that it is for their advantage, and that of their families, to encourage and patronize the public schools, as it is impossible, from the facilities for imparting instruction possessed by the Teachers of these institutions, that an equal progress can be made at any private school in the same time.²⁴⁷

The chairman then advised his readers that Londoners were obtaining the maximum results for their money. Costs per pupil were roughly one-third of those for the city of New York, and about one-half of those paid in other Canadian and American cities. And "none of the Canadian cities, except Hamilton, have made any such provision for giving a liberal education to the students who desire it as we have."

Magee then reported that the trial of placing female teachers in the junior departments had proven successful.²⁴⁸ Eight males and fifteen females instructed in the common schools in 1860, showing that the feminization of London's teaching force was well under way.²⁴⁹

The chairman used his final report to the board to review the "marks of progress" which had been made during his five year term. He noted that the common schools had not just increased in number but also in elegance, internal arrangements, and conveniences. Furthermore, he praised the improvements that had been made in teaching methods, discipline, and the course of study.

Magee stated that he could go into retirement pleased that he had been able to assist his fellow citizens to procure "a system of free education, open to all, high and low, commensurate with the wants of the highest, and setting wide open its portals to the lowest, admitting that he possesses the natural capacity and praiseworthy ambition to profit by the means brought within his reach." Magee then launched another telling blow at the negative attitude of some of London's most respected citizens:

I feel pleased, I acknowledge it, in having stood forward with you, even against some of our most respected citizens, as the unswerving advocate of a system, whose ultimate effect will be to break down every adventitious distinction between the mechanic and millionaire, in an educational point of view, placing the family of the one upon the same footing as that of the other, so far as the acquisition of useful knowledge, a vigorous mental discipline, and careful moral training can effect this. I feel proud, on quitting this position, that I have always spurned the idea that these institutions have anything approaching to the character of pauper schools. These are the Colleges, I may say, of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the entire population, and being designed for all, and supported by all, my opinion has always been, that they should be made good enough for all. I have never had any sympathy with those who say, that the smallest quantity of education is enough for the

son of the poor man; that very little reading, writing, and arithmetic, doled out with niggard hand, are quite enough to qualify the son of the day laborer to follow the vocation of his sire, and that he ought not to aspire to anything beyond it. These are contracted views, and not in accordance with the times in which we live, when the distinctions of wealth and birth are fast disappearing before an enlightened public opinion....²⁵⁰

Was this statement by Magee rhetoric or a realistic representation of a new educational era in London? And were virtually all of school age children in London attending the city's common schools in 1860?

Education data contained in the provincial annual report for 1860 seem to support Magee's contentions: 2,987 school age children lived in London that year of whom 2,265 attended the common schools and 413 the separate schools. Thus, 90 percent of school age children in the city received instruction at these schools. In addition, fifty-eight pupils were sent to the grammar school and 130 attended the various private schools. These findings confirm Magee's claim that most children in London of school age were enrolled in a common school.

Moreover, the average daily attendance rate at the common schools had risen from 726 pupils in 1855 to 1,210 in 1860, while the cost per annum of each student based on an average daily basis had dropped from \$9.21 to \$7.17.²⁵¹

Thus, it seems that Magee was justified in trumpeting the success which he and his colleagues had achieved. However, as is discussed below, not all London families benefitted equally from these new arrangements. Census data for 1860-61 indicate significant variances in enrollment patterns, and they were directly linked to socially differentiated family schooling strategies?

(III) School Attendance Behaviour

The school enrollment figures analyzed above are based on the annual reports of the London board of common school trustees. They represent the cumulative summaries of all pupil admissions over the course of a school year. It must be acknowledged, however, that these figures are somewhat inflated, as school officials at first did not account for double and triple counting of students -that is, a student was counted as a new registrant each time he or she entered school even if it was within the same school year. As discussed above, London school officials thought they had corrected this problem by 1858.²⁵²

On the other hand, census data offer a different view of school enrollment patterns. In some ways, they are more precise than annual report data, since they take a snapshot in time of school attendance. Moreover, they are more complete than annual report data, because they contain a wealth of descriptive data about each individual in every household unit within census London. Census data, therefore, permit a more accurate and thorough investigation of the primary question in the thesis: were changes in school attendance behaviour primarily the result of socially differentiated family strategies?

In spite of these advantages, census data also have their limitations. For example, census enumerators in 1861 were instructed to record only whether or not a child had been enrolled in school. Column 23 was to contain this information for males, column 24 for females.²⁵³ Therefore, an analysis of these data do not divulge the number of days per year a student attended school, the years of schooling attained, or the type of school attended. Neither do they account for those children who were considered too young by their parents to go to school, nor those children who had completed their education before age sixteen. Despite these limitations, and in the absence of student registers, census data provide a

good means for identifying a number of important trends respecting school enrollment behaviour in London in 1860.

To determine the social characteristics of parents who had children of school age, a data file was created of individual records for each household head on the census of 1861, who had a child or children between the ages of 5 and 16. Each individual file contained the following data: the ward, dwelling number, family number, surname, given name, sex, age, birth, religion, place of birth, and occupation of the household head, as well as the age, sex, and education status of their respective school age children (see Appendix III).

An analysis of the personal census sheets for London parents who had school age children in 1861 reveals that 3,237 children between the ages of 5 and 16 lived in the community when the census was taken on 13 January, 1861. About 62 percent (2,018) of these children were enrolled in school -66 percent (1,070) of males and 58 percent (948) of females. Enrollment rates were highest for the seven to thirteen age group. Over 70 percent of boys aged seven to thirteen attended a school that year, whereas females attained this rate only in the eight to thirteen age range.

Significantly, more males than females attended school in each of the three major age groupings established for this study. The respective figures in the 5 to 8 age group were 56 and 48 percent; in the 9 to 12 age group, 83 and 77 percent; and in the 13 to 16 age range, 61 percent and 52 percent (see Table 72).

Most of London's school age children in 1860-61 were Protestant or Roman Catholic (see Table 73). In general, Protestants were more likely to send their children to school than Roman Catholics; however, significant differences were found in enrollment patterns by sex both between and within the two major religious groups in London.

For instance, although Protestants and Roman Catholics sent about the same proportion of 5 to 12 year old males and 9 to 12 year old females to school, Protestants enrolled significantly more of their oldest boys (13 to 16) and their youngest and oldest girls (5 to 8 and 13 to 16) in school than did Roman Catholics.

A more discriminating review of school enrollment behaviour by selected Protestant denominational groupings discloses several additional important enrollment trends (see Table 74). Firstly, significant differences were found within each age cohort. Enrollment rates for the youngest age group ranged from 47 (Baptists) to 57 percent (Protestant); for the middle group from 63 (Baptists) to 92 percent (Presbyterian); and for the oldest group from 43 (Baptist) to 72 percent (Presbyterian).

Next, all religious groups, with three exceptions where the numbers were very small, sent more boys to school than girls. Presbyterians followed by Methodists and Episcopalians had the highest enrollment rates, Baptists the lowest. This latter trend resulted from the fact that many Baptists were also Blacks and their enrollments were extremely low.

Birthplace also had an important influence on the patterns of school attendance (see Table 75). Enrollment rates in the 5 to 8 age cohort ranged from 44 to 57 percent; in the 9 to 12 group from 66 to 86 percent; and in the 13 to 16 group from 47 to 67 percent. In general, the Scots and the English sent more children to school than parents from any other country, whereas American and Canadian families usually enrolled the fewest students.²⁵⁴ Moreover, the English sent significantly more boys than girls to school in all age cohorts, especially in the 5 to 12 age range; and, in percentage terms, Canadians enrolled almost twice as many boys as girls in the 13 to 16 group.

Enrollments by social class varied between 46 and 54 percent in the 5 to 8 cohort; 75 and 84 percent in the 9 to 12

cohort; and 44 to 61 percent in the 13 to 16 group (see Table 76). Sex and social class also combined to produce distinctive school enrollment trends. Although middle, lower, and unclassified groups sent more boys than girls to school in all instances, upper class parents did so only when it came to their youngest children. Perhaps they sent these girls to private schools? Moreover, middle class parents sent significantly more boys to school than the remaining social groups; however, they enrolled significantly fewer girls between the ages of 9 and 16 than did upper class parents.

Occupation also had a strong effect on school enrollment behaviour (see Table 77). Enrollments by occupational sector for the youngest age group varied between 41 and 61 percent; between 70 and 90 percent for the middle age group; and between 35 and 67 percent for the teenage group. Parents with commercial, professional, and industrial occupations were the most likely to send children to school, whereas parents who held domestic and unclassified jobs sent the fewest.

Agriculturalists, on the other hand, present an interesting anomaly, although their numbers are very small and the trends thus exhibited must be taken with care. Despite enrolling the fewest 5 to 8 year old children, they had the second highest enrollment rate in the middle age group, the highest rate in the teenage cohort, and equal numbers of boys and girls in the oldest group.

Several additional trends are important to note. Parents with industrial and unclassified occupations sent more boys than girls to school in every age group. Parents with commercial occupations sent significantly more girls than boys to school in the youngest age group, but notably more boys than girls in the 9 to 16 age range. Alternatively, domestics and professionals enrolled significantly fewer girls than boys in the youngest and oldest age cohorts, but more girls than boys in the 9 to 12 age cohort.

Of all the cultural groups, Black parents exhibited the most distinctive school attendance behaviour. According to the census of 1861, 137 Blacks lived in London (seventy-seven women and sixty men).²⁵⁵ Thus, using the Education Department's calculation, one might have expected about thirty Black children of school age in London.

A reconstruction of the Black population in London in 1860 divulged the names of fifty-three school aged children, almost twice the estimated number (see Table 78).²⁵⁶ These students were produced by eighteen Black families. Only eighteen (34 percent) of these children went to school - ten of the twenty-three boys (43.5 percent) and eight of the thirty girls (26.7 percent). Over 36 percent of Blacks aged 5 to 8 were in school; 43 percent of those aged 9 to 12; and 24 percent of Blacks between the ages of thirteen and sixteen.

Black males were better school attenders than Black females at every age. For instance, three of the five boys (60 percent) and one of the six girls (17 percent) went to school in the youngest group; four of the seven boys (57 percent) and five of the fourteen girls (36 percent) in the middle group; and three of the eleven boys (27 percent) and two of the ten girls (20 percent) in the oldest group.

Although the numbers are small, the religion and sex of an individual also seemed to influence school enrollment patterns. Of the eighteen Black household heads, six were Methodists. Seven of their thirteen children (54 percent) were in school - four of eight females (50 percent) and three of five males (60 percent). Seven household heads were Baptists. Only four of their twenty-four children (17 percent) were in school - two of thirteen females (15 percent) and two of eleven males (18 percent). Four household heads were members of the Church of England. Seven of their fifteen children were in school (47 percent) - one of seven females (14 percent) and six of their eight males (75 percent). The religion of one household head was not given.

Sixteen of the eighteen household heads who were Black were born in the United States; two were born in Canada. American-born Blacks enrolled seventeen of their forty-six children (37 percent) in school - nine of twenty males (45 percent) and eight of twenty-six females (31 percent). Canadian Blacks sent two of seven children (29 percent) to school.

A Black person's social class was one of the clearest predictors of school attendance. Five of the eighteen Black household heads were middle class, twelve were lower class, and one, Sarah Cooper, was unclassified. Neither of her two daughters were registered as attending a school in 1860.

Being Black and middle class virtually ensured school attendance in 1860. Middle class parents had eleven school age children, of whom nine (82 percent) were in school - five of six boys and four of five girls. On the other hand, lower class parents produced forty children between the ages of 5 and 16. Only nine of their children (23 percent) went to school - five of seventeen males (29 percent) and four of twenty-three females (17 percent).

Occupation was a reliable predictor of the school attendance of Black children as well. Black household heads held jobs that were concentrated in three occupational sectors in 1860: domestic, industrial, and unclassified. Four Blacks worked at jobs in the domestic sector; all were barbers. Only two of their nineteen children (11 percent) were enrolled in school. Four household heads held industrial jobs; a druggist, a plasterer, and two shoemakers. Nine of their eleven children (82 percent) attended school during 1860 - five of six boys (83 percent) and four of five girls (80 percent).

Nine of the Black household heads held occupations that were not classified; a teamster, seven labourers, and one individual without an occupational title. Only seven of their twenty-four children (29 percent) attended school - three of eight boys (38 percent) and four of sixteen girls (25

percent). Interestingly, all of the students to attend school were the progeny of Black labourers (three sons and four daughters). They sent three of eight boys (38 percent) and four of thirteen girls (31 percent) to school.

The above analysis describes school enrollment behaviour in isolation from other alternatives like working. However, as discussed previously, parents had their eyes fixed on the future occupational destinations of their offspring; and this major consideration significantly affected the school and work plans which they chose for their teenagers (ages 13 to 16).

Of London's 926 teenagers in 1861, 521 were in school (276 boys and 245 girls); and their social characteristics were analyzed above. The remaining children were either working or engaged in some other activity that was not classified on the census. However, one male, a William Rideau (age fourteen) was classified as both a servant and a student. He is included in the subsequent analysis which examines the characteristics of non-school students, therefore bringing the total number of student profiles investigated to 406.²⁵⁷

Only forty of these 406 teenagers were working, and most (twenty-eight) were girls. Twelve girls and three boys were classified with occupations at age sixteen; nine and seven at age fifteen; six and one at age fourteen; and one each at age thirteen, respectively. Although the numbers are very small, those born in England and Ireland predominated; the native-born were significantly underrepresented; Episcopalians and male Presbyterians were overrepresented; and Roman Catholics were significantly underrepresented. Of the twenty-one Black teenagers in 1861, none were classified with an occupation (see Tables 79,80).

Of the forty teenagers working in 1861, thirty-four (85 percent) were servants, that is, twenty-seven females and seven males. In addition to this group, two teenagers were clerks, one was a milliner, two were apprentices, and one was a blacksmith. Of these workers, 7.5 percent were middle class

and 92.5 percent were unclassified. No conclusion can be made about the family backgrounds of these teenage workers, because all had a different surname than their household head and likely were live-in workers.

The remaining large group of teenagers to be examined in 1861 are the 366 children who were not classified by the census enumerator as having an occupation or as attending school. They represented 40 percent of the teenage cohort under investigation. Females dominated males in this category as well, 200 to 166. Of this group, eighty-one girls and fifty-eight boys were age sixteen; forty-four and forty-six were age fifteen; forty-nine and forty-one were age fourteen; and twenty-six and twenty-one were age thirteen. The greater number of girls either working or unclassified reflects the point noted above that more teenage boys than girls were in school.

The unclassified group, like the teenagers with an occupation, was also dominated by children born in England and Ireland. Denominational distributions reflected those of the general population, except for the Presbyterians who were substantially underrepresented (see Tables 81,82).

It is important to note that these children came from all social class backgrounds: 8 percent were upper class; 45 percent were middle class; 26 percent were lower class; and 22 percent were unclassified. Thus, the upper class was slightly overrepresented; the unclassified group was significantly overrepresented; and the middle class was slightly underrepresented.

Boys and girls were fairly evenly distributed within each of the above classes, although slightly more girls than boys existed in the upper, middle, and unclassified groups. Most of the household heads for these children worked in the industrial (32 percent) and unclassified (42 percent) occupational sectors. About 8 percent were employed in each of the commercial, domestic, and professional sectors.

Thus, by 1861, 56 percent of teenagers had been enrolled in school, 4 percent were working, and 40 percent were neither at work nor at school.²⁵⁸ As noted previously, the pattern of school attendance for children between the ages of 13 and 16 was differentiated by culture and class -that is, parents who were respectable, White, British, and Protestant kept their children in school significantly longer than parents who were lower class, Roman Catholic, and Black.

Only a few teenagers worked; and most of them took jobs as servants, one of the few jobs that was available to them between 1851 and 1861. These children were also British and Protestant; but, compared to the group in school, they were probably the products of lower class families. On the other hand, many families, Protestant and Roman Catholic, had large numbers of teenagers who neither attended school nor went to work. The household heads of this unclassified group were representative of the larger society, although labourers were significantly overrepresented.

The trends for teenagers who were not in school or at work reflected the nature of economic opportunity in London in 1861. The city had only just begun to emerge from the devastating depression of the late 1850s, which had ruined many speculators, farmers, and businessmen. Employment opportunities were extremely limited. Therefore, it was logical for many parents to keep their teenage children in school as long as possible until more suitable options were available. Moreover, considerable pressure was probably being exerted by London's workers to keep teenagers out of the labour force to eliminate competition.²⁵⁹

In summary, several important conclusions can be made about school attendance behaviour in London between 1853 and 1861. By the latter date, White, Protestant children in almost all instances had higher school enrollment rates than Roman Catholics and Blacks. Moreover, Protestants dominated schooling arrangements in the grammar and common schools until

the formation of the Roman Catholic separate school board in London in 1858, when Roman Catholic trustees established their own separate schools.

By the end of the decade, therefore, both Protestants and Roman Catholics had created school systems to consolidate and enrich the cultural heritage of their children, most of whom, who were between the ages of seven and thirteen, were in school. However, most Black parents, because of a paucity of financial resources, prejudice, little foresight, and a lack of confidence, sent only a few children to school.

Slightly contrary to the hypothesis identified in chapter one, parents with commercial, professional, and industrial occupations sent the most children to school, whereas parents who held domestic and unclassified jobs sent the fewest.

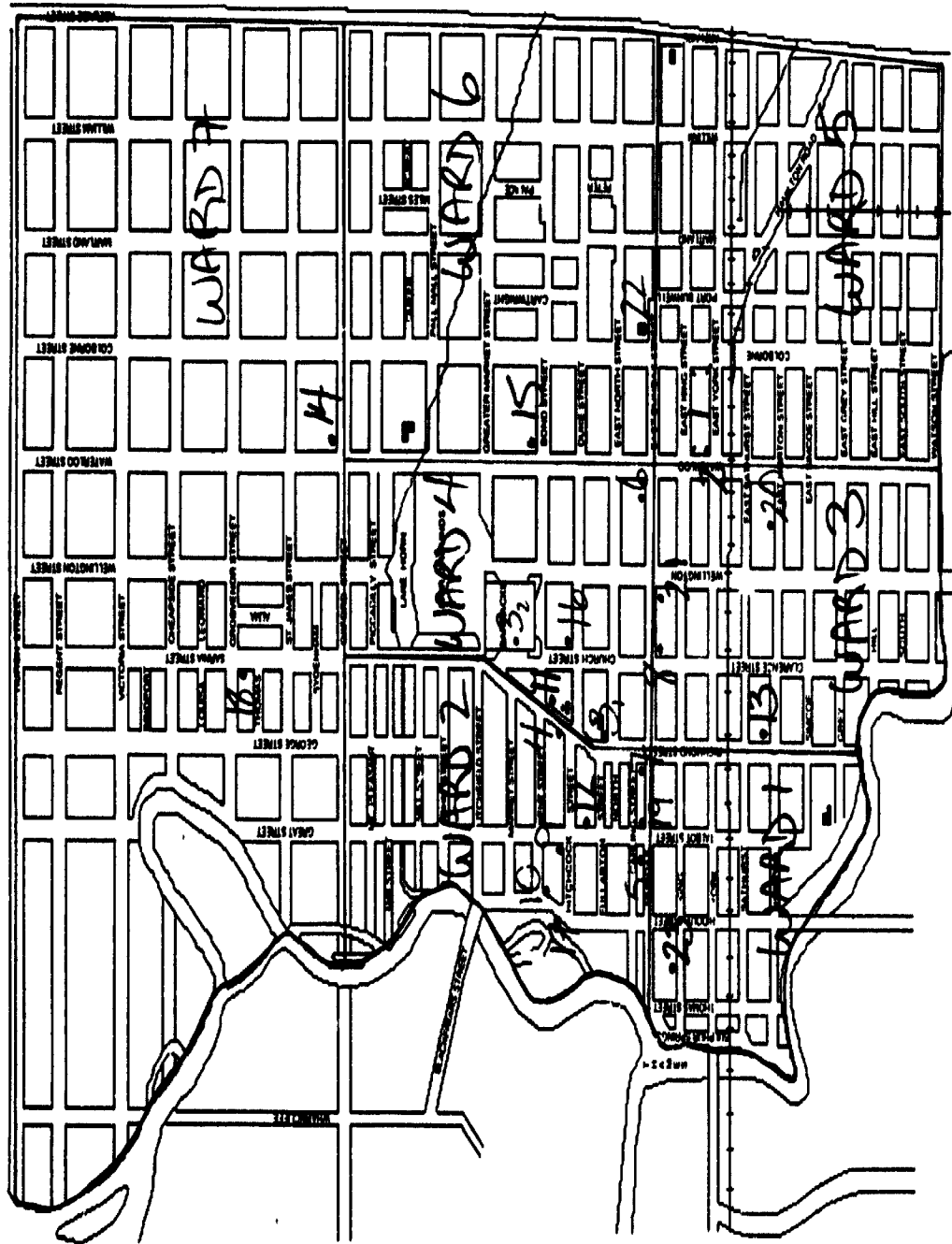
Individuals who worked in agricultural occupations presented an interesting anomaly. Although they sent the fewest children in the youngest age cohort to school of any occupational group, the enrollment rates for their oldest children were among the highest for any of the occupational sectors in 1860-61.

Thus, London's public schools took on sharper cultural and social overtones in this period. Protestants from Britain, and upper class families, continued to dominate the grammar school as trustees, teachers, and students, although increasing numbers of middle class students attended that institution in the mid-1850s.

Moreover, Protestants from Britain, and predominantly middle class families, consolidated their control over the reformed common schools. And, Roman Catholics, most of whom were Irish, developed and sustained their own separate schools. It is also noteworthy that some wealthy Protestant and Roman Catholic middle and upper class families patronized culturally distinct private schools.

Despite many similarities between the 1850s and 1860s, striking changes in school attendance behaviour would take

place over the next decade. And the strategies which were developed and implemented by parents and school officials between 1861 and 1871 would result in the formation of the main outlines of London's modern education system.



PRIVATE —
COMMON - -

1. Union
2. Juvenile Church
3. Colonial Church Society
4. Britstow & Andrews
5. Watson
6. McGauley
7. Walker
8. Shaw
9. Mercer

10. Bellevue Seminary
11. St. Peter's
12. Talbot Street
13. Horton Street
14. St. George's
15. Ward 6
16. Sisters of Loretto
17. Sisters of Providence
18. Sisters of Sacred Heart

19. Luke
20. Erith
21. Moncrieff
22. Mount Hope
23. Grammar School

NOTES

1. This chapter is extended only to the taking of the Canadian census of 1861, which was on 13 January, 1861.
2. Landon, "London In Later Times," p. 1065; and Orlo Miller, "The Fat Years and the Lean: London (Canada) in Boom and Depression," Ontario History, 53 (June 1961), p. 75. The original railway launching ceremony was held in London in 1847.
3. Terry Ferris, "History of the London and Port Stanley Railway, 1852-1946," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, U.W.O., 1946; and Armstrong and Brock, p. 92.
4. For a brief analysis of the effects of the Great Western on London, see Robert Wendell Camm, "History of the Great Western Railway (of Canada)," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, U.W.O., 1947, pp. 381-394.
5. Because of poor records, population figures for the mid-1850s have been largely speculative. However, the recent discovery of annual school reports for these years, which provide these data, help clarify the situation. See, for example, AO, RG2, F3B, Box 40, "Annual Report of the Board of School Trustees for the City of London to the Chief Superintendent of Schools for Upper Canada, for the Year Ending 31st December, 1855."
6. Scott, "The Economic and Industrial History of the City of London," pp. 18-19.
7. Baker, p. 12; Miller, "The Fat Years and the Lean," p. 75;" and Miller, This Was London, p. 77.
8. Miller, "The Fat Years and the Lean," pp. 76-77; Armstrong, The Forest City, pp. 86-87; and Miller, This Was London, p. 77.
9. Armstrong, The Forest City, p. 86.
10. See, for example, Scott, "The Economic and Industrial History of the City of London," pp. 1-2, 52-53, 131-140, 191-196, 232-240, 280-283; and Armstrong, The Forest City, pp. 84-85. A number of London wholesalers and manufacturers proved their mettle under these tough economic conditions. McClary, Morrill, Hyman, Perrin, McCormick, White, Carling, Labatt, and Holmes extended their branches across the country.

11. Miller, "The Fat Years and the Lean," p. 74-78; Armstrong and Brock, p. 93; and Armstrong, The Forest City, pp. 86-87.
12. Scott, "The Economic and Industrial History of the City of London," pp. 56-57; Armstrong, The Forest City, p. 99; and Miller, This Was London, pp. 100-101.
13. Landon, "Fugitive Slaves in London Before 1860," pp. 25-38; and Simpson, "Negroes in Ontario from Early Times to 1870."
14. Landon, "London In Later Times," p. 1075; and Armstrong, The Forest City, p. 76.
15. Landon, "London In Later Times," p. 1070; and Armstrong, The Forest City, p. 76.
16. Census of 1861, Appendix No. 2, pp. 48-49, and Appendix No. 4, pp. 128-129.
17. Census of 1871, Vol. IV, p. 268.
18. Actually nine occupations took the top eight spots as there were equal numbers of tailors and blacksmiths (67). The writer arbitrarily chose to put only tailors in the table for consistency with the previous tables. If one adds blacksmiths, then the top eight (nine) occupations encompassed 53.9 percent of those listed with an occupational title in 1861.
19. Scott, "The Economic and Industrial History of the City of London," p. 4.
20. Census of 1861, Vol. 11, p. 259. Of the thirty mills and manufactories listed on the census, the overwhelming majority employed less than ten hands.
21. Scott, "The 'Working Class' of London, 1856 to 1868," p. 25.
22. "An Act to Amend the Law Relating to Grammar Schools in Upper Canada," DHE, Vol. X: 1850-1851, pp. 140-143.
23. AO, RG2, GIB, Box 10, "Report of the Board of Trustees for the London Grammar School in the Counties of Middlesex and Elgin ... for the year 1853."
24. AO, RG2, G-I-B, Box 10, "Half-Yearly Returns of the Board of Trustees of the London County Grammar School, in the County of Middlesex, to the Chief Superintendent of Schools."

25. History of Middlesex, pp. 1058-1059.
26. Weldon Library, Government Publications Collection, Census of 1852, London and Westminster Townships, Manuscript on microfilm (No. C11738); and Ibid, Census of 1861, London, London and Westminster Townships, Canada West, Manuscript on microfilm (No. CA1.B598.C261).
27. Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, pp. 144-147.
28. These figures were calculated from the yearly and half-yearly grammar school reports for London between 1854 and 1860.
29. In 1855, seventy-five boys attended in the first term, fifty in the second. The numbers for 1856 were sixty and fifty-six; in 1857, sixty-one and forty-eight; in 1858, fifty and forty-one; in 1859, fifty-nine and forty-one; and in 1860, forty-five and thirty-four. It is uncertain whether these findings constitute a trend or not. They may reflect only the fact that the second term was a month shorter than the first term.
30. History of Middlesex, p. 290.
31. "Annual Report of the ... London County Grammar School, 1854."
32. AO, RG2, G1A, Vol. 1, Grammar School Inspector's Report, 1855 (Hereafter GSIR).
33. GSIR, 1856.
34. GSIR, 1859, p. 41.
35. AO, RG2, C-1, Letterbook "K", No. 616, Hodgins to Rev. W.F. Clarke, secretary of the board of grammar school trustees, county of Middlesex, 9 February, 1854.
36. History of Middlesex, pp. 245-246.
37. Ibid., 1859. Furthermore, Benjamin Cronyn wrote Ryerson in August of 1854 inquiring whether the grammar school law might not be amended to "relieve the [grammar school] Boards from the embarrassing situation in which they find themselves by the refusal of the county council to contribute in any degree to the support of the county grammar school." See AO, RG2, C6C, Box 18, Cronyn to Ryerson, 21 August, 1854. The next year, the Rev. W.F. Clarke also complained to Ryerson that the board was nearly \$400 in debt because of the miserliness of the

county council. See Ibid., Clarke to Ryerson, 3 February, 1855. And at the school convention for the county of Middlesex on 1 February, 1860, four motions which might have resolved the financial problems for the grammar school were either defeated or withdrawn. See Ibid., Box 28.

38. GSIR, 1860.
 39. GSIR, 1855, pp. 701-702.
 40. GSIR, 1856, p. 54.
 41. GSIR, 1856.
 42. A.H. Young, The Roll of Pupils of Upper Canada College Toronto January, 1830, to June, 1916 (Kingston 1917).
 43. See AO, G-1-A, "Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the London County Grammar School ... for the year ending 31st December, 1855;" and "Half-Yearly Return ... from the First day of July to the Thirtieth day of December, 1855,"
 44. GSIR, 1855.
 45. "Annual Report of the Board of Trustees for the London County Grammar School (hereafter ARBGST)... for the year ending 31st December, 1856."
 46. Ibid., 1857.
 47. Ibid., 1858.
 48. Ibid., 1859.
 49. Ormiston reported in 1855 that attendance was "both regular and punctual."
 50. GSIR, 1855.
 51. McCutcheon makes the second point in "The London Grammar School and Collegiate Institute," LMHS Transactions, Part X (1919), p. 31.
 52. AO, RG2, C1, Vol. 3, Egerton Ryerson to John Fraser, president, London Branch Bible Society, 13 April, 1847.
 53. Drew, The Refugees: A North-side View of Slavery, p. 147. ~~Boston: Pub. Stars School King Schl 189, 1860e (New York: Fa 0160r. 12934Y~~
- 1973), University Press, and 1378X Selwyn Troon, The Public

and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1838-1920 (Columbia: The University of Missouri Press, 1975) for similar behaviour in Boston and St Louis.

54. For example, there was no library, microscopes, meteorological instruments, special awards or prizes, museum of Natural History, and magic lanterns.
55. Among other things, Bayly was also the superintendent of the Sunday School at St. Paul's Cathedral. See RG2, C6C, Box 25, Bayly to J.G. Hodgins, 25 October, 1858.
56. GSIR, 1856, p. 272. Robertson said that "London is improving rapidly and increasing in population with greater rapidity than any town in Canada."
57. Armstrong and Brock, "The Rise of London," pp. 80-100.
58. The Roman Catholic population in London may have almost doubled in a very short time. The Canadian census for 1852 listed 1,179 Catholics in London -see Census of 1852, pp. 68-69. On the other hand, Railton's city directory for 1856-57 (p. 17) recorded a Roman Catholic congregation of "over two thousand." The Black population in 1853 was 276; however, in 1854 it was about 500. See Landon, "Fugitive Slaves in London Before 1860," pp. 26-29. The number of Blacks probably reached higher levels in 1855 and 1856. This possibility is discussed in the narrative.
59. London Times and Western Advertiser, 5 August, 1853.
60. London board minutes do not always record school census results, but a pattern is evident. Census results for 1848 were not recorded until 30 March, 1849. Enumerators for the 1850 school census were not appointed until 3 February, 1851; they reported at the 10 February, 1851, board meeting. Census returns for 1851 were not reported until 25 March, 1852.
61. ARBCST, 1853.
62. London Board Minutes, 20 January, 1853.
63. London Times and Western Advertiser, 5 August, 1853.
64. ARBCST, 1855, 1856.
65. ARBCST, 1854.
66. ARBCST, 1854.

67. ARBCST, 1856.
68. The London Free Press is incomplete for the years from 1852 through 1856 and 1859. Some additional newspaper coverage can be found in "London Newspapers Miscellaneous, 1834-81," Microfilm, Government Publications Collection, Weldon Library, U.W.O..
69. London Free Press, 22 July, 1861. Although the editorialist is writing in 1861, his comments span the period prior to that point.
70. Ibid.
71. London Board Annual Report, 1854.
72. Ibid.
73. The average attendance was 512 students. See London Board Annual Report, 1854.
74. Ibid. The average attendance was 122 pupils.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. ARBCST, 1855. Interestingly, Ryerson wrote the Rev. W.F. Clarke in May of 1855 requesting the return of the school population for London as required by law. Since the trustees' annual report for 1855 was submitted in March of 1856, it is possible that the 3,200 figure was entered by Ryerson after receiving the information from Clarke. See AO, RG2, C-1, Letterbook "O", No. 1514.
78. See Curtis, Building the Educational State, especially Part Two.
79. London Board Minutes, 31 January, 1855.
80. London Board Minutes, 14 February, 1855.
81. Ibid., 21 March, 1855.
82. Ibid., 21 March, 1855.
83. ARBCST, 1855. Parents paid \$1600 in fees to the academy teacher. The diocesan school had two teachers who were paid \$560 in fees. The CCSS school, which had five teachers, was recorded as being free of charge. And Miss Wilkinson's school had two teachers who were paid \$972 in tuition.

84. Seaborne, March of Medicine, p. 204. Mary Ann, Margaret, and Alice Busby, who came from Ireland with their father, a gentleman, taught a private mixed or girls' school in London, probably in 1855 and 1856. This school ended abruptly, when Mary Ann and Margaret, and a few of their pupils, were struck down with cholera and died within two weeks.
85. Times and General Advertiser, 2 February 1855.
86. The program of studies offered at the Misses Stevens' school "on reasonable terms" included Ancient and Modern History, Geography, Astronomy, General Literature, Writing, Arithmetic, Composition, various kinds of elegant needlework, the Languages, Music, Drawing, and Grecian Oil Painting. See Canadian Free Press, 8 November, 1855. For information on the Ladies of Loretto school, see Railton, p. 288.
87. Canadian Free Press, 2 August, 1855; 12 October, 1855; and 1 November, 1855. Luke was the former headmaster of the Prescott grammar school, where he had taught for five years; and he came well recommended. He proposed teaching Latin, Greek, Algebra, and Practical and Demonstrative Mathematics to a limited number of young gentlemen. His hours would be arranged to accommodate "young men engaged in business and in the prosecution of professional studies." He also offered private tuition.
88. Ibid., 13 December, 1855. Unfortunately, most of this article is unreadable. Mr. Deadman conducted a classical and commercial school.
89. Watson ran a highly respected select academy for young men and boys called the Educational Institute, which may have been the unnamed private academy that was listed on the common school trustees' report for 1855. To date, no details have been found about the curricula followed by Watson in his early years; but there is sufficient information to conclude that he taught the classics to boys from respectable families until 1857. Watson must have taught this school for at least a decade. Reports by trustees first place his school in London during 1854, although another account indicates that he might have commenced his teaching in London as early as 1851 (see Nicholas Wilson, "History of London Schools," p. 2). Nonetheless, according to London board minutes on 11 June, 1857, Watson left London in mid-1857; but he must have returned shortly thereafter because his school is again listed in London newspapers in August of 1858. Watson continued to advertise his school to prospective patrons into the early 1860s. The last listing occurred

on 28 September, 1864, when Londoners were informed that Watson had accepted a Montreal pastorate. See London Free Press, 1,4 January 1856; Ibid., 24,25,26 August, 1858; Ibid., 4 September, 1858; and Railton, p. 288. More detailed information was discovered for Watson's second school, which commenced in September of 1858. Hereafter Watson taught both boys and girls, "concentrating on a practical and liberal education, based on religious principles." In light of the prevailing commercial depression, Watson reduced his rates to "extremely moderate" terms, excepting "Instrumental Music and French, Latin and Greek Languages which will be extra, only from \$5 to \$9 per quarter." See Ibid., 25 August, 1858.

90. London Free Press, 4 January, 1856. Mr. McDonald conducted an evening business school which ran every night except Sundays. He specialized in Book-keeping, Arithmetic, and Penmanship; and was also prepared to give lessons in Geography and Grammar if required. McDonald adjusted tradesmens' books and accounts during the day.
91. Ibid. The article also notes that Normal and Model schools for the CCSS school would open on February 8 in the St. Paul's school room.
92. Railton, pp. 15-16.
93. J.I. Cooper, "The Mission to the Fugitive Slaves at London," Ontario History, 46 (Spring 1954), pp. 131-139.
94. Railton, pp 15-16; Cooper, "The Mission to the Fugitive Slaves at London," pp. 131-139; Winks, The Blacks in Canada, pp. 227-30; and NAC, "Minutes of the Colonial and Continental Church Society (the name taken in 1861) (Microfilm): A-23, A-24, A-324; A-325; A-326 (cited in Winks, pp. 228,230).
95. Simpson, p. 77.
96. Cooper, "The Mission to the Fugitive Slaves at London," p. 135.
97. Ibid., p. 133; and Drew, pp. 148-149.
98. Landon, "Fugitive Slaves in London Before 1860," p. 25. Because London was an inland city, Blacks were less fearful of kidnapping attempts. Moreover, it was easily accessible from the west, east, and south for refugee slaves. In addition, many Blacks preferred towns and cities where they had friends, relations, and

opportunities. The evidence suggests that many Blacks found it relatively easy to make a living in London.

99. For an overview of the rise and fall of the CCSS schools, see, for example, Stouffer, The Light of Nature and the Law of God, pp. 148-149; Silverman, Unwelcome Guests, pp. 85-86; and Simpson, pp. 761-762.
100. Cooper, p. 136.
101. Ibid., p. 136.
102. Simpson, p. 764. The second CCSS school may have been the diocesan school discussed above, although common school trustees reported it separately from the CCSS school in their annual report for 1855.
103. Ibid., p. 767; and Cooper, p. 137.
104. Simpson, p. 770.
105. Stouffer, The Light of Nature and the Law of God, p. 148.
106. Dillon wrote in his first letter that an operation had recently been performed on his eyes. Presumably, this circumstance affected his ability to write; and that is why his letters are difficult to read.
107. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 19, Dillon to Ryerson, 18 June, 1855. Dillon also mentions that he had received 560 applications for admission.
108. AO, RG2, C1, Letterbook "O," No. 1943, Ryerson to Dillon, 21 June, 1855. Hodgins gave similar advice to Dillon a few months later. See Ibid., Hodgins to Dillon, 17 August, 1855.
109. Ibid., 18 July, 1855.
110. Ibid.
111. Dillon's behaviour alienated a number of his key supporters including Cronyn. In addition, it was alleged by the CCSS that Dillon had exaggerated some of the attendance figures at his schools. See Winks, The Blacks in Canada, p. 229.
112. Cooper, p. 138. Hodgins wrote Dillon in June of 1856 reminding him that he had not yet paid for the articles which he had ordered. Still pursuing the matter in August, Hodgins wrote Ballantine inquiring whether or not Dillon was still in London, and if the bill would be

- paid. See AO, RG2, C1, Letterbook "R," Nos. 1348 and 1655.
113. ARBCST, 1856.
114. Winks claims that Dillon had kept the Black enrollments slightly below 50 percent of the total enrollment, and when more Blacks entered the school after Dillon resigned many of the Whites left. See his The Blacks in Canada, p. 239.
115. London Free Press, 18 July, 1857.
116. ARBCST, 1857.
117. Ibid., 1858. The names of the teachers at London's private schools were not given in the trustees' annual report for 1858, but owing to the large number of students (275) it was concluded that the school in question was the one run by the CCSS.
118. Cooper, p. 138.
119. London Free Press, 22 July, 1861. Also, William Horton, the city solicitor for London, sent to Ryerson a letter which he had received from some coloured people in Windsor. They alleged that their children had been denied entry into Windsor's common schools. See AO, RG2, C6C, Box 26, Horton to Ryerson, 16 February, 1859.
120. See the annual reports of the London board of common school trustees for the years 1855 to 1858.
121. Drew, The Refugess, p. 147.
122. Ibid., p. 180.
123. It may have been that considerably more private schools existed in earlier years as well, and that Railton's directory just happened to capture more of this market in 1856-57. Nonetheless, it appears that the number of private schools proliferated in these years because of the extraordinary circumstances described in the narrative.
124. ARBCST, 1856. The trustees' report also recorded the fees that were paid at each school. Miss Lester took in \$480 in fees, \$16 per child; the mission school was free to Blacks; the Misses Steven's received \$400 in tuition, \$24 per quarter; and Mr. Watson was paid \$1,200 in fees, \$32 per term.

125. The Busby and the mission schools were discussed above, and the schools run by the Ladies of Loretto and the Sisters of Providence will be investigated below in the section which explores the development of Roman Catholic schools.
126. Mrs. Ellen Moncrieff opened a new school called the Educational Institute beginning in May of 1856. There she taught Grammar, Composition, English, History, Geography, Astronomy, Globes, Natural Philosophy, Physiology, Writing, Arithmetic, Wax Flower Modeling, Plain and Fancy Needlework, Music, Drawing, French, Italian, Rudiments of Latin, Dancing and Calisthenics to mainly upper class girls. She took boarders and employed highly qualified resident governesses. For an unspecified period before that time, Mrs. Moncrieff received pupils at her residence. See London Free Press, 21 May 1856; 2 June, 1856; 11 April, 1857; 23 July 1857; 14 August, 1857; and Railton, p. 125.
127. Mrs. Bristow and Miss Andrews were recent arrivals from London, England. They advertised that at their school they would concentrate on the moral, religious, and intellectual training of their students. The program of studies included the usual branches of a thorough English education, such as Music, Singing, and French. See London Free Press, 4 January, 1856; 15 January, 1856; 2 January, 1857; 19 August, 1857; and Railton, p. 86.
128. The Misses Robinson, the daughters of the Reverend J.H. Robinson, conducted an expensive Ladies Seminary, which commenced in January of 1856. The curriculum embraced all of the subjects associated with a finished education. Tuition for boarders was \$140 per year including instruction in English, but not Music, French, and Drawing, which were extra. Beginning in May, the Robinsons added a primary department for boys under the age of ten; fees were \$4 per quarter. See London Free Press, 1,4,9,15 January, 1856; 1,14 February, 1856; 8 April, 1856; and Railton, pp. 239,288. Apparently, one of the Misses Robinson was quite an accomplished teacher. She was educated in England, possessed a first class certificate from the Toronto Normal School, and had won the Governor General's first prize at the close of the Normal School session in 1854. See London Herald, 15 January, 1856.
129. Mrs. and Miss Stevens' school was called the Claremont Cottage Seminary, where the main objective was to attend to the "healthful development of mind and body and the formation of womanly character, on Christian principles." Their system of instruction was modelled after a method

employed in German and English High Schools called "Oral Teaching." The curriculum included English Literature and Composition, Writing, Arithmetic, Ancient and Modern History, Geography, Astronomy, Natural History and Philosophy, the Bible and its Literature, Drawing, Gymnastics, Music, French, German, Italian, Grecian Oil Painting, Mosaic, German, Chinese and British Embroidery, Leather Work, and various kinds of fancy Needlework. See London Free Press, 22, 24 March, 1856; 1 January, 1857; 17 March, 1857; and 2 October, 1857.

130. William G. Moncrieff advertised a school of phrenology in January of 1856. (Phrenology is the study of the structure of the skull based on the belief that it is indicative of mental faculties and character.) He expected his students to attend classes until March 1, 1856, every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, from 11 a.m. to 4 p.m., and 7 p.m. to 8 p.m.. See London Free Press, 30 January, 1856.
131. Little is known about the school taught by Luke other than it was a classical and mathematical school. See Railton, p. 120.
132. Railton, pp. 80-165.
133. London Free Press, 4 January, 1856. Since Mrs. Moore thanks her friends for their past patronage, the school probably started in 1855 if not earlier. Tuition at this school was \$4 per quarter.
134. ARBCST, 1857. It is difficult to read the trustees' report regarding the tuition figures that were charged for these schools. It appears that the St. Paul's school generated \$500 in fees, and that McGauley charged \$60 a quarter per student.
135. Ibid.
136. This deduction is based on the assumption that most mission school parents could not afford to send their children to private schools.
137. Since private schools usually lasted only a short duration, it is possible that some of these schools did not continue into 1857.
138. The Misses McKinnon ran a school at their father's residence for children under nine years of age. Tuition was \$4 per quarter. Older students were charged \$6. Drawing and Music were extra. See London Free Press, 13 March, 1857; and 5 August, 1857.

139. Ibid., 14 August, 1857. The Misses Walker, from England, conducted a boarding and day school for young ladies at their residence.
140. Ibid., 31 July, 17 August, 1857. Although McGauley specialized in preparing students for university entrance, he taught a wide-ranging curricula including English, Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration, Book-keeping, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry (particular attention was paid to Agriculture). According to Nicholas Wilson, McGauley ran "the most noted private school that has ever been established in London." See Wilson, Free Press, 5 May, 1894. McGauley had outstanding qualifications. He possessed almost twenty years experience as a professor at the training school for teachers in Dublin, Ireland, and had been headmaster of that institution for several years. Also, he had an international reputation as a classical, mathematics, and science scholar, and as a lecturer and an author. McGauley taught his London school in 1857 and 1858, and perhaps into 1859 before retiring from teaching (most accounts claim that McGauley stopped teaching sometime in 1858). However, he was still requesting assistance from Ryerson in April of 1859, which makes one wonder if his school was still in operation at that time -see AO, RG2, C2, Drafts of Outgoing Correspondence, Box 12, No. 1548A2, Ryerson to McGauley, 9 April, 1859). Subsequently, McGauley served as a trustee then as an alderman before returning to Ireland in 1860.
141. ARBCST, 1858. The rate at the unnamed private school was \$7 per quarter.
142. The Ladies of Loretto opened a private Roman Catholic girls' school at Mount Hope. More will be said about this school in the narrative.
143. London Free Press, 9 January, 13 February, 1858. Mrs. Beddome announced in January of 1858 that she was ready to receive a select number of young ladies to teach in the usual branches of education.
144. London Free Press, 10,12 August, 1858. The Mrs. Holmes and Miss Lawford also offered to teach English and French for \$10 per quarter; music by the well known Mrs. Mackintosh for \$10 per quarter; and Drawing, Italian, and German each at \$6 per quarter.
145. London Free Press, 2,6,12,18 August, 1858. Mrs. Shaw and her assistants provided instruction in Instrumental and Vocal Music (\$40), French (\$16), German (\$24), Drawing

and Painting in oil and water colours (\$24), Guitar (\$40), Wax Flowers, and Oriental Painting. Annual board and tuition for English and French was \$160; for senior day pupils \$40; and for junior day pupils \$32.

146. Ibid., 18 August, 1858. Mrs. Mercer ran an expensive day and boarding school. Tuition was \$200 a year. Mrs. Mercer had references from Benjamin Cronyn, H.C.R. Becher, the Archdeacon of York, and the Honourable G.S. Boulton.
147. London Free Press, 23 November, 1858. Mr. Trenchard announced that he was going to conduct an Evening school, Mondays through Thursdays, during the winter months. Tuition was "moderate."
148. ARBCST, 1859. Unfortunately, the names of these four teachers have not survived; but the trustees' annual report recorded that eight teachers received \$3,400 for their services. Tuition ranged from \$5 to \$14 per quarter.
149. This school ran until at least 1861. See London Free Press, 4 April, 1861.
150. Mrs. Beddome's school ran until at least 1865. See London Free Press, 31 August, 1865.
151. ARBCST, 1860. The trustees' report registers that six teachers instructed at these institutions earning \$3,000 in fees. Tuition ranged from 75 cents to \$12 per quarter.
152. London Free Press, 30 July, 1860. Very little is known about the Evening school which was opened in early August of 1860 at the American Hotel in London. Classes were to include English and Mathematics, and the hours of instruction were from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m.. For terms and references, one was invited to "apply by letter (post paid) to 'I.N.8' Post-office, London."
153. Ibid., 16,17,31 July, 1860. James C. Thompson was the former assistant headmaster at the London grammar school, who had been dismissed from his position at the end of 1859. In August of 1860, he opened a select boys' school at his residence. Initially, he offered instruction in English and the classics; tuition was \$12 per term. In November, Thompson opened an Evening school at the Commercial Building. There he offered instruction in the English branches three days a week from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m..

154. Ibid., 25, 31 July, 1860. Mr. Luard, formerly of Niagara, and King's College, London, England, in July of 1860 opened a select school in London. He wanted to operate a day and boarding school for students who lived in the city and surrounding countryside. Luard offered a curriculum which included Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, English, French, and Music. Annual tuition for boarders under the age of fourteen was \$160; fees for boarders over that age were \$200. Day pupils under the age of fourteen paid \$12 a quarter, whereas day students over that age expended \$15 a term.
155. Benjamin Franklin Clarke, "Case Studies of the London Elite," Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Department of History, U.W.O., 1978, pp. 7-61.
156. E. Leonard, 100 Years 1834-1934 (London: E. Leonard and Sons, Ltd., 1934), p. 14.
157. Clarke, "Case Studies of the London Elite," p. 64.
158. Dillon, "The Irish in London," pp. 91-92; Farrell, "History of the Roman Catholic Church in London," p. 33; and Railton, p. 117.
159. For a very positive review of the new Bishop, see London Free Press, 12 September, 1857. Also see DCB, Vol. XI, 1881 to 1890, pp. 692-695.
160. Dignan, "History of the Diocese of London," p. 120. Cited in Dillon, p. 92.
161. This school has a long history in London, but few girls ever graduated. One record located at the Ontario Archives claims that only seventy girls graduated in the first thirty-five years of the institution's history. See A0, RG2, G4, Enveloppe 3, Sacred Heart Female Academy.
162. "Mount Hope Institute for Young Ladies," London Free Press, 24 August, 1857.
163. London, The Changing Face of Catholic Education in London 1858-1963, A Study Prepared by the Sisters of St. Joseph for the Separate School Board in London, 1963, p. 9.
164. Dignan, "History of the Diocese of London," pp. 160-161 (cited in Dillon, p. 92).
165. London Free Press, 24 August, 1857.
166. London Free Press, 30 September, 1857.

167. See "An Act to Amend the Laws relating to Separate Schools in Upper Canada," DHE, Vol. XII, 1855-1856, pp. 129-131.
168. London Board Minutes, 9 January, 1858.
169. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 24, 19 January, 1858.
170. After researching the backgrounds of these men, seventeen were left without occupations. Many of this group were probably labourers.
171. Beside the "X" was a notation, "his mark."
172. Dillon, p. 111.
173. A Henry Cassidy questioned the legality of these arrangements, and he wrote Ryerson for his opinion. See AO, RG2, C6C, Box 24, Henry Cassidy to Egerton Ryerson, 26 January, 1858. Ryerson's response was that he did not see any legal irregularity in the arrangements undertaken by the separate school board. See AO, RG2, C1, Letter Book "W", No. 363, Ryerson to Cassidy, 29 January, 1858.
174. London Free Press, 16 September, 1857.
175. AO, RG2, F3F, Box 1, "City of London Separate Schools, Report of the Chairman of the United Board of Roman Catholic Separate School Trustees of the City of London, for the year ending December 31, 1858" (hereafter SSBAR).
176. London Free Press, 12 September, 1857. In a later article, the writer alleged that Pinsonneault threatened to withhold the sacraments from his parishioners if they attended common schools. See London Free Press, 2 December, 1857. Pinsonneault's position was synonymous with that taken by other Roman Catholic bishops in Canada West in the mid-1850s. See, for example, Walker's Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada, Vol. 1, referred to above. It should be noted that Kirwan also supported Pinsonneault's position in 1856 (see Walker, Vol. 1, pp. 182-183).
177. Walker, Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada, Vol. 1, p. 55.
178. Ibid., p. 181.
179. The Mirror, 8 February, 1856. Cited in Walker, Catholic Education, Vol. 1, p. 182.
180. London Free Press, 12 September, 1857.

181. SSBAR, 1858.
182. Dillon, p. 93.
183. SSBAR, 1858.
184. According to an editorial in a local newspaper, Maynooth's was the teacher training institution. See London Free Press, 30 September, 1857.
185. SSBAR, 1858.
186. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 25, James Egan to Egerton Ryerson, 31 December, 1858.
187. SSBAR, 1858.
188. Editorialists at the London Free Press in the late 1850s wrote a stream of articles opposing the separate schools. Their main arguments centered on two points: the separate schools would destroy the State school system and create prejudice in the minds of youth. See, for example, London Free Press, 27 March, 1856; and Ibid., 3 February, 16 September, 1857.
189. SSBAR, 1858.
190. Ibid.
191. Annual Report of ... Schools, 1858, pp. lvi-lvii; and 1860, pp. 56-57. The following individuals were trustees for the separate schools in 1860: William Darby (tailor), Charles Colovin (merchant), and William Dalton (flour dealer).
192. In 1858, all of the male teachers except John Brebner, who held a first class provincial certificate, had first class certificates from the Middlesex County Board. Two female teachers had first class provincial certificates; three had second class provincial certificates; and five had first class county certificates. Three of the eight Roman Catholic teachers were members of the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, and their teaching qualifications, if any, were not given. Three of the remaining Roman Catholic teachers in 1858 were males and two were females. The separate school trustees' report did not clearly spell out whether all five or only one of these teachers possessed a first class County certificate. The trustees did record, however, that one teacher was trained in a Dublin teacher training institution. In 1859, John Wilson, the local superintendent, reported that all twenty common school teachers had legal certificates, but

only one of the three Roman Catholic teachers possessed a legal teaching certificate. The local report for 1860 is difficult to read, but it appears that the characteristics of the teaching force were similar to the previous year. Perhaps only one of the three separate school teachers was unqualified in 1860? The names of those teachers were John Brennan, C. McLean, and Madame Hanratty.

193. Gidney and Millar use this approach in Inventing Secondary Education, pp. 54-56.
194. Interestingly, Ryerson as late as 1859 did not publicly acknowledge that the classics were being taught in London's common schools. There is no question, however, that he was aware of this situation. See RG2, C-2, Box 12, Draft of Outgoing Correspondence, No. 4042, Ryerson to George Cox, 19 January, 1859. Ryerson's letter was in response to an earlier one by Cox. See RG2, C6C, Box 26, Cox to Ryerson, 13 January, 1859.
195. London Board Annual Report, 1858.
196. Ibid, 1859.
197. Dillon, p. 75.
198. Daniell was a native of the County Monaghan, Ireland, who accompanied his parents to Canada, where they lived in the County of York for many years. He studied law in Toronto, was called to the Bar in 1845, and then moved to London to practice his profession. He specialized in commercial and municipal law, was a partner with Thomas Scatcherd, took an active interest in local affairs (municipal and political), and was a Reformer in politics. In 1861, Daniell was defeated for the mayoralty by F.E. Cornish; a year later he took a judgeship in the County of Prescott. See his obituary in The Daily Free Press, 25 May, 1887.
199. History of Middlesex, pp. 1072-1073. For a laudatory account of Magee's services to the board of education, see London Free Press, 8 January, 1856. Magee in this article said that there was "no subject ... in which he felt more deeply interested than that of popular education" A later review of his contribution to London revealed that Magee was a native of the County of Tyrone, Ireland. He was born in 1813, emigrated first to the United States, and then to London in 1844. Magee then clerked for four years before opening his own store in that community, retiring in 1862. See London Free Press, 14 April, 1943.

200. Edwards, "London Public Schools," p. 17.
201. This point was made by an editorialist in 1861, and included, for example, the Misses Corrigan, Lester, and Kessack as well as Messrs. McLaren and Erith.
202. According to the London Board Minutes, 21 March, 1855, advertisements for the headmastership were placed in seven Hamilton, Toronto, and London newspapers.
203. J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910, 3 Vols. (Toronto, 1910), p. 114. Cited in Dillon, "The Irish in London," p. 91.
204. London Board Minutes, 18 April, 1855.
205. Ibid., 3 May, 1855.
206. Ibid., 6 June, 1855.
207. Ibid., 18 July, 1855.
208. Ibid., 15 August, 1855.
209. Ibid.
210. Ibid., 7 December, 1855.
211. ARBCST, 1855. An analysis of the provincial annual reports between 1855 and 1860 discloses that attendance rates in London were about fifteen to twenty percent higher than the provincial average.
212. London Board Minutes, 29 February, 1856.
213. Ibid., 12 March, 1856.
214. Ibid., 2 July, 1856.
215. Ibid., 13 August, 1856. This change in plans was probably also facilitated by the city's firemen who did not appreciate city council giving the common school board the upper rooms of the Engine Houses for school purposes. See London Free Press, 22 July, 7 August, 1856.
216. London Board Minutes, 2 September, 1856.
217. Weldon Library, Regional Collections, Microfilm number M553A, "London, Middlesex County, Ontario, City Council Minutes, 1855-64." Hereafter city council minutes.

218. ARBCST, 1857. This is the first time that the words "juvenile school" are used by London's common school officials. The basic purpose of these schools, which were for the younger pupils, was for a better classification of students. Moreover, in the mid-1850s, for reasons that are never made clear, common school officials began to call the Union School, the Central School.
219. London Board Annual Report, 1857.
220. Ibid.
221. ARBCST, 1857.
222. London Board Annual Report, 1857.
223. Ibid.
224. Katz, "Class, Bureaucracy and Schools," in Douglas Myers, ed., The Failure of Educational Reform in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), p. 18.
225. The Board started to bureaucratize operations at least as early as March and July, 1852, when the superintendent, treasurer, and secretary were given specific quarterly duties. On 12 March, 1856, the board established regular meeting dates -the first Wednesday in each month at 7.00 p.m.. On 13 August, 1856, the board resolved to produce quarterly reports with tabular statistics and publish them in one of the city newspapers. For more on this theme in a later period, see Robert Wiebe, The Search for Order 1877-1920 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).
226. London Board Minutes, 17 January, 1857.
227. Ibid., 21 January, 1857.
228. Ibid., 1 April, 1857.
229. Ibid., 14 May, 1857.
230. London Board Minutes, 21 January, 1857; and City Council Minutes, 26 January, 1857.
231. City council's finance committee could not recommend passage of this request by the common school trustees. See London City Council Minutes, 6 April, 1857. On 4 May, 1857, the council sent back the trustees' request.
232. London Board Minutes, 17 February, 1857.

233. Ibid., 27 May, 1857.
234. Ibid., 1 April, 1857.
235. Ibid., 24 April, 1857.
236. Ibid., 14 May, 1857.
237. Ibid., 14 August, 1857.
238. ARBCST, 1857.
239. Magee also recommended the establishment of an Evening school for apprentices and "other young persons whose labours during the day prevent their attending school."
240. Ibid., 1859. The dismissed male teacher was the outstanding John Brebner, who objected to having his salary reduced. When he chose not to renew his contract at the lower rate the board let him go.
241. London Board Minutes, 5 July, 19,30 August, 1859.
242. London Board Annual Report, 1859.
243. Ibid.
244. Ibid.
245. Ibid.
246. ARBCST, 1859.
247. Annual Report of ... Schools, 1860, pp. 190-192.
248. London Board Annual Report, 1860.
249. ARBCST, 1860.
250. Ibid.
251. London Board Annual Report, 1866, Table C, p. 16.
252. Ibid., 1858.
253. David P. Gagan, "Enumerator's Instructions for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861," Histoire Sociale - Social History 7 (November 1974), pp. 355-365. Since the census was taken on 13 January, 1861, and it covered the twelve months preceding that date, it corresponded more closely to the annual school report for 1860 than the one for 1861.

254. In three instances, the other category had lower enrollment rates than the Canadian and American families, but once again the numbers in this category were so small that they were almost meaningless for comparative purposes.
255. Census of 1871, vol. IV, p. 6.
256. The reconstruction of London's Black population involved an investigation of the censuses of 1842, 1861, and 1871. In addition, the London city directories for 1856-57 and 1863-64 were consulted, as well as Drew's The Refugees.
257. One student, a William Rideau, age fourteen, was classed as both a servant and a student. Therefore, in the subsequent analysis which examines the characteristics of non-school students, the profiles of 404 teenagers were investigated.
258. Michael Katz found that only 17 percent of 11 to 15 year olds in Hamilton in 1861 were neither at work or at school. See his The People of Hamilton, p. 278.
259. The statements of London employers and workers to a federal Royal Commission in the 1880s lead one to believe that prevailing opinion in that community did not support the entry of individuals below the age of fifteen into the labour force. See Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada - Evidence, Ontario, (Canada, 1886), pp. 582-692. Cited in Kevin Burley, "Occupational Structure and Ethnicity in London, Ontario, 1871," p. 397.

CHAPTER 5

THE CONSOLIDATION YEARS: 1861 TO 1871¹

Many of the patterns which characterized London's school enrollments in the 1850s were replicated in the 1860s. Common school enrollments were very high early in the decade when London's population was relatively low. Then, as immigration increased during the middle of the decade, the enrollment rate dropped sharply. When the number of residents declined toward the end of this period, enrollment rates soared upwards once again. Coincidentally, enrollment trends at London's grammar and private schools were the inverse of those for the common schools, except in the second half of the decade when private school enrollments remained high. Nonetheless, as in previous chapters, population growth alone does not adequately account for the enrollment patterns which emerged during this period; they were indelibly linked to the racist, elitist, and sexist attitudes of Londoners.

The economic recovery following the tumultuous years of the 1850s was consolidated during the next decade. Lambton county oil, profits from the American Civil War, a redeployment of British troops to the city, and the building of the London, Huron & Bruce Railway, ushered in another period of prosperity. Despite Fenian raids, cholera, and typhoid fever in 1866, and a major fire in 1868, London prospered.²

Other important indicators signalled London's affluence. Banks and businesses boomed; rival newspapers were launched; the Mechanics Institute was revitalized; a Music Hall was established; health officers, a Board of Health, and a city detective were employed; and an Insane Asylum was built. With

the addition of parks, fairgrounds, and sporting clubs, London had moved far beyond the pioneer stage.

Not only had the city come of age economically but it had also culturally matured. Prominent Londoners like artists William Lees Judson, James Hamilton, the Peels, and the Griffiths, established national and international reputations in these years. And leading politicians, administrators, and international figures, like John A. Macdonald, John S. Macdonald, the Governor General, and Prince Arthur, came to witness and celebrate London's blooming at first hand.

London's demography changed little between 1861 and 1871. Its religious character continued to be dominated by Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics (see Table 83). Most of its people still originated in the British Isles, although more were born in Canada (see Table 84).³ And its social class and occupational profiles in the latter year remained similar to those in 1861 (see Tables 85,86).

The population of London rose by 132 percent in this decade, from 12,000 to 15,826; but, as in the previous decade, there was a significant and brief burst of immigration in the middle of the decade. People with occupations increased by 227 percent, from 2,475 to 5,610 (see Tables 49,87), whereas numbers of occupations decreased from 137 to 114, reflecting the specialization of London's labour force. For the first time in the community's history, 100 or more workers were employed in each of fifteen different occupational groups.

Kevin Burley, an economist, has studied occupational structure and ethnicity in the London of 1871. He found that 85 percent of the city's registered work force was male, of whom 67 percent were foreign-born. Approximately, 92 percent of males age fifteen or over had an occupation. Although females constituted about one-half the population, they accounted for only 15 percent of the city's listed labour force. Of the females age fifteen or over, less than 20

percent were registered with an occupation. About 90 percent of these women were employed in domestic or personal service; 5 percent taught school; and 4 percent worked as shop assistants or factory hands. Of the twenty-nine occupations followed by women, eleven contained females only.⁴

Another key finding by Burley was that, despite the differences in occupational concentrations, the distribution of London's work force by social class was remarkably similar for all ethnic groups.⁵ However, of the eighty-eight Black males to have an occupation, sixty-one held a semi-skilled or unskilled occupation -for example, forty-nine Blacks were labourers. In addition, most Black women were illiterate and employed as washerwomen.⁶

Burley made two deductions about school attendance: most thirteen and fourteen year old males attended a school in 1871; and Canadian males, especially those whose fathers were also born in Canada, extended their schooling for more years than did foreign-born males.⁷ One more important observation by Burley was that native-born children under the age of twenty "demonstrated a lower labour participation rate in the work force than their foreign-born counterparts."⁸

A good deal of social mobility both upwards and downwards must have existed in London between 1861 and 1871. For instance, all groups exceeded the rate of population growth: the city's upper class increased by 211 percent; the middling group by 217 percent; and the lower class by 275 percent (see Table 85).

However, once again adjustments can be made to the lower class and unclassified population distributions, illustrating that the working class more than quadrupled in this period. When 502 female servants and 123 male servants are transferred from the unclassified to the working class, the former is decreased from 19.3 to 8.2 percent and the latter is increased from 19.7 to 30.8 percent of the community's population.

Between 1861 and 1871, therefore, social relations had crystalized. London's very small upper class (5 percent) coexisted with a large middle class, which consisted of slightly more than half of the city's population (56 percent), and a stable lower class, that was composed of just under one-third of the community's citizens (30.8 percent).

The expansion of London's working class over time may have had positive as well as negative consequences for many workers, because considerable employment opportunities were created over the decade. For example, between 1861 and 1871 agricultural jobs increased by 281 percent; commercial, by 246 percent; domestic, by 180 percent; industrial, by 226 percent; professional, by 235 percent; and unclassified jobs by 263 percent.

It is important to underscore that London's economy in these years was characterized by considerable stability and growth. Seven of the eight numerically largest occupations in 1871 -labourers, carpenters, shoemakers, tailors, clerks, railway employees, and female servants- had held similar rankings in 1861; many had done so in previous years as well (see Table 88). Dressmakers joined this group in 1871. The eight largest occupational groups in 1871 represented 45.9 percent of Londoners with an occupational title.

The nature of London's economic growth between 1861 and 1871 had significant implications for school enrollment behaviour. As will be shown below, an increasing number of jobs for clerks, merchants, accountants, skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen, labourers, servants, and dressmakers would draw a considerable number of London's teenagers from most cultural and class groups out of the schools and into the work force.⁹

2. PUBLIC EDUCATION FOR LONDON

(I) The London District Grammar School

The London grammar school in this period operated under the terms of the act of 1853 until new legislation was passed in 1865.¹⁰ The new act made three important changes. It transferred the power of appointing trustees from the county councils to the city council; it required local sources to at least match half the sum given to the school from the Grammar School Fund; and it distributed the grant based on the daily average attendance of pupils "in the programme of studies prescribed by law."¹¹

Two courses of studies were outlined in the regulations to the act. One was the classical program, which was a combination of the English subjects, Mathematics, Greek, and Latin. The other was "the English programme;" and it was intended for pupils who wanted to become engineers and surveyors, or for those who wanted to study French or the higher English branches. Average attendance was determined by the number of pupils in both programmes; however, a minimum average attendance of at least ten students in the classics was required to qualify for a government grant. Females were not permitted to enroll in the English program. If girls entered the classical program, it was expected that they would study French, although they were not to be counted for grant purposes unless they studied Latin.¹²

Despite the still unsatisfactory condition of the building, the London grammar school remained a cultural and class enclave for the city and area establishment to prepare their sons for the professions and the colleges.¹³ The continuing and biased nature of this institution is revealed by examining the school's leadership, the program of study, the enrollment and attendance patterns of students; and the reasons why London's leading citizens continued to send their sons to this "rickety old school."

Under the terms of the act of 1853, Middlesex county council appointed six trustees to the London grammar school between 1861 and 1865. These positions were dominated by the local Episcopalian and Presbyterian clergy, the Reverends Brough, Proudfoot, Nichol, McLean,¹ and Flood -all of whom, including non-clergymen John Wilson and William Elliot, were members of the local or county establishment. The new chairman in these years, the Reverend Charles C. Brough, was another T.C.D. graduate (see Table 89).¹⁴

After the union of the common and grammar schools in August of 1865, the hold of the clergy on what became the grammar school department of the Central School was broken, although it was still dominated primarily by London's upper class. Between 1868 and 1870, London's city council appointed three clergymen, a builder, a doctor, and a lawyer as the trustees of the grammar school. Bayly and Wright remained as masters until 1865, when Wright was replaced by a Richard W. Johnstone, an Episcopalian clergyman. In 1869, Johnstone was replaced by a Mr. C.R. Lee, a graduate of Trinity College, Toronto. Tuition stayed at \$5 per quarter, one of the highest fees in the Province.¹⁵ After the union in 1865, this rate was reduced to \$1.50 a quarter.

Pupil enrollments at the grammar school between 1861 and 1864 were relatively low, ranging between fifty and sixty-eight students. However, in 1865, because of the union and perhaps as a result of a significantly lower tuition fee, enrollments increased considerably, rising as high as eighty-three in 1865 before tapering off to seventy-one by the end of the decade.

The influence of the new legislation on curricular patterns at the London grammar school is notable. Previous to 1865, enrollments by subject resembled those for the 1850s. After that date, all students were required to study Latin, English, Mathematics, and Geography; and most pupils studied History (see Table 90). Thus, 1865 was a critical turning

point for London's grammar school, which truly became a classical institution in that year.

Fifty students were enrolled at the grammar school in 1861, although the average attendance was only twenty-four.¹⁶ This low enrollment rate testified to the monopoly which the common schools had achieved over the school age population in London. At the same time, however, it signalled the depth of feeling which permeated London's establishment, members of which felt compelled to segregate their children in this deplorable building until union with the Central School was achieved in 1865.

Grammar school enrollments in the 1860s followed the general population trends for London at the time. They increased substantially in the first half of the decade and tapered off in the latter part of the 1860s, although they remained higher than at the beginning of the period. However, similar to the developments of the preceding decade, the correlation between population change and grammar school enrollments explains only a portion of the school enrollment behaviour at this time. Enrollments at the grammar school remained tightly linked to the key cultural and class concerns of London's respectable families.

Analysis of the half-yearly reports that Bayly sent to the Education Office between 1861 and 1867, the last year for which reports of this nature exist, discloses that about 200 families enrolled 257 students at the London grammar school during those years.¹⁷ Only three of these students were females.

Of the approximately 200 household heads, 134 have been identified. Of this group, 121 (90 percent) were males and thirteen were females -109 lived in London, sixteen in Westminster township, and nine in London township.¹⁸ As in the previous decade, these families were predominantly White, Protestant, British, and respectable (see Tables 91,92).

Episcopalians dominated the grammar school population between 1861 and 1867, followed by Presbyterians, Methodists, other religious groups, Roman Catholics, and Baptists. Based on their general population distributions, Episcopalians and Presbyterians and other religious groups were significantly overrepresented, while Methodists, Roman Catholics, and Baptists were considerably underrepresented. Moreover, Episcopalians and Presbyterians had substantially increased the number of children whom they sent to the grammar school since the 1850s (see Table 93).

Similar to their counterparts in the previous decade, almost all of the household heads with children in the grammar school in the 1860s had British origins (over 97 percent). However, several important changes had occurred over time. On the one hand, only 28 percent of the household heads in the 1860s had been born in Ireland compared to 40 percent in the 1850s. On the other hand, those with English or Welsh backgrounds increased their representation in the grammar school by 8 percent, while those with Scottish origins rose by 10 percent.

Moreover, based on their numbers in the general population, the Irish, the English, and the Welsh students were doubly overrepresented, whereas the Scots were quadruply overrepresented. The other major cultural groups to use the grammar school were all underrepresented, particularly the Canadian-born students, who were significantly underrepresented (see Table 94).

The social class composition of the students at the grammar school in the 1860s was slightly broader than in the 1850s. Approximately 26 percent of students in the later period were upper class; over 60 percent were middle class; and under 4 percent were lower class. These findings compare to 32 percent; 59 percent; and 1 percent respectively for the earlier period (see Table 95). Similar to the 1850s, no Blacks attended the grammar school in the 1860s. However, two

labourers, two servants, and thirteen females sent their children to the grammar school during these years.¹⁹

Therefore, despite admitting a few more middle and lower class children into the grammar school than in the 1850s, the continuing cultural and class biases of the trustees and parents are evident in the enrollment distributions of the students. Upper class children were significantly overrepresented in the school; middle class children were slightly overrepresented; and lower class students were significantly underrepresented.

In both periods, household heads who were employed in the agricultural, commercial, and professional sectors were significantly overrepresented, while their counterparts who held domestic, industrial, and unclassified vocations were underrepresented. Although the sons of farmers and merchants still dominated the grammar school pupil population in the 1860s, their numbers had dropped from twenty to eleven and fifteen to nine, respectively (see Table 96).

As in the previous decade, average annual attendance rates at the grammar school were low, even lower than those found for the common schools. In the 1860s, they ranged from 23 percent to 40 percent compared to 28 percent and 43 percent respectively in the 1850s (see Table 97).

Were provincial inspectors satisfied with the London grammar school in the 1860s? Again, the answer seems to be ambiguous, depending on the source. However, a cautionary word is in order. The inspectors' reports must be read carefully, because their assessments were not unbiased. Their role, after all, was to enforce the teaching of the prescribed curriculum, in an approved way, to "genuine" classical students, who were boys. On the other hand, locals designed the grammar schools to suit their needs.²⁰

Certainly, the London grammar school building remained in deplorable shape, due to the county and city councils' continuing reluctance to support it financially. The Reverend

John Amberry, a grammar school inspector, who examined twenty students there in August of 1861, wrote disparagingly: "The School Building badly placed - old and ricketty - and a disgrace to the town."²¹

On the other hand, Mr. Amberry was very satisfied with the performance of the masters. Of Bayly's four boys studying Greek, three, in his opinion, did very fairly in translation and parsing; and the accomplishments in Latin were "all very creditable in an old fashioned way of scholarship." As for the students in Mathematics, the inspector thought that Mr. Wright had taught them admirably; they worked quicker, more accurately, and with better results than any other pupils he had ever inspected.²²

For a city the size of London, Mr. Amberry thought it absurd that only twenty pupils attended the grammar school. He attributed the small numbers to its bad location, its horrid physical condition, a "want of energy" on Mr. Bayly's part, and a large Central School in London where the classics were taught free, and the teachers were equipped with all the latest educational appliances.²³ This "want of energy" probably referred to Bayly's inability to recruit and discipline students rather than his teaching or academic competence, both of which the inspector had complimented. Under the circumstances, however, it is understandable why Bayly might have been reticent to recruit more students.

Another inspector, the Reverend William Ormiston, examined students at this school in March of 1862. He observed that the school building had not been improved since his last visit, and that it was "only a very little better than Toronto [his underlining]."²⁴ His successor in 1863, the Reverend W.F. Checkley, was more critical than both of his predecessors, calling the school "a disgrace to the city."²⁵

In Mr. Checkley's opinion, Bayly was achieving tolerably good results; but his methods were out of date, the condition of the school house was disgraceful, and the school suffered

by comparison with better public and private institutions in the city:

Mr. Bailey [sic] is evidently a teacher of the old style - doing his work carefully; but not troubling himself much about new methods of teaching or new books - His discipline appears to be unduly lax. The whole appearance of the school was very slovenly induced in great measure I have no doubt by the miserable building and furniture - The room in which Mr. Bailey teaches is about fifteen feet in length twelve feet in breadth and nine feet high - It has not seen a coat of paint for years. There is a large Central School in London in which the teaching of the classics has been introduced. This has tended greatly to diminish Mr. Bailey's numbers. There are also two private classical schools in operation in the city.²⁶

When Mr. Checkley returned a year later, his opinion of the building was unchanged; but this time his assessment of the students' progress was extremely negative. He concluded, "On the whole, this school is utterly unworthy of public support."²⁷

George Paxton Young inspected students at the school in March of 1865. He too was not very impressed, although it was clear to him that the students liked and respected Bayly. Young concluded that although there was no doubt about Bayly's scholarship, and his potential to teach well, his style was "too easy." In this inspector's opinion, had Bayly been firmer the results would have been very different.²⁸

The following year, Young visited the Central School twice. He was much impressed with the changes which had taken place since his last visit:

The Central School, in which the pupils of both schools now meet, is a good brick building, with good furniture, and ample playground. A good supply of maps [sic]. Two globes (terrestrial and celestial). A set of chemical & philosophical apparatus. The textbooks in use are those prescribed - except that Ollendorf is used along with De Fivas' French Grammar, & Knowles' Elocution is employed as a reading book. The subject of

Drill and Gymnastics [all his underlining] will be considered by the Trustees.²⁹

Sixty-three boys and one girl, all of whom were studying Latin, were in attendance that day. After an examination, the inspector admitted thirty-two students to the school and rejected twenty-three. According to J.B. Boyle, many of the failing students came from country schools. When Young returned in September, he admitted an additional thirty-eight students to the grammar school, stating that "great attention had been paid to English Grammar since his previous visit." This class was taught by Mr. Boyle.³⁰

Young was "astonished" by the efforts of Mr. Bayly and Mr. Boyle in 1867:

Though, as a general rule, I am not in favour of what are called Union Schools, I must admit that the Grammar School in London has been decidedly improved by the union of the Common School to it. Not only has the attendance become larger; but the work, in the classical department, is better done than formerly. Perhaps the explanation of this is to be found, in part, in the fact that Mr Baylee [sic] is not distinguished for his governing powers. When the Grammar School was separate from the Common School, its discipline was imperfect; and I suppose that the boys learned just as much, or as little, as they pleased. Mr. Boyle, who is at the head of the United Schools, holds the reins with a firmer hand; and the influence of his authority appears to extend even to the classes which he has no direct part in teaching. Whatever the cause may be, the fact is certain, that Mr Baylee's [sic] classes are now in a better condition than before the Union. Though I was obliged to report very unfavourably of his school in the first years after I became Inspector, I never doubted his scholarship: the fault (I was all along satisfied) lay in his lack of energy & of governing power.³¹

Grammar school inspectors continued to give positive reports about the London school for the rest of the period under study.³² In fact, in March of 1868, Young hardly examined students at all, wanting to discuss with Mr. Boyle

the place which the English language should receive in the educational system.³³ In April of 1870, the inspector stated, "I am happy in being able to chronicle a satisfactory state of things under men who have been long and faithful at their post."³⁴

(II) COMMON AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The crowning achievement of London educators between 1861 and 1871 was the union of the grammar and Central schools in 1865. This event consolidated trends that were initiated in earlier years, and it configured the main outlines of what would become London's modern educational market place. By 1871, London's common and separate schools had a monopoly on the school attendance of children from the ages of six to fourteen; the grammar school was institutionalized as a department of the Central School; and the private schools were marginalized as specialty schools.

This last point requires further elaboration. Although a sizeable private school market existed in London between 1861 and 1871, local school officials, particularly after 1863, repeatedly asserted that no private schools worth reporting existed; and they rarely recorded more than one such school.³⁵ These pronouncements were not mere boosterism. The words and actions of local school officials make it clear that they saw their primary mandate as extending to the "juvenile population" only -that is, to those students who attended the primary schools and were between the ages of six and thirteen or fourteen.³⁶ In curricular terms, this mandate ranged from the 3R's to a good English education, which was provided for free.

London's private school teachers in the 1860s mainly targeted pupils on the periphery of this age spectrum -for instance, students who were younger than about age eight or older than roughly age thirteen. Students in these two groups were part of what is called here the "discretionary

sector."³⁷ This sector itself was characterized by both stability and fluidity. For instance, several specialized relatively permanent denominational and non-denominational private schools, large and small, coexisted with a floating population of private school teachers, who taught such specialty subjects as art, music, dancing, and drawing.

It should also be emphasized that the attainment of almost universal enrollment rates for London children between the ages of six and fourteen was considerably in advance of the requirements of the provincial compulsory schooling law which was passed in 1871.³⁸ That legislation made schooling mandatory for children between the ages of seven and twelve for four months of the year.³⁹ The notion that schooling should be compulsory for children between the ages of five and sixteen would not become widespread until the next century, when attendance to age sixteen was made compulsory in 1919, and from age five in 1954.

To understand the complexities of school attendance behaviour in London during these years, the experiences of Blacks and Roman Catholics will be explored first. Then the general enrollment relationships among the city's private, grammar, separate, and common schools will be investigated. Lastly, the actions of London's common school trustees are examined as they created new arrangements for their schools to cope with the changing times.

Racial prejudice still existed in London in 1861, and it became more intense as the first half of the 1860s progressed.⁴⁰ In June of that year, trustee Thomas Webb, a shoemaker, gave notice that at the next board meeting he would present a motion which, if passed, would compel Black children to attend their own separate school.⁴¹ However, a committee was not struck to investigate this matter until October; and its report was delayed for over a year, because of the highly controversial nature of the subject.⁴²

Black parents were adamant about wanting their children to attend London's common schools. Dr. Alfred T. Jones, a leading and longtime spokesman for that community, vigorously opposed separate schools for his race, emphasizing that the law gave him the right to send his children to the common schools. Jones, a father of eight children, all of whom had been born in London, argued that he, like other Blacks, was a worthy citizen, having fought for his adopted country during the Rebellion of 1837. Moreover, he was a taxpayer. Jones preferred to "view all British subjects in Canada in one light, irrespective of colour."⁴³

The problem for Whites was not that Black parents were sending more children to London's common schools; nor was it the mixing of the younger children of both races, which they could tolerate.⁴⁴ They were still alarmed at the prospect of more Blacks entering the senior grades at the Central School. Their fears had sexual as well as racial and social overtones. One writer, for example, claimed that the then current annual examinations would remove a large number of Blacks from the ward schools to the Central School, a group that was "rude in speech, uncouth in manners and address, and untidy in attire."⁴⁵

The full extent and nature of racial prejudice in London during the early 1860s is manifested in two reports which were eventually produced by Webb's committee in October and December of 1862. The committee confined the scope of their first report to answering two questions: was a separate school for Blacks desirable and, if so, was it legally attainable?⁴⁶

Webb presented the first report to the Board on 8 October, 1862. He, on behalf of the committee, submitted nine points in support of introducing separate schools for Blacks. Basically, his group had taken a "separate but equal" position on the issue - a posture not unlike that taken by trustees in other communities in Canada West, who had established separate schools for Blacks to slow down cultural assimilation.⁴⁷

The committee claimed that a widespread feeling existed among White Londoners that the differences between the two races, in terms of "climatic influences" and "organic structure," were so great that close relations between Whites and Blacks were impossible.

While in the committee's opinion this attitude was wrong, it would not be wise to force a union of the races in the schools, because White children were imbued with the prejudices of their parents. In other words, they felt a repugnance at being seated near Blacks, and they would not play with them on the school yard.⁴⁸

Close association and prejudice had led to a "mind predisposed to take and give offence, a bandying of offensive epithets, embittered acrimonious feelings, and juvenile quarrels" -behaviours and emotions which sometimes involved parents and required the intervention of teachers. The committee had little optimism that this state of affairs could be remedied as long as Black children attended the common schools.⁴⁹

Another reason given by the committee to support separate schools for Blacks was organic. The trustees were blunt, stating that effluvium from the bodies of Black children was offensive to other children and teachers, especially in the Summer; and, although this condition was not the fault of the Blacks, it was a powerful reason for separate schools.⁵⁰

The committee members also admitted that most of London's teachers exhibited "a want of sympathy" for coloured students, which could be injurious to their future development. In fact, Samuel Gridley Howe, a representative of the United States Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, alleged that J.B. Boyle, the principal at the Central School, was opposed to racially mixed schools.⁵¹ In addition, sixteen or seventeen of the board's teachers supported the committee's recommendation, stating that separate schools for Blacks would be "of great benefit alike to both classes."⁵²

According to Webb's committee, the partiality of White teachers for White students demonstrated to Black children that they were inferior to Caucasians; and that enrolling Whites and Blacks together in the common schools was counterproductive:

Your Committee therefore submit, that continuing such a state of things cannot be the best way even to elevate the negro; as this jealousy, called into play in childhood, must result in estrangement and mutual dislike in maturer years; the inevitable results of this system should convince the African parents that in seeking this union with the white population in educational matters, they must prepare themselves for being painfully reminded every day that their fellow citizens are unwilling themselves to receive them or permit their children to associate with theirs, on a footing of social equality—a course that tends to intensify the very evils of which the colored people and some other well-meaning men complain.⁵³

Despite recommending a separate school for Blacks, the committee advocated that the school should be under the control of the board. Furthermore, they reasoned that Blacks would be happier in their own school, just as they were in their own church. There they would be safe from the insults and taunts of White children, so that when they reached adulthood "they would be enabled to meet their white fellow citizens without a single acrimonious feeling, arising from the recollections of wrongs suffered, or injuries retaliated."⁵⁴

One of the committee's most potent arguments for change was a sociological one. They pointed out to the Board that it had a primary duty:

... to adopt every means within your power to promote the efficiency and popularity of the public schools to gradually place them upon such a basis as will insure to them the approval and patronage of the higher and wealthier, as well as the middle classes of the community.

The question then must be met, and answered—does the admixture of races in the class-room militate

against this desirable communication? Your Committee have no hesitation in answering this question in the affirmative.⁵⁵

In the words of the committee members, there was a "wonderful unanimity" amongst Londoners to provide Blacks with their own school or schools, so as "to relieve others from the disagreeable necessity of forcing their children in school to associate with parties with whom neither they nor their children would associate anywhere else." Such a move, they repeated, would remove the children of London's most respectable classes from the city's private schools and once again place them in its common schools:

Your Committee need not remind the Board, that notwithstanding the well-deserved popularity of the present school system there is, and must [well?] be, something abnormal in its working, so long as that portion of the community most heavily taxed for its support derive no immediate or direct benefit from it; but rather choose to send their children to private schools, admitted even by themselves to be less efficient. Your Committee have learned from undoubted authority that the presence of the colored children is one of the causes of this; they submit, therefore, that the adoption of this course would have a tendency to widen still further the portals of our public school, and place them on a firmer basis, by gaining those over to support them by a personal patronage, who now do so much to support them in the way of taxation; by this means the Board will, as far as possible, convert a doubtful, if not a partial communistic principle into the economic one of a tax levied upon all for the general benefit of all.⁵⁶

In the committee's opinion, no legal impediment stood in the way of the board if they wished to establish a separate school for Blacks, as it was allowed under the Common School Act of 1850. Moreover, where trustees in other communities had opened such schools, members of that race had lost their common school privileges. Nevertheless, the committee

admitted that Blacks had an indisputable right of admission to the common schools as long as no separate schools existed.

Webb's committee concluded their first report optimistically. Separate schools for Blacks would satisfy Whites because Blacks would be sequestered to their own schools. Blacks could shake off the demoralizing effects of the "ill-concealed contempt they are forced to endure." And London's upper and middle classes could return their children to, what in effect would be, the city's segregated schools.

Webb did not press the board to take immediate action, because the school year was almost over and the corporation did not have sufficient funds to institute the innovation. However, he did urge recognition of the principle and a guarantee that the board would take action when there were sufficient financial resources to do so.⁵⁷ The board then went into a committee of the whole to continue the discussion. Subsequently, they agreed to readjourn in a week.⁵⁸

When the board next met, they debated the subject until late in the evening, but without resolution. Consequently, they asked Webb's committee for more information.⁵⁹ On 4 December, 1862, Webb submitted a supplementary report to the board, showing that fifty-five Black families lived in London; and that they had 153 children, of whom ninety-six were between the ages of 5 and 16. Fifty of these children attended school. Seven of these students lived in ward one, twenty-five in ward three, and thirteen in ward five. Therefore, five pupils must have lived in one or more of the other wards, because the information on the report is short that number of students.⁶⁰

Principal Boyle produced similar statistics for Black students, showing that twelve boys and twenty-six girls had attended the ward three school; four boys and five girls had attended the ward five school; and three boys and nine girls had attended the Central School. Committee members estimated

that about eighty Black students had attended the common schools during the year.⁶¹

This information was in sharp contrast to that presented by a visiting committee, which had toured the schools on the 29th of September, finding only twenty-one Black students in the common schools that day.⁶² Perhaps, then, some of the trustees and teachers were exaggerating the numbers of Black pupils to sway public opinion in their favour?

If the numbers presented by Webb and Boyle were accurate, then London's Black population must have exploded since the taking of the 1861 census, which had identified only eighteen Black families, fifty-three school age children, and eighteen pupils. Such an increase was theoretically possible. The beginning of the Civil War in the United States in 1861 probably caused additional American Blacks to seek refuge at least temporarily in London. Whatever the case, it was the increasing numbers of Black students who were poised to enter the Central School that provided the impetus behind the trustees' call for a separate school.

Taking a page, therefore, from London's Roman Catholic families, who had used separate schools to segregate their children from those of their Protestant neighbours, middle and upper class Whites in London, led by their school trustees, attempted a similar strategy along racial lines.

Webb recommended that if the Board approved a separate school for Black children, it might consider using the unoccupied room in ward school no. 5. He proposed that a male teacher be placed in charge of the school at a salary of about \$250 annually. Black students could still have access to the central room in the school for writing lessons.

The two Webb reports were not acted upon immediately, although the second one was amended slightly and the following motion was passed in a ten to three vote: "it would be beneficial to all classes of the community (especially the coloured children) that a distinct and separate class or

school be formed [their underlining] for all the coloured children attending the common schools ... as soon as financially practicable...."⁶³

Despite their optimism, Webb's committee would be confronted with a major obstacle. This possibility is first hinted at in a letter sent by William McBride, the board chairman, to Egerton Ryerson, in October of 1862:

A question has arisen at the Board of School Trustees for this city as to whether under the Statute the Board can establish a school exclusive for the use and benefit of the coloured children and compel their attendance thereat. Your opinion at as early a date as possible will much oblige.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, Ryerson's response is not available.

In February of 1863, another committee was appointed to implement the above resolution.⁶⁵ In early March, they reported locating two men with first and second class certificates, who were prepared to teach coloured students; but they had not yet been successful in finding a suitable building for a school house. At the same meeting, it was decided to ask John Wilson, the local school superintendent, who within months would be elevated to the Provincial Bench, for a written opinion on the subject of the Board's providing a separate school for Blacks.⁶⁶

Wilson sent his legal opinion on this matter to the board in early April of 1863. His reading of the school law presented, in the words of Simpson H. Graydon, the new chairman of the Board, an "unexpected difficulty" for those who wanted to segregate London's Blacks in their own separate schools. Wilson advised the board that they could not compel Black parents to send their children to separate schools unless Blacks had first requested them.⁶⁷

Many of the trustees were unhappy with Wilson's interpretation of the school law; and Graydon, another T.C.D. graduate, wrote Egerton Ryerson to ascertain whether or not the board would have to assume the costs of litigation should

the issue go to court.⁶⁸ At the end of May, Graydon wrote Ryerson again, complaining that he had not received a response to his earlier letter, and indicating that Wilson's opinion had so influenced the board he feared that those favouring separate schools for Blacks were now in a minority.⁶⁹

In spite of this setback, the board in July asked city council for \$500 to provide a school for Blacks; and in September a committee was struck to procure the building and organize a school.⁷⁰ Despite these efforts, London's schools were never segregated by race, at least not formally, because London's Blacks were determined to educate their children in London's common schools; and negrophobia declined after the Civil War ended in 1865 when many Blacks returned to the United States.⁷¹

Racial prejudice, therefore, had significantly affected enrollment patterns during the first half of the 1860s. However, another familiar cultural factor continued to divide London's common school students in this period. Enrollments at the Roman Catholic separate schools were on the increase, rising from 393 to over 500 pupils between 1861 and 1871.⁷² The separate schools were here to stay.

Very little specific information is known about the separate school board, the students, or the teachers at the St. Peter's school. The extant evidence shows that, as in the late 1850s, most separate school trustees were also parents who held middle and lower class occupations (see Table 98). Moreover, the students who won the prizes, or participated in the festivities following the Summer exams in 1865, were also predominantly from those social groupings (see Table 99).

John Brennan, who had started teaching at St. Peter's school in 1858, remained there through 1865. He was trained at the Model School in Dublin, where he graduated in 1850.⁷³ A Miss Marian Quarry assisted Mr. Brennan in 1863 and 1865, and a Miss Keenan in 1863.⁷⁴

A Mr. John Brown and a Miss Fanny Keenan were the teachers in 1866.⁷⁵ In 1868, a Miss M.R. Horgan was the head teacher of the female department; she was assisted by a Miss McCarthy. In addition, a Miss J. McCauslin was the assistant in the male department that year; a head teacher was appointed every three months.⁷⁶ Lastly, a Mr. Sam Brown, who has been described as a thorough English and Latin scholar, became the principal of the Roman Catholic separate schools in 1870. Previously Brown had taught in the city's public schools for eight years. He would hold the position of principal for the next eighteen years.⁷⁷

However, several significant advances had been made in the separate schools in a relatively short time. Based on data contained in the 1871 census, over 69 percent of Roman Catholic students aged 5 to 16 had attended a school in 1871. This attainment was only a few percentage points below that for city children in general.

And although Roman Catholic families still had fewer schools, teachers, and financial resources than their common school counterparts (see Table 100), the proportional amounts of money raised for these schools, and the reading levels attained by Roman Catholic students, mirrored those achieved by other pupils in the community (see Tables 100,101).

Despite this progress, separate school students still pursued a narrower range of subjects (see Table 102), which necessitated that a number of boys from respectable families, like Joseph and Richard Wright, James Starr, and Frederick Drought, attend the Central School to study Latin;⁷⁸ and until 1868 Roman Catholics attended school significantly fewer days than students at the common schools (see Table 103).

It is important to note that two private Roman Catholic schools also existed during these years. Respectable Roman Catholic parents maintained their support of the Mount Hope Institute, annually sending about seventy upper and middle class girls to that institution to study the "accomplishments

curriculum."⁷⁹ In addition to this expensive boarding and day school, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart also opened a less expensive primary school for about sixty pupils. Both of these schools, and their twelve teachers, were under the superintendence of Madame Jennings, the Lady Superior.⁸⁰

According to information contained in a city directory, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart opened this primary school because they had withdrawn their services from the separate school board; and they were "desirous to afford to all classes of society an opportunity of giving a good education to their children...."

The Sisters offered all the branches of a "solid education," including French, and Plain and Fancy Needlework to their pupils. Dressmaking and Sewing were taught in the senior classes. Moreover, students from all denominational groups could attend if they were willing to conform to the rules. Monthly tuition for lessons in English and French was 50 cents. The entrance fee was 25 cents.⁸¹

In sum, these racial and religious predispositions of Londoners would have an important influence on school attendance trends at the city's private, grammar, separate, and common schools at this time. School attendance behaviour would further be affected by the actions of London's predominantly middle class common school trustees, as they responded to the educational challenges of the 1860s with familiar strategies: a school building campaign; a systematization of school procedures; a reclassification of students; and the hiring of substantially more female teachers (see Table 104).

Provincial annual report data for 1861 show that enrollment patterns in London were similar to those experienced during the preceding year, when most of the city's children attended a common school. According to Alexander Johnston, a merchant, and the board chairman, the schools were in "a most prosperous condition." The enrollment rate at the

common schools was high, with only fifty students attending the grammar school and thirty pupils going to one private school (see Tables 105,106). Moreover, the desire for a superior education at the Central School was increasing. In 1861, twelve students studied Greek, fifty-seven took Latin, and seventy-nine were in the French classes.⁸²

Although provincial and local annual reports listed only a single private school in 1861, newspapers recorded nine additional schools, more than half of which had been established for several years (see Table 107). As discussed in the previous chapter, the Messrs. Thompson, Luard, and Watson, and the Misses Beddome, Holmes and Lawford, and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, all offered a superior education to their students. Since most of these teachers concentrated on very young or teenage students, or ran relatively small schools, or taught subjects that were outside the mainstream curriculum, they were not seen by common school officials to be in direct competition with the public schools.

The three new private school teachers in 1861 fit into this mould also. A Mr. Arthur Moore was given permission by the board to teach Drawing at the Central School for three months. Similarly, a Mr. Joseph Clark was authorized to teach a class in Vocal Music at that institution for an additional three months. Both were to be supervised by Mr. Boyle.⁸³ The third new teacher, a Miss Bushell, was a teacher of French, Drawing, Painting, Piano-forte, and Singing.⁸⁴

The marginalization of London's private schools in the short-term was a mixed blessing, because with the success of attracting almost the entire juvenile population into their schools, common school trustees lacked sufficient accommodation for the increasing number of students. Although schools had been placed in wards two, three, five, and seven, Johnston pointed out they were so crowded that the board felt compelled in 1861 to purchase land in ward six for a future school. In his own words, "suitable provision has not yet

been made to meet the wants of the community in this respect."⁸⁵

The next year, Johnston's words came back to haunt him. London's population had jumped twenty percent almost overnight, and many of London's respectable families returned to enrollment patterns which had not been seen since the mid-to-late 1850s. When the common school enrollment rate dropped in 1862, the percentage rate for females dropped slightly; enrollments at the grammar school rose over twenty percent; and the numbers of private schools and students increased substantially (see Tables 105,106). As stated in the Webb report, much of this behaviour was racially motivated.

However, many more private schools existed in the London of 1862 than the official records indicate. Newspapers listed eight such schools, all but one of which have been noted previously. Jones and Searl's Commercial College, later called the London Commercial College, was the new venture in 1862; and it would assume a prominent place in the city's educational landscape for decades. Unfortunately, no records for this College exist; however, its commencement must have excited those with an entrepreneurial spirit, because its stated purpose was to instruct pupils:

in everything pertaining to a Thorough Business Education in a New and Novel Manner By means of Actual Transactions. Any person of ordinary capacity and a Common School Education can, by the course pursued, become qualified in from three to six months, to keep any Set Of Books In The Province.⁸⁶

To accommodate the increased demand for schooling, common school trustees opened a new school in ward six after the Summer recess. They also renovated the school in ward seven. Both schools were designed to seat 160 students each. Twenty-two teachers provided instruction in London's common schools that year, of who seventeen were females.

Racial issues, an increasing population, and a lack of school accommodation, were not the only challenges facing common school trustees in the early 1860s. London's "aristocratical tendencies" resurfaced during this period. That these attitudes were again coming to the fore are first hinted at in the words of William McBride, the board chairman in 1862:

The period in the world's history has passed, when indifference to the education of the middle and lower classes of a community could with safety be tolerated. The increase of power, falling in each succeeding year, into the hands of these classes in this country, renders their careful education a measure of State policy. With us the franchise is widely diffused, and an extended franchise is an advantage to a State only, when those to whom it is entrusted fully understand its responsibilities, and use with judgment, the powers put into their hands by the Constitution....⁸⁷

Most of the trends noted for 1862 were replicated in the next year. Population and enrollment figures increased only marginally in 1863, while the number of pupils at the grammar and private schools rose substantially (see Tables 105, 106). These trends were partially the result of negrophobia, according to individuals like Dr. Howe, Dr. Jones, and the Reverend Dr. Proudfoot.⁸⁸ Class bias was another important cause.

John Wilson spoke of this bias in the board's annual report for 1863, his last report as superintendent to the corporation. His words would also be echoed by the school principal, J.B. Boyle. Wilson chose his words carefully, noting that when classical instruction was first provided at the Union School it was "not favorably looked upon." But over the years, the Central School had become one of the best schools in the Province, "embracing every subject of importance to the mechanic, the merchant, or the professional man."⁸⁹

Apparently, some Londoners thought that many London children had been educated "above the business to which they have devoted themselves." Wilson denied this claim, stating that "neither the mental powers nor moral sentiments can be too highly cultivated for the individual or public good, and we require more in this Province an intelligent, educated, moral people, than a highly educated upper class."⁹⁰

Wilson warned Londoners against lowering the educational standard:

This system, which works so well here, was not brought about without deep thought in planning and great skill and energy in working it out. By any ill-judged step, much of this labor and care may become useless. To detract from the well-earned status of the school would be most injurious. To lower your standard, where such endeavor has been made to advance it, would be a virtual acknowledgement that you had tried a higher education for the poor man's son, and found it either unsuited or unappreciated⁹¹

Boyle, in his annual report, also commented on the "objectors" who thought that the course of study at the Central School was too comprehensive, and "should be confined within the narrow limits that would qualify a working mechanic or a merchant's clerk to manage the mechanical or commercial parts of their respective callings."⁹² The principal thought this policy "neither liberal nor enlightened;" and he suggested that eliminating the French and the classical classes, and contracting the English course somewhat, as some had proposed, would reduce the stature of the school to the point that respectable families would return to private schools. Then the entire free school system would be at risk. Boyle expressed his frustration with these detractors:

To me it has always seemed a kind of social paradox, that the very class of people who have least to pay, and who reap the greatest advantages from having a department of superior education in connexion with our system of common schools, are

almost the only portion of the population who are found to grumble.⁹³

Provincial and local annual reports differed over the size of the private school sector in 1863. The former showed that, although the number of private students had increased, the number of schools had decreased, from four to two. This point is intriguing, because Bishop Cronyn, London's new school superintendent in 1863, did not submit that information to the Education Office. In fact, he, or his designate, had written on the trustees' annual report for that year, "No longer any private schools worthy of notice." To further complicate the point, elsewhere in the report the Bishop added, "four ladies teach infant schools - they decline to make returns."⁹⁴ So at least four private schools existed in 1863 -the same number as was officially reported in 1862.

Why had Bishop Cronyn chosen to ignore these schools? Who made the revision on the provincial report, and why? Answers to these questions are not known. Worse yet, the information is incomplete and potentially misleading, because a city directory and newspapers listed seventeen private schools in that year, of which nine were new schools.

Four of the new teachers, according to Murphy's city directory for 1863, were music teachers: a Mrs. Raymond; a Mrs. W. McIntosh; a Mr. Herman Kordes; and a Mr. St. John Hyttenrauch. This city directory also listed five other teachers: a Mr. W.T. Ward; a Thomas Hodgins; a Mrs. Cox; a Mr. John Hargreaves; and the Misses Evans.⁹⁵ Some of these teachers taught in both the public and private schools, while others provided private instruction only.

Consistent with the enrollment trends noted earlier, as London's general population and school population declined slightly in 1864, the common school enrollment rate rose and attendance at the grammar school declined. However, reported enrollments at the private schools remained the same as in the previous year -two schools and 130 students. Nonetheless,

these figures were probably an estimate by a school official in Toronto, since the now familiar remark, "No private schools worth reporting," was written on the trustees' report. Whether or not Bishop Cronyn thought these schools significant, a city directory and newspapers identified eighteen private schools in 1864, a half-dozen of which were the longstanding institutions previously mentioned.⁹⁶

Eight new private school teachers opened schools in 1864. Four of these instructors were listed in Cameron's Gazetteer by name only: a Mr. Angus Cameron; a David Chambers; a Mrs. Joseph Cox; and a Mrs. Hayden.⁹⁷ The remaining four teachers targeted young children and teenagers. A Mrs Raymond ran a select boarding and day school for young ladies; she also gave lessons in piano and organ.⁹⁸ A Mr. Borel was a teacher of French.⁹⁹ And the Messrs. J.R. Peel and H.A. Wilkens operated an Evening Drawing and Modelling school.¹⁰⁰ However, a Mr. John Hall, another T.C.D. graduate, might have been an exception to the general rule. He opened a classical school in 1864 which lasted throughout this period.¹⁰¹

Although private schools no longer threatened the development of the common school system in the mid-1860s, serious confrontations were to come from the city council and the grammar school trustees in 1864. These challenges, which were over money and power, echoed the concerns raised earlier by the Messrs. McBride, Wilson, and Boyle. Alexander Johnston, who returned to chair the common school board in 1864, used his annual report for that year to present the board's position directly to the public.

First, on behalf of the other trustees, he battled the city council over school accommodation. Since 1862, the total number of pupils in the common schools had increased considerably. While the schools in wards two, six, and seven, which were north of Dundas Street, were "models of what juvenile schools ought to be," the schools south of Dundas Steet, in wards three and five, were "100 per cent. in advance

of what these school houses are capable of seating with comfort, and nearly the same per centage above what the teachers can manage with advantage to the parents and pupils."¹⁰²

Accordingly, in addition to their standard request for \$8,000 from the municipality, the board asked council in 1864 for another \$1,000 to build a new school in a central location south of Dundas Street. Although supported by its finance committee, council denied the application. Trustees were incensed, calling the councillors' action "disrespectful" and "illegal;" and they reminded Londoners that under the school law it was they, not the councillors, who had the "right to determine the amount required to support the public schools of the city in an efficient manner."¹⁰³

The board, wanting to avoid a confrontation with the council, appointed a special committee to meet with the Mayor and the council's finance committee. They hoped to impress upon the council the urgency "to provide the means of having the children of the three southern Wards properly taught without at the same time endangering their health and lives." However, the trustees' overture was spurned; and the subsequent threat of legal action by the board against the council was treated with "cool contempt." Deciding that no viable option was available, the trustees instructed their solicitor to apply for a mandamus from the court to force the council to grant the entire \$9,000 which they had requested.¹⁰⁴

Johnston concluded his report optimistically, noting that the Court of Common Pleas had granted the rule to issue the mandamus, although it was temporarily suspended until the council's lawyer was able to prepare a defence. Moreover, the chairman had learned that the councillors were intending to take the issue to the public at the upcoming elections for trustees. This he was prepared to do also, reasoning that, if the retiring trustees from the three wards south of Dundas

Street were returned, the trustees "ought to take it as an approval of their course, constitutionally expressed."¹⁰⁵ Johnston was confident of the result:

The intelligence of the people of London may be relied on, and their resolve to support among them a first-class education for their sons and daughters, has been often recorded, and the trustees feel the fullest assurance that their decision in the present case will be characterized by their usual wisdom and patriotism.¹⁰⁶

The electorate soon proved Johnston a prophet, as all the old trustees south of Dundas Street were returned.

A second major issue confronted the board in 1864 -that was the lingering elitist attitude of London's upper class, who wanted control over the provision of classical education in London. The debate over this topic would lead to a good deal of acrimonious discussion.¹⁰⁷

According to Johnston, London's establishment had been very politic about the issue; and he restated their main arguments as follows. Since the running of the Central School's classical department was at the city taxpayers' expense, the mission of the Central School should be returned to its original mandate, which had been to provide a good English education. Furthermore, although London's wealthy were willing to pay taxes for the poor man's son, they felt that their contribution should only go as far as to "make him a good and useful citizen" -anything beyond that point, in their opinion, should be paid for by the parents.¹⁰⁸

Johnston shredded these arguments from what he called "the enemies to free education," asserting that it was the "mechanics and working classes generally" who were the most interested in maintaining this department. It was the only feasible way for them to provide their children with an education equal to that provided by wealthy parents for their progeny, unless working parents declared themselves paupers to make their sons eligible for grammar school scholarships.

The chairman then reminded his readers that the "Canadian system" was a national system, not a system of charity schools; that all supported the schools financially through a tax on property; and that it was in the best interest of the State to maximize the potential of all children who were "highly gifted," rich or poor.

Johnston also dismissed the argument made by some that London's elite paid for the education of their children "cut of their own pockets." This he called a "pleasing delusion." The chairman then presented convincing statistics to show that, after the great amount of State assistance was taken into account, the parents of children at the grammar school actually were:

to a greater extent a pensioner upon the bounty and generosity of his country than is the father of a boy who may have learned classics in the Central School, during the year. So much for the justice of the case, and so much for the boasts of these liberal gentlemen who say that they pay for the education of their sons.¹⁰⁹

The war of words between London's establishment and the common school trustees was almost over by the end of the year. In mid-December, it became public knowledge that the trustees of the grammar and common schools were again contemplating a union. After an initial meeting, a joint committee was struck to present a workable plan to both groups at their next meeting.¹¹⁰

Apparently, Boyle had discussed this possibility with J.G. Hodgins a few weeks earlier when he was in Toronto, because he acknowledged it in a letter to the deputy superintendent, which was dated 28 December, 1864. In the letter, Boyle thanked Hodgins for his "hints;" and the principal also noted that he was considering a second possibility should the attempted union of the Central School and the county grammar school fail. Boyle's plan was that

London itself might obtain a grammar school, and that institution could be united with the Central School.¹¹¹

The same day Boyle also sent a letter to Egerton Ryerson, informing him that the two boards had met twice to find a basis for a union; and they needed his advice on several technical and legal questions which had arisen.¹¹² Despite a promising start, complications arose in 1865, which would delay the union for another six months.

At a meeting on 7 February, 1865, the board received a communication from the grammar school trustees, which must have been very disconcerting; the county council would not support the proposed union. The grammar school trustees, "in deference to this opinion," declined to take any further action on the subject.

Frustrated, the common school trustees decided to pursue their second option. A committee was appointed to look into the possibility of establishing a grammar school "in connection with the common schools of the city of London, and if practicable to report to this board what steps are necessary to be taken for accomplishing so desirable an object."¹¹³

Boyle's threat worked, because in May he wrote Hodgins advising him that the two boards had resumed negotiations; and that all but one question had been resolved.¹¹⁴ The following month, the Reverend John Proudfoot, on behalf of the London grammar school trustees, asked Ryerson if the basis of the agreement worked out between the two boards was legal.¹¹⁵ In early July, an eight point accord was presented to the common school board for their consideration.¹¹⁶

Less than a week later, the common school board ratified the agreement.¹¹⁷ By the end of the month, it was confirmed by the grammar school board; and a committee was established to consummate the union.¹¹⁸ On 1 August, 1865, the chairmen of the two school boards signed the agreement, whereupon Alexander Johnston was appointed the first chairman of the

joint board. The rules and regulations for the proceedings at future meetings, which had first been drafted in 1857, were then approved with only a few amendments.¹¹⁹

The grammar school question had finally been decided, but others remained. One of the more pressing was the accommodation problem. The children of the 2,000 new immigrants to London in 1865 would exacerbate the school accommodation problem, despite the opening of a new school in ward five in October.¹²⁰

For the most part, enrollment trends in 1865 followed the expected pattern after a population increase. The common school enrollment rate dropped sharply, enrollments for girls declined slightly, and the number of grammar school students increased substantially. However, while the provincial annual report recorded that 130 students attended one private school, the trustees' annual report registered only seventy pupils at the new London Collegiate Institute.

The London Collegiate Institute was an integral part of what one historian of London has called "an elaborate system of Church of England high school and university education" that was formed in the city during the 1860s and 1870s.¹²¹ The origin of this denominational system can be traced to Bishop Cronyn's desire, after the formation of the Diocese of Huron in 1857, to train clergymen locally, rather than at Strachan's high church Trinity College in Toronto.¹²² Beginning in 1862, Cronyn and the Reverend Isaac Hellmuth successfully raised funds to start a theological college in London. Their efforts resulted in the founding of Huron College in 1863.¹²³

Hellmuth carried the dream several steps further. His next step was the inauguration of the London Collegiate Institute, a private, classical, scientific, and commercial school for boys, which was renamed Hellmuth College in 1868.¹²⁴ Although it took over a year to come to fruition, the timing of the school's opening on 1 September, 1865,

suggests that its founding was a response to a loss of control by London's establishment over the provision of classical education in the public schools of the city.

Two other reasons for the building of this school were imbedded in the ecclesiastical politics of high versus low churchmen; and the desire by Cronyn and Hellmuth, and others of their class, to provide a school in the western part of the Province that would be in the tradition of the great English public schools.¹²⁵ Interestingly, this was the only London private school which Bishop Cronyn, in his role as school superintendent, reported to provincial authorities between 1865 and 1869, the last year for which the trustees' reports are available.

Thus, the "aristocratical tendencies" of London's elite had resurfaced. To effect their dreams required a very creative, although not original, solution. Not wanting to educate their children with those of the middle and lower classes, and considering the fact that they had lost control over the dispensation of government monies for grammar school purposes, the city's establishment founded their own London Collegiate Institute as yet another way to segregate their children from the masses and to conspicuously consume a more liberal literary and practical education.

London's establishment built an elegant and spacious institution,¹²⁶ staffed by Masters who were extremely well-qualified and undoubtedly expensive.¹²⁷ The course of instruction included the Ancient and Modern Languages, Mathematics, and the English and Commercial subjects. Board and tuition was \$300 per year.¹²⁸

Once again, this elite group induced others to pay a substantial portion of the expenses for their school. A considerable amount of funding was obtained in England, and tuition fees or shares were obtained from wealthy and like-minded individuals and families in London and elsewhere in the Province and the hemisphere.¹²⁹ The opening of the Hellmuth

Ladies' College in September of 1869 reflected the same strategy and social concerns, as would the establishment of the Western University of London in 1878.¹³⁰

The Hellmuth Boys' and Ladies' Colleges were extremely important to Londoners according to one commentator:

Dean Hellmuth deserves very great credit for his enterprising and successful endeavors to supply a want long felt in the West. The advantages to our city from such institutions are manifest. They give a prestige and impart a polish derivable in no other way; and cause a large direct and indirect additional pecuniary expenditure in our midst.¹³¹

Despite the fact that official school reports in 1865 reported only one private school in London, newspapers contained references for fourteen such teachers, of whom ten have already been discussed. The new teachers in 1865 were a Mr. Jacobs, a Mrs. Warren, a Mr. James D. Bogan, and a lady who was unnamed. These instructors targeted the discretionary sector for their students.

Jacobs was a private tutor.¹³² The widow Warren opened a class for Dancing and Calisthenics.¹³³ Bogan ran a Night School, where he taught Penmanship and Arithmetic to gentlemen and ladies.¹³⁴ And the unnamed lady offered to teach twelve adult females the 3R's, Spelling, Grammar, and Geography at an Evening class.¹³⁵ In addition to these schools, a Military School was opened in London in 1865; but since it was intended for older boys that school is not discussed here.¹³⁶

Despite the large number of private schools, Principal Boyle wrote in his annual report to the board in 1865 that the Central and Primary Schools "continue to enjoy the almost exclusive patronage of the citizens of London.... and that nothing worthy of the name of a private school has existed in London for many years past"¹³⁷ Boyle, for the reasons discussed above, obviously had chosen to ignore such private schools as the London Commerical College, the Mount Hope

Institute, the Sacred Heart primary school, and the girls' schools run by the Misses Beddome, Holmes, and Raymond.

On the other hand, Benjamin Bayly, the classical master at the Central School, viewed the private school sector in a slightly different light than his principal. He observed that, despite being larger than most grammar schools in the Province, the number of students in his classical program was probably smaller than many might have anticipated. In his opinion, the result was due to the imposition of a small Rate-bill, and a "very large and flourishing establishment (essentially Classical) [his brackets] being located in our city...." However, Bayly stated that the board should not be too disappointed: "I think we may rather congratulate ourselves upon our numbers being so respectable, than feel any surprise at their paucity; and I feel little doubt that as the novelty wears off, your School will suffer still less from either of these causes."¹³⁸

Boyle, like Bayly, believed that the Rate-bill had negatively affected attendance at the grammar school, although, as only five months had passed, he felt that it was still too early to judge the success of the project. The principal also cautioned Londoners not to reduce their spending on the common schools, because sacrificing efficiency for economy could also seriously alter school attendance:

Public education, to maintain the high position it has already gained, must prove its claims upon public confidence by doing the work assigned it in such a style, as to set competition at defiance. And this, with its superior facilities in the way of apparatus of all kinds, a more thorough classification of pupils and division of labour, and with the aid of teachers properly trained for the duties of their profession, is no very difficult matter.¹³⁹

The principal further maintained that age five was too young for children to attend school, especially those who lived in towns and cities. In the country where the Summer

air was pure, the exercise advantageous, and the classrooms largely deserted, it might "do very well." However, in the city parents used the common schools during the Summer for babysitting.

In Boyle's opinion, this trend was problematic for the following reasons. Teachers were not trained to run Infant Schools. Very little progress was made with these youngsters while the older students lost valuable teacher time. And children themselves would be "injured by being confined in a class-room, when the nursery or play-ground would be the more fitting place for them."¹⁴⁰

The Principal concluded that he was unaware of any evidence to support sending children to school at age five. Since "much evil may be done to the physical constitution in following the present system," he recommended changing the school law for cities and towns so that the age of admission into the common schools would be set at six years rather than five. Boyle also thought that, if London's experience was similar to other cities, and united action were taken, the chief superintendent (still Egerton Ryerson) would lend his influence to modifying the school law in this regard.¹⁴¹

By the Fall of 1865, therefore, the major schooling issues of the 1860s had been settled. Racial tensions had subsided; Roman Catholic separate schools were fully established; classical instruction had been transferred into the Central School; the private schools were marginalized; and London's large middle class dominated the running of the public schools.

The main contours of London's modern system of public education were also created at the same time as the above changes. A joint board of education was made responsible for the supervision and financing of all the city's public schools.¹⁴² The principal was required to make monthly reports to the board of trustees about the progress of the schools and the efficiency of the teachers.¹⁴³ A series of

standing committees were established for the better management of the schools,¹⁴⁴ and new rules and regulations were created for teachers.¹⁴⁵

It is also important to note that all future teachers appointed to the Central School were required to hold first class certificates from the provincial Normal School or from one of the training institutions in the British Isles, while the head teachers of the ward schools were obliged to have first or second class certificates from Toronto.¹⁴⁶

In addition, six primary or juvenile schools were strategically placed in the most populated areas of the city. Primarily for economic and social reasons, all of these teachers, including the head teachers, were females.¹⁴⁷ The program of study at the ward schools consisted of Reading, Spelling and Definition, Writing, English Grammar, Geography, and Arithmetic. Students were required to pass an entrance examination before being admitted into the Central School. Promotions took place in April and November of each year.¹⁴⁸

Five male teachers and five female teachers plus the principal taught nine departments (five boys and four girls) at the Central School, where students were placed in classes according to their proficiency. The principal periodically promoted students on the basis of examinations. Diplomas of merit, honor cards, and monthly reports were instituted to help parents better judge the progress of their children.

The curriculum taught at the Central School included the subjects offered at the primary schools plus History, Book-keeping, Algebra, Mensuration, Drawing, Natural Philosophy, Geometry, Trigonometry, English Composition, and the history of the Languages and their Literature.¹⁴⁹

In addition, the classical department at the Central School offered Latin, Greek, and French, as well as the remaining subjects prescribed by the Council of Public Instruction, "so that the sons of those requiring such

branches may be prepared for entering any profession or matriculating at any of our Provincial Colleges."¹⁵⁰

With the major cultural and class issues dividing London's population contained, and a system of public schools working efficiently, the greatest challenge facing common school trustees prior to 1871 was accommodating an increasing number of students. This problem became even more acute in 1866 when London's population rose slightly to reach its apex for the decade. Enrollment trends took the usual course, although they did not differ much from the previous year.¹⁵¹

As the trustees commenced the process of school reconstruction in the second half of the 1860s, population trends turned in their favour. Beginning in 1867, and continuing for the rest of the decade, London's population and its school age population declined considerably, whereas the number of children enrolled in school increased to the point that by the end of 1870 almost all of the city's school age children attended a common school.

In 1866, according to Alexander Johnston, who had returned as board chairman that year, the greatest overcrowding still took place in the three primary schools in the southern wards of the city.¹⁵² Johnston's words were echoed by his successor, Simpson H. Graydon, who drew special attention to the intolerable conditions at the Central School Block.¹⁵³ Graydon, ever the lawyer, reminded his fellow trustees that the school law required them to provide the necessary rooms for the swelling numbers of pupils.¹⁵⁴

J.B. Boyle supported his chairman, but he viewed the problem from a more practical and pedagogical viewpoint. In his annual report for 1867, Boyle asked the board to consider erecting an Intermediate School the following year in the area south of Dundas Street. The three ward schools in this area had an average daily attendance of 654 pupils and a monthly average of 815.¹⁵⁵ Boyle concluded: "These figures tell their own tale, and must convince every one that such a number

of children can neither be properly taught by the teachers now employed, nor comfortably seated in a space so limited."¹⁵⁶

The principal soon got his wish. In February of 1869, the board opened its seventh ward school on the Central School Grounds. The school was called the Intermediate School, and it was designed for 160 pupils. School officials intended to use the school to better classify students before advancing them to the higher departments in the Central School.¹⁵⁷

The course of study at the Intermediate School consisted of Reading and Spelling, with definitions, in the Third Book of lessons; Writing; the compound rules of Arithmetic; and the elements of Grammar and Geography. Immediately, the school filled up with 208 students. By the end of the year, 280 pupils had entered through its doors. The average daily attendance was 210. Obviously, another Intermediate School was needed as soon as possible.¹⁵⁸

Tenders for a second Intermediate School for 160 pupils, to be built on the Central School Grounds, were received by the board in August of 1870.¹⁵⁹ It was ready to receive students in January of 1871. Trustees hoped that this school would help alleviate the overcrowding south of Dundas Street, but it too was soon flooded with students.¹⁶⁰

In summary, between 1861 and 1871 London's common school trustees had turned the ad hoc arrangements of previous years into a system of public education that enrolled virtually all of the community's school age children. Moreover, the public schools were situated in permanent, impressive buildings that were strategically located within the main population clusters around the city. Importantly, no tuition was charged to attend these common schools; and beginning in 1871, the grammar school and later the high school were also free.¹⁶¹

Despite the dominance of the public school system, the discretionary educational sector in London also experienced a small increase in size during the second half of the 1860s;

but again it was mainly in the areas that were peripheral to the perceived mandate of the common schools (see Table 107).

For example, a few parents alternated the placement of their children between public and private schools.¹⁶² Wealthy Roman Catholics still sent many of their girls to the Mount Hope Institute, while slightly less rich parents from that denominational group patronized the Sacred Heart primary school. Well-to-do Episcopalians and other religious groups sent some of their younger daughters to London's private schools; and, after 1869, some of their teenage girls attended the stately Hellmuth Ladies' College.¹⁶³

At the sod turning ceremony for this institution, Dean Hellmuth declared that his ladies' college would be "an essentially Protestant institution, and he would pledge himself to leave nothing undone to make it the foremost one in Canada."¹⁶⁴ Hellmuth started impressively, arranging for Prince Arthur to formally open the school, which cost about \$25,000 to build. The course of study included the Modern Languages; English in all its branches; Natural Philosophy and other branches of Science and Art; Drawing, Painting, and Music (vocal and instrumental); Calisthenics; Needle Work; and Domestic Economy. Tuition was \$235 annually.¹⁶⁵

London's teenage boys, on the other hand, could choose from several non-denominational colleges, which stressed business and classical subjects. The London Commercial College, the London Educational Institute, and the Hellmuth Boys' College are three examples of such institutions.¹⁶⁶

In addition to these infant, commercial, classical, denominational, and non-denominational private schools, a floating body of teachers who taught specialty subjects continued to exist in London during the second half of the 1860s. These teachers are listed in the "mixed or unknown" section of Table 107.¹⁶⁷

Finally, as in the past, some parents sought educational alternatives beyond the city's boundaries. Charles Hunt, the

miller, for instance, a father of ten children, sent one of his sons, Charles, to Victoria College in Coburg, Mr. Tassie's private school in Galt, and then the London Collegiate Institute in 1865. During these years, he also provided his daughters with a governess, as he "found it much better than sending the girls to school." In 1867, Hunt enrolled three of his children in college; John went to an unnamed institution while Emma and Fanny attended a girls' college in Hamilton. Unfortunately, no further details about the schooling of Hunt's progeny are currently available.¹⁶⁸

Despite these minor variations, and as discussed above, by 1871 London's common schools monopolized the city's school age pupils. In light of this achievement, then, were socially differentiated family schooling strategies still necessary? And did the Central School and its primary feeders enjoy the almost exclusive patronage of the citizens of London as attested to by Principal Boyle? It is to these two questions that the discussion now turns.

(III) School Attendance Behaviour

The year 1870 is a favourable one for investigating the major hypothesis of this thesis. Ontario's first compulsory school law was not passed until the next year; and the census of 1871, which was taken on 2 April, 1871, and covered the previous twelve months, includes a sufficient level of demographic and educational data to perform such an analysis.

Therefore, an examination of the social demography of London's students in 1870-71, and the relationship of their characteristics to school enrollment patterns, has potential for clarifying socially differentiated family schooling strategies that would have been largely voluntary.

To determine the social features of parents who had children of school age, a data file was prepared which was composed of individual records for each household head on the 1871 census, who had a child or children between the ages of

5 and 16. The same methodology was used in this chapter as in the previous one. Each individual file created contained the ward, dwelling number, family number, surname, given name, sex, age, birth, religion, origin, and occupation of each household head, as well as the age, sex, and educational status of their respective school age children (see Appendix IV).

According to information derived from this data base, 4,623 school age children (2,312 males and 2,311 females) lived in London when the census was taken.¹⁶⁹ Approximately, 72 percent of these children had attended a school during the previous twelve months, of whom 73 percent were males and 71 percent were females. Since 1861, therefore, overall enrollments for children between the ages of 5 and 16 had increased by 10 percent -the rates for girls had risen from 58 to 71 percent, and those for males from 66 to 73 percent. Unlike 1861, when significantly more males than females attended school, in 1871 boys significantly outnumbered girls only in the 5 to 8 age cohort (see Tables 72, 108).

Greater numbers of younger and older children attended school in 1871 than in 1861. Whereas 70 percent of boys aged seven to thirteen, and girls aged eight to thirteen, attended school in the latter year, this rate was also attained by six year old boys and six and seven year old girls in 1871. In addition, over 65 percent of children aged fourteen years (64 percent of males and 67 percent of females) were enrolled in school that year compared to just 57 percent a decade earlier.

Thus, by 1871 nearly universal enrollments had been obtained by most London children between the ages of six and thirteen or fourteen. Further analysis showed that this general trend had occurred for almost all children between the ages of five and twelve regardless of the religion, birth, origin, class, or occupation of the household head (see Tables 109 to 113).

The exception to this finding was London's Black community, which, despite a decline in the mid-1860s, had increased from 137 to 330 people between 1861 and 1871.¹⁷⁰ Although in the latter year Black household heads enrolled considerably more children aged 5 to 16 in school than in the previous decade, their enrollment rates generally fell considerably short of those attained by Whites (see Table 114).

Fifty-one Black males and fifty Black females lived with approximately forty-four Black families in 1871, about twice the number recorded in 1861. All but three of these household heads were born in the United States.¹⁷¹ Of these 101 Black children, 60 percent had attended a school during the previous year -57 percent of the boys and 64 percent of the girls. These rates were substantially higher than those attained in 1861, which were 34 percent, 44 percent, and 27 percent, respectively.

Over 53 percent of Black children aged 5 to 8 were in school in 1871 (44 percent of boys and 64 percent of girls); 76 percent of children aged 9 to 12 (67 percent of boys and 83 percent of girls); and 44 percent of children aged 13 to 16 (61 percent of boys and 44 percent of girls).¹⁷² Enrollments for Black children, therefore, compared to those attained in the previous decade, had increased in roughly the same proportions as those for Whites. However, in percentage terms, significantly fewer Black children attended school than Whites in the youngest and middle age groupings, although this trend was not as clear-cut for the teenage group. Indeed, Black males aged 13 to 16 years had the highest enrollment rate of any cultural group in 1871. What is the explanation for this extraordinary occurrence?

Part of the reason for this uncharacteristic trend is found in the nature of social change experienced by Blacks over the decade. Most Blacks with school age children in 1861 and 1871 were Baptists or Methodists. However, while the

number of Baptist children remained about the same at both points in time, the number of Methodist children more than quadrupled.

Significant changes in the enrollment patterns of these two denominational groups were found. Whereas Baptists had sent only 17 percent of their school age children (18 percent of males, 15 percent of females) to school in 1861, they sent 67 percent (75 percent of males, 60 percent of females) in 1871. The analogous figures for Methodists were 54 percent (60 percent of males, 50 percent of females) and 62 percent (48 percent of males, 75 percent of females).

Moreover, over the ten year interval striking changes in the social class composition of the Black population had occurred. In 1871, fewer Black household heads with school age children were middle class and more were lower class than in 1861. For example, 2 percent of Blacks were upper class in 1871; 16 percent were middle class; 73 percent were lower class; and 9 percent were unclassified. The corresponding figures for 1861 were 0 percent; 28 percent; 67 percent; and 6 percent.¹⁷³ As in 1861, the Black labour force was concentrated in the domestic, industrial, and unclassified occupational sectors.

That a reciprocal relationship between race and class existed in London in 1871 is further underscored when the social class distributions for Blacks are compared to those for the general population. Black families with school age children were significantly underrepresented in London's middle class (16 percent versus 56 percent) and substantially overrepresented in the city's lower class (73 percent compared to 31 percent - see Table 85).

The effect of these changes on school enrollments by Blacks was dramatic. Although the numbers of middle class Black children of school age were small, and must be used guardedly, their numbers in school had dropped from 82 percent to 60 percent (equal numbers of boys and girls) over the

decade, while the number of lower class Black children in school had increased from 23 percent to 65 percent (60 percent of boys and 71 percent of girls).

From this perspective, most of the increase in school enrollments for Blacks had resulted from the decision of working class Black parents, most of whom were labourers and barbers, to send considerably more school age children to school in 1871 than they had ten years earlier. Whether this choice was influenced by prejudice, which might have blocked employment opportunities for Blacks, or the nature of London's economy, which might have opened up some jobs to Blacks requiring more education, will be explored further below.

A striking incongruity existed between the school enrollment behaviour of Black and White teenagers in 1871. While Black parents were increasingly sending more children to school, many other Londoners were taking their children out of school. As will be demonstrated below, these decisions were directly linked to the cultural and class backgrounds of the parents and the nature of London's changing economy.

The census of 1871 recorded 1,469 children (728 boys and 741 girls) between the ages of thirteen and sixteen. Of this group, 733 (352 males and 381 females) were enrolled in school. Their social characteristics have been discussed above. The remaining 736 teenagers were either working or engaged in some other activity that was not classified on the census.

Approximately half of these 736 teenagers worked at sixty-four occupations.¹⁷⁴ This finding is in sharp contrast to that discovered for 1861, when only about 4 percent of children between the ages of thirteen and sixteen were employed. Moreover, of the teenage workers in 1871, boys outnumbered girls by more than two to one (260 to 110). This result was a complete reversal of the trend noted for the previous decade. As will be shown below, these remarkable

changes were directly linked to the changes in London's economy.

Of the 260 boys and 110 girls with occupations, over 70 percent were born in Canada. All other groups, whether by birthplace, origin, or religion, reflected their distributions in the population (see Tables 115,116). Thus, in 1871 native-born teenage children left school for work considerably more often than children of the same age from any other ethnic group -as did Roman Catholic girls. On the other hand, teenagers who were born in Ireland and England, females whose origin was English or religion was Methodist, were underrepresented in the labour force.

Not one of these 370 teenagers held an occupation that would put them into the upper class -48 percent were middle class; 33 percent were lower class; and 19 percent were unclassified. Less than 1 percent were engaged in agricultural pursuits, 15 percent in commerce, 19 percent in domestic activities, 43 percent in industry, 1 percent in the professions, and 22 percent worked at unclassified occupations. Thus, most of this group were concentrated in the service sector of the economy (labour, industry, commerce, and domestic).

Seventy-three percent (270) of these teenage workers were employed in fourteen different occupations, most of which were experiencing growth at this time: apprentices (27); blacksmiths (12); carpenters (11); commercial clerks (44); coopers (7); dressmakers (13); labourers (31); messengers (7); milliners (7); painters (10); seamstresses (15); female servants (62); male servants (9); and shoemakers (15).

Seventy-three of these workers (20 percent) followed the vocation of their household head. The largest groups to follow this pattern were labourers (eighteen), shoemakers (nine), carpenters (six), tailors and blacksmiths (four each).

Apart from Roman Catholic and Irish teenage males who were overrepresented in labouring jobs, and Roman Catholic and

Irish teenage girls who were slightly overrepresented as dressmakers and seamstresses, no other cultural or social group dominated a particular occupational function, although a clear division of labour existed for both sexes.

In those occupations which employed ten or more teenagers, only boys were blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, labourers, painters, and shoemakers; and males held all but one of the apprenticeships and three of the commercial clerk positions. Conversely, all dressmakers, milliners, seamstresses, and sixty-two of the seventy-one servants were girls.

From a social class perspective, and based on their proportions in the population, almost all classes sent equal numbers of teenage children to work in 1871: 8 percent of teenage workers were upper class; 56 percent were middle class; 22 percent were lower class; and 13 percent were unclassified. The corresponding figures for the general population were 5 percent; 56 percent; 31 percent; and 8 percent, respectively.

With regard to the sexual distribution of the teenage work force, the upper class was slightly overrepresented; the middle class was proportionately represented; and the lower class was slightly underrepresented.

The functional occupation scheme helps to refine the nature of the work followed by these teenagers. Of the boys, 40 percent were employed in industry; 31 percent in the unclassified sector; 13 percent in commerce; 8 percent each in the professions and domestic jobs; and less than 1 percent in agriculture. The analogous distributions for those girls who worked were almost identical: 43 percent; 31 percent; 11 percent; 7 and 8 percent; and 1 percent, respectively.

Thus, it was not just lower class parents who were sending their teenagers to work in 1871. In fact, their children were underrepresented amongst those with an occupation. More often than not, and contrary to a decade

earlier, it was respectable parents, especially those from the middle class, who had decided to take their teenagers out of school, because the economy was booming and promising occupations were there for the taking. A good English education was all that was necessary in most instances.

A few case examples will illustrate this important point. Of the forty-four teenagers who were classified as clerks, most had the same surname as their household head and lived at home. Furthermore, it appears that many of these children might have been employed in the family business, although it is possible that some may have worked elsewhere while they lived with their families.

For instance, Simpson H. Graydon, the lawyer, who was also a school trustee and board chairman for many years, had a sixteen year old son who was classified as a clerk. So did Edward Granger, the brewer, William Elliott, the book-keeper, Edward Tomkin, the engineer (two sons were clerks), William Jarmin, the tinsmith (two sons were clerks), Foskett Beddome, the agent (four sons were clerks), and Ellis Hyman, the tanner.

Moreover, it appears that James Sharpe, a shopkeeper, employed his sixteen year old daughter, Sarah Ann, as a clerk in the family business; and he engaged his twenty-nine year old son, Henry, as a commercial traveller. West Thomas Birmingham also employed his fifteen year old daughter as a clerk in the family grocery business.

Several other respectable families had teenage sons who worked as clerks as well -for example, shoemakers John Pocock, James Clark (two sons were clerks), and Samuel Slater. John Bullock, the butcher, Isaac Wallace, the cooper, William Lang, the carpenter, Charles Taylor, another butcher, and Nicholas Wilson, the teacher, also had sons who were engaged as clerks.

Interestingly, three housewives had sons who were clerks too -an Agnus Melburn, a Jane Blackwell, and a Margaret Taylor. In addition, working class families produced children

who worked as clerks and teachers. In fact, Theophilis Roe, a labourer, had three teenage sons who were clerks; and a John Phillips, also a labourer, had a sixteen year old son who was a clerk and a seventeen year old daughter who was a teacher.

School officials in London were not happy with this trend, which had taken potential students from their schools. Principal Boyle complained about this proclivity in his annual report to the board in 1866:

In cities and large towns, the great mass of scholars wish for nothing beyond a good commercial education. You can scarcely convince either parents or pupils of the vast advantages of a well disciplined mind as a means of success in the great struggle of life. You can hardly make them perceive how essential it is, at the present day, to have a pretty accurate and extensive knowledge of such branches.¹⁷⁵

In 1871, the board, in a calculated move to encourage students and parents to obtain a superior education, decided to make entrance into the grammar school department of the Central School, and later the High School, free. They were motivated by another reason as well. According to the new school law, which was passed in 1871, sixty boys in Latin were required before school boards could obtain the \$750 bonus that was being awarded to each collegiate institute.¹⁷⁶

Boyle, however, was not overly hopeful that the trend of teenagers leaving the schools could be reversed:

... so far the students [in London] seem to prefer the commercial to the classical. While the parents have the right to make their own selection, and must be presumed to be the best, as they are the only judges in the case, still it is a pity, where every facility for imparting a good classical education has been secured, and the expense incurred, that the number necessary to give the school this position cannot be obtained.¹⁷⁷

Of the 736 teenagers not in school in 1871, 375 were unclassified. Thus, only nine more teenagers were placed in this category in 1871 than in 1861, despite a considerable

population increase. In this instance, girls outnumbered boys by more than two to one (252 to 123), compared to the previous decade when the ratio was five to four.

Of this unclassified group in 1871, over 70 percent of males and females were native-born; all other groups were underrepresented. Similar to London's population, 95 percent of these teenagers claimed their origin in the British Isles; but compared to the general population boys with English backgrounds were underrepresented while boys and girls with Irish backgrounds were substantially overrepresented. In addition, boys who were Roman Catholics were overrepresented while boys who were Methodists were underrepresented. All other groups reflected their proportions in the general population (see Tables 117,118).

The social class backgrounds of these unclassified teenagers also resembled that for London's population, except for the unclassified social class group, which was doubly overrepresented: 6 percent were upper class; 55 percent were middle class; 21 percent were lower class; and 17 percent were unclassified. The percentage of girls and boys in each social grouping was almost identical, although in numerical terms females generally dominated males in the two to one ratio noted above.

Lastly, nine teenagers were listed with both an occupation and as going to school. Four of this group were officially classified as students. Three of these students lived with the Reverend Arthur Sweatman, the headmaster of the Hellmuth Boys' College: a Frank E. Wiggin, from Staten Island, New York, an Elnetario Quinones from Porto Rico (sic), and a Francisco Quinones from New York City. The fourth student was Campbell Nellis, the sixteen year old son of John D. Nellis, the physician. Interestingly, J.W. Nellis, a brother and son to the above individuals, was a seventeen year old clerk. In 1869, he had been a student at the Hellmuth Boys' College.

Three of the nine teenagers who were classified as working and going to school had household heads who were labourers. A Lydia Carry, age fourteen, was recorded as a servant; she was registered as living with, or working for, a George Webster. A Catherine Delaney, also a servant, and age fourteen, resided with what appeared to be her father, a Micheal Delaney. A Jeremiah Shea, a thirteen year old shoemaker, lived with his father, a Timothy Shea.

The last two students in this group who worked and went to school were the children of skilled craftsmen. A John Dalton, a printer, who was age sixteen, lived with his father, a William Dalton, the painter; and a fifteen year old seamstress by the name of Emily Johnson lived with her father, Alfred, a shoemaker.

In summary, between 1861 and 1871 several striking changes had occurred in the school attendance patterns of London children. By 1871, enrollment rates for Protestants and Roman Catholics had become almost universal for children between the ages of six and fourteen regardless of their birthplace, origin, religion, class, or occupation; and most of these children attended their separate institutions for about the same number of days in the year.

However, Protestant children still had greater access to a more diverse programme of study, schools, teachers, and financial support than did their Roman Catholic counterparts; and Protestant parents sent substantially more fifteen and sixteen year old children to school in 1871 than did Roman Catholic parents. On the other hand, both groups, because of the booming economy and the availability of good jobs, sent significantly more teenage boys to work in 1871 than in 1861. Moreover, although almost identical numbers of unclassified teenagers existed at both points in time, the percent number had declined significantly over the decade, while the gap between the sexes had increased in favour of boys.

Enrollment rates for Black children also rose significantly in this decade, especially those for teenagers. However, the number of Black children between the ages of five and twelve in school still fell considerably short of that for Protestants and Roman Catholics.

By 1871, the occupation of the parent had a less significant impact on school attendance behaviour than in 1861. In general, parents from all occupational sectors sent about the same number of children to school except for the professional group, who enrolled significantly more boys and girls than any other occupation. However, enrollment trends for the children of parents in most occupational groups had declined over the decade; and the variations in enrollments by sex reflected the changes in London's economy as noted above.

Upper class parents in 1871 continued to dominate the arrangements which were made for the grammar school department now at the Central School, but the middle class had been successful in bringing that formerly independent institution within the purview of a joint board of education for the city. Moreover, middle class parents continued to control the operations of the city's common and separate schools, which in this period had marginalized most of the private schools.

The commercialization of London's economy in the 1860s significantly altered the class distribution of London's teenage boys in school in 1871. Whereas significantly more middle class teenage boys had attended school in 1861 than upper class boys, the opposite was the case in 1871. Furthermore, despite the advances of the city's common schools in this decade, upper class parents continued to segregate their teenage children from other social groups. Roman Catholic parents sent their girls to the Academy of the Sacred Heart and Mount Hope; their boys attended the Central School and the various private schools. Episcopalians, on the other hand, patronized the Hellmuth Boys' and Ladies' Colleges as well as the private schools.

NOTES

1. Analyses in this chapter, for the most part, conclude at the 31st of December, 1870, which was the end of the school year. The census of 1871, however, was taken on 5 May, 1871, and covered the preceding twelve month period prior to that date.
2. For these first few paragraphs, the writer has relied heavily upon Armstrong, The Forest City, pp. 99-124; and Miller, London 200, pp. 81-123.
3. Interestingly, proportionately more English lived in London and less Irish than in the rest of the Province in 1871. See Census of 1871, Appendix No. 2, pp. 78-79.
4. Burley, "Occupational Structure and Ethnicity in London, Ontario, 1871," pp. 396-397.
5. Ibid., p. 409.
6. Ibid., p. 404.
7. Burley does not disclose how he measured student persistence in school. Presumably, he did so on the basis of chronological age, which although reasonably reliable in the twentieth century may not have been a very precise indicator in the past.
8. Ibid., p. 397.
9. Burley found that the occupation of labourer dominated all others in each of his age groups in 1871. He also discovered that younger workers tended to follow commercial occupations or skilled jobs as opposed to older workers who concentrated on the hotel industry and trades as well as unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. See his "Occupational Structure and Ethnicity," p. 399.
10. "An Act for the Further Improvement of Grammar Schools in Upper Canada," DHE, Vol. XIX: 1865-1867, pp. 25-29.
11. For a good review of this legislation, see Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, pp. 169-174.
12. DHE, Vol. XIX: 1865-1867, pp. 46-49; and Annual Report ... of Schools, 1865, pp. 79-89.

13. Because of a lack of central control in the two decades around mid-century, parents, trustees, and teachers designed these schools to suit their purposes. See, for example, Gidney and Millar, Inventing Secondary Education, chapters five and six.
14. Burtchaell, Alumni Dublinenses, p. 100.
15. See the various Provincial annual reports in this period.
16. GSIR, 1861.
17. Unfortunately, the reports stop at 1867.
18. Census of 1861, London, London and Westminster Townships; and Canada, Census of 1871, London City, Weldon Library, Government Publications Collection, manuscript on microfilm, No. CA1B598C272.
19. Twelve of the female household heads worked at unclassified occupations. Six were housewives, one a matron, one a milliner, one a widow, two were servants, and no information was given for two individuals. One female household head was middle class, a hotelkeeper.
20. For a good analysis of the inspectors' view of grammar schools throughout Canada West, and Ryerson's attempts to reform these schools, see Gidney and Miller, Inventing Secondary Education, chapters six and seven.
21. GSIR, 27 August, 1861, pp. 507-508.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. GSIR, 1862, p. 117.
25. Ibid., 1863, p. 273.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., p. 482.
28. Ibid., 1865, p. 25.
29. Ibid., 1866, 2 May, 1866, p. 376.
30. Ibid., p. 377.
31. Ibid., 1867, pp. 762-763.

32. For example, at the end of 1868 Young penned the following rosy picture of London schooling: "A prosperous condition of affairs demands no lengthened report. The state of the London schools may be described in two words -everything good." see GSIR, 1868, p. 342.
33. GSIR, 1868, pp. 865-867.
34. Ibid., 1870, p. 420.
35. See the annual reports of the boards of common school trustees for London between 1863 and 1869, the last year for which they are available.
36. These terms were in transition in the 1860s. London school officials described their ward schools initially as "juvenile schools," and the students there as the "juvenile population;" but, by the end of the decade, officials more often than not were calling their schools "primary schools."
37. Although Gidney and Millar use this term in reference to students who took advanced education only, it is used here to include that group as well as those private school students who were younger than about age nine. It is important to note that private infant schools were also used at the discretion of wealthy parents.
38. Compulsory schooling laws generally formalized actual attendance trends. See, for example, W.M. Landes and L.C. Solman, "Compulsory Schooling Legislation: An Economic Analysis of Law and Social Change in the Nineteenth Century," Journal of Economic History 32 (1972), pp. 54-91.
39. DHE, Vol. XXIX: 1869-71, pp. 213-222.
40. S.G. Howe, Refugees from Slavery in Canada West (Boston, 1863). Cited in Landon, "Fugitive Slaves in London Before 1860," p. 30. Howe visited London in 1863. While there he spoke to the Reverend Dr. Proudfoot, who told him that racial prejudice was growing in the city.
41. London Board Minutes, 4 June, 1861.
42. Ibid., 2 October, 1861.
43. London Free Press., 27 July, 1861; and Winks, The Blacks in Canada, p. 371.
44. London Free Press., 22 July, 1861.

45. London Free Press, 22 July, 1861. For a rebuttal by L.C. Chambers, the pastor of the British Methodist Episcopal Church, see "The Colored Children and the Common Schools," Ibid., 27 July, 1861.
46. Both reports were reprinted in full in the London Free Press, 10 December, 1862.
47. Jean R. Burnet, "Ethnic Groups in Upper Canada," M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1943, pp. 32, 57-58, 122. Cited in Winks, The Blacks in Canada, p. 144.
48. Howe, Refugees from Slavery in Canada West, p. 30.
49. London Free Press, 10 December, 1862.
50. Ibid.
51. Howe, Refugees from Slavery in Canada West, p. 30.
52. London Free Press, 10 December, 1862.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., 10 October, 1862.
59. Ibid., 16 October, 1862.
60. Ibid., 10 December, 1862.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid., 10 October, 1862.
63. London Board Minutes, 2 December, 1862; and London Free Press, 11 December, 1862.
64. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 42, William McBride to Egerton Ryerson, 24 October, 1862.
65. London Free Press, 9 February, 1863.
66. London Board Minutes, 3 March, 1863.

67. Ibid., 8 April, 1863; and London Free Press, 9 April, 1863. A copy of John Wilson's letter, and one from Graydon to Egerton Ryerson, can be found at AO, RG2, C6C, Box 48, No. 2981.
68. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 48, No. 2981, Graydon to Ryerson, 11 April, 1863.
69. Ibid., Box 49, 27 May, 1863.
70. London Board Minutes, 7 July, 10 September, 1863.
71. Landon, "Fugitive Slaves in London Before 1860," p. 37.
72. See the various provincial annual reports for these years, and also Table 96.
73. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 74, No. 3288, John Brennan to Egerton Ryerson, 19 April, 1865.
74. City of London Directory, for 1863-4, compiled and published by S. Wrigley Murphy, (London, Canada West: Thomas Evans, Printer, 1863), p. 93. Hereafter referred to as City Directory 1863-4.
75. London General and Business Directory, for 1866-7 (Woodstock: Sutherland & Co., 1866), p. 23. Hereafter City Directory 1866-7.
76. City of London and County of Middlesex General Directory for 1868-9 (Toronto: C.E. Anderson & Co., 1868), p. 114. Hereafter City Directory 1868-9.
77. History of Middlesex, pp. 744-745.
78. AO, F551, container MU1720, "School Days of 1866-1870," Lesslie Family Papers (hereafter Lesslie Papers).
79. City Directory 1863-4, p. 93; and London Advertiser, 5 September, 1865.
80. City Directory 1868-9, pp. 117-118. It is not clear when the Sacred Heart primary school was opened, but it was probably in 1861 or 1862.
81. Ibid.
82. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 39, London Board Annual Report, 1861.
83. London Board Minutes, 3 September, 1861; and London Free Press, 5 September, 1861. It is not clear whether Moore and Clark are employees of the board, private

entrepreneurs, or both. However, it is evident that the common school board had gained, and was increasing its control over, the educational market place in London.

84. London Free Press, 19 August, 1861.
85. Ibid. At the board meeting of 5 February, 1861, the trustees decided not to admit non-resident children, because there was insufficient accommodation for the resident children.
86. The London Daily News and Western Reformer, 6 August, 1862. In the City Directory for 1863-4 (page 93) the school was listed as Jones & Hall's Commercial College. According to this listing, by the end of the first year more than seventy students from across the Province were in attendance. The course of instruction included Elocution, Spelling, Geography, Grammar, Composition, Penmanship, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Vocal Music, Book-keeping, Commercial Law, Political Economy, Business Correspondence, Detection of Spurious and Altered Notes, etc.. The College moved locations several times in the early 1860s, probably because of the increasing number of students. By 1864, the school, now called the London Commercial College, was located on South Wellington Street; and it had room for 300 students. See City Directory 1864-5, p. 208. The College is also listed in the remaining city directories for this period. It should also be noted that J.W. Jones, the proprietor, opened an Evening School in 1865, which lasted throughout this period, where Drawing and Modelling, Book-keeping, Penmanship, and Arithmetic were offered. Tuition for the full commercial course was \$35, and for the farmers' and mechanics' course, \$25. See, for example, London Advertiser, 2,6 October, 1865; Ibid., 8 November, 1869; and Ibid., 9 June, 1870. According to Mackintosh's city directory for 1871-72, Jones and a Professor J.H. Bell were the proprietors at this time. See The City of London and County of Middlesex Directory for 1871-72 (Strathroy: C.H. Mackintosh, 1871), p. 79.
87. London Board Annual Report, 1862.
88. Landon, "Fugitive Slaves in London Before 1860," p. 30.
89. London Board Annual Report, 1863, p. 5.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. Ibid., p. 10.

93. Ibid.
94. ARBCST, 1863.
95. City Directory 1863-4. Hargreaves announced that his school would be "eminently practical, preparing the pupils as far as possible, for the active duties of life. Particular attention will be given to the moral training of the pupils...." See London Free Press, 1,4 January, 1864.
96. City Directory 1863-4.
97. County of Middlesex Gazetteer and General and Business Directory, for 1864-5, John Cameron, publisher (London: The Advertiser, 1864).
98. London Free Press, 27 January, 1 August, 1864, and 1 July, 1865.
99. London Advertiser, 2 November, 1864.
100. Ibid., 20 December, 1864. The newspaper article informed Londoners that these two gentlemen were recommencing their school. They taught Pencil and Crayon Drawing, Architectural Perspective, Scroll, Flowers, and other ornamental Drawing in Pencil and Crayon. They also offered Water color-painting, modelling the human figure, ornamental (sic), scroll and flower work, etc., in clay, plaster or wax.
101. London Free Press, 4 January, 1864. Hall was listed on the city directories in 1866 and 1871.
102. London Board Annual Report, 1864, pp. 5-6.
103. Ibid., p. 11.
104. Ibid. For more information on this issue, see "The Board of School Trustees and the City Council," London Free Press, 6 October, 1864; and AO, RG2, C6C, Box 68, No. 6579, J.B. Boyle to J.G. Hodgins, 28 December, 1864.
105. London Board Annual Report, 1864, p. 12.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid., p. 7.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.

110. London Free Press, 13, 17 December, 1864; and London Board Minutes, 15 December, 1864.
111. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 68, No. 6579.
112. Ibid., No. 6581.
113. Also see London Advertiser, 8 February, 1865.
114. AO, RG2, C6C, Box 75, No. 3696, J.B. Boyle to J.G. Hodgins, 18 May, 1865.
115. Ibid., Box 77, No. 4357, 28 June, 1865.
116. London Board Minutes, 4 July, 1865. Also see the London Advertiser, 5 July, 1865, and the London Free Press, 6 July, 1865, for their coverage of the agreement.
117. London Advertiser, 12 July, 1865.
118. London Board Minutes, 28 July, 1865.
119. Ibid., 1 August, 1865. These rules and regulations precede the Board minutes for 1857, although there is no evidence that negotiations took place at this time.
120. London Advertiser, 2 October, 1865.
121. Armstrong, The Forest City, pp. 109-110.
122. Ibid.
123. See J.D. Purdy, "The English Public School Tradition in Nineteenth Century Ontario," Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario, pp. 237-252.
124. London Free Press, 24 September, 1864. The Act to incorporate the Institute can be found in DHE, Vol. XIX, 1865-1867, pp. 24-25. Hellmuth College was renamed Dufferin College in 1878.
125. Purdy, "The English Public School Tradition," p. 240.
126. For a good description of the school, see, for example, London Free Press, 29 May, 1865; Ibid., 7 July, 1865; and London Advertiser, 31 August, 1865.
127. For a list of the instructors, see City Directory 1866-67, pp. 21-22; and City Directory 1868-69, pp. 116-117.
128. See Weldon Library, Regional Collections, Box 4242, "Hellmuth College Prospectus, 1871-72."

129. About eighty pupils from Montreal, Kingston, Hamilton, and many other cities and towns had enrolled in the London Collegiate Institute (see the London Advertiser, 2 September, 1865). For further information detailing the residences of the students, see the Heilmuth College Prospectus noted above.
130. After 1923, the university was renamed the University of Western Ontario. See, for example, James J. Talman, with Ruth Davis Talman, "Western" -1878-1953 (London, Ontario: The University of Western Ontario, 1953; and John Gwynne-Timothy, Western's First Century (London, Ontario: The University of Western Ontario, 1978).
131. London Advertiser, 1 September, 1869.
132. Ibid., 24 January, 1865.
133. Ibid., 22 February, 1865.
134. Ibid., 8 March, 14 October, 1865.
135. Ibid., 13 December, 1864. The class was to commence on 2 January, 1865.
136. For more information on London's brief fling with a military school, see the local newspapers for 1864 and 1865. Also see Rev. G.M. Cox, "Recollections of a London Military School," LMHS Transactions, Part X (1919), pp. 45-49.
137. London Board Annual Report, 1865, p. 7.
138. Ibid., p. 11.
139. Ibid., p. 8.
140. Ibid., pp. 8-9.
141. Ibid.
142. All monies and real estate held by the former grammar school board were transferred to the common school board, and an agreement was reached on a division of property in the case of dissolution. See London Board Minutes, 4 July, 1865.
143. London Board Minutes, 4 February, 1862.
144. The Board for many years had used committees for selected purposes, but beginning about 1864 they established a number of standing committees to conduct their business

more efficiently. Some of these committees were for teacher salaries, finance, improvements, library and printing, ward schools, and school management.

145. London Board Minutes, 4 July, 1865.
146. Ibid., 6 December, 1864.
147. Women teachers on average were paid less than half the salaries paid to male teachers.
148. London Board Annual Report, 1864, pp. 6-7; and Ibid., 1869, p. 7.
149. London Board Annual Report, 1864, pp. 6-7.
150. Ibid., p. 7.
151. The official sources differed on one point. The provincial annual report recorded that the number of private schools had increased from one to two, and the number of private students from 130 to 280. However, only the London Collegiate Institute was recorded on the trustees' annual report for 1866. It was registered as having 140 students and thirteen teachers. In spite of the small numbers of private schools reported by the two official sources, newspapers and a city directory listed twelve private schools in 1866. The new schools that year were those operated by a Mrs. Mary Moore, a Miss Jane Elizabeth Ward, a Thompson Ward, and a James H. Metcalf. All were listed in the city directory as private teachers, and probably served the discretionary sector. See City Directory 1866-7, pp. 30-88.
152. London Board Annual Report, 1866, p. 5.
153. School officials use this term for the area bounded by Queen, York, Waterloo, and Colborne Streets. It contained the Central and Intermediate Schools.
154. London Board Annual Report, 1867, p. 6.
155. The committee on school management had actually recommended the erection of the Intermediate School at the 7 December, 1866, board meeting.
156. London Board Annual Report, 1867, p. 8.
157. Ibid., 1868, p. 7.
158. Ibid., 1869, pp. 5, 7.

159. London Board Minutes, 4 August, 1870.
160. London Board Annual Report, 1870, p. 7.
161. Ibid., p. 8.
162. Lesslie Papers, pp. 1-5.
163. Hellmuth Girls College, like the Boys College, was a prominent institution. It was made of brick, was four stories in height, and built to accommodate 100 young ladies. For a description of the Hellmuth Girls College, see Western Advertiser, 3 July, 21 August, 1868. Also see Weldon Library, Regional Collections, Box 4242, "School Records of the Hellmuth Ladies' College, London, 1869-1899." A small day school for young girls was also opened by a Miss McMillan in September of 1868; see London Advertiser, 17 September, 1868.
164. London Advertiser, 21 August, 1868.
165. Ibid., 14 August, 1869.
166. City Directory 1868-9, p. 118; and City Directory 1871-2, p. 136.
167. The mixed or unknown teachers in 1868, can be found in City Directory 1868-9, pp. 131-243. A Dr. Cross opened a Commercial College in the Middlesex Seminary (Van Every's old school house) on 1 April, 1869; see London Advertiser, 4 February, 1869. A Mr. W.P. Bolte started a velocipede school in March of 1869; see Ibid., 16, 17 March, 1869. A Mr. J.C. Moyles commenced a commercial class in the Royal Exchange Building in July of 1869; see Ibid., 21, 30 July, 14 August, 1869. In 1870, Miss Hopkins re-opened her select school, where she taught English, French, Music, Drawing, and Plain and Ornamental Needlework; see Ibid., 6 August, 1870. Miss E.J. Wright taught English, Music, French, Sewing and Fancy Work in 1870; see Ibid., 26 March, 1870.
168. Charles Hunt, "Charles Hunt, 1820-1871," in G.W.H. Bartram, ed., Centennial Review, 1967 (London: LMHS, XVI, 1967), pp. 55-85. Also see F.H. Armstrong, "Charles Hunt," DCB, Vol. X, 1871 to 1890, p. 372.
169. Census of 1871, Vol. 1, p. x.
170. Ibid., p. 254. Most Blacks lived in wards three (129), five (65), and six (54). However, twenty-one Blacks lived in ward one; thirty-one in ward two; four in ward four; and twenty-six in ward seven.

171. The remaining three household heads were born in Ontario.
172. Black males were better school attenders than girls in every age cohort in 1861.
173. The sole upper class Black registered on the 1871 census was Titus Bassfield, a clergyman, and a Presbyterian. All three of his school age sons were in school, although his sixteen year old daughter was not classified with an occupation or was she designated as attending school.
174. On the census, 370 children between the ages of 13 and 16 were officially classified with an occupation. However, nine of these children were recorded as both working and attending school. Of this smaller group, four pupils were classified with the occupation of "student."
175. London Board Annual Report, 1866, p. 8.
176. "An Act to Improve the Common and Grammar Schools of Ontario," DHE, Vol. XXI, 1868-1869, pp. 213-222.
177. London Board Annual Report, 1871, p. 9.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION

This thesis has tried to explain school attendance behaviour from the perspective of family strategies. The writer hypothesized that between 1826 and 1871 parents in each of London's main cultural and social groups had the capacity, some more than others, to construct, maintain, and transform the community's schools according to the respective group's goals and strategies, which, in turn, were related to domination, status, and economic advantage. These actions, however, were usually circumscribed by contemporary social, political, economic, and environmental forces.

The main question explored in this thesis (one which was derived from this theory) was: were changes in school attendance behaviour primarily the result of socially differentiated family strategies? The specific behaviour analyzed was the decision of London parents to send or not to send their children to school. Enrollment and attendance rates provided the proxy measure of this behavioural decision.

A number of testable hypotheses about the school attendance behaviour of London's main cultural and social groups were generated. These hypotheses were then explored in each of the periods investigated in the study. In the final analysis, the major hypothesis was confirmed in all the periods under examination.

Between 1826 and 1842, for example, school attendance behaviour was influenced by a number of factors including geography, demographic growth, the actions of leading citizens, depression, rebellion, and statutory law. However, the nature of the growth in London's education establishments in these years, and the response of families and students to

these developments, was shaped by the distinctive cultural and class characteristics of the community's growing population.

Most of the families and individuals to move into London village in the early years were from the respectable classes; and they were overwhelmingly White, British, and Protestant. Many of these parents were dissatisfied with the common schools in the area, which provided students only with a basic education. Since respectable families wanted to provide their progeny with a superior education, or at least a good English education, in preparation for their future careers as professionals, businessmen, wives, and mothers, they attempted to persuade colonial officials to remove the district grammar school from Vittoria to London. While awaiting this relocation, they financed and supervised a number of private and common schools in the village area to give their children the best instruction possible under the circumstances.

However, the private school alternative for most families was an expensive one. Consequently, many prominent London citizens like other parents in similar circumstances around the Province, pressured the colonial authorities for new and more suitable schooling arrangements. The provincial government responded fairly quickly. Between 1833 and 1840, they approved a series of common school amendment acts which significantly increased the amount of public funds that were available to the common schools, but under conditions which required considerable local financial support.

London's wealthy upper and middle classes immediately took advantage of this change in government policy. Using their positions as district commissioners and school trustees, and their superior financial resources, they developed and implemented a strategy that was primarily in the best interests of their children. They reclassified the common schools in the district along class and curricular lines, and they directed a disproportionate amount of the government

money towards hiring masters who would provide classical instruction to their children.

These arrangements particularly benefitted the respectable families who lived in the village. The remaining London children attended second and third or fourth class common schools, which probably met their needs. From the little evidence that is available, it appears that most school age children in London, regardless of cultural or class background, went to a common school in the mid-1830s.

These relatively harmonious arrangements lasted until October of 1837, when the grammar school was removed to London; there it was more or less reserved by the upper class trustees for the sons of the village elite. This change, plus the serious effects of depression and Rebellion, the arrival of the British troops, and an increasing number of immigrants, especially Roman Catholics and Blacks, altered the arrangements that were made for, and the attendance patterns at, the village's public schools, which very quickly crystallized around class lines.

London's White, British, Protestant, upper class families removed their boys to the grammar school, where they were instructed by the village's most prestigious headmaster. Middle class families enrolled their children at the second class common schools. Lower class families sent their children to the third or fourth class common schools, if they sent them at all, because by the end of the decade enrollments at the common schools had plummeted to the 40 percent range. Moreover, owing to the effects of prejudice, only a few Black parents enrolled their children in school; and most of these school attenders were probably the children of respectable Black families. However, it is important to acknowledge that too few schools existed to accommodate these students had they wanted to attend.

In addition, because of the increased number of immigrant and Black children in the common schools in the late 1830s and

early 1840s, a sizable number of respectable parents sent their children, especially their girls, to the private boys' or ladies' schools which emerged in London at this time. A few children were also sent to private schools in other municipalities.

Between 1843 and 1852, immigration, economic growth, political change, fires, cholera, and depression influenced school enrollments; but the behavioural response of London parents and children to these factors remained similar to that of the previous era. Although the evidence is fragmentary, it seems that parents in each of the main cultural and social groups in London scrutinized and mediated these influences as they planned educational routemaps for their children, with the end-point being preparation for their future occupational careers.

Between 1838 and the late 1840s, the educational objectives of a considerable number of London parents for their children had been blocked, because of the monopoly over classical education enjoyed by the community's elite, one which was sanctioned by traditional and statutory arrangements. The town's establishment had used the powers granted them under the school law as grammar school trustees to segregate their children in the grammar school, where a large part of their education was funded at State expense. Other Londoners were powerless to change this state of affairs until the institution of municipal government in 1849.

Barred from the grammar school, London's non-establishment parents were forced to send their children to the town's common and private schools. However, when a substantial number of lower class Roman Catholic (Famine Irish) and Black families immigrated to the community toward the end of the 1840s and the early 1850s, and their children entered the common schools, those respectable families who were not already doing so, and could afford the extra expense, sent their children to private schools. Perhaps a few were

admitted to the grammar school as well, but no evidence currently exists to support this conclusion.

Nonetheless, a familiar educational response was elicited from respectable parents. When faced with common schools that were bursting at the seams with immigrant, Roman Catholic and Black children, upper and middle class families withdrew their progeny and sent them to the community's private and grammar schools. Although this was an expensive alternative, it demonstrated the depth of feeling which existed within London's respectable classes at the time.

Financial relief for non-establishment families, however, was close at hand. Once the Province linked the governance of the common schools to the ballot box and the newly created municipal institutions, London's large middle class, together with representatives from the two other social groups, who were not members of the local elite, took control of the common schools by winning 'trustees' positions on local school boards. Once in office, these groups, along with a supportive town council, fairly quickly reconstructed the arrangements for the common schools to suit the academic and vocational needs of their children.

By 1851, middle class parents in London had won the battle for free schools. This significant achievement shifted the financial burden of discretionary education from individuals to property owners, and with the building of the Union School, and the hiring of more well-qualified male and female teachers as well as a classical headmaster, parents of all cultural and class backgrounds were able to provide their children with the necessary educational requisites for their future careers.

At mid-century then, non-establishment groups in London dominated the politics of common school education, even though the transition had been costly and controversial. They built two permanent, multi-purpose, and comprehensive common

schools, which by 1852 housed a remarkable 90 percent of the school age population.

Once the principle of free schools had been accepted by London's public, the future tasks confronting the common school trustees, although daunting, became quite different. With the battle for institutional survival won, and a mandate to educate the juvenile population of the city, the greatest challenge confronting school trustees between 1853 and 1871 was how to accommodate the waves of immigrant children who were then knocking at the school room door. This was a serious problem for common school trustees, because the shortage of school places for students in these years also had an important impact on school enrollments.

For analytical purposes, it is useful to discuss developments in these last two periods together, because the most detailed evidence for illustrating socially differentiated family schooling strategies was garnered from the 1861 and 1871 census data. Although the problems facing common school trustees in both periods were remarkably similar, the educational strategies chosen by parents at these two points in time were distinctly different.

Railroads, immigration, the Crimean War, an economic boom and bust, and diocesan status, all had direct or indirect effects on school enrollment behaviour between 1853 and 1861. Similarly, so did oil, the American Civil War, the redeployment of British troops to London, railroads, immigration, cholera, and typhoid fever in the next decade.

The patterns of school attendance which emerged during these years, even when schooling was made free from the 3R's to classical instruction, were determined by parents; and, in some instances, their choices were made despite the advice of eminent school authorities, who encouraged parents to enter their children in the classical program.

It is important to focus on the patterns of attendance which emerge from the documentary sources, because these

glimpses of past schooling practices demonstrate in stark relief the raw edges of school enrollment behaviour in a way that decadal census data in isolation can never fully reveal.

When the city's population in the mid-1850s and mid-1860s escalated rapidly, London's respectable classes, as they had done previously in similar situations, immediately removed their children to the private or grammar schools, because of racist, sexist, elitist, and ethnocentric attitudes. These choices and attitudes were a social reality. They galvanized London's Protestant and Roman Catholic leadership, many of whom were parents and trustees, to develop strategies that quickly won them a monopoly of the school age children in London.

Although private school operators temporarily seized a sizeable segment of the education marketplace in the mid-1850s, a declining population, the creation of a network of Roman Catholic separate and private schools, and an enlarged and reorganized system of common schools, would, by the end of that decade, marginalize those institutions. And although similar challenges would confront public school trustees in the 1860s, their strategies for resolution would remain essentially unchanged. Between approximately 1855 and 1865, therefore, the shape of what would become London's modern system of public education had been created.

Cultural and class attitudes and behaviours had significantly influenced the patterns of school attendance in the 1850s and the 1860s. They also had a substantial impact on school enrollments, particularly those of teenagers in 1861 and 1871, when parents in all social and cultural groups looked ahead to the occupational possibilities which awaited their children.

In 1861, London was just beginning to emerge from a deep financial depression, and a crop failure, which had ruined many Londoners while others had suffered severe losses. Few jobs were available to teenagers, which created incentives to

stay in school. As a result of these bleak prospects, 56 percent of children between the ages of 13 and 16 remained in school (most were upper or middle class and Protestant). Only 4 percent of teenagers worked (mostly female servants), and 40 percent were unclassified.

A decade later the situation was decidedly different. The economy was booming; and a considerable number of jobs, even good jobs, were available to children between the ages of thirteen and sixteen. As a result of these opportunities, only 50 percent of teenagers attended school; one-quarter worked (mostly middle class of whom there was twice as many boys as girls); and one-quarter were unclassified. Only the native-born were significantly overrepresented, and the Irish and the Roman Catholics slightly overrepresented, in the working and unclassified categories.

In conclusion, although external forces affected educational developments in London in each period studied in the thesis, London families before the days of compulsory schooling generally responded to the challenges of their times with rational and coherent educational strategies. These choices were distinctly defined by the cultural and class backgrounds of the decision makers. There was, as many historians have said, a rhythm to work and a rhythm to school. They were inextricably linked, and the school course of children was usually tied by parents to their future occupational destinations.

SCHOOL AND SOCIETY IN LONDON, CANADA, 1826-1871:
THE EVOLUTION OF A SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
VOLUME II

by

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APPENDIX I

VERTICALLY RANKED OCCUPATION CLASSIFICATION SCHEME

OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORY I (High)

Alderman
Ale Merchant
Archbishop, Catholic
Archdeacon
Attorney
Banker
Bank Manager
Barrister
Bishop
Bishop, Catholic
Chancellor
Chief Engineer of the
Railroad
Chief Justice
Chief of Police
China Dealer
City Councillor
Clergyman
Clothier
Coal Merchant
Coffee Merchant
Commission Merchant
Company Manager
Corn Merchant
Councillor
Crockery Merchant
Dry goods Merchant
Feed Merchant
Financial Director
Flour Merchant
Forwarder
Gentleman
Glass Dealer
Hardware Merchant
High Bailiff
High Constable
Importer
Insurance Agency Owner
Insurance Manager
Jobber
Judge
Judge of Vice Admiralty Court
Ladies Goods Merchant
Leather Merchant

Liquor Merchant
Marble Dealer
Mayor
Member of Supreme Court
Merchant
Merchant Tailor
Minister of Religion
Patent Rights Dealer
Physician
Police Magistrate
Porter Merchant
Priest
Private Means
Professor
Prothonotaries
Provision Merchant
Publisher
Seed Merchant
Solicitor
Spice Merchant
Surgeon
Tea Dealer
University Officer
Vicars
Vice Chancellor
Wharfinger
Wholesale Druggist
Wholesale Merchant
Wine Merchant
Wooden Ware Merchant
Wool Merchant

OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORY II

Accountant
Actor
Actress
Agent, General
Agent, Insurance
Apothecary
Appraiser
Architect
Art Exhibitor
Artist
Assessor
Auctioneer

Auditor	Customs Officer
Author	Dairyman
Baggage Master	Dancing Master
Bandmaster	Dentist
Bank Teller	Deputy City Clerk
Billiard Room Keeper	Deputy Commissary
Boarding House Keeper	Deputy Reeve
Boarding School Keeper	Deputy Sheriff
Bookkeeper	Detective
Bookseller	Druggist
Bookbindery Owner	Dry Goods Clerk
Booking Agent	Editor
Bowling Alley Keeper	Emigrant Agent
Brewer	Fancy Storekeeper
Bridge Inspector	Farmer
Broker	Fire Inspector
Broom Merchant	Fish Dealer
Builder	Founder
Cab Owner	Freight Agent
Canal Inspector	Fruiterer
Cartage Agent	Furrier
Cashier	Gaoler
Caterer	Geologist
Cattle Yard Keeper	Grain Dealer
Cemetery Agent	Grocer
Checker	Harbour Master
Chemist	Hide Dealer
Chief Constable	Homoeopathist
Cigar Maker	Hotel Keeper
City or County Clerk	House Agent
City or County Inspector	Ice Dealer
City or County Registrar	Immigrant Agent
City or County Surveyor	Indian Interpreter
City or County Treasurer	Innkeeper
Civil Engineer	Inspector
Clerk	Inspector of Locomotives
Clerk of the Crown	Insurance Man
Clerk of the Peace	Insurance Agent
Cloth Manufacturer	Ironmonger
Club President	Jeweller
Coal Oil Dealer	Journalist
Collector	Junk Dealer
Commercial Traveller	Justice of the Peace
Commissary	Land Agent
Commission Agent	Land Surveyor
Contractor	Landlord
Cooperative Storekeeper	Librarian
Coroner	License Inspector
Custom House Broker	Lighthouse Keeper
Custom House Keeper	Livery Stable Keeper
Customs Clerk	Lock Keeper
Customs Collector	Lumber Inspector

Lunatic Asylum Keeper	Sculptor
Mail Conductor	Secretary
Manager	Secretary for School Board
Manufacturer	Section Boss
Market Stable Keeper	Sexton
Medicine Dealer	Shipper
Mercantile Agent	Shipping Agent
Merchant's Clerk	Shoe Dealer
Milkman	Shopkeeper
Miller	Showman
Mill Owner	Small Ware Shopkeeper
Mineral Water Agent	Speculator
Money Broker	Stage Agent
Music Teacher	Stage Proprietor
Musician	Stationmaster
Music Seller	Stationer
News Agent	Steamboat Proprietor
Notary	Stenographer
Oil Agent	Stone and Slate Dealer
Oil Dealer	Storekeeper
Optician	Store Manager
Organist	Stove Dealer
Overseer	Street Inspector
Pawnbroker	Sub-agent
Phrenologist	Superintendent
Photographer	Superintendent of Canals
Piano Dealer	Superintendent of Fishing
Piano Seller	Superintendent, Hospital
Picture Dealer	Superintendent, Railroad
Poet	Surveyor
Pork Dealer	Tobacconist
Postmaster	Tavern Keeper
Post Officer Inspector	Tax Collector
Postal Clerk	Teacher (Male)
Pound Keeper	Telegraph Operator
Principal	Temperance House Keeper
Produce Dealer	Ticket Agent
Private School Owner	Timekeeper for Railroad
Race Agent	Trader
Rag Dealer	Travel Agent
Railroad Agent	Travelling Agent
Railroad Clerk	Trustee
Real Estate Agent	Turkish Bath Operator
Recorder	Undertaker
Renovator	Veterinary Surgeon
Reporter	Victualler
Restaurant Keeper	Warehouse Keeper
Road Contractor	Weight Master
Road Inspector	Yeoman
Salesman	
Sawmill Owner	
Scribe	

OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORY III

Axe Maker	Daguerreotypist
Bailiff	Dealer
Baker	Distiller
Bandbox Maker	Draughtsman
Basket Maker	Draper
Bellows Maker	Driller
Billiard Maker	Dyer
Blacking Maker	Edge Tool Maker
Blacksmith	Engine Driver
Block Maker	Engine Fitter
Boat Maker	Engineer
Boiler Maker	Engraver
Bookbinder	Fanning Mill Manufacturer
Bracket Maker	Farrier
Brakesman	File Maker
Brass Founder	Finisher
Bricklayer	Fireman
Brick Maker	Fireman for Railroad
Bridge Builder	Fireworks Maker
Broom Maker	Fire Engine Manufacturer
Brush Maker	Fishing Tackle Maker
Butcher	Fitter
Cabinetmaker	Florist
Carpenter	Fringe Maker
Carpet Maker	Fuller
Carriage Trimmer	Furnace Maker
Carver	Furniture Manufacturer
Caulker	Gas Fitter
Chain Maker	Gas Worker
Chain and Bedstead	Ginger Beer Maker
Manufacturer	Glass Maker
Chair Maker	Glazier
Chandler	Glover
Cheese Maker	Glue Maker
Cloth Cleaner	Goldsmith
Cloth Cutter	Grate Maker
Coffee Roaster	Guilder
Comb Maker	Gunsmith
Compositor	Hatter
Conductor	Hoop Maker
Confectioner	Hop Grower
Constable	Horse Trainer
Cook	Horticulturist
Cooper	House Mover
Coppersmith	Implement Maker
Cordwainer	Iron Fitter
Cork Manufacturer	Japanner
Cotton Manufacturer	Jewellery Manufacturer
Cutler	Joiner
	Knitter
	Lace Maker
	Ladder Maker

Last Maker	Rigger
Lathe Maker	Rope Maker
Letter Carrier	Safot Maker
Lithographer	Sack Maker
Locksmith	Saddler (harness maker)
Looking Glass Maker	Safe Maker
Lumber Merchant	Sail Maker
Machinist	Salaratus (baking soda) Maker
Marble Cutter	Sash Maker
Marble Manufacturer	Sausage Maker
Mason	Sawyer
Match Maker	Scale Maker
Mattress Maker	Scythe Maker
Mechanic	Seedman
Melodeon Maker	Sheriff's Officer
Millwright	Shingle Maker
Moulder	Shipbuilder
Nail Maker	Ship Chandler
Net Maker	Shipwright
Nurseryman	Shirt Maker
Oar Maker	Shoemaker
Oculist	Shoe Manufacturer
Oil Cloth Manufacturer	Sign Painter
Oil Manufacturer	Silk Manufacturer
Operator	Silk Printer
Organ Builder	Silver Plater
Pail Maker	Silversmith
Painter	Slater
Paper Hanger	Soap Maker
Paper Maker	Soda Water Manufacturer
Patent Medicine Maker	Spade Maker
Pattern Maker	Spinner
Patent Leather Dresser	Spirit Gas Maker
Pianoforte Manufacturer	Spoon Maker
Pilot	Spring Maker
Plane Maker	Starch Maker
Plasterer	Stave Maker
Plate Worker	Stay Maker
Plough Maker	Steamboat Steward
Plumber	Steward
Policeman	Stove Fitter
Polisher	Stove Maker
Potash Manufacturer	Streetcar Driver
Potter	Stucco Maker
Powder Maker	Sugar Maker
Printer	Switchman for Railroad
Pump Maker	Tailor
Railroad Car Builder	Tallow Chandler
Railroad Policeman	Tanner
Rake Maker	Taxidermist
Reed Maker	Trashing Mill Maker
Rifle Make:	Tile Cutter

Tinker
 Tin Plate Worker
 Tinsmith
 Tobacco Manufacturer
 Toll Bar Keeper
 Tray Maker
 Trimmer
 Trunk Maker
 Turner
 Twiner
 Type Founder
 Typesetter
 Umbrella Maker
 Upholsterer
 Varnisher
 Vinegar Maker
 Wagon Maker
 Watchmaker
 Weighing Machine Maker
 Well Digger
 Wheelwright
 Whip Maker
 Wine Manufacturer
 Wire Dealer
 Wire Worker
 Woodworker
 Wood Seller
 Woollen Manufacturer
 Yardman

OCCUPATIONAL
 CATEGORY IV

Barber
 Barkeeper
 Bell Hanger
 Bill Poster
 Boatman
 Bus Driver
 Cab Driver
 Caretaker
 Carrier
 Carter
 Chimney Sweep
 Coachman
 Colporteur
 Courier
 Driver
 Errand Boy
 Factory Operator
 Ferryman
 Fisherman

Gardener
 Gas Lighter
 Grave Digger
 Groom
 Hairdresser
 Hewer
 Hospital Worker
 Hunter
 Huxter
 Landing Waiter
 Lime Burner
 Lumberman
 Mariner
 Market Clerk
 Messenger
 Miner
 Omnibus Driver
 Packer
 Peddler
 Porter
 Quarryman
 Railroad Worker
 Restaurant Worker
 Sailor
 Soldier
 Stableman
 Stage Driver
 Steamboat Mate
 Stevedore
 Stoker
 Stone Cutter
 Teamster
 Turnkey
 Waiter
 Watchman
 Weaver
 Whitewasher
 Wool Sorter

OCCUPATIONAL
 CATEGORY V (Low)

Labourer
 Rail Layer for Railroad
 Unemployed

OCCUPATIONAL
CATEGORY VI
(Unclassifiable)

Apprentice
Assignee for Estate
Bank Clerk
Chamberlain
Charwoman
Cloggiar
Coloured Man
Deceased
Dressmaker
Embroiderer
Foreigner
Governess
Handicapped
Indian
Journeyman
Keeper of House of Illfame
Lady
Law Student
Lunatic
Matron of Hospital or Asylum
Midwife
Milliner
Mother Superior
Nun
Nurse
Pensioner
Prisoner
Prostitute
Seamstress
Seminarian
Servant (Female)
Servant (Male)
Spinster
Student
Tailoress
Teacher (Female)
Unknown or not given
Washerwoman
Widow
Wife

Source: Michael B. Katz. The People of Hamilton. Canada West, Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 343-348.

APPENDIX II

FUNCTIONAL OCCUPATION SCHEME

AGRICULTURAL CLASS

Farmers
Gardeners
Nurserymen
Various Agricultural
Occupations

COMMERCIAL CLASS

Accountants
Agents
Auctioneers
Bankers and Money Brokers
Brokers
Boat and Bargemen
Boom Keepers
Book Sellers
Cabmen and Carters
Carriers
China and Glass Dealers
Collectors
Commercial Clerks
Commercial Travellers
Dealers and Traders
Express Employees
Grain Dealers
Hawkers and Peddlers
Insurance Employers
Mariners
Merchants
Pilots
Railway Employees
Shop Keepers
Stevedores
Telegraph Employees

DOMESTIC CLASS

Barbers
Bar Keeper
Hospital Attendants
Hotel Keepers
Laundresses
Midwives
Servants

INDUSTRIAL CLASS

Axe Makers
Bakers
Basket Makers
Bellows Makers
Blacksmiths
Boiler Makers
Bookbinders
Box and Trunk Makers
Bricklayers
Brickmakers
Brewers and Distillers
Brush and Broom Makers
Builders
Butchers
Cabinet Makers
Carders
Carpenters and Joiners
Carpet Makers
Carriage Makers
Carvers and Gilders
Caulkers
Chair Makers
Chemists and Druggists
Choppers
Confectioners
Cooper
Cutlers
Dress Makers and Milliners
Edge Tool Makers
Engineers and Mechanics
Engravers and Lithographer
Fishermen
Fishing Tackle Makers
Foundrymen
Furnace Builders
Furriers
Gas Work Engineers
Goldsmiths and Jewellers
Grocers
Hatters
Hosiery and Glovers
India Rubber Operatives
Iron Safe Makers
Locksmiths
Lock Makers
Lumbermen

Manufacturers
 Marble Workers
 Mechanics
 Millers
 Miners
 Opticians
 Painters and Glaziers
 Plasterers
 Plumbers
 Potters
 Printers
 Quarrymen
 Riggers
 Saddlers
 Sail Makers
 Sawyers
 Seamstresses
 Ship Builders
 Ship Chandlers
 Shoemakers
 Steam Engine Builders
 Stone Masons
 Tailors
 Tanners
 Various
 Watchmakers
 Weavers
 Wheelwrights

PROFESSIONAL CLASS

Advocates
 Artists and Litterateurs
 Architects
 Bailiff
 Barristers and Attorneys

Christian Brothers
 Civil Engineers
 Clergymen
 Court Officers
 Dentists
 Government Employees
 Judges
 Land Surveyors
 Militia Officials
 Municipal Employees
 Musicians
 Notaries
 Nuns
 Physicians and Surgeons
 Photographers
 Policemen
 Professors
 Students-at-Law
 Students-in-Medicine
 Teachers
 Various

NOT CLASSED

Articled Apprentices
 Contractors
 Gentlemen of Private means
 Hunters
 Keepers and Guards
 Labourers
 Messengers and Porters
 Packers
 Pensioners
 Retired Officers
 Various indefinite

Sources: Census of Canada - 1871, 1881, 1891

APPENDIX III

TABLE 1

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS,
 BY SOCIAL CLASS, SOURCE, AND LONDON POPULATION FIGURES,
 FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1834 TO 1871
 (KATZ OCCUPATIONAL SCHEME)

YEAR	LONDON POPULATION	SOURCE	SOCIAL CLASS			
			UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS	LOWER CLASS	UNCLASSIFIED
1834	786	LAND RECORDS	24.0	68.0	7.5	0.6
1842	2 616	CENSUS	11.9	58.1	27.4	2.6
1852	7 035	CENSUS	6.0	58.6	28.5	6.9
1856	15 267	CITY DIRECTORY	5.3	74.3	18.9	1.3
1861	12 000	CENSUS	5.5	58.6	31.4	4.5
1863	15 649	CITY DIRECTORY	7.2	69.5	22.2	0.8
1871	15 826	CENSUS	5.1	55.9	30.8	8.2

Sources: Middlesex County Land Registry Records - 1826 to 1834
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64 (Echenberg, p. 123).

TABLE 2
 NAMES OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS, BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1834*

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Abbott, William H.	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Anderson, John	Yeoman		
Angus, Maxwell	Shoemaker		
Ashburry, William	Blacksmith	Church of England	Ireland
Bailey, James	Painter	Church of England	Ireland
Bailey, John	Clergyman	Methodist	
Balkwell, Charles			
Balkwell, John	Brewer	Church of England	England
Becher, H.C.R.	Lawyer	Church of England	England
Blair, John	Carpenter	Church of Scotland	Ireland
Bond, Samuel	Confectioner	Congregational	England
Boswell, E.J.	Clergyman	Church of England	
Brady, Charles	Gentleman		
Brown, Henry	Labourer	Church of England	England
Brown, William		Presbyterian?	
Browne, John	Merchant		
Browne, Richard	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Buchanan, James	Shoemaker	Church of England	Scotland

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Bullen, Simeon	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Burch, John			
Burke, Micheal			
Burwell, Mahlon	Surveyor	Church of England	England
Carfrae, Robert	Carpenter		
Cassidy, Andrew	Carpenter		
Claris, George	Gentleman		
Clark, Thomas	Baker	Church of England	Scotland?
Clarke, William	Yeoman	Presbyterian	
Collins, Henry	Yeoman	Church of England	
Coombs, Christopher	Baker	Church of England	England
Corbett, William			
Cornish, William K.	Lawyer/Doctor	Church of England	England
Crommey, Terrence	Labourer		
Cronyn, Benjamin	Clergyman	Church of England	Ireland
Cronyn, Thomas	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Davidson, Charles	Carpenter	Church of Scotland	Scotland
Davis, Henry	Watchmaker	Presbyterian	Scotland
Defields, Peter	Gentleman		
Dewan, Patrick			
Donnelly, Patrick	Physician	Roman Catholic	Ireland

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Douglas, John	Merchant		
Durrant, Samuel	Yeoman		
Ellis, Epaphras P.	Cabinet Maker	Protestant	England/Ireland?
Eisworth, Ephraim	Carpenter		
Ewart, John	Architect		
Flannigan, Joseph B.	Yeoman	Church of England	Ireland
Gaffeny, Nicholas			
Geary, William	Contractor	Church of England	England
Geary, William Jr.	Farmer		Ireland
Gibbins, Joseph	Saddler	Methodist	Ireland
Gibbins, Thomas	Merchant		
Glass, Samuel	Shoemaker	Methodist	Scotland/Ireland
Goodhue, George J.	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Gordon, Thomas	Shoemaker	Presbyterian	
Gore, John	Shoemaker	Church of England	England
Goulding, James	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Grannan, William	Painter		
Grant, Charles	Millwright	Presbyterian	Scotland
Grant, James	Carpenter	Presbyterian	Scotland
Green, Henry			
Hall, William	Yeoman		

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Harris, John	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Hartman, Lewis	Carpenter		
Haskett, Thomas	Painter	Church of England	Ireland
Haskett, William	Painter	Church of England	Ireland
Headley, John	Teacher		
Henry, Charles	Yeoman		Ireland
Higgins, Benjamin	Innkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
Hines, Daniel		Church of England?	England
Hodgman, William	Cordwainer		
Holden, John	Mason	Church of England	England
Holden, William	Bricklayer	Church of England	England
Holmes, Marcus	Blacksmith	Congregational	U.S.A.
Huggins, Josiah	Labourer		
Hutchinson, Archibald			
Jacobs, Charles			
Jennings, John	Merchant	Church of England?	Ireland
Johnston, Hugh	Merchant		
Jordan, John	Labourer		Ireland
Kemp, John	Carpenter	Congregational	England
Kent, John	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Kent, John Jr.	Yeoman	Church of England	England

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Kessack, Thomas	Tailor		
Ladd, Alvaro	Merchant	Universalist	
Lang, Charles	Blacksmith		
Langly, Patrick			
Lawason, Lawrence	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Hiram D.	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
Lowrie, John	Labourer	Presbyterian	Scotland
MacLean, William			
Madden, John	Labourer	Church of England	Ireland
Marrin, William	Labourer		
Martin, Richard	Butcher		
Mason, John	Carpenter		
McCausland, Andrew	Yeoman	Roman Catholic	Ireland
McClatchey, William	Yeoman		
McDonald, Alexander	Labourer	Presbyterian	Scotland
McDonald, Finley	Carpenter	Presbyterian	Scotland
McFadden, James	Innkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
McGregor, Peter	Yeoman	Presbyterian	Scotland
McLaughlin, John	Shoemaker		
McLaughlin, Michael	Grocer		
McLeod, John	Plasterer	Church of England	Ireland

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
McMichael, Robert	Teamster		
McMillan, William	Surveyor	Presbyterian	Scotland
McNeal, Hugh			
Merills, Chancy	Yeoman		Canada
Merills, Lewis	Yeoman		
Nessmore, Jacob	Yroman		
Miller, John	Labourer		
Milne, Andrew	Baker		
Monserat, John	Gentleman	Church of England	England
Moore, Charles G.	Gentleman	Church of England	England
Moore, George	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
Morrill, Simeon	Tanner	Methodist	Ireland
Morrison, Thomas	Carpenter	Presbyterian	Ireland
Moulds, Valentine	Carpenter		
Murphy, James			
Myrick, Joshua	Carpenter		U.S.A.
Nichol, Janet	Yeoman	Presbyterian	
Nicholls, Shubael	Yeoman		
Niles, William	Yeoman		U.S.A.
Noyes, William	Carpenter		
O'Brien, James	Labourer		

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
O'Brien, Dennis	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Ireland
O'Brien, Harding	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Ireland
O'Brien, Joseph	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Ireland
O'Bryan, John	Butcher	Roman Catholic	Ireland
O'Bryan, William			
O'Dell, Albert S.	Gentleman	Methodist?	U.S.A.
O'Dell, James	Yeoman	Methodist	Ireland
O'Dell, Joseph L.	Gentleman	Baptist	
O'Dell, Joshua	Yeoman	Baptist	
O'Flynn, John	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Oliver, James	Shoemaker	Church of England	Ireland
O'Riley, William	Painter		
Osborne, William	Carpenter	Methodist	England
Park, Joseph K.			
Park, William	Yeoman	Church of England	Ireland?
Parke, Robert	Gentleman	Methodist	Ireland
Parke, Thomas	Gentleman	Methodist	Ireland
Patterson, Joseph			
Payne, Thomas			
Perrin, Leonard	Baker	Methodist	Ireland?
Peters, Fred			

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Pettyfer, Edward	Mason	Church of England	England
Pixley, Bemus	Yeoman	Methodist	U.S.A.
Powell, William	Gunsmith		
Pringle, George	Carpenter	Protestant	
Raymond, Edmond	Hatter	Protestant	U.S.A.
Reid, James	Cooper	Roman Catholic	Scotland
Reynolds, William	Shoemaker	Methodist	England
Rickard, Martin	Butcher	Church of England	England
Robertson, William	Gentleman		
Rogers, Peter	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Rowley, Myron	Innkeeper	Congregational	Canada
Ryan, Timothy	Blacksmith	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Sage, William	Yeoman		
Salmon, Christopher			England
Scanlin, John	Innkeeper	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Scatcherd, John	Gentleman	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, Thomas	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Schofield, Lancaster	Gentleman	Church of England	U.S.A.
Schram, Benjamin	Yeoman	Church of England	Germany
Schram, Peter	Yeoman	Church of England	Germany
Sharp, James	Chairmaker		

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Sharp, John	Mason	Church of England	Ireland
Sherman, William	Yeoman		
Shotwell, Benjamin	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Shuttle, William			
Sifton, Charles	Yeoman	Church of England	Ireland
Smith, John	Merchant	P otestant	England
Smith, Richard	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
Smyth, Patrick	Yeoman	Roman Catholic	Ireland?
Snell, George	Brewer		England?
Snell, William	Brewer		England
Stearns, James	Cooper	Church of England	
Stevens, John	Yeoman		England
Stewart, C.J.	Clergyman	Church of England	Ireland
Street, William	Gentleman	Church of England	
Styles, John	Yeoman	Church of England	
Swart, Tunis	Yeoman		
Talbot, Rose	Widow		
Terry, Simcoe John	Apothecary	Church of England	Ireland?
Ten Broeck, John	Lawyer	Church of England	U.S.A.
Tierney, Patrick	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Traverse, Boyle	Chandler	Protestant	

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Truscott, George	Gentleman		
Van Every, Peter	Carpenter	Protestant	Ireland/England?
Van Wormer, John	Wagonmaker	Protestant	British Isles
Waters, Thomas	Yeoman		U.S.A.
Watson, George	Carpenter		England
Webby, James	Labourer	Church of England	England/Ireland?
Webster, Isaac		Methodist	Ireland
Weir, Alexander	Yeoman	Baptist	
Welsh, Edward			
Westby, William	Carpenter	Presbyterian	Ireland
Whitemore, Ezekiel	Bricklayer	Congregational	U.S.A.
Wilkins, Edward	Carpenter	Church of England	England
Williams, Christopher	Yeoman		
Williams, James Jr.	Blacksmith	Protestant	Ireland
Yerex, William			

* Data are for individuals who owned or rented property in London's "Old Town Plot".

Sources: Middlesex County Land Registry Records - 1826 to 1834
Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 3
 NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS, BY OCCUPATION, 1834
 (FUNCTIONAL OCCUPATION SCHEME)*

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
FARMER (36)	MERCHANT (13)	INNKEEPER (4)	BAKER (4)	ARCHITECT (1)	CONTRACTOR (1)
			BLACKSMITH (1)	ATTORNEY (2)	GENTLEMAN (19)
			BREWER (3)	CLERGY (4)	LABOURER (12)
			BRICKLAYER (2)	COURT OFFICIAL (1)	TEAMSTER (1)
			BUTCHER (3)	PHYSICIAN (3)	WIDOW (1)
			CABINETMAKER (1)	SURVEYOR (2)	
			CARPENTER (22)	TEACHER (1)	
			CHAIRMAKER (1)		
			CHANDLER (1)		
			CONFECTIONER (1)		
			COOPER (2)		
			CORDWAINER (1)		
			DRUGGIST (1)		
			GROCCER (2)		

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
			GUNSMITH (1)		
			HATTER (1)		
			MASON (3)		
			MILLWRIGHT (1)		
			PAINTER (5)		
			PLASTERER (1)		
			SADDLER (1)		
			SHOEMAKER (8)		
			TAILOR (1)		
			TANNER (1)		
			WAGONMAKER (1)		
			WATCHMAKER (1)		
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION					
20.6	7.4	2.3	42.3	8.0	19.4

* Data are for individuals who owned or rented property in London's "Old Town Plot".

Sources: Middlesex County Land Registry Records - 1826 to 1834
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 4
NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS, BY SOCIAL CLASS,
1834 AND 1842
(KATZ OCCUPATIONAL SCHEME)

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	UPPER CLASS		MIDDLE CLASS		LOWER CLASS		UNCLASSIFIED	
		NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT	NUMBER	PERCENT
1834	NUMBER	42		119		13		1	
	PERCENT	24.0		68.0		7.4		0.6	
1842	NUMBER	50		244		115		11	
	PERCENT	11.9		58.1		27.4		2.6	

Sources: Middlesex County I and Registry Records - 1826 to 1834
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 5

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS, BY OCCUPATION, 1842
(FUNCTIONAL OCCUPATION SCHEME)*

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
FARMER (2)	AGENT (1)	BARBER (3)	BAKER (8)	ATTORNEY (5)	CONSTABLE (1)
GARDENER (2)	AUCTIONEER (2)	INNKEEPER (24)	BLACKSMITH (7)	BAILIFF (2)	CONTRACTOR (1)
	BOOKKEEPER (1)	LAUNDRESS (2)	BOOKBINDER (1)	CLERGY (3)	GENTLEMAN (14)
	CARRIER (1)	MIDWIFE (1)	BREWER (3)	DOCTOR (2)	JAILER (1)
	CLERK (6)		BRICKLAYER (1)	POSTMASTER (1)	LABOURER (101)
	MERCHANT (21)		BUILDER (5)	SURGEON (3)	LADY (2)
	PEDDLER (1)		BUTCHER (6)	SURVEYOR (1)	SPINSTER (1)
	STAGEOWNER (1)		CABINETMAKER (6)	TEACHER (4)	TEAMSTER (1)
			CARPENTER (15)	TREASURER (1)	
			CHAIRMAKER (1)		
			CHANDLER (5)		
			CONFECTIONER (2)		
			COOPER (4)		
			CUTLER (1)		
			DRUGGIST (3)		
			DYER (1)		
			ENGINEER (1)		
			FANNING (1)		
			FOUNDER (1)		
			FURRIER (1)		
					390

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
			GROCCER (11)		
			HARNESSEMAKER (1)		
			HATTER (2)		
			MASON (7)		
			MILLER (1)		
			MILLWRIGHT (3)		
			PAINTER (7)		
			PLASTERER (6)		
			PLUMBER (1)		
			PRINTER (2)		
			SADDLER (2)		
			SEAMSTRESS (1)		
			SHOEMAKER (18)		
			SILVERSMITH (2)		
			TAILOR (14)		
			TANNER (1)		
			TINSMITH (3)		
			WHEELWRIGHT (4)		
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION					
1.0	8.1	7.1	47.4	5.2	30.7

* Data are for individuals who owned or rented property in London's "Old Town Plot".

Source: Census of Canada - 1842.

**PETITION FROM THE GRAND JURY OF THE LONDON DISTRICT,
REGARDING THE ENDOWMENT OF A CLASSICAL SCHOOL
IN LONDON VILLAGE, 15 APRIL, 1831**

To His Excellency Sir John Colborne, K.C.B. Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada, and Major General Commanding His Majesty's Forces therein, &c, &c, &c.

In Council

We, the Magistrates, Barristers, Grand and Petit Jurors, and Yeomanry of the District of London, in General Quarter Sessions of the Peace assembled, beg leave most respectfully to approach your Excellency with our representations on a subject in which we are deeply interested, both as parents and members of society. We have seen, with much satisfaction, Your Excellency's great exertions in the cause of Education, and the fostering care and protection which you have bestowed upon the Minor College, recently established under your direction at York, (the seat of Government,) in the hope that the same earnest efforts will be extended to the other divisions of the Province.

Yet while we wish every success to that institution, we cannot but feel that the great advantages which it offers can seldom be enjoyed by any of our children: useful, certainly, it will be to the Home District and the Town of York, and perhaps to some youth brought up at other Schools, as a place to furnish their preparations for a still higher Seminary; but very few parents are in circumstances in this part of the Province to benefit by Minor College, and still fewer appear inclined to send their children some hundred miles from home at so early an age as boys ought to enter a Classical School.

Our object, therefore, in addressing Your Excellency is, to request that such an endowment may be granted to the School of the London District, at London, in the District Town as shall render it efficient as a Classical Seminary and a Nursery, (such as Schools are intended to be for the University of King's College, which we hope soon to see in active operation, notwithstanding the impediments that have been thrown in its way.

We presume not to determine the extent of the endowment, but perhaps such a one as would furnish a good School House, a commodious residence for the head Master to enable him to keep Boarders, and produce an income in a short time of four or five hundred pounds currency, per annum, would form an establishment which, under proper management, would answer every purpose which we can reasonably desire.

Your Memorialists are aware that Education of a superior kind cannot be brought to every man's door, and that under any arrangement the inhabitants of the Province generally must send their children a short distance from home; but such is the extent of the several Districts, that the School can seldom be a day's journey from any part of them, and the scholars can return to their homes without expense during the holy days; and if sick, they can be visited by their parents in a few hours, and removed to their habitation without difficulty: add to all this the cheapness at which board can be obtained in country places, and the easiness with which, in most cases, it can be paid for by produce from their farms.

Should an endowment, such as we have stated, be found greater than the District of London can justly claim without clashing with the rights of other District Schools, with which your Memorialists have no desire in the smallest degree to interfere, it is humbly suggested, that representations from Your Excellency cannot fail to induce His Majesty's paternal Government to place at Your Excellency's disposal any means for the liberal endowment of all the District Schools.

We most earnestly hope that Your Excellency's exertions will speedily accomplish an object so pregnant with advantage in the rising generation, and to the future prosperity and happiness of the London District, and become thereby entitled to the lasting gratitude of your Memorialists, as well as their latest posterity.

In General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, London District, the fifteenth day of April, 1831.

M. BURNWELL,
Chairman.

By order of the Grand Jury.

Anselm Foster, Foreman,
John Harris, Treasurer,
William Salmon, Barr. at Law,
J.B. Askin, Clerk of the Peace,
Wm. K. Cornish, D.C.P.L.D.
Ira Schofield, J.P.

C. Ingersoll, J.P.
Peter Carrall, Dep'y. Surveyor,
John Ten Broeck, Advocate,
J. Mitchell, J.D.C.
T.A. Talbot, J.P.
J. Parkinson, J.P.

John Scatchard, J.P.
D. Mackenzie, J.P.
John Bostwick, J.P.
Israel W. Powell, J.P.
A.A. Rapelje, Sheriff,
P.W. Rapelje, Barrister &c.

Signed in behalf of the Petit Jurors

John Soper,
Doyle McKenny,
Solomon Moore,
Levi Soper,
Louis Bapp,
Peter Weever,
Thomas Boyd,
Burlleigh Hunt,
Thomas Shaw,
William Putnam,
Ephm. Ayers,
David Reynolds,
Geo. J. Goodhue,
James C. Lee,
William B. Lee,
George H. Park,
John Stevens,
Lawrence Laurason
Cyrus Sumner,
John Bryce,
Sumner J. Larue,
Thomas Zavitz,
Truman Hall,
Edwin Grimes,
H.D. Lee,
James Algeo,
Matth. Thompson,
John M. Lundy,

Silas Stiles,
John Fitch,
J.M. Robinson,
Hugh M'Cann,
John Oneil,
Peter Scram,
George Sept,
Gardner Myrick,
L. Ladle,
Grant Stevens,
William Burgess,
James Stevenson,
Hiram Perkins,
Thomas Atkins,
Israel Lewis,
James McFadden,
John Siddall,
John Davis,
Elijah Davis,
John Ester,
Hugh Anderson,
John L. Thompson,
Nelson Perkins,
George Kennedy,
B. Davis,
Gideon Bostwick,
Benjamin Higgins,
Jonathan Vernouker

Boyle Travery,
John Jennings,
John Phelan,
Daniel Brown,
Abraham Buck,
Wm. Herrington,
H.C. Hull,
Cande Perkins,
Dennis O'Brien,
James William,
David Doty,
Thomas B. Hale,
Omie Lagrange,
Joshua Myrick,
Elias Stokes,
Hiram Burnan,
Peter Van Every,
Thomas Kessack,
Randal Strawback,
Ira Whitcomb,
Zenas Maynard,
John McKenny,
Abraham Matthews,
George Kennedy,
John Sibley,
Henry Purdy,
Thomas Edison,
Robert Parker,

Lawrence Dingman
M. Cook,
Thomas Pool,
Elijah Patrick,
Joshua S. Odell,
W. Sullivan,
Joseph Ward,
Joseph Elliott,
John English,
Jacob Weaver,
Zenas B. Myrick,
Sidney S. Dickerson
Thomas Rutledge,
John Matthews,
John Hogadone,
Varsell Dickenson,
Levi S. Blackman,
W.T. Cartwright,
W. Routledge,
Samuel Smith,
Joshua H. Corbin,
Peter Secord,
H. Reynolds,
Samuel Ramsay,
Charles Sifton,
W.C. Crawford,
Levi Myrick.

TABLE 7

NAMES OF THE LONDON DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL TRUSTEES,
 BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, FOR SELECTED YEARS, 1830 TO 1840

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS				
1830	JAMES MITCHELL	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	SCOTLAND
	REV. FRANCIS EVANS	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	JOHN ROLPH	DOCTOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	GEORGE C. SALMON	MILITIA OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	JOHN B. ASKIN	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
GRAMMAR SCHOOL TRUSTEES				
1830	JAMES MITCHELL	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	SCOTLAND
	REV. FRANCIS EVANS	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	JOHN ROLPH	DOCTOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	JOSEPH RYERSON	MILITIA OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	U. S. A.
	JOHN BOSTWICK	MILITIA OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	U. S. A.
	MAHLON BURWELL	SURVEYOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	JOHN HARRIS	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	REV. MARK BURNHAM	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	CANADA

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS				
1834	JAMES MITCHELL	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	SCOTLAND
	REV. FRANCIS EVANS	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	GEORGE C. SALMON	MILITIA OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	JOHN B. ASKIN	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	REV. MARK BURNHAM	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	CANADA
	REV. ALEXANDER ROSS	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	
GRAMMAR SCHOOL TRUSTEES				
1837	MAHLON BURWELL	SURVEYOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	JOHN HARRIS	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	REV. BENJAMIN CRONYN	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	REV. MARK BURNHAM	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	CANADA
	REV. ALEXANDER ROSS	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	
	REV. RICHARD FLOOD	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	REV. JOHN RADCLIFFE	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	REV. DOMINICK BLAKE	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
GRAMMAR SCHOOL TRUSTEES				
1839	MAHLON BURWELL	SURVEYOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	JOHN HARRIS	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	REV. BENJAMIN CRONYN	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	REV. MARK BURNHAM	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	CANADA
	REV. ALEXANDER ROSS	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	
	JOHN WILSON	LAWYER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	JOHN B. ASKIN	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
COMMISSIONERS AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL TRUSTEES				
1840	REV. BENJAMIN CRONYN	CLERGYMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	REV. WILLIAM MCKILLICAN	CLERGYMAN	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	JOHN HARRIS	GOV'T OFFICIAL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	JOHN WILSON	LAWYER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	RICHARD SMITH	MERCHANT	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND

Sources: National Archives of Canada - 1829-30, 1834, 1839
Upper Canada Gazette.

TABLE 8

NAMES OF SCHOOL BOOKS, BY SUBJECT,
AT THOMAS CRAIG'S BOOK STORE IN 1842

SUBJECT	TEXTBOOK
Geographies	Ewing's, Goldsmith's, Stewart's, Olney's, Smith's, Woodbridge's, Pennock's, Parley's.
Histories	Pennock's, Goldsmith's England, Greece & Rome, School's History of England.
Reading Books	Introduction to English Reader, English Reader, Eufield's Speaker, Macullock's Course of Reading, Ewing's Elocution
Grammars	Murray's, Lennie's, Brown's, Kirkham's and Macullock's, English Grammars -- Eton's Latin Grammar, Volney's Greek Grammar, Anthou's do, Bloomfield's do, Cobbitt's and Levioue's French do
Mathematics	Hutton's Course of Mathematics, Simson's Euclid, Williams' Symbolical Euclid, DeMorgan's Geometry, Bell's Algebra, Bridges Algebra, Bonnycastle's do, and Key, Gibson's, Gummer's and Flint's Surveying, Bonnycastle's Measuration, Morrison's Book-keeping, Thompson, Walkingham's, Adam's and Daboli's Arithmetics
Dictionaires	Walker's, Webster's, Johnson's, Webster's Large Dictionary, Cobb's Lexicon, Meadow's French Dictionary, Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary, Wright's Greek Lexicon, Town's Analysis
Spelling Books	Mavor's, Davidson's, Canada, Carpenter's, Cobb's, Webster's, Elementary and Universal Spelling-Books
Scientific Class Books	Comstock's Philosophy, Chemistry, Botany and Physiology, Blake's Natural Philosophy
Classical Books	All those used at Upper Canada College

Source: "School Books at Craig's Book-store", London Inquirer, October 7, 1842.

TABLE 9
 NAMES OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL PUPILS
 BY FATHER'S NAME, OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, "IN EARLY DAYS"

FATHER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Askin, John B.	Gov't Official	Church of England	Ireland
Cornish, William K.	Doctor/Lawyer	Church of England	England
Cronyn, Benjamin	Clergyman	Church of England	Ireland
Cronyn, Thomas	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Darling,			
Duncombe, Elijah	Doctor		
Hamilton, James	Gov't Official	Church of Scotland	Scotland
Harris, John	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Hughes,			England
Kent, John	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Lee, Hiram D.	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
McFadden, James	Innkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
Parke, Thomas	Gentleman	Methodist	Ireland
Rapelje, Abraham A.	Gov't Official		
Richardson, Richard	Banker	Church of England	England
Robb, William	Gov't Official		

FATHER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Robertson, William	Gentleman		
Scatcherd, John	Gentleman	Church of England	England
Schofield, Lancaster	Gentleman	Church of England	U.S.A.
Stevens, John	Yeoman		England
Travers, Boyle	Chandler	Church of England	England/Ireland?
Trowbridge, Eli	Yeoman		
Van Buskirk, H.	Builder	Church of England	England/Scotland?

Source: Ermatinger, Pioneer London, p.149.

TABLE 10

NAMES OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED JOHN TALBOT'S COMMON SCHOOL,
 BY AGE, FATHER'S OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1832 TO 1833

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Askin, Cynthia	8	Gov't Official	Church of England	Ireland
Askin, Henry	9	Gov't Official	Church of England	Ireland
Auldgo, Mary	13			
Brown, Martha	13			
Brown, George	16			
Brown, John	17	Merchant		
Brown, Robert	11	Merchant		
Brown, Thomas	12			
Chisholm, Hiram	11	Doctor	Presbyterian	Scotland
Clarke, Jane	15			
Clarke, Mary	10			
Cornish, Charles	9	Lawyer/Doctor	Church of England	England
Cornish, Sarah	14	Lawyer/Doctor	Church of England	England
Coulter, John	15			
Donally, Kate	9	Doctor	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Donally, Philip	3	Doctor	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Dyer, John	13			
Dyer, Manly	9			

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Fennell, Robert	12	Saddler	Church of England	
Flanagan, Elvira	7	Hotelier	Church of England	Ireland
Flanagan, Joseph	11	Hotelier	Church of England	Ireland
Flanagan, William	16	Hotelier	Church of England	Ireland
Hawley, Anna	3	Proprietor		
Hawley, Betsy	6	Proprietor		
Hawley, Robert	8	Proprietor		
Hawley, Thomas	6	Proprietor		
Johnston, Marie	8			
Johnstone, Ann	10			
Johnstone, Miss	7			
Johnstone, Robert	12			
Johnstone, Stewart	11			
Kerns, John	14			
Lawrason, Louisa	4	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Edward	10	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Elvira	14	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Hiram	6	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Honya	11	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Rolph	8	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
McCleary, William	20			

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
McFadden, James	11	Innkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
McFadden, Mary	13	Innkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
Merrick, Ephraim	11	Builder		
Morrill, Margaret	10	Tanner	Methodist	Ireland
O'Dell, James	11	Tailor	Methodist	Ireland
O'Dell, John G.	18	Tailor	Methodist	Ireland
O'Dell, Rachel	14	Tailor	Methodist	Ireland
Park, Ephraim	9	Gentleman	Methodist	Ireland
Parke, Thomas	7	Builder	Methodist	Ireland
Perkins, John	12	Farmer	Baptist	U.S.A.
Robb, Thomas	7	Gov't Official		
Robertson, Matilda	4	Gentleman		
Robertson, Thomas	6	Gentleman		
Scatcherd, Foster	7	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, James	8	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, John	8	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, Thomas	9	Merchant	Church of England	England
Schofield, Amelia	15	Gentleman	Church of England	U.S.A.
Schofield, George	8	Gentleman	Church of England	U.S.A.
Schofield, Lancaster	10	Gentleman	Church of England	U.S.A.
Schofield, William	12	Gentleman	Church of England	U.S.A.

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Sifton, Charles	11	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Sifton, John	9	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Stevens, James	17	Yeoman		England
Stevens, John	19	Yeoman		England
Stevens, Richard	14	Yeoman		England
Ten Breock, Henry	14	Lawyer	Church of England	U.S.A.
Ten Breock, John	11	Lawyer	Church of England	U.S.A.
Terry, John	14	Apothecary	Church of England	
Thomson, James	20			
Travers, Caroline	11	Chandler	Church of England	England
Travers, Charles	14	Chandler	Church of England	England
Travers, James	9	Chandler	Church of England	England
Travers, Thomas	12	Chandler	Church of England	England
Trowbridge, Oliver	14	Yeoman		
Walters, Charlotte	12			
Walters, Daniel	10			
Walters, Susan	14			

Sources: John Talbot's School Registers - 1832-33
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 11

NAMES OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED JOHN TALBOT'S COMMON SCHOOL,
 BY AGE, FATHER'S OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1834 TO 1835

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Abay, Caroline	8	Baker	Methodist	
Abay, John	11	Baker	Methodist	
Abay, Samuel	12	Baker	Methodist	
Benson, Robert	9			
Blair, James	21	Carpenter	Church of Scotland	Ireland
Bradish, Oran	10			
Bradish, Rachel	9			
Brown, John	18	Merchant		
Brown, Jonathan	6	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Brown, Robert	12	Merchant		
Cotter, Jane	5	Proprietor		
Culbert, Micheal	16	Carpenter	Church of Scotland	
Cunningham, Mary	15			
Curtis, Abraham	8			
Darby, James	5			
Diamond, William	9			
Dyer, John	13			

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Dyer, Manly	10			
Dyer, William	9			
Fallow, Francis	9			
Fallow, Margery	5			
Fennell, Edward	5	Saddler	Church of England	
Fennell, Emma	8	Saddler	Church of England	
Fennell, Mary A.	6	Saddler	Church of England	
Fennell, Robert	14	Saddler	Church of England	
Fitzgerald, Eliza R.	8			
Flanagan, Elvira	9	Hotelier	Church of England	Ireland
Flanagan, Joseph	13	Hotelier	Church of England	Ireland
Flanagan, Sylvain	5	Hotelier	Church of England	Ireland
Gibbons, Edward	11	Merchant		
Gibbons, Thomas	11	Merchant		
Glass, William	7	Grocer	Methodist	Ireland
Henry, Alexander	6	Yeoman		Ireland
Hornby, Esther	7			
Hugaboom, David	9	Gentleman		
Kent, Charles	13	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Kent, Sextus	14	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Kerr, William	16			

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Lee, Sarah	10	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland
Little, Robert	12	Carpenter/Builder	Presbyterian	
Littleton, Mary A.	18			
Lytle, Mary J.	9	Tavernkeeper		
Lytle, William	11	Tavernkeeper		
McCauley, Mary	5			
McCormick, Ann	7	Plasterer/Merchant	Church of Scotland	Ireland
McCormick, William	7	Plasterer/Merchant	Church of Scotland	Ireland
McFadden, James	13	Innkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
McFadden, Mary	12	Innkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
McNeal, Phebe	12			
Merrick, Levi	10	Builder		
Murray, Terence	9	Miller	Presbyterian	
O'Brien, Fanny	9	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Ireland
O'Brien, William	11	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Ireland
O'Dell, Matilda	11	Tailor	Methodist	Ireland
O'Dell, Dotty	10	Tailor	Methodist	Ireland
Riley, Eliza	9			
Robb, Thomas	8	Gov't Official		Ireland/England?
Salmon, James	6			England
Seely, Jerome	8			4

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Seely, Pitt	6			
Shoebottom, John	7	Tavernkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
Shoebottom, Mary	7	Tavernkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
Sifton, Charles	11	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Sifton, Eliza	7	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Sifton, John	12	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Sifton, Rebecca	6	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Smith, Ann	6	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
Smith, Elsy	7	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
Smith, John	21	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
Talbot, Richard	5	Widow		
Ten Breock, Henry	16	Lawyer	Church of England	U.S.A.
Van Buskirk, William C.	8	Builder	Church of England	England/Scotland
Walters, Charlotte	12			
Walters, Daniel	11			
Williams, Marie	6	Grocer	Church of England	England
Williams, William	11	Grocer	Church of England	England
Wright, Hiram	7	Farmer	Roman Catholic	England

Sources: John Talbot's School Registers - 1832-33
Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 12

NAMES OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED MISS MARY PROUDFOOT'S PRIVATE SCHOOL
 BY FATHER'S NAME, OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1835 TO 1836

STUDENT'S NAME	FATHER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Askin, Anna	Askin, John B.	Gov't Official	Church of England	Ireland
Askin, Maria				
Askin, Theresa				
Askin, Cynthia				
Ball, Miss				
Carrol, Miss				
Clark, Mary	Clark, Thomas	Baker	Church of England	Scotland?
Coyne, Miss				Ireland
Cronyn, Anne	Cronyn, Thomas	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Davis, Miss	Davis, Henry	Watchmaker	Presbyterian	
Fennel, Miss	Fennell, Robert	Saddler	Church of England	
Flanagan, Elvira	Flanagan, Joseph	Hotelier	Church of England	Ireland
Hall, Miss M.	Hall, William	Yeoman		
Harris, Amelia	Harris, John	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Harris, Charlotte				
Harris, Eliza				
Harris, John				
Harris, Mary				
Harris, Sarah				
House, Miss				47

STUDENT'S NAME	FATHER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Jennings, Jane	Jennings, John	Merchant	Church of England?	Ireland
Kearns, the Misses				
Kent, Annie	Kent, John	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Lawrason, Louisa	Lawrason, Lawrence	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Elvira	Lee, Hiram D.	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, James				
Lee, Simcoe				
Marsh, Henry				
McFadden, Miss	McFadden, James	Innkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
Morril, Margaret	Morrill, Simeon	Tanner	Methodist	Ireland
Nelson, Miss				
Park, Miss M.	Parke, Thomas	Gentleman	Methodist	Ireland
Proudfoot, Miss	Proudfoot, William	Clergyman	Presbyterian	Scotland
Putnam, Miss		Miller		
Rapelje, Miss	Rapelje, Abraham A.	Gov't Official		
Robb, the Misses	Robb, William	Gov't Official		Ireland/ England?
Robertson, Matilda	Robertson, William	Gentleman		
Robertson, Ross				
Robinson, Marion				
Smith, Eliza A.	Smith, Richard	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland ⁴

STUDENT'S NAME	FATHER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Styles, Sarah	Styles, John	Yeoman	Church of England	
Tackaberry, Sarah				
Talbot, Miss	Talbot, Rose	Widow		
Williams, Miss	Williams, Christopher	Yeoman		
Wright, Jane	Wright, John	Yeoman	Roman Catholic	England

Sources: Miss H. Priddis, "Extracts From ... Miss Mary Proudfoot ... "
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 13
 AN ESTIMATE OF THE TEACHERS SERVING LONDON VILLAGERS BY YEAR AND SCHOOL TYPE,
 1828 TO 1842

YEAR	COMMON SCHOOLS	PRIVATE SCHOOLS
1828		Mr Peter Van Every
1829		Mr Peter Van Every, Mr John Headley?
1830		Mr Peter Van Every, Mr James Routledge?
1831	Mr John Hawkins, Miss Kezia Stimson	Mr Henry Wright
1832	Mr John Hawkins, Miss Kezia Stimson, Mr John Talbot	Mr Henry Wright
1833	Mr John Hawkins, Miss Kezia Stimson, Mr John Talbot	Mr & Mrs E.A. Talbot?
1834	Miss Kezia Stimson, Mr John Talbot, Mr George Boyce, Miss Dyer, Mr William Taylor	Mr & Mrs E.A. Talbot
1835	Miss Kezia Stimson, Mr John Talbot, Mr Francis Wright, Miss Dyer, Mr William Taylor	Reverend & Miss Mary Proudfoot, Infant School (2)
1836	Mr Shubal Waterman, Mr William Taylor, Mr James Routledge, Miss Kezia Stimson, Mr Henry Rigney, Mr Francis Wright, Mr & Mrs John A. Miller	Reverend & Miss Mary Proudfoot

YEAR	COMMON SCHOOLS	PRIVATE SCHOOLS
1837	Mr Henry Rigney, Miss Kezia Stimson, Mr William Taylor, Mr Francis Wright, Mr Shubal Waterman, Mr James Routledge, Mr Leonard Bisbee	Mrs. George Pringle, Miss Cronyn?, Reverend & Miss Mary Proudfoot
1838	Miss Kezia Stimson, Mr Henry Rigney, Mr William Taylor, Mr Leonard Bisbee, Mr James Routledge, Mr Shubal Waterman	Mrs Elizabeth Richardson, Mrs George Pringle
1839	Miss Kezia Stimson, Mr Henry Rigney, Mr William Taylor, Mr Leonard Bisbee, Mr James Routledge	Mrs Elizabeth Richardson, Mrs George Pringle
1840	No Report	Mrs Elizabeth Richardson, Mrs George Pringle
1841	No Report	Mrs Elizabeth Richardson, Mrs George Pringle
1842	Mr Robert Wilson, Mr William Taylor, Mr John Fairchild, Mr Shubal Waterman, Percival, Mr Charles Elliot, Mr Henry Rigney, English, Mr James Routledge	Mrs Elizabeth Richardson, Miss Kezia Stimson, Miss Ellice, Mrs Sheppard, Mrs George Pringle, Mrs Williams, Miss Elliott, Mr James C. Thompson

Sources: Newspaper, Reminiscences, Provincial and District Annual Reports, and Teacher Quarterly and Half-Yearly Reports.

TABLE 14

NAMES OF SUBSCRIBERS TO HENRY WRIGHT'S PRIVATE SCHOOL BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, ORIGIN OR BIRTH, NUMBER OF STUDENTS, AND DOLLARS PLEDGED, 1831 TO 1832

SUBSCRIBER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/ BIRTH	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	DOLLARS PLEGGED
Askin, John B.	Gov't Official	Church of England	Ireland		80
Ball, T.H.					40
Cornish, William K.	Lawyer/Doctor	Church of England	England	2	40
Cook, Timothy				1	12
Flannagan, Joseph B.	Hotelier	Church of England	Ireland	1	16
Gibbins, Thomas	Merchant				10
Goodhue, George J.	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland	1	16
Harris, John	Yeoman	Church of England	England		40
Lawrason, Lawrence	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland	2	40
Lee, Hiram D.	Physician	Church of England	Ireland	3	60
Mathews, Edward	Builder		England		6
McNeal, Hugh					12?
Moutry, Thomas				2	24
Morrill, Simeon	Tanner	Methodist	Ireland		10

SUBSCRIBER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/ BIRTH	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	DOLLARS PLEGGED
O'Neil, John	Gov't Official		Ireland		10
Parke, Thomas	Gentleman	Methodist	Ireland	2	40
Rapelje, Abraham A.	Gov't Official				20
Rapelje, Henry	Gov't Official				4
Richardson, Richard	Banker	Church of England	England	1	30
Wilson, John					20

Sources: Subscribers' List, 1831-32
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 15

NAMES OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED GEORGE BOYCE'S COMMON SCHOOL
BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1834

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Askin, Henry	10	Gov't Official	Church of England	Ireland
Benson, Richard				
Browne, George	17	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Browne, John	18	Merchant		
Browne, Thomas	13	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Busteed, Barbara	10	Editor		
Busteed, George		Editor		
Busteed, Richard		Editor		
Busteed, Sarah		Editor		
Chisholm, Hiram	12	Doctor	Presbyterian	Scotland
Cornish, Charles	10	Lawyer/Doctor	Church of England	England
Duncombe, Charles		Doctor		U.S.A.
Griffis, Daniel				
Griffis, William				
Hamilton, Henry		Gov't Official	Church of Scotland	Scotland
Harris, Amelia	11	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Harris, Charlotte	6	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Harris, Eliza	9	Gov't Official	Church of England	England

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Harris, John	4	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Harris, Mary	9	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Harris, Sarah	13	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Ingersoll, James				
Lee, Clarke	15	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Hiram	7	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Ralph	9	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Simcoe	5	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland
Lytle, William	11	Tavernkeeper		
McCleary, William	21			
Murray, Thomas		Miller	Presbyterian	
O'Dell, James	12	Tailor	Methodist	Ireland
O'Dell, Thomas		Tailor	Methodist	Ireland
Park, Ephraim	10	Builder	Methodist	Ireland
Park, Thomas	8	Builder	Methodist	Ireland
Robb, Thomas	8	Gov't Official		Ireland/England?
Robertson, Thomas	7	Gentleman		
Scatcherd, Foster	8	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, James	9	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, John	9	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, Thomas	10	Merchant	Church of England	England

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Shepherd, Josiah				
Shennick, William		Yeoman		Germany
Stevens, James	18	Yeoman		England
Stevens, Richard	15	Yeoman		England
Sytle, William				
Terry, John	15	Apothecary	Church of England	Ireland?
Wright, Hiram	7	Farmer	Roman Catholic	England

Sources: George Boyce's Quarterly Reports - 1834
Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 16

NAMES OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED FRANCIS WRIGHT'S CLASSICAL AND MERCANTILE SCHOOL,
BY AGE, FATHER'S OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, JANUARY 14 TO JULY 14, 1835

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Askin, Charles	8	Gov't Official	Church of England	Ireland
Askin, Henry	13	Gov't Official	Church of England	Ireland
Brady, Charles	6	Gentleman		
Busteed, Barbara	11	Editor		
Chisholm, Hiram	14	Doctor	Presbyterian	Scotland
Cornish, Charles	14	Lawyer/Doctor	Church of England	England
Harris, Amelia	12	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Harris, Eliza	10	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Harris, Mary	10	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Harris, Sarah	14	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Howse, Sarah	14			
Hughes, John	16			England
Kent, Anne	13	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Kent, Thomas	8	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Lawrason, William	8	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Clarke	16	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Hiram	9	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Rolph	12	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland

STUDENT'S NAME	AGE	FATHER'S OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Lee, Simcoe	6	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland
Moutry, Thomas	14			
Parke, Abigail	14	Builder	Methodist	Ireland
Parke, Ephraim	14	Builder	Methodist	Ireland
Parke, Thomas	13	Builder	Methodist	Ireland
Rapelje, Richard	14	Gov't Official		
Robertson, Thomas	12	Gentleman		
Scatcherd, Anne	8	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, Emily	9	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, Foster	10	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, James	12	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, James Jr.	7	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, John	13	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, John Jr.	7	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scatcherd, Thomas	14	Merchant	Church of England	England
Wright, Samuel	15	Yeoman	Roman Catholic	England
Wright, David	13	Yeoman	Roman Catholic	England

Sources: Francis Wright's Half-Yearly Report, 1835
Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 17

NUMBER OF LONDON DISTRICT COMMON SCHOOLS, AND NAMES OF DESIGNATED LONDON VILLAGE TEACHERS BY SALARY CLASSIFICATION AND SALARY, 1833-34, 1834-35, AND 1836-37

SCHOOL CLASSIFICATION	YEAR					
	1833		1834		1835	
	Number of Common Schools	6 Month Salary	Designated London Teachers	Number of Common Schools	6 Month Salary	Designated London Teachers
First Class	1	\$90	Boyce	5	\$63	Boyce, Taylor Wright
Second Class	2	\$64	Talbot, Taylor	11	\$41	Talbot
Third Class	33	\$41	Stimson	58	\$27	Stimson
Fourth Class	52	\$32	Hawkins, Dyer	36	\$21	Dyer

SCHOOL CLASSIFICATION	YEAR					
	1835		1836		1837	
	Number of Common Schools	6 Month Salary	Designated London Teachers	Number of Common Schools	6 Month Salary	Designated London Teachers
First Class				10	\$45	Millar, Taylor Wright
Second Class			No Data	48	\$37	Rigney, Stimson Routledge
Third Class				2	\$34	
Fourth Class	85			37	\$26	Waterman

Sources: London District Teacher Salary Appropriations Lists

TABLE 18

ANNUAL GRANTS, FEES, AND SALARIES FOR THE DESIGNATED LONDON VILLAGE TEACHERS,
IN SELECTED YEARS, 1831 TO 1839

School Year	Number of Designated Teachers	Government Grants (\$)	Subscriber Fees (\$)	Total Teacher Salary (\$)	1st Class Teachers Salary (\$)	Other Teachers Salary (\$)
1831-32	2	25.50	50-75.00	75-100.00		
1833-34	6	364.00	728.00	1 092.00	270.00	822.00
1834-35	6	430.00	860.00	1 290.00	756.00	534.00
1836-37	7	624.00	1 248.00	1 872.00	675.00	1 197.00
1837-38	6	285.00	570.00	855.00	333.00	522.00
1838-39	7	223.00	446.00	669.00	192.00	422.00

Sources: London District Annual Reports - 1832, 1837, 1838, 1839
London District Teacher Salary Appropriations Lists - 1834, 1835.

TABLE 19

NAMES OF TEACHERS, EMPLOYMENT TERM, AND TEXTBOOKS
FOR LONDON TOWNSHIP AND VILLAGE COMMON SCHOOLS, 1827 TO 1839

YEAR	TEACHER	TEXTBOOKS
SOURCE - PROVINCIAL ANNUAL REPORTS		
1827	THEODORE MOSES	Mavor's and Murray's Spelling Books, Testament and York Primer
1827-8	THOMAS GARDNER	Mavor's and Murray's Spelling Books, Testament, English Reader, Gough's and Walkingsame's Arithmetic
1828	CLARISSA BOSTWICK	Murray's Spelling Book and Testament
1828	THEODORE MOSES	Mavor's and Murray's Spelling Books, Murray's Grammar, Dwight's Geography, Testament, and Murray's Preceptor
1828	ALFRED HARRISON	Murray's Grammar, Dilworth's and Mavor's Spelling Book, Foster's Arithmetic
SOURCE - JOHN TALBOT MATERIAL		
1832-3	JOHN TALBOT	Mavor's Spelling Book, New Testament, English Reader, Walkingsame's and Daboll's Arithmetic, Olney's Geography, Murray's Grammar, Pinnock's Geography, Walker's Dictionary
1834	GEORGE BOYCE	Ruddiman's Rudiments, Corderii's Colloquium, Kirkham's Dictionary, Murray's Grammar, Goldsmith's Geography, Cummin's Dictionary, Daboll's Arithmetic, Bonneycastle's Dictionary, Testament, English Reader, Mavor's Spelling Book, Walker's Dictionary, Greek Testament, Joyce's Dictionary, Carpenter's Dictionary
1834-5	JOHN TALBOT	Reading Made Easy, Mavor's Spelling Book, English Reader, Murray's Grammar, Olney's Geography, Walkingsame's Arithmetic, New Testament, Daboll's Arithmetic, Chilos? Geography, Cummins 2

		TEXTBOOKS
YEAR	TEACHER	
1835	FRANCIS H. WRIGHT	Simson's Euclid, Goldsmith's Geography, Daboll's Arithmetic, Bonneycastle's Arithmetic, Walkingame's Arithmetic, Walker's Dictionary, Mavor's Spelling Book, Carpenter's Spelling Book, Murray's Grammar, Robinson's England, Murray's Reader, The New Testament, Delectus (London), Vivi Romae, Virgil (Delphin), Caesar (Delphin), Corderius, Latin Dictionary (Niblocks), Latin Grammar (Eton), Greek Grammar (Wrights) The New Testament (Greek), Greek Extracts (Groses), Greek Lexicon (Valfrys)
SOURCE - PROVINCIAL ANNUAL REPORTS		
1837	FRANCIS H. WRIGHT	Delphinae Cicero, Virgil, Sallust, Simpson's Euclid, Ovid, Goldsmith's Geography, Murray's English Grammar
1837-8	WILLIAM TAYLOR	Bible, Daboll's and Gray's Arithmetic, Goldsmith's Geography, Murray's English Grammar, Mavor's Spelling Book
1838-9	WILLIAM TAYLOR	Old and New Testament, Daboll's Arithmetic, Goldsmith's and Olney's Geography, Murray's English Grammar, Carpenter's Spelling Book
1837-8	KEZIA STIMSON	History of England, English Reader, Murray's Grammar, Goldsmith's Geography, Old and New Testament
1837-8	KEZIA STIMSON	English Reader, History and Geography, Mavor's Spelling Book, Testament
1837-8	JAMES ROUTLEDGE	History of England, English Reader, Murray's Grammar, Olney's Geography, Old and New Testament, Mavor's Spelling Book
1837-8	JAMES ROUTLEDGE	Pinnock's History of England, Murray's English Grammar, Olney's Geography, Testament

TABLE 20

NAMES OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED THE TALBOT, BOYCE, AND WRIGHT COMMON SCHOOLS
BY SEX, SUBJECT, AND QUARTER ATTENDED, JUNE 11, 1832, TO JUNE 11, 1835

QUARTER 1 - SEPT 3 TO DEC 3, 1832	QUARTER 2 - DEC 3 TO MAR 3, 1833
QUARTER 3 - MAR 3 TO JUNE 3, 1833	QUARTER 4 - JUNE 3 TO SEPT 3, 1833
QUARTER 5 - NO DATA	
QUARTER 6 - JAN 1 TO MAR 31, 1834	QUARTER 7 - APRIL 1 TO JUNE 30, 1834
QUARTER 8 - JUNE 11 TO SEPT 11, 1834	QUARTER 9 - SEPT 11 TO DEC 11, 1834
QUARTER 10 - DEC 11 TO MAR 11, 1835	QUARTER 11 - MAR 11 TO JUNE 11, 1835

NOTE: 1. BOYCE'S TERM IN 1834 OVERLAPPED SLIGHTLY WITH TALBOT'S TERM IN 1833-34.
2. WRIGHT'S FINAL TWO QUARTERS (JANUARY 14 TO JULY 14, 1835) OVERLAPPED WITH
10 AND 11 ABOVE.

STUDENT'S NAME	SEX	SUBJECT											
		SPELL.	READ	WRITE	ARITH	GEOG	GRAM	MEN	BKG	LATIN			
Abray, Caroline	F	11	11	11									
Abray, John	M	8	8	91011	91011								
Abray, Samuel	M	910	910	910	11								
Askin, Cynthia	F	3	3										
Askin, Henry	M	34	34	34	34	6789							6789
Aulgee, Mary	F	123	123	123	123				3				
Benson, Richard	M	671011	671011	671011	671011								
Benson, Robert	M	8	8	8	9								

STUDENT'S NAME	SEX	SUBJECT									
		SPELL	READ	WRITE	ARITH	GEOG	GRAM	MEN	BKG	LATIN	
Blinn, James	M	9	9	9	9		9				
Bradish, Oran	M	8	8								
Bradish, Rachel	F	8	8								
Brady, Charles	M	1011	1011								
Brown, James	M	2	2	2	2						
Brown, Jonathan	M	891011	891011								
Brown, Martha	F	1	1	1							
Brown, Thomas	M	12	12	12	6	6	6				
Brown(e), George	M	123	123	123	123	6	36			6	
Brown(e), John	M	123	123	123	123	68	34			6	
Brown(e), Robert	M	1	1	234	891011						
Busteed, Barbara	F	9	9	9	9	9	9				
Busteed, George	M	7	7	7	7	7					
Busteed, Richard	M	8	8	8	8	8					
Busteed, Sarah	F	9	9	9	9	9	9				
Chisholm, Hiram	M	1234	123	1234	1234	6					
Clarke, Jane	F	1	1	1	2	1					
Clarke, Mary	F	12	12								
Cornish, Charles	M		---	1234	6789	---					
Cornish, Sarah	F		1	1	2						
Cotter, Jane	F	8	8								
Coulter, John	M	2	2	2	2						

STUDENT'S NAME	SEX	SUBJECT											
		SPELL	READ	WRITE	ARITH	GEOG	GRAM	MEN	BKG	LATIN			
Culbert, Michael	M	10	10	10									
Cunningham, Mary	F	1011	1011	10									
Curtis, Abraham	M	1011	1011										
Darby, James	M	8	8										
Diamond, William	M	910	910	910									
Donally, Kate	F	4	4										
Donally, Philip	M	4	4										
Duncombe, Charles	M	9	9	9	9	9							9
Dyer, John	M	23	23	23	23	89							
Dyer, Manly	M	23	23	23	89								
Dyer, William	M	9	9	9									
Fallon, Francis	M	91011	91011										
Fallon, Margery	F	1011											
Fennell, Edward	M	8	91011										
Fennell, Emma	F	11	11	11		11							
Fennell, Mary A	F	91011	91011										
Fennell, Robert	M	2	2	2	2	2	2						
Fennell, Robert	M	8	8	8	8								
Fitzgerald, Eliza	F	8	8	8		8							
Fitzgerald, Eliza R?	F	11	11	11									
Flanagan, Elvira	F	1	2	891011									
Flanagan, Joseph	M	128910	128910	128910	128910								

STUDENT'S NAME	SEX	SUBJECT											
		SPELL	READ	WRITE	ARITH	GEOG	GRAM	MEN	BKG	LATIN			
Flanagan, Sylvanus	M	11	11										
Flanagan, William	M	12	12	12	12								
Gibbins, Thomas	M	11	11	11	11								
Gibbins, Edward	M	8	8	8	11	11							
Glass, William	M	8	8										
Griffis, William	M	9	9	9	9								
Griffis, Daniel	M	9	9	9	9								
Hamilton, Henry	M	789	789	789	789	789							789
Harris, Amelia	F	89	89	89	89	9							89
Harris, Charlotte	F	89	89	89	89								
Harris, Eliza	F	89	89	89	89					89			
Harris, John	M	8		8									
Harris, Mary	F	89	89	89	89					89			
Harris, Sarah	F	89	89	89	89	9							89
Hawley, Anna	F	3											
Hawley, Betsy	F	34	34										
Hawley, Robert	M	34	34										
Hawley, Thomas	M	3	3										
Hawley, William	M	4	4										
Henry, Alexander	M	91011	91011										
Hornby, Esther	F	1011	1011										
House, Sarah	F	1011	1011	1011	1011	1011	11						

STUDENT'S NAME	SEX	SUBJECT											
		SPELL	READ	WRITE	ARITH	GEOG	GRAM	MEN	BKG	LATIN			
Hugaboon, David	M	8	8	8									
Hughes, John	M	1011	1011	1011	1011	1011	11						11
Ingersoll, James	M	9	9	9	9	9							9
Johnstone, Ann	F	4	4	4	4								
Johnstone, Marie	F	4	4	4	4								
Johnstone, Miss	F	34	34										
Johnstone, Robert	M	23	23	23	23	23	23						
Johnstone, Stewart	M	234	234	234	234	234	234						
Kent, Anne	F	1011	1011	1011	1011	1011	11						
Kent, Charles	M	1011	1011	1011	1011								
Kent, Sextus	M	1011	1011	1011	1011								
Kent, Thomas	M	1011	1011	1011									
Kerns, John	M	2	2	2	2								
Kew, William	M	10	10	10	10								
Lawason, Louisa	F	123	123										
Lawason, William	M	1011	1011										
Lee, Alonzo	M	1	1	1	1								
Lee, Clarke	M	89	89	89	89	89	89						
Lee, Edward	M	1	1	1	1	1	234						
Lee, Elvira	F	123	123	123	123	123	123						
Lee, Hiram	M	1234	1234	6789	6789								
Lee, Rolph	M	12	12	34	6789	6789	6789						

STUDENT'S NAME	SEX	SUBJECT											
		SPELL	READ	WRITE	ARITH	GEOG	GRAM	MEN	BKG	LATIN			
Lee, Sarah	F	9	9	9									
Lee, Simcoe	M	789	79	78									
Little, Robert	M	1011	1011	1011	1011								
Littleton, Mary A	F	10	10	10									
Lytle, Mary J	F	811	811	811									
Lytte, William	M	7*8	7*8	7*8	7*8	11	8						
McCauley, John	M	8	8										
McCauley, Mary	F	8											
McCormick, Ann	F	8911	8911										
McCormick, William	M	8	911										
McFadden, James	M	124	124	124	124	11	89						
McFadden, Margaret	F	1011	1011										
McFadden, Mary	F	12	12	12	12	12							
McLeary, William	M	478	478	478	478	47	478						
McNeal, Phebe	F	8	8	8	8								
Merrick, Ephraim	M	34	34	34									
Merrick, Levi	M	10	10	10									
Morrill, Margaret	F	12	12	12	12	12	3						
Moutry, Thomas	M	1011	1011	1011	1011	1011	11						
Murray, Terence	M	8	91011										
Murray, Thomas	M	7	7	7	7								
O'Brian, Fanny	F	89	89										

STUDENT'S NAME	SEX	SUBJECT											
		SPELL	READ	WRITE	ARITH	GEOG	GRAM	MEN	BKG	LATIN			
O'Brian, William	M	8	8										
O'Dell, Dotty	F	9	9	9									
O'Dell, James	M	1	1	1	1	34	34	69	678				
O'Dell, John G	M	12	12	12									
O'Dell, Matilda	F	9	9	9									
O'Dell, Rachel	F	2	2	2									
O'Dell, Thomas	M	6789	6789	6789	6789	6789							
Parke, Abigail	F	1011	1011	1011	1011	1011	11						
Parke, Ephraim	M	1	1	1	1	1	234	89	67				
Parke, Thomas	M	12	12	34	6	6789							
Perkins, John	M	2	2	2									
Rapelje, Richard	M	1011	1011	1011	1011	1011							11
Riley, Eliza	F	910	910	910									
Robb, Thomas	M	4	4	6--11	6--11	89*							
Robertson, Matilda	F	12	3										
Robertson, Thomas	M	1	23	6789	6789								
Salmon, James	M	1011	1011										
Scatcherd, Anne	F	1011	1011		1011								
Scatcherd, Emily	F	1011	1011	1011	1011		11						
Scatcherd, Foster	M	1234	1234	6789	6789								
Scatcherd, James	M	12	12	34	6789	6789							
Scatcherd, James Jr	M	1011	1011		1011								

STUDENT'S NAME	SEX	SUBJECT									
		SPELL.	READ	WRITE	ARITH	GEOG	GRAM	MEN	BKG	LATIN	
Scatcherd, John	M	12	12	34	6789	6789					
Scatcherd, John Jr	M	1011	1011		1011						
Scatcherd, Thomas	M	1	234	234	234	6789					
Schofield, Amelia	F	12	12	12	12	12	12				
Schofield, George	M	1	1	3							
Schofield, Lancaster	M	1	1	1	1						
Schofield, William	M	123	123	123	123						
Seely, Jerome	M	8	8								
Seely, Pitt	M	8	8								
Shennick, William	M	9	9	9	9	9	9				
Shepherd, Josiah	M	6789	6789	6789	6789						
Shoebottom, John	M	11	11								
Shoebottom, Mary	F	11	11								
Sifton, Charles	M	2	2	3	489	1011					
Sifton, Eliza	F	891011	891011								
Sifton, John	M	234	234	8	891011						
Sifton, Rebecca	F	11	11								
Smith, Ann	F	1011	1011								
Smith, Elsy	F	9	9	9							
Smith, John	M	10	10	10	10						
Stephens, James	M	12	12	12	12	6					
Stephens, John	M	12	12	12	12						

STUDENT'S NAME	SEX	SUBJECT									
		SPELL	READ	WRITE	ARITH	GEOG	GRAM	MEN	BKG	LATIN	
Stephens, Richard	M	12	12	12	12	7	67	7	7	6	
Talbot, Richard	M	11	11								
Ten Broeck, Henry	M	18	18	18	18						
Ten Broeck, John	M	1	1	1							
Terry, John	M	123	123	123	123	6	6			6	
Thomson, James	M	2	2	2	2						
Travers, Caroline	F	1	1	1	1	1					
Travers, Charles	M	123	123	123	123						
Travers, James	M	1	1								
Travers, Thomas	M	123	123	123	123	123	3				
Trowbridge, Oliver	M	123	123	123	123						
Van Buskirk, William C	M	8	8	91011							
Walters, Charlotte	F	12348	12348	12348	12348						
Walters, Daniel	M	1	1	8							
Walters, Susan	F	234	234	234	234						
Williams, Marie	F	8	8								
Williams, William	M	10	10	10							
Wright, David	M	1011	1011	1011	1011		11				
Wright, Hiram	M	7--11	7--11	7--11	789*						
Wright, Samuel	M	1011	1011	1011	1011	1011	11			11	

Sources: Talbot, Boyce and Wright Quarterly & Half-Yearly Annual Reports.

TABLE 21

DESIGNATED LONDON VILLAGE COMMON SCHOOL TEACHERS,
 BY TERM, SIX MONTH GOVERNMENT SALARY, AND TRUSTEE NAMES, 1831 TO 1839

TEACHERS	TEACHING TERM	6 MONTH SALARY(\$)	TRUSTEES
SOURCE: LONDON DISTRICT ANNUAL REPORT ABSTRACT: 1831 - 1832			
Kesiah Stimson	April 15, 1831 to May 15, 1832	8.50 8.50	Ira Schofield James O'Dell Elam Stimson
John Hawkins	Sept. 5, 1831 to March 5, 1832	8.50	James Williams John Scattherd John Kent
SOURCE: JOHN TALBOT MATERIAL: 1832 - 1835			
John Talbot	Sept. 3, 1832 to Sept. 3, 1833	22 32	John Scattherd John Ten Broeck Joseph B. Flanagan
Kesiah Stimson	1833 to 1834	41 41	not given
John Hawkins	1833	32	not given
William Taylor	1833 or 1834	64	not given
George Boyce	Jan. 1, 1834 to Dec. 31, 1834	90 64	Thomas Parke H.D. Lee John Scattherd
John Talbot	June 11, 1834 to June 11, 1835	41 41	Joseph B. Flanagan Henry Van Buskirk James McFadden

TEACHERS	TEACHING TERM	6 MONTH SALARY(\$)	TRUSTEES
William Taylor	1834 to 1835	64 64	not given
Kesiah Stimson	1834 to 1835	27 27	not given
Elizabeth Dyer	1834 to 1835	20 20	not given
Francis d. Wright	Jan. 14, 1835 to July 14, 1835	64	John Harris Lawrence Lawrason Thomas Parke John Scatcherd
SOURCE: JOHN HARRIS PAPERS: 1836 - 1837			
Henry Rigney	June 16, 1836 to Dec. 16, 1836	37	John McGuffin James McGuffin Stephen Powell
John Miller	June 6, 1836 to Dec. 6, 1836	45	William King Cornish Robert Fennell James O'Dell
William Taylor	May 29, 1836 to May 28, 1837	45 45	Robert Kaye Falph Morden James Mitchell
Shubal Waterman	Sept. 1, 1836 to Feb. 28, 1837	26	Joseph O'Dell William O'Dell John O'Dell
James Routledge	May 30, 1836 to Nov. 24, 1836	37	George Robson John Hedley Robert Charlton

TEACHERS	TEACHING TERM	6 MONTH SALARY(\$)	TRUSTEES
James Routledge	Nov. 27, 1836 to Nov. 27, 1837	37	George Robson Robert Robson Luther Hillson
Kesiah Stimson	August 8, 1836 to Feb. 9, 1837	37	Thomas Parke William A. Parke James C. Little
Francis H. Wright	June 14, 1836 to June 14, 1837	45 45	Thomas Parke Lawrence Lawrason Richard Richardson
SOURCE: PROVINCIAL ANNUAL REPORT 1838: 1837 - 1838			
Francis H. Wright	June 14, 1837 to Dec. 14, 1837	37	John Harris Lawrence Lawrason
Kesiah Stimson	March 23, 1837 to March 23, 1838	30 30	George J. Goodhue Lawrence Lawrason John Styles
James Routledge	May 27, 1837 to May 26, 1838	30 30	Robert Robson George Robson Luthur Stinson
William Taylor	March 12, 1837 to March 12, 1838	37 37	Lawrence Lawrason James O'Dell Thomas Cronyn
Henry Rigney	November 6, 1837 to May 6, 1838	30	Samuel Harward George T. Fitzgerald Ambrose Powell

TEACHERS	TEACHING TERM	6 MONTH SALARY(\$)	TRUSTEES
Leonard Bisbee	Nov. 1, 1837 to May 1, 1838	23	William Ayers James Beattie Andrew Banghart
SOURCE: PROVINCIAL ANNUAL REPORT 1839: 1838 - 1839			
William Taylor	June 9, 1838 to June 9, 1839	32 32	Lawrence Lawrason James O'Dell Alexander Robertson
Henry Rigney	June 9, 1838 to June 9, 1839	22 22	Samuel Harward George T. Fitzgerald Ambrose Powell
Henry Rigney	Dec. 16, 1836 to June 16, 1837	22	John McGuffin James McGuffin Stephen Powell
Kesiah Stimson	April 1, 1838 to Oct. 3, 1839	22	George J. Goodhue Lawrence Lawrason John Styles
Shubal Waterman	April, 1838 to October, 1838	9	James McLaren Peter McNames
Leonard Bisbee	May 1, 1838 to May 1, 1839	9 9	William Dyer David Dingman John Routledge
James Routledge	May 27, 1838 to May 26, 1839	22 22	George Robson John Rosser John Hedley

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF LONDON DISTRICT COMMON SCHOOLS, AND NAMES OF DESIGNATED LONDON VILLAGE TEACHERS, BY SALARY CLASSIFICATION AND SALARY, 1837-38 AND 1838-39

SCHOOL CLASSIFICATION	YEAR					
	1837		1838		1838 - 1839	
	Number of Common Schools	6 Month Salary	Designated London Teachers	Number of Common Schools	6 Month Salary	Designated London Teachers
First Class	16	\$37	Wright, Taylor		\$32	Taylor
Second Class	43	\$30	Rigney, Stimson Routledge		\$22	Rigney, Stimson Routledge
Third Class	58	\$24	Bisbee		\$18	Waterman, Bisbee
Fourth Class		\$9 ^a	Waterman ^b			

^{a,b} Waterman taught a Common school in this period but it was not recorded until the report of 1839.

Sources: Provincial Annual Reports - 1838, 1839.

TABLE 23

ANNUAL GOVERNMENT GRANTS (DOLLARS) TO LONDON DISTRICT COMMON AND GRAMMAR SCHOOLS,
1831 TO 1842

GRANT TOTAL	YEAR											
	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839	1840	1841	1842
COMMON	1000	1000	3400	3400	3400	3400	3400	3400	2800	2200	1000	1100
GRAMMAR	400	400	400	400	400	200	400	486	200	400	200	360

Source: Provincial Annual Report - 1843.

**TOTAL POPULATION AND ESTIMATED 5 TO 16 SCHOOL POPULATION
FOR LONDON VILLAGE COMMON AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1827 TO 1842**

YEAR	TOTAL LONDON POPULATION	ESTIMATED SCHOOL POPULATION	ESTIMATED NUMBERS IN COMMON SCHOOLS	ESTIMATED NUMBERS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS
1827	133	30	TOWNSHIPS?	
1828			TOWNSHIPS?	15
1829	200	44	TOWNSHIPS?	15?
1830	274	61	TOWNSHIPS?	15?
1831	400	89	58	15
1832	4-600	89-133	87	15
1833	603	134	87	15
1834	786	175	145	15
1835	1 037	230	174	35
1836	1 035	230	203	35
1837	1 090	242	203	30
1838	798	177	174	60?
1839	1 409	313	145	60?
1840	1 716	381	N.D.	30
1841	2 078	462	N.D.	30
1842	2 616	581	261	120

Sources: Provincial Annual Reports
 London District Annual Reports
 Henry Wright's Subscription List, 1831-32
 London Newspapers, Yearbooks
 Reminiscences
 Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada (JHA)
 Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada (JLA)
 Census of Canada - 1842.

TABLE 25

NAMES OF TEACHERS BY EMPLOYMENT TERM, SOURCE, AND NUMBER OF STUDENTS, 1827 TO 1839

EMPLOYMENT TERM	TEACHER	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	
		BOYS	GIRLS
SOURCE: PROVINCIAL ANNUAL REPORTS: 1827 - 1828			
May 1, 1827 - November 1, 1827	Theodore Moses	16	8
December 1, 1827 - May 31, 1828	Thomas Gardner	16	14
May 12, 1828 - November 12, 1828	Clarissa Bostwick	19	5
July 1, 1828 - December 31, 1828	Theodore Moses	13	12
June 1, 1828 - December 14, 1828	Alfred Harrison	13	8
SOURCE: JOHN TALBOT MATERIAL: 1832 - 1835			
September 3, 1832 - September 3, 1833	John Talbot	34	12
January 1, 1834 - December 31, 1834	George Boyce	23	6
June 11, 1834 - June 11, 1835	John Talbot	25	12
January 14, 1835 - July 14, 1835	Francis H. Wright	25	10
SOURCE: PROVINCIAL ANNUAL REPORT 1838: 1837 - 1838			
June 14, 1837 - December 14, 1837	Francis H. Wright	20	
March 23, 1837 - March 23, 1838	Kezia Stimson	10	16
May 27, 1837 - May 26, 1838	James Routledge	24	7
March 12, 1837 - March 12, 1838	William Taylor	14	9

EMPLOYMENT TERM	TEACHER	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	
		BOYS	GIRLS
November 6, 1837 - May 6, 1838	Henry Rigney	20	5
November 1, 1837 - May 1, 1838	Leonard Bisbee	12	8
SOURCE: PROVINCIAL ANNUAL REPORT 1839: 1838 - 1839			
June 9, 1838 - June 9, 1839	William Taylor	23	8
June 9, 1838 - June 9, 1839	Henry Rigney	23	14
December 16, 1836 - June 16, 1837	Henry Rigney	23	14
April 1, 1838 - October 3, 1839	Kezia Stimson	9	11
April, 1838 - October, 1838	Shutal Waterman	18	18
May 1, 1838 - May 1, 1839	Leonard Bisbee	17	15
May 27, 1838 - May 26, 1839	James Routledge	20	15

TABLE 26

NAMES OF FATHERS OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED THE TALBOT, BOYCE AND WRIGHT COMMON SCHOOLS,
BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1832 TO 1835

FATHER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Abray, Samuel	Baker	Methodist	
Askin, John B.	Gov't Official	Church of England	Ireland
Blair, John	Carpenter	Church of Scotland	Ireland
Brady, Charles	Gentleman		
Browne, Richard	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Busteed, Col.	Editor		
Chisholm, Archibald	Doctor	Presbyterian	Scotland
Cornish, William K.	Lawyer/Doctor	Church of England	England
Cotter, John	Proprietor		
Culbert, Duncan	Carpenter	Church of Scotland	
Donnelly, Patrick	Doctor	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Duncombe, Elijah	Doctor		U.S.A.
Fennell, Robert	Saddler	Church of England	
Flanagan, Joseph	Hotelier	Church of England	Ireland
Gibbins, Thomas	Merchant		
Glass, Samuel	Grocer	Methodist	Ireland
Hamilton, James	Gov't Official	Church of Scotland	Scotland

FATHER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Harris, John	Gov't Official	Church of England	England
Hawley,	Proprietor		
Henry, Charles	Yeoman		Ireland
Hugaboom, David	Gentleman Farmer		
Kent, John	Yeoman	Church of England	England
Lawrason, Lawrence	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Lee, Hiram Davis	Doctor	Church of England	Ireland
Little, James	Carpenter/Builder	Presbyterian	
Lytte, William	Tavernkeeper		
McCormick, Andrew	Plasterer/Merchant	Church of Scotland	Ireland
McFadden, James	Gentleman	Church of England	England/Scotland?
Merrick, Levi	Builder		
Morrill, Simeon	Tanner	Methodist	Ireland
Murray, George	Miller	Presbyterian	
O'Brien, Dennis	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Ireland
O'Dell, James	Tailor	Methodist	Ireland
O'Dell, Joseph/Joshua/William	Yeoman	Independent/Baptist	U.S.A.
Parke, Thomas	Builder	Methodist	Ireland
Perkins, Harris	Yeoman	Baptist	U.S.A.
Rapalje, Abraham A.	Gov't Official		

FATHER'S NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Robb, William	Gov't Official		Ireland/England?
Robertson, William	Gentleman		
Scatcherd, John	Merchant	Church of England	England
Schofield, Ira	Gov't Official		U.S.A.
Shennick, William	Yeoman		Germany
Shoebottom, Thomas	Tavernkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
Sifton, Charles	Gentleman Farmer	Church of England	Ireland
Smith, Richard	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
Stevens, John	Yeoman		England
Talbot, Rose	Widow		
Ten Broeck, John	Lawyer	Church of England	U.S.A.
Terry, Simcoe John	Apothecary	Church of England	Ireland?
Travers, Boyle	Chandler	Church of England	England
Travers, Charles	Cabinet Maker	Church of Scotland	England
Trowbridge,	Yeoman		
Van Buskirk, H	Builder	Church of England	England/Scotland?
Williams,	Grocer	Church of England	England
Wright, John	Yeoman	Roman Catholic	England

Sources: Talbot, Boyce, and Wright Quarterly & Half-Yearly Annual Reports
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 27

LONDON VILLAGE COMMON SCHOOL STUDENTS BY QUARTER ATTENDED, SEX, NUMBER, AGE, AND TEACHER, SEPTEMBER 3, 1832 TO JULY 11, 1835

QUARTER ATTENDED	SEX	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	AVE. AGE	1832-33			1834-35			AGE RANGE
				% STUDENTS	% 5-8	% 9-12	% 13-16	% <16 STUDENTS		
JOHN TALBOT:										
Sept. 3, 1832 - Dec. 3, 1832	Boys Girls	36 14	11.6 11.1	22.2 7.1	44.4 28.0	19.4 50.0	13.9 0.0	6-19 4-15		
Dec. 3, 1832 - March 3, 1833	Boys Girls	40 14	12.1 11.4	17.5 7.1	45.0 21.4	22.5 57.1	15.0 0.0	6-20 4-15		
March 3, 1833 - June 3, 1833	Boys Girls	33 12	10.5 9.2	27.3 33.0	48.5 16.7	18.2 33.0	6.1 0.0	6-18 3-15		
June 3, 1833 - Sept. 3, 1833	Boys Girls	25 7	9.7 10.3	48.0 28.6	44.0 42.9	4.0 28.6	4.0 0.0	5-17 7-15		
June 11, 1834 - Sept. 11, 1834	Boys Girls	28 12	9.6 9.1	32.1 50.0	50.0 50.0	14.3 0.0	3.6 0.0	5-18 7-15		
Sept. 11, 1834 - Dec. 11, 1834	Boys Girls	20 10	10.1 8.5	25.0 40.0	60.0 60.0	10.0 0.0	5.0 0.0	5-21 6-11		
Dec. 11, 1835 - March 11, 1835	Boys Girls	26 10	10.5 9.4	30.8 50.0	46.2 30.0	19.2 10.0	3.8 10.0	5-21 5-18		
March 11, 1835 - June 11, 1835	Boys Girls	27 15	9.1 8.1	44.4 60.0	40.7 33.3	14.8 6.7	0.0 0.0	5-14 5-16		

QUARTER ATTENDED	SEX	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	AVE. AGE	% 5 - 8 STUDENTS	% 9 - 12 STUDENTS	% 13 - 16 STUDENTS	% <16 STUDENTS	AGE RANGE
1834								
BOYCE:								
GEORGE								
Jan. 1, 1834 - March 31, 1834	Boys	23	11.3	25.0	45.0	15.0	15.0	7-18
Apr. 1, 1834 - June 30, 1834	Boys	24	9.8	38.9	50.0	5.6	5.6	5-21
July 1, 1834 - Sept. 30, 1834	Boys Girls	22 5	9.4 9.6	44.4 20.0	44.4 60.0	5.6 20.0	5.6 0.0	4-21 6-13
Oct. 1, 1834 - Dec. 31, 1834	Boys Girls	24 7	9.0 9.7	43.8 16.7	50.0 66.7	6.3 16.7	0.0 0.0	5-15 6-13
1835								
FRANCIS								
H. WRIGHT:								
Jan. 14, 1835 - July 14, 1835	Boys Girls	25 10	11.5 11.5	28.0 10.0	20.0 50.0	52.0 40.0	0.0 0.0	6-16 8-14

Sources: Talbot, Boyce, and Wright Quarterly & Half-Yearly Annual Reports.

TABLE 28

SCHOOL COURSE OF IDENTIFIED LONDON VILLAGE STUDENTS FROM ABOUT 1830 TO 1837

STUDENT NAME	X Definite Placement			? Probable Placement			* Father is a Trustee		
	JOHN HAWKINS	EDWARD TALBOT	KEZIAH STIMSON	JOHN TALBOT	WILLIAM TAYLOR	GEORGE BOYCE	MARY PRINGLE	FRANCIS WRIGHT	PROUD-FOOT
Askin, Cynthia				X					X
Askin, Henry				X		X		X	
Benson, Richard				X		X			
Bustud, Barbara						X		X	
Brown, Thomas				X		X			
Brown(e), George				X		X			
Brown(e), John				X		X			
Chisholm, Hiram				X		X		X	
Clark, Mary				X				X	
Cornish, Charles				X		X		X	
Fennell, Emma				X					X
Flanagan, Elvira				X*					X
Gibbons, Edward		X		X					
Glass, William				X	X				
Harris, Amelia						X		X*	X
Harris, Charlotte						X		*	X
Harris, Eliza						X		X*	X
Harris, John						X		*	X ⁴

STUDENT NAME	TEACHER										PROJ- FOOT	
	JOHN HAWKINS	EDWARD TALBOT	KEZIAH STIMSON	JOHN TALBOT	WILLIAM TAYLOR	GEORGE BOYCE	MARY PRINGLE	FRANCIS WRIGHT				
Harris, Mary							X			X*		X
Harris, Sarah							X			X*		
Kent, Charles	*			X								
Kent, Sextus	*			X								
Lawason, Louisa			*	X	*					*		X
Lawason, William			*		*					X*		
Lee, Clarke							X*			X		
Lee, Elvira				X			*			X		
Lee, Hiram				X			X*			X		
Lee, Rolph		X		X			X*			X		
Lee, Simcoe							X*			X		X
Lytle, William				X			X					
McFadden, James		X		X*								
McFadden, Mary				X*								X
McCormick, Ann			X	X					X			X
Morrill, Margaret				X								X
O'Dell, Dotty	*			X	*							
O'Dell, James	*			X	*				X			
O'Dell, John	*			X	*							
O'Dell, Matilda	*			X	*							
O'Dell, Rachel	*			X	*							
O'Dell, Thomas	*			X	*		X					

STUDENT NAME	TEACHER										PROUD-FOOT	
	JOHN HAWKINS	EDWARD TALBOT	KEZIAH STIMSON	JOHN TALBOT	WILLIAM TAYLOR	GEORGE BOYCE	MARY PRINGLE	FRANCIS WRIGHT				
Parke, Ephraim				X	X	X*				X*		X*
Parke, Thomas				X	?	X*				X*		X*
Robb, Thomas				X		X						
Robertson, Matilda				X								X
Robertson, Thomas			X		X				X			
Scatcherd, Anne			X	*		*				*		X
Scatcherd, Emily			X	*		*				*		X
Scatcherd, Foster	*			X*	?	X*				X*		
Scatcherd, James	*			X*	?	X*				X*		
Scatcherd, John	*			X*	?	X*				X*		
Scatcherd, Thomas	*			X*	X	X*				X*		
Schofield, Amelia			*	X								
Schofield, Ira		X	*									
Schofield, George		?	*	X								
Schofield,	?	*	X									
Schofield, William		?	*	X								
Stephens, James				X					X			
Stephens, Richard				X					X			
Terry, John				X					X			
Wright, Hiram				X					X			
Williams, Marie	*			X								X
Williams, William	*			X								X

TABLE 29
NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION BY RELIGION,
1842 AND 1852

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PRESBYTERIAN/ CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	METHODIST	OTHER
1842	NUMBER	1132	378	297	65	506	239
	PERCENT	43.3	14.4	11.4	2.5	19.3	9.1
1852	NUMBER	2201	1049	1179	371	1113	1122
	PERCENT	31.3	14.9	16.8	5.3	15.8	15.9

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1852.

TABLE 30
NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION BY PLACE OF BIRTH,
1842 AND 1852

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION		ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
	NUMBER	PERCENT						
1842	490	18.8	236	9.1	528	1176	175	0
					20.3	45.1	6.7	0.0
1852	1334	19.0	712	10.1	1877	2620	394	98
					26.7	37.2	5.6	1.4

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1852.

TABLE 31
 NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY SOCIAL CLASS,
 1834, 1842, AND 1852

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS	LOWER CLASS	UNCLASSIFIED
1834	NUMBER PERCENT	42 24.0	119 68.0	13 7.5	1 0.6
1842	NUMBER PERCENT	50 11.9	244 58.1	115 27.4	11 2.6
1852	NUMBER PERCENT ADJUSTED PERCENT	106 6.0	1031 58.6	408 23.2 28.5	215 12.2 6.9

Sources: London Land Registration Records - 1826 to 1834
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1852.

TABLE 32

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR,
1834, 1842, AND 1852

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	UNCLASSIFIED
1834	NUMBER	36	13	4	74	14	34
	PERCENT	20.6	7.4	2.3	42.3	8.0	18.9
1842	NUMBER	4	34	30	199	22	129
	PERCENT	1.0	8.1	7.1	47.4	5.2	30.7
1852	NUMBER	62	206	137	884	71	400
	PERCENT	3.5	11.7	7.8	50.2	4.0	22.7

Sources: London Land Registration Records - 1826 to 1834
Census of Canada - 1842, 1852.

TABLE 33

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY OCCUPATION IN 1852
(FUNCTIONAL OCCUPATION SCHEME)*

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
DAIRYMAN (1)	AGENT (8)	BARBER (4)	BAKER (17)	BAILIFF (4)	CONTRACTOR (3)
FARMER (50)	AUCTIONEER (2)	BARKEEPER (1)	BASKETMAKER (1)	BARRISTER (7)	GRAVEDIGGER (1)
GARDENER (10)	BANKER (2)	HOTELKEEPER (4)	BLACKING MAKER (1)	CIVIL ENGINEER (2)	LABOURER (340)
NURSERY/ SEEDMAN (1)	BOOKKEEPER (2)	INNKEEPER (31)	BLACKSMITH (59)	CLERGY (10)	OVERSEER (1)
	BOOKSELLER (3)	MIDWIFE (1)	BOOKBINDER (3)	CONSTABLE (1)	PENSIONER (15)
	CLERK (78)	SERVANTS-FEMALE (76)	BREWER (9)	DENTIST (1)	PRIVATE MEANS (20)
	CLOTHIER (1)	SERVANTS-MALE (14)	BRICKLAYER (23)	MUSICIAN (4)	RAILWAY CONTRACTOR (1)
	HUXTER (1)	TAVERNKEEPER (3)	BUILDER (7)	NOTARY (1)	ROAD CONTRACTOR (3)
	LAND AGENT (1)	WASHERWOMEN (3)	BUTCHER (14)	PHYSICIAN (10)	TEAMSTER (32)
	LANDING WAITER (1)		CABINETMAKER (37)	POLICEMAN (2)	
	LEATHER MERCHANT (4)		CARPENTER (77)	POSTMASTER (1)	
	MARINER (3)		CARRIAGE MAKER (21)	ROAD INSPECTOR (1)	
	MARKET CLERK (1)		CARVER (1)	SHERIFF'S OFFICER (1)	4

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
	MERCHANT (48)		CHAIRMAKER (8)	TEACHER FEMALE (13)	
	MUSIC SELLER (1)		CHEMIST (4)	TEACHER-MALE (13)	
	PEDDLER (3)		CLOCK/WATCH MAKER (3)	VETERINARY SURGEON (1)	
	PROVISION MERCHANT (3)		CONFECTIONER (5)		
	RAILROAD AGENT (1)		COOPER (13)		
	STAGE DRIVER (2)		COOPERSMITH (2)		
	STAGE PROPRIETOR (1)		DRAPER (2)		
	STATIONER (1)		DRESSMAKERS (74)		
	STOREKEEPER (3)		ENGINEER (13)		
	TINKER (1)		FOUNDER (3)		
	TOLL BAR KEEPER		FURRIER (2)		
	TRADER (4)		GINGER BEER MAKER (2)		
	WEIGHMASTER (1)		GOLDSMITH (1)		
	WOOL MERCHANT (1)		GROCER (23)		
			GUNSMITH (1)		
			HATTER (4)		
			HOOP MAKER (2)		
			JEWELLER (5)		

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
			JOINER (43)		
			MACHINIST (10)		
			MALSTER (1)		
			MARBLE CUTTER (1)		
			MASON (15)		
			MILLER (7)		
			MILLWRIGHT (10)		
			MOULDER (42)		
			PAILMAKER (1)		
			PAINTER (29)		
			PLASTERER (23)		
			PLATE WORKER (1)		
			PLOUGHMAKER (1)		
			PLUMBER (1)		
			POTASH MANUFACTURER (2)		
			PRINTER (16)		
			PUMPMAKER (1)		
			RAKE MAKER (3)		
			SACK MAKER (1)		
			SADDLER (21)		
			SAIL MAKER (1)		
			SAWYER (1)		

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
			SEAMSTRESS (17)		
			SHOEMAKER (73)		
			SOAP MAKER (5)		
			STAY MAKER (1)		
			STONE CUTTER (4)		
			STRAW WORKER (1)		
			TAILOR (68)		
			TAILORESS (2)		
			TALLOW CHANDLER (1)		
			TANNER (13)		
			TOBACCONIST (4)		
			TRUNK MAKER (1)		
			TURNER (4)		
			WAGON MAKER (26)		
			WEAVER (3)		
			WHEELWRIGHT (2)		
			WHIP MAKER (1)		
			WHITEWASHER (1)		
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION					
3.5	11.7	7.8	50.2	4.0	22.7

* Percent numbers are calculated from the Census totals. The number results portrayed here are identical or within 2 percent of the census figures.

Source: Census of Canada - 1852

TABLE 34
 NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF LARGEST OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN LONDON BY RANK AND NUMBER,
 1834, 1842, AND 1852

RANK	1834	1842	1852
1	Farmer (36)	Labourer (101)	Labourer (340)
2	Carpenter (22)	Carpenter (57)	Carpenter (120)
3	Gentleman (19)	Innkeeper (24)	Clerk (78)
4	Merchant (13)	Merchant (21)	Female Servant (76)
5	Labourer (12)	Shoemaker (18)	Dressmaker (74)
6	Shoemaker (8)	Gentleman (14)	Shoemaker (73)
7	Blacksmith (5)	Tailor (14)	Tailor (68)
8	Painter (5)	Grocer (11)	Blacksmith (59)

Sources: London Land Registration Records - 1826 to 1834
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1851.

TABLE 35

NAMES OF THE BOARD OF POLICE FOR LONDON VILLAGE BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, ORIGIN OR BIRTH,
1843 TO 1847

YEAR	NAME	COUNCILLORS AND WARDS							5th MEMBER	CLERK
		PRESIDENT	ST. PATRICKS	ST. GEORGES	ST. ANDREWS	ST. DAVIDS	ST. DAVIDS	ST. DAVIDS		
1843	NAME OCCUPATION RELIGION ORIGIN/BIRTH	EDWARD MATTHEWS MERCHANT C OF ENG ENGLAND	EDWARD MATTHEWS MERCHANT C OF ENG ENGLAND	JOHN CLARIS MERCHANT C OF ENG ENGLAND	RICHARD FRANK JOINER C OF ENG ENGLAND	JOHN BALKWILL BREWER C OF ENG ENGLAND	JOHN BALKWILL BREWER C OF ENG ENGLAND	JOHN O'NEIL GOV'T OFF IRELAND	W. K. CORNISH LAWYER C OF ENG ENGLAND	
1844	NAME OCCUPATION RELIGION ORIGIN/BIRTH	JAMES FARLEY MERCHANT PROTESTANT IRELAND	J. CRUIKSHANK COOPER R CATHOLIC IRELAND	JOHN JENNINGS MERCHANT C OF ENG IRELAND	JOHN TALBOT AUCTIONEER C OF ENG IRELAND	JOHN BALKWILL BREWER C OF ENG ENGLAND	JOHN BALKWILL BREWER C OF ENG ENGLAND	JAMES FARLEY MERCHANT PROTEST IRELAND	GEORGE RAILTON ACCOUNTANT	
1845	NAME OCCUPATION RELIGION ORIGIN/BIRTH	JOHN BALKWILL, BREWER C OF ENG ENGLAND	J. CRUIKSHANK COOPER R CATHOLIC IRELAND	JOHN JENNINGS MERCHANT C OF ENG IRELAND	JOHN BALKWILL BREWER C OF ENG ENGLAND	JOHN BLAIR CARPENTER C OF SCOT IRELAND	JOHN O'FLYNN GOV'T OFF C OF SCOT IRELAND	JOHN O'FLYNN GOV'T OFF C OF SCOT IRELAND	THOMAS SCATCHERD LAWYER METHODIST ENGLAND	
1846	NAME OCCUPATION RELIGION ORIGIN/BIRTH	T. W. SHEPHERD AUCTIONEER C OF ENG ENGLAND	WILLIAM BALKWILL, INNKEEPER C OF ENG ENGLAND	T. W. STEPHEN	SIMEON MORRILL TANNER METHODIST IRELAND	JOHN O'FLYNN GROCER R CATHOLIC IRELAND	GEORGE THOMAS CLERK C OF ENG ENGLAND	GEORGE THOMAS CLERK C OF ENG ENGLAND	THOMAS SCATCHERD LAWYER METHODYST ENGLAND	
1847	NAME OCCUPATION RELIGION ORIGIN/BIRTH	HIRAM D. LEE DOCTOR C OF ENG IRELAND	H. S. ROBINSON CABINETMAKER C OF ENG IRELAND	WILLIAM BARKER CLERK ENGLAND	PHILO BENNETT BAILIFF METHODIST CANADA	JAMES GRAHAM BOOTMAKER C OF ENG ENGLAND	HIRAM D. LEE DOCTOR C OF ENG IRELAND	HIRAM D. LEE DOCTOR C OF ENG IRELAND	HENRY HAMILTON CLERK	

Sources: History of Middlesex County

Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871

London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 36
 SCHOOL MONIES APPROPRIATED FOR LONDON COMMON SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS
 BY SOURCE, AMOUNT AND NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS, 1843 TO 1852

YEAR	PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE GRANT (\$)	LOCAL SOURCES			TOTAL PAID TEACHERS (\$)	TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS	TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHERS
		MUNICIPAL ASSESSMENT (\$)	RATE-BILL/ OTHER (\$)	TOTAL (\$)			
1843	N.D.						
1844	320	413	60	473	792	4	4
1845	463	463	822	1 285	1 710	5	5
1846	456	424	380	804	1 227	5	5
1847	465	466	355	821	1 287	5	5
1848	493	679	840	1 519	1 860	4	4
1849	463	2 990	822	1 812	1 722	4	4
1850	466	683	911	1 594	1 852	1	5
1851	466	3 887	873	4 360	2 490	2	10
1852	563	4 300	776	5 076	3 466	2	10

Sources: Provincial Annual Reports - 1843 to 1852
 Annual Reports of the Board of Common School Trustees (ARBCST) - 1843 to 1852.

TABLE 37

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT ENROLLMENTS FOR LONDON COMMON SCHOOL STUDENTS
AGED 5 TO 16 BY SEX, AND LONDON POPULATION FIGURES, 1843 TO 1852

YEAR	LONDON POPULATION	CHILDREN 5 TO 16	PUPILS 5 TO 16	% CHILDREN 5 TO 16 IN SCHOOL	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS	TOTAL NUMBER OF MALE PUPILS	TOTAL NUMBER OF FEMALE PUPILS
1843	3000	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.
1844	N.D.	1014	425	42%	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.
1845	3500	1174	509	44%	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.
1846	N.D.	1018	433	43%	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.
1847	3942	1479	370	25%	393	219	174
1848	4668	1081	362	34%	362	243	119
1849	N.D.	1201	499	42%	499	304	195
1850	5124	1583	598 ^a	38%	598	331	267
1851	N.D.	1789	1 143	64%	1 157	703	454
1852	7035	1800	1 587	88%	1 617	863	754

^a Total number of children of all ages in school.

Sources: Provincial Annual Reports - 1843 to 1852
 ARBCST - 1843 to 1852
 London Newspapers and Yearbooks
 JLA - 1848, 1850
 Census of Canada - 1852.

TABLE 38

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT ENROLLMENTS FOR LONDON COMMON SCHOOL STUDENTS
BY SCHOOL & RANK, AND MONEYS PAID TO TEACHERS BY SOURCE AND RANK, 1845 AND 1846

YEAR	NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT	TIME SCHOOL OPEN (MONTHS)		PUPILS 5-16		CHILDREN 5-16		CHILDREN 5-16 ATTENDING		SCHOOL FUND PAID TO TEACHER		RATE-BILL OR OTHER PAID TO TEACHER		TOTAL MONEYS PAID TO TEACHER	
		#	RANK	#	RANK	%	RANK	(\$)	RANK	(\$)	RANK	(\$)	RANK		
1845	1	90	2	233	4	38.6	2	178	4	62	2	240	1		
	2	100	3	198	2	50.5	4	150	2	224	4	374	4		
	3	65	1	190	1	34.2	1	144	1	136	3	280	2		
	4	114	4	209	3	54.5	5	158	3	344	5	502	5		
	5	140	5	344	5	40.7	3	260	5	56	1	316	3		
1846	1	40	2	215	3	18.6	1	156	3	--	2	156	1		
	2	158	5	256	5	61.7	5	143	1	160	5	303	4		
	3	40	2	178	2	22.5	2	164	4	--	2	164	2		
	4	75	3	151	1	49.7	3	152	2	160	5	312	5		
	5	120	4	218	4	55.1	4	232	5	60	2	292	3		

Source: London District Superintendent's Annual Reports - 1845, 1846.

TABLE 39

NAMES OF LONDON'S TOWN COUNCILLORS BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1848 TO 1849

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1848	SIMON MORRILL - MAYOR	TANNER	METHODIST	IRELAND
	H.S. ROBINSON	CABINETMAKER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	JOHN DILLAMOND	MERCHANT	PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND
	WILLIAM BARKER	CLERK/AGENT		ENGLAND
	SAMUEL STANSEFIELD	LABOURER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	PHILO BENNETT	BAILIFF	METHODIST	CANADA?
	MICHAEL SEGER	STAGE PROPRIETOR		ENGLAND OR IRELAND
	A. MCCORNICK	PLASTERER/MERCHANT	CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	IRELAND
	JOHN DOYLE	SHOEMAKER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND OR ENGLAND
	ALFRED CARTER - CLERK			
	1849	THOMAS C. DIXON - MAYOR	HATTER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND
MURRAY ANDERSON		TINSMITH	METHODIST	ENGLAND
ROBERT GUNN		SHOEMAKER		IRELAND
WILLIAM BARKER		CLERK/AGENT		ENGLAND
THOMAS CARLING		YEOMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
JAMES DANIELL		LAWYER	PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND
PHILO BENNETT		BAILIFF	METHODIST	CANADA
JAMES GRAHAM		BOOTMAKER/LABOURER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
BENJAMIN NASH		HARNESSE-MAKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
JAMES FARLEY - CLERK		GROCEER	METHODIST	IRELAND

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72
 History of Middlesex.

TABLE 40

NAMES OF LONDON TOWN COUNCILLORS
BY WARD, OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1850 TO 1852

YEAR	WARD	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1850	ST. PATRICK	MURRAY ANDERSON ^r LAWRENCE LAWRASON JOHN ASHTON	TINSMITH MERCHANT PAINTER	METHODIST CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND IRELAND ENGLAND
	ST. GEORGE	THOMAS CARLING H.C.R. BECHER WILLIAM BARKER ^d	YEOMAN LAWYER CLERK/AGENT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND ENGLAND ENGLAND
	ST. ANDREW	SIMEON MORRILL ^m JAMES DANIELL PHILO BENNETT	TANNER LAWYER BAILIFF	METHODIST PRESBYTERIAN METHODIST	IRELAND IRELAND CANADA
	ST. DAVID	BENJAMIN NASH JOHN K. LABATT EDWARD ADAMS	HARNESSMAKER BREWER GROCER	METHODIST CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND IRELAND
1851	ST. PATRICK	MURRAY ANDERSON ^r EDWARD ADAMS JOHN ASHTON	TINSMITH GROCER PAINTER	METHODIST CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND ENGLAND
	ST. GEORGE	THOMAS CARLING H.C.R. BECHER WILLIAM BARKER ^d	YEOMAN LAWYER CLERK/AGENT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND ENGLAND ENGLAND
	ST. ANDREW	SIMEON MORRILL ^m OLIVER MCCLARY MARCUS HOLMES	TANNER TINSMITH BLACKSMITH	METHODIST CHURCH OF ENGLAND CONGREGATIONAL	IRELAND IRELAND ENGLAND

YEAR	WARD	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
	ST. DAVID	JOHN K. LABATT D.M. THOMPSON JOHN CLEGG	BREWER LAWYER MILLWRIGHT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND IRELAND IRELAND
1852	ST. PATRICK	MURRAY ANDERSON ^r JAMES OLIVER EDWARD ADAMS ^a	TINSMITH SHOEMAKER GROCER	METHODIST METHODIST	ENGLAND IRELAND
	ST. GEORGE	THOMAS CARLING WILLIAM BARKER ^d J.C. MEREDITH	YEOMAN CLERK/AGENT CLERK	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND ENGLAND IRELAND
	ST. ANDREW	MARCUS HOLMES JAMES REID OLIVER MCCLARY	BLACKSMITH COOPER TINSMITH	CONGREGATIONAL ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND SCOTLAND IRELAND
	ST. DAVID	JAMES DANIELL GEORGE CODE JOHN CLEGG	LAWYER CARPENTER MILLWRIGHT	PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND IRELAND IRELAND

^a Mayor ^r Reeve ^d Deputy

Note: James Farley was Clerk in 1850-1852.

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72
History of Middlesex.

TABLE 41

NAMES OF LONDON'S FIRST BOARD OF COMMON SCHOOL TRUSTEES
BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1848

NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
SAMUEL ECCLES	BREWER		
WILLIAM BEGG	SHOEMAKER	CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	SCOTLAND
HARDING O'BRIEN	LABOURER	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
HENRY DALTON	CHANDLER	ROMAN CATHOLIC?	IRELAND?
JOHN S. BUCHANAN	GOV'T OFFICIAL		SCOTLAND
HENRY MATHEWSON	CONFECTIONER	CONGREGATIONAL	IRELAND
SINEON MORRILL - CHAIRMAN	TANNER	METHODIST	IRELAND

Sources: Minutes of the London Board of Common School Trustees - 1848
Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 42

NAMES OF THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT MEMBERS FOR LONDON'S COMMON SCHOOLS,
BY SCHOOL, OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1848 TO 1849

YEAR	SCHOOL	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH	
1848	ST. GEORGE	JOHN WELLS	GENTLEMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND	
		THOMAS CARLING DAN KESSNEY	YEOMAN			ENGLAND
	ST. PATRICK	DAVID SMITH	HATTER	BAPTIST	SCOTLAND	
		WILLIAM MCBRIDE JOHN MOLULE	BROKER			IRELAND
	ST. ANDREW	E. P. ELLIS	CABINETMAKER	CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	SCOTLAND	
		HENRY DAVIS (illegible)				SILVERSMITH
ST. DAVID	D. O. MARSH	SADDLER	METHODIST	ENGLAND		
	HENRY GREEN JAMES O'DELL				PLASTERER TAILOR	IRELAND
1849	ST. GEORGE	JOHN BIRRELL	MERCHANT	CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	SCOTLAND?	
		HUGH STEVENSON HARDING O'BRIEN				PROPRIETOR LABOURER
	ST. PATRICK	J. GRACE	?	METHODIST	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
		WILLIAM MCBRIDE JOHN ASHTON				
	ST. ANDREW	D. O. MARSH	SADDLER	?	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
		JOHN WILSON E. P. ELLIS				
ST. DAVID	EDWARD ADAMS	GROCER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND		
	JOHN LABATT JAMES ELLIOT				BREWER ?	

Sources: Minutes of the London Board of Common School Trustees - 1848
Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 43
 NAMES OF LONDON COMMON SCHOOL TRUSTEES
 BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1849 TO 1852

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1849	SAMUEL ECCLES	BREWER		
	WILLIAM BEGG	SHOEMAKER	CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	SCOTLAND
	HENRY MATHEWSON	CONFECTIONER	CONGREGATIONAL	IRELAND
	HENRY DALTON	CHANDLER	ROMAN CATHOLIC?	IRELAND?
	JAMES REID	COOPER	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	GEORGE MAGEE	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
	THOMAS C. DIXON - MAYOR	HATTER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	JAMES DANIELL	LAWYER	PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND
1850	WILLIAM BEGG	SHOEMAKER	CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	SCOTLAND
	JAMES MARCUS BENNETT	HOTELKEEPER	PROTESTANT	UNITED STATES
	JAMES REID	COOPER	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	SAMUEL CONDON	TINSMITH	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	JOHN CARLING	BREWER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	SIMEON MORRILL - MAYOR	TANNER	METHODIST	IRELAND

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1851	JOHN CARLING	BREWER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	JAMES DANIELL ^c	LAWYER	PRESEYTERIAN	IRELAND
	JAMES MARCUS BENNETT	HOTELKEEPER	PROTESTANT	UNITED STATES
	JOHN MCGUINNIS	HOTELKEEPER	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	WILLIAM BEGG	SHOEMAKER	CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	SCOTLAND
	BENJAMIN NASH	HARNESSE MAKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	JAMES REID	COOPER	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	SAMUEL CONDON	TINSMITH	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	JAMES DANIELL ^c	LAWYER	PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND
	JAMES MARCUS BENNETT	HOTELKEEPER	PROTESTANT	UNITED STATES
1852	ELLIS HYMAN	TANNER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	GERMANY
	JOHN CARLING	BREWER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	JOHN MCGUINNIS	HOTELKEEPER	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	JAMES MOFFATT	MILITIA OFFICIAL	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	GEORGE OLIVER		METHODIST	
	SAMUEL CONDON	TINSMITH	METHODIST	ENGLAND

^c Chairman

Sources: ARBCST
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57.

TABLE 44

AN ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF LONDON TEACHERS, SCHOOLS AND STUDENTS
BY YEAR AND SCHOOL TYPE, 1843 TO 1852

YEAR	COMMON SCHOOLS			PRIVATE SCHOOLS (including academies)		
	TEACHERS	ANNUAL REPORT		TEACHERS	ANNUAL REPORT	
		NUMBER SCHOOLS	TOTAL PUPILS		NUMBER SCHOOLS	TOTAL PUPILS
1843	WILLIAM TAYLOR, MR ENGLISH	N.D.	N.D.	MRS PRINGLE, MRS PENN, DR PHILLIPS, WILLIAM TAYLOR, MISS STIMSON	N.D.	N.D.
1844	ROBERT WILSON, MR ENGLISH, WILLIAM TAYLOR, R. JACKSON	4	425	MRS PRINGLE, MRS TRAVERS, WILLIAM TAYLOR, MISS STIMSON, REV PROUDFOOT	N.D.	N.D.
1845	ROBERT WILSON, MR BUCKLE, WILLIAM TAYLOR, NEIL MCINTYRE	5	509	WILLIAM TAYLOR, MR MCKAY, MISS STIMSON, MRS RAYNARD, EVENING SCHOOL, ROBERT WILSON, MRS PRINGLE, REV PROUDFOOT	N.D.	N.D.
1846	ROBERT WILSON, JOHN FRASER, WILLIAM TAYLOR, MR BUCKLE	5	433	MISS STIMSON, MISS GIFFIN, MR KORDES, ROBERT WILSON, MISS SCOTT, MRS SANDERS, WILLIAM TAYLOR, JOHN MCPHERSON, REV PROUDFOOT	N.D.	N.D.
1847	ROBERT WILSON, MR ROGERS, NICHOLAS WILSON, CHARLES COMLY, WILLIAM TAYLOR, FRANCIS BEAMISH	5	370	MISS SCOTT, MISS STIMSON?, WILLIAM TAYLOR, REV PROUDFOOT	4	120

YEAR	COMMON SCHOOLS				PRIVATE SCHOOLS (including academies)			
	TEACHERS	ANNUAL REPORT		TEACHERS	ANNUAL REPORT		TOTAL PUPILS	
		NUMBER SCHOOLS	TOTAL PUPILS		NUMBER SCHOOLS	TOTAL PUPILS		
1848	ROBERT WILSON, MR FRASER, A.M. ROSS, ROBERT ROGERS, JOSEPH CORTISHLY, NICHOLAS WILSON	4	362	MISS IRWIN, REV PROUDFOOT	5	143		
1849	NICHOLAS WILSON, ROBERT WILSON, PETER MURTAGH	4	499	MISSSES MUTTER AND KENNEDY, REV PROUDFOOT	4	80		
1850	NICHOLAS WILSON, ROBERT WILSON, MISS HAIGH, PETER MURTAGH, MISS WHARING	1	598	DATIS PENCILLI, REV PROUDFOOT	1	20		
1851	NICHOLAS WILSON, MISS A.M. HAILEY, ROBERT WILSON, E.B. HARRISON, MISS A.A. HAILEY, PETER MURTAGH, MISS HAIGH, MISS WHARING, MISS MCELROY, MISS CAMERON, HAMILTON HUNTER	2	1 143	MR WATSON, DAVID WATSON, J. GODBOLD	--	--		
1852	E.B. HARRISON, NICHOLAS WILSON, MISS A.M. HAILEY, PETER MURTAGH, HAMILTON HUNTER, WILLIAM IRWIN, MISS SCHENICK, MISS A.A. HAILEY, MISS HOPKINS?, MISS HUGHES?	2	1 587	MISSSES CORRIGAN, MISS STORIE, MR WATSON, DAVID WATSON	--	--		

Note: The sequencing of some of the common school teachers between 1843 and 1847 is speculative.

Sources: Provincial Annual Reports
 ARBCST (London)
 London Newspapers
 District and County Superintendents' Reports - 1843 to 1847.

TABLE 45

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION BY RELIGION,
1842, 1852, AND 1861

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PRESBYTERIAN/ CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	METHODIST	OTHER
1842	NUMBER PERCENT	1132 43.3	378 14.4	297 11.4	65 2.5	506 19.3	239 9.1
1852	NUMBER PERCENT	2201 31.3	1049 14.9	1179 16.8	371 5.3	1113 15.8	1122 15.9
1861	NUMBER PERCENT	3452 29.9	1652 14.3	2091 17.9	515 4.5	2268 19.6	1597 13.8

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861.

TABLE 46
 NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION BY PLACE OF BIRTH,
 1842, 1852, AND 1861

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
1842	NUMBER PERCENT	490 18.8	236 9.1	528 20.3	1176 45.1	175 6.7	0 0.0
1852	NUMBER PERCENT	1334 19.0	712 10.1	1877 26.7	2620 37.2	394 5.6	98 1.4
1861	NUMBER PERCENT	2185 18.9	999 8.6	2149 18.6	5119 45.0	719 6.2	384 2.7

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861.

TABLE 47
 NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY SOCIAL CLASS,
 1834, 1842, 1852, AND 1861

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS	LOWER CLASS	UNCLASSIFIED
1834	NUMBER PERCENT	42 24.0	119 68.0	13 7.5	1 0.6
1842	NUMBER PERCENT	50 11.9	244 58.1	115 27.4	11 2.6
1852	NUMBER PERCENT ADJUSTED PERCENT	106 6.0	1031 58.6	408 23.2 28.5	215 12.2 6.9
1861	NUMBER PERCENT ADJUSTED PERCENT	135 5.5	1447 58.6	402 16.2 31.4	487 19.7 4.5

Sources: London Land Registration Records - 1826 to 1834
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861.

TABLE 48

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR,
1834, 1842, 1852, 1861

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	UNCLASSIFIED
1834	NUMBER	36	13	4	74	14	34
	PERCENT	20.6	7.4	2.3	42.3	8.0	18.9
1842	NUMBER	4	34	30	199	22	129
	PERCENT	1.0	8.1	7.1	47.4	5.2	30.7
1852	NUMBER	62	206	137	884	71	400
	PERCENT	3.5	11.7	7.8	50.2	4.0	22.7
1861	NUMBER	32	402	434	1179	149	279
	PERCENT	1.3	16.2	17.5	47.6	6.0	11.3

Sources: London Land Registration Records - 1826 to 1834
Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861.

TABLE 49

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY OCCUPATION IN 1861
(FUNCTIONAL OCCUPATION SCHEME)*

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
DAIRYMAN (6)	ACCOUNTANT (5)	BOARDINGHOUSE KEEPER (3)	AXSMAKER (2)	ARCHITECT (1)	CONTRACTOR (6)
FARMER (20)	AGENT (9)	HOTELKEEPER (13)	BAKER (16)	ARTIST (7)	GAOLER (2)
GARDENER (5)	AUCTIONEER (9)	MIDWIFE (1)	BASKETMAKER (1)	BAILIFF (6)	LABOURER (258)
HORTICULTURALIST (3)	BANKER (5)	SALOON KEEPER (12)	BELFHANGER (1)	CIVIL ENGINEER (2)	MATCHMAKER (2)
NURSERY/ SEEDMAN (3)	BOOKKEEPER (16)	SERVANT-MALE (26)	BLACKSMITH (67)	CLERGY (20)	PORTER (12)
	BOOKSELLER (10)	SERVANT-FEMALE (349)	BOILERMAKER (2)	COLLECTOR (3)	SEXTON (3)
	BROKER (3)	TAVERN KEEPER (30)	BOOKBINDER (2)	CUSTOMS COLLECTOR (1)	
	CARTER (28)		BRASS FOUNDER (1)	DENTIST (4)	
	CATTLE DEALER (1)		BREWER (7)	EDITOR (5)	
	CLERK (132)		BRICKLAYER (29)	LAND SURVEYOR (3)	
	COAL MERCHANT (1)		BROOM MAKER (3)	LAWYER (12)	
	COMMISSION MERCHANT (2)		BUILDER (9)	MUSICAL WRITER (2)	
	DEALER (7)		BUTCHER (19)	MUSICIAN (6)	
	FLOUR MERCHANT (12)		CABINETMAKER (29)	PHOTOGRAPHER (3)	

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
	HARDWARE MERCHANT (3)		CARPENTER (133)	PHYSICIAN (21)	
	LEATHER MERCHANT (1)		CARRIAGEMAKER (21)	POLICEMAN (5)	
	LIVERY STABLE KEEPER (4)		CARVER (2)	POSTMASTER (1)	
	LUMBER MERCHANT (5)		CHAIRMAKER (3)	REGISTRAR (1)	
	MARINER (3)		CHEMIST (19)	TEACHER-FEMALE (22)	
	MERCHANT (57)		CONFECTIONER (11)	TEACHER-MALE (21)	
	MUSIC SELLER (4)		COOPER (29)	UNDERTAKER (3)	
	PEDDLAR (7)		COPPERSMITH (1)	VETERINARY SURGEON (2)	
	PROVISION MERCHANT (1)		DISTILLER (2)		
	RAILWAY EMPLOYEE (80)		DRESSMAKER (41)		
	TELEGRAPH OPERATOR (6)		DYER (2)		
			EDGE TOOL MAKER (1)		
			FANNING MILL MANUFACTURER (2)		
			FINISHER (5)		
			FURRIER (7)		
			GLASS MAKER (4)		
			GROCCER (45)		
			GUNSMITH (5)		
			HATTER (6)		
			JEWELLER (5)		4

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
			JOINER (28)		
			MACHINIST (12)		
			MALSTER (1)		
			MARBLE CUTTER (5)		
			MASON (10)		
			MECHANIC (7)		
			MILLER (14)		
			MILLINER (22)		
			MILLWRIGHT (3)		
			MOULDER (18)		
			MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKER (2)		
			PAINTER (34)		
			PLASTERER (25)		
			PLOUGHMAKER (1)		
			PLUMBER (4)		
			POTASH MANUFACTURER (1)		
			POTTER (2)		
			PRINTER (43)		
			PUMP MAKER (4)		
			SADDLER (29)		
			SASH MAKER (2)		
			SCALE MAKER (1)		

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
			SEAMSTRESS (26)		
			SHIPWRIGHT (2)		
			SHOEMAKER (143)		
			SILVERSMITH (1)		
			SOAPMAKER (3)		
			STONECUTTER (2)		
			STUFFER/TRIMMER (5)		
			TAILOR (67)		
			TALLOW CHANDLER (5)		
			TANNER (31)		
			TINSMITH (29)		
			TOBACCONIST (1)		
			TURNER (6)		
			UPHOLSTERER (2)		
			WAGON MAKER (19)		
			WATCHMAKER (9)		
			WEAVER (6)		
			DISTRIBUTION		
1.3	16.2	17.5	47.6	6.0	11.3

* Percent numbers are calculated from the Census totals. The numerical results portrayed here are identical or within 2 percent of the Census figures.

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 50
 NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF LARGEST OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN LONDON BY RANK AND NUMBER,
 1834, 1842, 1852, 1861

RANK	1834	1842	1852	1861
1	Farmer (36)	Labourer (101)	Labourer (340)	Female Servant (349)
2	Carpenter (22)	Carpenter (57)	Carpenter (120)	Labourer (258)
3	Gentleman (19)	Innkeeper (24)	Clerk (78)	Shoemaker (143)
4	Merchant (13)	Merchant (21)	Female Servant (76)	Carpenter (161)
5	Labourer (12)	Shoemaker (18)	Dressmaker (74)	Clerk (132)
6	Shoemaker (8)	Gentleman (14)	Shoemaker (73)	Railway Employee (80)
7	Blacksmith (5)	Tailor (14)	Tailor (68)	Merchant (77)
8	Painter (5)	Grocer (11)	Blacksmith (59)	Tailor (67) Blacksmith (67)

Sources: London Land Registration Records - 1826 to 1834
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1851, 1861.

TABLE 51

PARTIAL LIST OF TRUSTEES' NAMES FOR THE LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL
 BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1853 TO 1860

YEAR	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1853	Benjamin Cronyn George J. Goodhue John Wilson John Kerr	CLERGY MERCHANT LAWYER CLERGY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND IRELAND SCOTLAND
1854	Benjamin Cronyn George J. Goodhue John Kerr Richard Flood William F. Clarke James Skinner	CLERGY MERCHANT CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND CONGREGATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND IRELAND
1855	Benjamin Cronyn George J. Goodhue John Kerr William Elliot William F. Clarke George McClatchey	CLERGY MERCHANT CLERGY LAWYER CLERGY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND CONGREGATIONAL	IRELAND IRELAND ENGLAND
1856	Benjamin Cronyn William Elliot William F. Clarke James Skinner George McClatchey William Livingstone	CLERGY LAWYER CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CONGREGATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND ENGLAND IRELAND
1857	Benjamin Cronyn William Elliot John Proudfoot	CLERGY LAWYER CLERGY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND ENGLAND SCOTLAND

YEAR	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1858	Benjamin Cronyn William Elliot John Proudfoot James Skinner Richard Flood	CLERGY LAWYER CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND ENGLAND SCOTLAND
1859	Benjamin Cronyn William Elliot John Proudfoot John Wilson?	CLERGY LAWYER CLERGY LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND ENGLAND SCOTLAND SCOTLAND
1860	Benjamin Cronyn William Elliot John Proudfoot	CLERGY LAWYER CLERGY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND ENGLAND SCOTLAND

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Annual & Half-Yearly Reports - 1853 to 1860
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 52

NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY YEAR AND SUBJECTS,
1853 TO 1860

YEAR	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	SUBJECTS									
		LATIN	GREEK	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MATHEMATICS	GEOGRAPHY / HISTORY	PHYSICAL SCIENCE	MISC		
1853	48	34	11								
1854	87	48	13								
1855	87	61	17	22	82	82	50	82			
1856	75	63	16	29	75	75	51	75			
1857	79	53	12	25	79	79	55	79			
1858	60	51	13	22	57	60	38	30			
1859	70	67	18	33	70	70	41	70			
1860	58	51	14	35	53	54	48	58			

Source: London Grammar School Trustees Annual & Half-Yearly Reports - 1853 to 1860.

NAMES OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED THE LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL,
1855 TO 1860

Abbott, Richard	Cruikshank, James
Adams, John	Cushing, John
Allen, Albert	Daniel, Thomas
Allen, Edward	Dewar, James
Anderson, Henry	Duncombe, Alex
Andrews, Henry	Ellice, William
Ashe, William	English, Egerton
Bailey, Adam	English, Lyman
Bailey, Henry	Farrel, James
Bailey, John	Fitzgerald, James
Bailey, William	Fitzgerald, William
Balkwill, John	Forture, Thomas
Barker, Samuel	Francis, William
Bayard, Gilbert	Fraser, James
Beddome, Henry	Fuller, William
Beddome, William	Gardiner, John
Besford, John	Geary, John
Bettridge, Paul	Gibson, Goodwin
Biddulph, Richard	Girdlestone, George
Birrell, George	Girdlestone, Robert
Birrell, William	Glackmeyer, Fred
Browne, Francis	Glackmeyer, John
Browne, Granville	Glass, Archibald
Browne, John	Glen, James
Browne, William	Glen, John
Bruce, Henry	Goerss, Francis
Buckley, J	Goerss, John
Buckley, Theophilus	Graham, Neil
Burt, William	Grannan, Alonzo
Byron, Valentine	Guleston, Richard
Cadwell, Robert	Gunn, Alexander
Cameron, John	Hamilton, Basil
Campbell, Duncan	Hamilton, Nicholas
Campbell, John	Hammond, Frederick
Carey, George	Harding, Edward
Carrie, James	Harding, John
Clarke, Nelson	Harding, William
Coddington, William	Harrington, J
Coleman, Edward	Hartop, Thomas
Colovin, Patrick	Haskett, Samuel
Coombs, Joseph	Haskett, Thomas
Cooper, William	Hayes, William
Cousins, Henry	Hobbs, John
Cousins, John	Hodge, Thomas
Cox, George	Holmes, Henry
Cox, Willis	Hope, George
Craig, James	Hope, Robert
Cronyn, Benjamin	Hopkins, William
Cronyn, Francis	Horne, Charles

Hughes, Horatio
 Hughes, Thomas
 Hughes, William
 Hunter, Alonzo
 Hunter, Andrew
 Hutchinson, Leonard
 Hyman, Francis
 Jennings, Robert
 Johnstone, Alexander
 Johnstone, Archibald
 Kernohan, James
 Kiely, Maurice
 Kirkland, Angus
 Kyte, Charles
 Lawford, Jasper
 Lawless, John
 Lawless, William
 Ledyard, Henry
 Ledyard, William
 Lee, Edward
 Lizars, George
 Lynch, James
 Macdonald, Alexander
 Mackridge, Charles
 Magee, Guy
 Mahon, James
 Mahon, John
 Main, Charles
 Maine, Henry
 Maltby, William
 McArthur, Alexander
 McBride, Robert
 McColl, Hugh
 McCord, Thomas
 McDowell, John
 McFaddin, Forbis
 McFee, Finlay
 McFee, John
 McIntosh, Alexander
 McKenzie, Edward
 McKinnon, John
 McKinnon, Malcolm
 McLoughlin, Michael
 McLoughlin, Andrew
 McLouglin, Edward
 McVay, John
 Meredith, Edmund
 Meredith, Edward
 Meredith, John
 Meredith, William
 Mitchel, Benjamin
 Mitchel, Frederick
 Mitchel, John
 Mockridge, Charles
 Monserrat, Charles
 Monserrat, Nicholas
 Moore, George
 Morden, Parks
 Morden, William
 Mortimer, Arthur
 Mortimer, George
 Munroe, John
 Norris, William
 OBrien, Dennis
 OBrien, Edward
 ODonohue, Alfred
 ODwyer, William
 OFlynn, Thomas
 Oliver, John
 Oliver, William
 Payne, Thomas
 Peel, William
 Phillips, Henry
 Pope, Francis
 Priddis, Charles
 Priddis, James
 Puddicombe, Robert
 Quarry, James
 Quarry, William
 Redmond, Pierce
 Reid, William
 Reynolds, Thomas
 Richardson, George
 Rose, John
 Sanders, Frederick
 Saunders, Alfred
 Scatcherd, Robert
 Scott, Edmund
 Scott, Frederick
 Shaw, Angus
 Shaw, Charles
 Shaw, George
 Shaw, John
 Stent, Edward
 Strathy, Edward
 Strathy, Frederick
 Strathy, Gordon
 Street, George
 Street, Herman
 Street, William
 Strong, Alonzo
 Sydere, Arthur
 Symonds, Walter
 Talbot, William
 Taylor, John
 Thompson, Alexander
 Thompson, Andrew
 Thompson, Henry

Thompson, James
Tierney, John
Westcott, Philip
Whitehead, Daniel
Williams, Henry
Wilson, David
Wilson, Malcolm
Wilson, William
Wood, Samuel
Woodhull, Trueman
Woods, Samuel
Wright, Isaac
Wright, James

Source: London Grammar School Trustees Half-Yearly Reports,
1855-1860

TABLE 54

A PARTIAL LIST OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS
BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1855 TO 1860

HOUSEHOLD HEADS	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Abbott, Alexander	Government Official	Methodist	Ireland
Adams, William	Farmer	Methodist	Ireland
Anderson, Fredrick	Farmer	Independent	England
Anderson, William	Farmer	Church of Scotland	Scotland
Ash, William	-----	Protestant	England
Bailey, John	-----	Methodist	Ireland
Balkwill, William	Innkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
Barker, William	Government Official	Church of England	England
Beddome, Foscett	Agent	Church of England	England
Besford, John	Merchant	Protestant	England
Biddulph, Richard	Farmer	Church of England	Ireland
Birrell, John	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
Brown, John	Farmer	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Burt, Peter	Gentleman	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Byron, Valentine	-----	Roman Catholic	England
Cadwell, Ezekiel	Farmer	Methodist	Canada
Cameron, Alser	Farmer	Church of Scotland	Scotland
Campbell, John	Farmer	Presbyterian	Scotland
Coddington, James	Ploughmaker	Congregational	England
Coleman, Edward	Broker	Methodist	England

HOUSEHOLD HEADS	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Colovin, Charles	Merchant	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Cousins, James	Merchant	Protestant	England
Cox, George	Post Office Clerk	Church of England	England
Craig, Thomas	Agent	Church of Scotland	Scotland
Cronyn, Benjamin	Bishop	Church of England	Ireland
Denar, James	Farmer	Church of England	England
Ellice (Ellis), Jane	-----	Congregational	Ireland
Fitzgerald, William	Farmer	Episcopalian	Ireland
Francis, Thomas	Government Official	Methodist	Ireland
Fraser, Donald	Farmer	Church of Scotland	Scotland
Gardner, Andrew	Tailor	Church of England	England
Gibson, Christina	Wife	Presbyterian	Scotland
Glackmeyer, Edward	Company Manager	Roman Catholic	Germany
Glass, Sam	Gentleman	Methodist	Ireland
Glen, James	Tailor	Presbyterian	Scotland
Gunn, Alexander	Gentleman	Methodist	Ireland
Hamilton, James	Banker	Church of England	England
Harding, John	Farmer	Episcopalian	Ireland
Haskett, Joe	Painter	Methodist	Ireland
Hayes, Henry	Farmer	Methodist	Canada
Hobbs, Robert	Physician	Church of England	Ireland
Hodge, Thomas with Charles Hope	Merchant	Unitarian	Scotland

HOUSEHOLD HEADS	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Holmes, C.D.	Barrister	Episcopalian	Canada
Hope, Adam	Merchant	Unitarian	Scotland
Hunter, Hamilton	Editor	Protestant	Ireland
Hyman, Ellis	Tanner	Church of England	Germany
Jennings, Margret	Hotel Keeper	Church of England	Ireland
Kernohan, William	Farmer	Church of Scotland	Canada
Kiely, Maurice	Stage Owner	-----	-----
Kirkland, Alexander	Salesman	Church of England	England
Lawford, Jasper with Thomas Wright	Lawyer	Protestant	England
Lawless, Lawrence	Government Official	Methodist	Ireland
Ledyard, Edward	Merchant	Church of England	England
Macdonald, Alexander	Proprietor	Christian	Scotland
Magee, George	Merchant	Methodist	Ireland
Mahon, Adolphus	Farmer	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Main, David	Farmer	Church of England	England
McBride, Sam	Tinsmith	Methodist	Ireland
McColl, Duncan	Farmer	Church of Scotland	Scotland
McDowell, John	Hotel Keeper	Presbyterian	Ireland
McFadden, Jane	Wife	Church of England	Ireland
McFee, Hector	Laborer	Roman Catholic	Scotland
McKenzie, Andrew	Physician	Presbyterian	Scotland
Meredith, John	Commercial clerk	Church of England	Ireland
Mitchel, Bossom	Chemist/Druggist	Church of England	England

HOUSEHOLD HEADS	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Monserat, Charles	Banker	Church of England?	Ireland
Moore, Mary	Teacher	Church of England	Ireland
Mortimer, Arthur	Clergyman	Church of England	England
O'Brien, Dennis	Farmer	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Odwyer, Catherine	-----	Roman Catholic	Ireland
O'Flynn, Thomas with P.G. Norris	Lawyer	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Oliver, James	Tanner	Methodist	Ireland
Payne, E.	Shoemaker	Church of England	England
Peel, Thomas	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Phillips, John	Merchant	-----	England
Pope, Francis	Builder	Church of England	England
Priddis, Charles	Merchant	Church of England	England
Puddicombe, Abraham	-----	Unitarian	England
Reid, Arthur	Merchant	Protestant	Ireland
Rose, Hugh	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
Saunders, William	Chemist/Druggist	Protestant	England
Scatcherd, John	Merchant	Church of England	England
Scott, George	Gentleman	Church of England	England
Shaw, Benjamin	Grain Dealer	Church of England	Ireland
Strathy, James	Government Official	Church of England	Scotland
Street, W.W.	Agent	Church of England	Scotland
Strong, H.	Labourer	Church of England	England

HOUSEHOLD HEADS	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Sydere, Arthur	Teacher	Church of England	England
Talbot, William	Farmer	Church of England	Canada
Thompson, Mrs. E.	-----	Protestant	Ireland
Thompson, Henry	Gentleman	Church of England	England
Thompson, James	Shoemaker	Church of England	England
Tierney, Patrick	Carpenter	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Nestcott, M.	Gentleman	Protestant	England
Whitehead, William	Farmer	-----	Canada
Williams, Letitia	Grocer	Church of England	England
Wilson, D.	Wagonmaker	Methodist	United States
Wilson, John	Barrister	Church of England	Scotland
Wood, Caroline	Hotel Keeper	Church of England	Ireland
Wright, Isaac with Glenn family	-----	-----	-----
Wright, John	Builder	Roman Catholic	Ireland

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 55

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY RELIGION, 1855 TO 1860

	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PRESBYTERIAN/ CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	METHODIST	OTHER
NUMBER	38	13	12	0	15	19
PERCENT	39.2	13.4	12.4	0.0	15.5	19.6
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION IN 1861	29.9	14.3	17.9	4.5	19.6	13.8

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Half-Yearly Reports - 1855 to 1860
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 56
NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF
LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1855 TO 1860

	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
NUMBER	33	18	39	6	1	2
PERCENT	33.0	18.2	39.4	6.1	1.0	2.0
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION IN 1861	18.9	8.6	18.6	45.0	6.2	2.7

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Half-yearly Reports - 1855 to 1860
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 57

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY SOCIAL CLASS, 1855 TO 1860

CLASS	UPPER CLASS			MIDDLE CLASS		LOWER CLASS		UNCLASSSED
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY								
NUMBER	32	48	10		1	8		
PERCENT	32.3	48.5	10.1		1.0	8.1		
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION IN 1861	5.5	61.1		25.6		2.6		

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Half-Yearly Reports - 1855 to 1860
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 58

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS
OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR, 1855 TO 1860

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
FARMER (20)	AGENT (3)	INNKEEPER (4)	BUILDER (2)	BISHOP (1)	GENTLEMAN (6)
	BANKER (2)		CARPENTER (1)	CLERGY (1)	HOUSEWIFE (2)
	BROKER (1)		DRUGGIST (2)	DOCTOR (2)	LABOURER (2)
	CLERK (1)		ENGINEER (1)	EDITOR (1)	NOT GIVEN (6)
	COMPANY MANAGER (1)		GROCCER (1)	GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (6)	
	MERCHANT (15)		PAINTER (7)	LAWYER (4)	
	SALESMAN (1)		PLOUGHMAKER	TEACHER (4)	
	STAGEOWNER (1)		SHOEMAKER (2)		
			TAILOR (2)		
			TANNER (2)		
			TINSMITH (1)		
			WAGONMAKER (1)		
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION					
20.2	26.3	4.0	16.5	17.2	16.2
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON			HOUSEHOLD	HEADS WITH	OCCUPATION
1.3	16.2	17.5	47.6	6.0	11.3

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Half-Yearly Reports - 1855 to 1860
Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 59

ATTENDANCE RATES FOR LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS
BY YEAR, DAYS ATTENDED, AND PERCENT AVERAGE ATTENDANCE,
1855 TO 1860

YEAR	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	TOTAL NUMBER OF DAYS ATTENDED	AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS ATTENDED	PERCENT AVERAGE ATTENDANCE
1855 JAN-JUN	75	117	50	42.7
JUL-DEC	50	94	38	40.4
1856	75	206	88	42.7
1857	79	214	75	35.0
1858	60	213	66	31.0
1859	70	213	71	33.3
1860	58	212	59	27.8

Source: London Grammar School Trustees Annual & Half-Yearly Returns - 1855 to 1860.

TABLE 60

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON COMMON SCHOOL STUDENTS
BY AGE AND SEX, AND LONDON POPULATION TOTALS, 1850 TO 1860

YEAR	LONDON POPULATION	CHILDREN 5 TO 16	PUPILS 5 TO 16	CHILDREN 5 TO 16 IN SCHOOL	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS	TOTAL NUMBER OF MALE PUPILS	TOTAL NUMBER OF FEMALE PUPILS
1850	5 124	1 583 ^b	598 ^a	38%	598	331	267
1851	N.D.	1 789	1 143	64%	1 157	703	454
1852	7 035	1 800	1 587	88%	1 617	863	754
1853	10 000	3 000 ^c	1 599	53%	1 640	877	763
1854	10 060	3 000 ^d	1 577 ^e	53%	1 600	892	708
1855	15 000	3 600 ^f	1 795	50%	1 823	1 104	719
1856	15 267	3 500	2 192	63%	2 229	1 227	1 002
1857	16 000	3 524	2 704	77%	2 737	1 497	1 240
1858	17 000	3 642	2 789	77%	2 833	1 503	1 330
1859	16 000	3 555	2 664	75%	2 739	1 452	1 287
1860	11 581	2 987	2 678	90%	2 719	1 473	1 246

^a Total number of children of all ages in school.

^b School population 5 to 21.

^c No data given on the ARBCST. The 3000 figure must be an estimated one.

^d No data given on the ARBCST. The 3000 figure must be an estimated one.

^e Includes 14 non-resident pupils.

^f ARBCST for 1855 records only 3200 children between the ages of 5 and 16; therefore 56% of this group were enrolled in school.

Sources: Provincial Annual Reports - 1850 to 1860. The reports from 1858 to 1860 include common and separate school data.
ARBCST

Census of Canada - 1852, 1861.

TABLE 61

NUMBER OF GRAMMAR & PRIVATE SCHOOLS, AND PUPILS FOR LONDON,
1850 TO 1860^a

YEAR	GRAMMAR SCHOOL		PRIVATE SCHOOLS		TOTAL SCHOOLS	
	NUMBER	PUPILS	NUMBER	PUPILS	NUMBER	PUPILS
1850	1	55	1	20	2	75
1851	1	54	--	--	1	54
1852	1	50	--	--	1	50
1853	1	48	--	--	1	48
1854	1	87	5 ^b	200	6	287
1855	1	87	4	593 ^c	5	680
1856	1	75	5	118 ^d	6	193
1857	1	79	5 ^e	277	6	356
1858	1	60	3	341	4	401
1859	1	70	4	120	5	190
1860	1	58	4	130	5	188

^a Private schools includes academies.

^b ARBCST for 1854 shows 5 private schools but gives no enrollment total.

^c ARBCST for 1855 lists 523 pupils.

^d ARBCST for 1856 records only 4 private schools but lists 265 students.

^e ARBCST for 1857 registers 1 private academy and 2 private schools with 213 students. In a side note, however, Hamilton Hunter, the local superintendent, observes that the number of children not attending school can be "reduced by about 250 scholars who have attended the Roman Catholic and two or three small female schools from which we can get no returns."

Source: Provincial Annual Reports - 1850 to 1860.

TABLE 62

NAMES OF PRIVATE SCHOOL TEACHERS IN LONDON, 1853 TO 1860

YEAR	GIRLS' SCHOOLS	MIXED/UNKNOWN SCHOOLS	BOYS' SCHOOLS
1853	Misses Corrigan, Miss Edmond, Mrs Stevens	Miss Wilkinson	Mr Watson, David Watson
1854	Misses Corrigan	CCSS, St. Paul's, Miss Wilkinson	Mr Watson, David Watson
1855	Ladies of Loretto, Mrs Lawrie, Misses Busby, Mrs/Miss Stevens	CCSS, Mrs Moore, St. Paul's, Miss Wilkinson	Mr Alexander Luke, Mr Deadman, Mr McDonald, Mr Charles P. Watson
1856	Ladies of Loretto, Mrs Bristow/Miss Andrews, Mrs/Miss Stevens, Mrs Moncrieff, Misses Busby, Misses Robinson, Sisters of Providence	Miss/Mrs Kesseeck, CCSS, Mr W.H. Tregueur, Mr John McLaren, Misses Robinson, Miss Birt, Mr Henry Haacke, Mrs Irwin, Miss Ivans, Miss Grace Hayden, Miss Sullivan, Mrs Denny, Mrs Moore, Mrs McKay, Mr William T. Erith, Mr Michael Cronican, Mr Rudolph Bretzell, Mr Charles Holland, St. Paul's	Mr Alexander Luke, Mr McDonald, Mr Charles P. Watson, Mr Deadman, Mr Moncrieff
1857	Sisters of Providence, Misses Walker, Mount Hope, Mrs Moncrieff, Mrs/Miss Stevens, Mrs Bristow/Miss Andrews	Mr Charles Holland, Miss Grace Hayden, Mr William T. Erith, Miss Sullivan, Mrs McKay, Mr John McLaren, CCSS, Miss/Mrs Kesseeck, Mr Henry Haacke, Miss Birt, Misses Robinson, Mr Rudolph Bretzell, Mr W.H. Tregueur, Misses McKinnon, St. Peters, Miss Ivans, Mr Michael Cronicon, Mrs Irwin, Mrs Denny, St. Paul's	Mr Charles P. Watson, Mr Alexander Luke, Mr McDonald, Professor McGauley
1858	Mrs Beddome, Mount Hope, Sisters of Providence, Mrs J.T. Mercer, Mrs Shaw, Mrs Holmes/Miss Lawford	Mr Charles P. Watson, CCSS	Professor McGauley, Mr C.J.D. Trenchard

YEAR	GIRLS' SCHOOLS	MIXED/UNKNOWN SCHOOLS	BOYS' SCHOOLS
1859	Mrs Beddome, Mount Hope, Mrs Holmes/Miss Lawford	Mr Charles P. Watson, CCSS	Professor McGauley?
1860	Mrs Beddome, Mount Hope, Mrs Holmes/Miss Lawford	Mr Charles P. Watson	Evening School, Mr James C. Thompson, Mr Luard

Sources: London Newspapers - 1853 to 1860
 ARBCST - 1853 to 1860
 Annual Reports of the Board of Roman Catholic Separate School Trustees -
 1858 to 1860
 London City Directory - 1856-57.

TABLE 63

NAMES OF SCHOOL SUPPORTERS WHO FORMED THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARD
BY WARD, OCCUPATION AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH AND STATUS, 1858

WARD	NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN OR BIRTH	STATUS
1	JAMES BURNS	BLACKSMITH	IRELAND	CALLED
	PATRICK SPILLING			CALLED
	MICHEL MURRAY	LABOURER	IRELAND	CALLED
	JOHN MCCARTHY	LABOURER	IRELAND	CALLED
	EDWARD MURPHY	BOOT/SHOEMAKER	IRELAND	ELECTED
	PATRICK MCKUTTRICK	MERCHANT TAILOR		ELECTED
	JOHN E. MURPHY	ACCOUNTANT	IRELAND	ELECTED
	JAMES DOYLE	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN RUDY	CARTER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	MATHEW MAHONEY			SIGNATORY
	JOHN MAHONEY	LABOURER		SIGNATORY
	JOHN CARTY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN KELIMHER			SIGNATORY
	PATRICK SPEARMAN	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
JAMES MURRAY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY	
WILLIAM FENNELL	LABOURER		SIGNATORY	
JAMES GLEASON	LABOURER OR BLACKSMITH	IRELAND	SIGNATORY	
2	EDWARD HILLAN	ACCOUNTANT		CALLED
	PHILLIP MCCANN	FURRIER	IRELAND	CALLED

WARD	NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN OR BIRTH	STATUS
2	JOHN WELSH	LABOURER	IRELAND	CALLED
	JOHN REDMOND	LABOURER		CALLED
	JOHN CRUNICAN	SHOEMAKER		CALLED
	STEPHEN O'NEARA	INNKEEPER	IRELAND	CALLED
	CHARLES COLOVIN	MERCHANT	IRELAND	ELECTED
	HENRY CASSIDY	MERCHANT	SCOTLAND	ELECTED
	JAMES EGAN	ARTIST	IRELAND	ELECTED
	MAURICE KIELY	GENUPEMAN		SIGNATORY
	WILLIAM DARBY	TAILOR		SIGNATORY
	JAMES HEVEY	SHOPKEEPER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	THOMAS COLLISON	MERCHANT	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN SCANLAN	LANDING WALTER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	THOMAS O'BRIEN	LAW STUDENT	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JAMES GRAY	LABOURER		SIGNATORY
	JOHN LOGAN	MOULDER		SIGNATORY
	PATRICK COFFEY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	MARTIN QUINN		IRELAND	SIGNATORY
MARTIN MCNAMARA	BLACKSMITH OR GROCER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY	
HUGH O'NEARA	MERCHANT		SIGNATORY	
HENRY BRUNSTEAD	PATTERN FITTER (FOUNDRY)	SCANDINAVIA	SIGNATORY	
PETER BURKE	PROPRIETOR	IRELAND	SIGNATORY	
3	PATRICK SMYTH			CALLED
	JOHN WRIGHT	CARPENTER	IRELAND	CALLED

WARD	NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN OR BIRTH	STATUS
3	FRANCIS O'CONNOR	SHOEMAKER		CALLED
	JOHN MCGUINNESS	HOTEL KEEPER		ELECTED
	JOHN SCANLAN	GENTLEMAN	IRELAND	ELECTED
	JOHN KEARNS	MARKET CLERK	IRELAND	ELECTED
	DENIS MCCARTHY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	PATRICK O'BYRNE	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	J.P. O'BYRNE	CARPENTER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	ROBERT SIMPLE	WEAVER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	NICHEAL KENNEDY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN JOHNSTON			SIGNATORY
	THOMAS HOWARD	GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN KEAN			SIGNATORY
	JOHN GILFOY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	MATHIES MULLIGAN	BAR KEEPER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	PHILIP HART	HOTEL KEEPER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	MARTIN DURKIN	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	MARTIN FARRELL		IRELAND?	SIGNATORY
	DENIS HOWE	LABOURER		SIGNATORY
	JOHN WARD	TAILOR	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	WILLIAM MONAHAN	SERVANT	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
FRANCIS HERBERT			SIGNATORY	
NICHEAL MCULLIFFE		IRELAND	SIGNATORY	
JOHN ORANGE	TAILOR	IRELAND	SIGNATORY	

WARD	NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN OR BIRTH	STATUS
4	RICHARD O'BRIEN	BAKER		CALLED
	JEREMIAH MCAULIEFF	INNKEEPER	IRELAND	CALLED
	MICHEAL HOUGH	LABOURER		CALLED
	JAMES FITZGIBBIN	BAKER	IRELAND	CALLED
	JOHN MCCUE	INNKEEPER	IRELAND	ELECTED
	TIMOTHY GLEESON			ELECTED
	JOHN TAMLIN			ELECTED
	WILLIAM DALTON	FLOUR DEALER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	MICHAEL DELANY	COOPER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	FRANCIS MCLEGG			SIGNATORY
	MICHEAL O'BRIEN			SIGNATORY
	MICHEAL CONNER	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	5	VALENTINE H. BYRON	MESSENGER	ENGLAND
EUGENE FINN		SURGEON		CALLED
ROBERT CARTY		LABOURER	IRELAND	CALLED
SAMUEL CARTY		SALOONKEEPER		ELECTED
JOHN LYNCH SR.		TAILOR	IRELAND	ELECTED
CHARLES CROOKALL		BOOKKEEPER	ENGLAND	ELECTED
PATRICK MCHUGH		GROCER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
JAMES REID JR.		CARPENTER	SCOTLAND	SIGNATORY
JAMES McDONOUGH		LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
PHILIP CONNOR		CARPENTER		SIGNATORY
JOHN J. MCINDLE		JOINER		SIGNATORY

WARD	NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN OR BIRTH	STATUS
5	ANGUS MCKINNON	LABOURER*	SCOTLAND	SIGNATORY
	JAMES McDONALD	YEOMAN		SIGNATORY
6	DENIS DRISCOLE	LABOURER	IRELAND	CALLED
	JOHN MCCAFFERY	LABOURER		CALLED
	JAMES FINNIGAN	LABOURER	IRELAND	CALLED
	JOHN MCLEAN	LABOURER	SCOTLAND	CALLED
	JOHN KAVANAGH	LABOURER	IRELAND	ELECTED
	MICHAEL MCCORMACK	TALLOW CHANDLER	IRELAND	ELECTED
	PATRICK MCLOUGHLIN	MOULDER		ELECTED
	TIMOTHY SHEA	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	WILLIAM MCNAMARA	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN KILMARTIN	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JAMES MCKENNA	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	CHARLES DONNELLY	DAIRYMAN		SIGNATORY
	EDWARD GLEESON	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	PATRICK BROPHY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
7	CORNELIUS RIELY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	PATRICK DELANEY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN BARTLEY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	J. MICHAEL WALSH	LABOURER	IRELAND	CALLED
	DENIS BRENNAN	LABOURER	IRELAND	CALLED
	JOHN QUIGLEY	LABOURER	IRELAND	CALLED
	JAMES COLLINS	LABOURER		CALLED
				5
				4

WARD	NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN OR BIRTH	STATUS
7	JAMES GRAHAM	LABOURER		ELECTED
	GEORGE HAMMILL	CLERK	SCOTLAND	ELECTED
	TIMOTHY O'MEARA	GARDENER	IRELAND	ELECTED
	JOHN COLLINS	TAILOR	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	MICHAEL BEATTIE	GARDENER*		SIGNATORY
	EDWARD BOW	LABOURER*	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN HALL	LABOURER	ENGLAND	SIGNATORY
	PATRICK BRENNAN	LABOURER*	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	PATRICK O'MEARA	CONTRACTOR	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN O'MEARA	LABOURER*	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	JOHN ROURKE	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	DENIS MCLOUGHLIN	LABOURER*	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	PATRICK HAWKINS	LABOURER*		SIGNATORY
	TIMOTHY TOOHEY	LABOURER*	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
	MICHAEL GRACE	LABOURER*		SIGNATORY
	PATRICK TOOHEY	LABOURER*	IRELAND	SIGNATORY
PATRICK TOOHEY	LABOURER	IRELAND	SIGNATORY	
RODGER CLANCY	LABOURER*	IRELAND	SIGNATORY	
PATRICK MCGILL	LABOURER*	IRELAND	SIGNATORY	

* Signed signature with an X.

Sources: Petition to establish Roman Catholic Separate School in London - 1858
Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 64

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SCHOOL SUPPORTERS,
BY SOCIAL CLASS, JANUARY, 1858

UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS			LOWER CLASS		UNCLASSED
	ACCOUNTANT (2)	BAKER (2)	LABOURER (55)	CARTER (1)	LAW STUDENT (1)	
MERCHANT (4)	ARTIST (1)	BLACKSMITH (1)	GARDENER (2)		NOT GIVEN (17)	
PROPRIETOR (1)	BOOKKEEPER (1)	CARPENTER (5)	LANDING WAITER (1)		PENSIONER (2)	
SURGEON (1)	CLERK (2)	COOPER (1)	MESSENGER (1)		SERVANT (1)	
	CONTRACTOR (1)	DEALER (1)	WEAVER (1)			
	DAIRYMAN (1)	MOULDER (2)				
	FURRIER (1)	PATTERNFITTER (1)				
	GOV'T EMPLOYEE (1)	SHOEMAKER (3)				
	GROCCER (1)	TAILOR (6)				
	HOTELKEEPER (2)	TALLOW CHANDLER (1)				
	INNKEEPER (3)					
	SALOONKEEPER (1)					
	SHOPKEEPER (1)					
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION						
6.1	14.4	17.4	4.5	41.7	15.9	

Sources: Petition to establish Roman Catholic Separate School in London - 1858
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 65

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SCHOOL SUPPORTERS,
BY OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR, JANUARY, 1858

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
DAIRYMAN (1)	ACCOUNTANT (2)	HOTELKEEPER (2)	BAKER (2)	ARTIST (1)	CONTRACTOR (1)
GARDENER (2)	BOOKKEEPER (1)	INNKEEPER (4)	BLACKSMITH (1)	GOV'T EMPLOYEE (1)	GENTLEMAN (2)
YEOMAN (1)	CARTER (1)	LANDING WAITER (1)	CARPENTER (5)	LAW STUDENT (4)	LABOURER (55)
	CLERK (2)	SALOONKEEPER (1)	COOPER (1)	SURGEON (4)	MESSENGER (1)
	DEALER (1)	SERVANT (1)	FURRIER (1)		NOT GIVEN (17)
	MERCHANT (4)		GROCER (1)		PENSIONER (2)
	PROPRIETOR (1)		MOULDER (2)		
	SHOPKEEPER (1)		PATTERNFITTER (1)		
			SHOEMAKER (3)		
			TAILOR (6)		
			TALLOW CHANDLER (1)		
			WEAVER (1)		
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION					
2.2	9.8	6.1	18.9	2.2	59.1

Sources: Petition to establish Roman Catholic Separate School in London - 1858
Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 66

SCHOOL MONIES APPROPRIATED FOR LONDON COMMON AND ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SCHOOLS,
BY SOURCE, AMOUNT, NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS, 1858 TO 1860

YEAR	SCHOOL TYPE	PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE GRANT	LOCAL SOURCES		TOTAL AMOUNT RECEIVED	AMOUNT PAID TEACHERS	TOTAL NUMBER SCHOOLS	TOTAL NUMBER TEACHERS
			MUNICIPAL ASSESSMENT	OTHER SOURCES				
1858	COMMON	1 440.00	9 991.98	55.00 ^a	11 486.98	6 870.78	4	18
	SEPARATE	151.45	261.00	451.90	864.35	356.00	2	8
1859	COMMON	1 383.00	8 000.00	--b	8 000.00	7 590.00	5	20
	SEPARATE	146.00	393.91	198.20	738.11	479.20	2	3
1860	COMMON	1 346.00	8 000.00	17.08 ^c	8 017.08	6 650.97	5	20
	SEPARATE	147.00	483.00	238.99	875.24	678.00	1	3

^a Does not include the balance from the previous year's funds (\$4633.71).

^b Does not include the balance from the previous year's funds (\$6142.95).

^c Does not include the balance from the previous year's funds (\$4552.32).

Sources: ARBCST and Separate School Trustees.

TABLE 67

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON COMMON AND SEPARATE SCHOOL STUDENTS
IN READING CLASSES (BOOKS 1 TO 5 - NATIONAL READERS), 1858 TO 1860

YEAR	BOOK 1	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 2	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 3	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 4	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 5	% OF TOTAL	TOTAL NUMBER PUPILS	TOTAL PUPILS ENROLLED
1858 COMMON	653	26.8	410	16.8	678	27.8	325	13.3	369	15.2	2435	2458
SEPARATE	62	17.9	63	18.2	86	24.9	93	26.9	42	12.1	346	374
1859 COMMON	658	28.2	472	20.2	651	27.9	316	13.5	239	10.2	2336	2336
SEPARATE	126	31.3	74	18.4	95	23.6	58	14.4	50	12.4	403	403
1860 COMMON	659	28.6	426	18.5	672	29.2	290	12.6	254	11.0	2301	2301
SEPARATE	189	45.2	82	19.6	68	16.3	--	0.0	79	18.9	418	418

Sources: ARBCST
Provincial Annual Reports.

TABLE 68

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON COMMON AND SEPARATE SCHOOL STUDENTS
BY SUBJECT OF INSTRUCTION, 1858 TO 1860

YEAR	SCHOOL TYPE	ARITHMETIC %	GRAMMAR %	GENERAL GEOGRAPHY %	CANADIAN GEOGRAPHY & HISTORY %	HISTORY %	WRITING %	BOOK KEEPING %	MEASUREMENT %	ALGEBRA %	GEOMETRY %	NATURAL PHILOSOPHY %	VOCAL MUSIC %	LINEAR DRAWING %	OTHER %	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
1858	COMMON	52.0	48.7	52.0	11.8	13.2	52.0	2.0	5.4	17.7	1.6	4.6	56.9	42.5	5.2	2459
	SEPARATE	65.0	42.0	9.6	0.0	21.9	59.6	0.5	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	374
1859	COMMON	64.5	51.6	100	64.5	20.3	71.8	2.1	8.0	16.4	2.7	3.4	0.0	8.0	23.4	2336
	SEPARATE	100	29.5	24.1	0.0	18.9	100	2.5	1.0	1.7	2.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	403
1860	COMMON	71.4	52.8	100	52.8	55.2	71.4	1.5	7.3	14.0	3.1	11.0	17.6	17.6	18.4	2301
	SEPARATE	48.1	24.2	25.8	25.8	0.0	48.1	2.9	0.7	1.4	2.4	0.0	10.8	0.0	13.4	418

Sources: ARBCST
Provincial Annual Reports.

TABLE 69

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS
 ATTENDING LONDON'S COMMON AND ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SCHOOLS,
 BY NUMBER OF DAYS IN ATTENDANCE, 1858 TO 1860*

YEAR	DAYS IN ATTENDANCE											TOTAL NUMBER PUPILS	
	<20 DAYS	% OF TOTAL	20- 50 DAYS	% OF TOTAL	50- 100 DAYS	% OF TOTAL	100- 150 DAYS	% OF TOTAL	150- 200 DAYS	% OF TOTAL	>200 DAYS		% OF TOTAL
1858 COMMON	158	6.4	229	9.3	335	13.6	318	12.9	437	17.8	981	40.0	2458
SEPARATE	75	20.1	168	44.9	56	15.0	35	9.4	31	8.3	9	2.4	374
1859 COMMON	121	5.2	215	9.2	343	14.7	289	12.4	291	12.5	1077	46.1	2336
SEPARATE	63	15.6	79	19.6	64	15.9	96	23.8	84	20.8	17	4.2	403
1860 COMMON	164	7.1	199	8.6	345	15.0	272	11.8	291	12.6	1030	44.8	2301
SEPARATE	63	15.1	45	10.8	98	23.4	120	28.7	92	22.0	--	0.0	418

* No pupil was counted twice in these columns.

Sources: ARBCST
 Provincial Annual Reports.

TABLE 70
 NAMES OF LONDON COMMON SCHOOL TRUSTEES, BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1853 TO 1860

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1853	JAMES DANIELL ^c	LAWYER	PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND
	JOHN CARLING	BREWER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	ELLIS HYMAN	TANNER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	GERMANY
	JAMES P. MOFFATT	MILITIA OFFICIAL	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	ROBERT ABERNETHY	BLACKSMITH	PROTESTANT	ENGLAND
	GEORGE OLIVER		METHODIST	
	WILLIAM DARBY	TAILOR	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	JAMES DANIELL ^c	LAWYER	PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND
	JOHN CARLING	BREWER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
1854	ROBERT HENRATTY			
	GEORGE G. MAGEE	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
	ROBERT SCOTT	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	JAMES P. MOFFATT	MILITIA OFFICIAL	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	BENJAMIN NASH	HARNESSE MAKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	JOHN WARD?	SHOEMAKER	PROTESTANT	ENGLAND
	GEORGE G. MAGEE ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
	ROBERT ABERNETHY	BLACKSMITH	PROTESTANT	ENGLAND
	JOHN HUNTER	LABOURER	PROTESTANT	IRELAND
1855	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	JOHN WILSON	?		
	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	DEALER	METHODIST	IRELAND
	SAMUEL MCBRIDE	TINSMITH	METHODIST	IRELAND

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1855	ALEXANDER LOWRIE	COACH BUILDER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
1856	GEORGE G. MAGEE ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	DEALER	METHODIST	IRELAND
	ROBERT SCOTT	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	J. W. KERNOTT	?		
	GEORGE FITZGERALD	CARPENTER	METHODIST	
	WILLIAM STARR	MILITIA OFFICIAL	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	ROBERT ABERNATHY	BLACKSMITH	PROTESTANT	ENGLAND
	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	JOHN WILSON	?		
	SAMUEL MERRIDE	TINSMITH	METHODIST	IRELAND
	ALEXANDER LOWRIE	COACH BUILDER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	HENDERSON?			
	RICHARD DINAHAN	LABOURER	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	JOHN HUNTER	LABOURER	PROTESTANT	IRELAND
	DAVID CHAMBERS	BOOK KEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND
1857	GEORGE G. MAGEE ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
	GEORGE RAILTON	ACCOUNTANT		
	GEORGE FITZGERALD	CARPENTER	METHODIST	
	DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	BENJAMIN NASH	HARNES MAKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	PETER SCHRAM	CLERK		SCOTLAND
	EVANS			
	ROBERT SCOTT	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1857	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	DEALER	METHODIST	IRELAND
1858	GEORGE G. MAGEE ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
	ROBERT SCOTT	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	THOMAS W. SHEPHERD	AUCTIONEER		
	PETER SCHRAM	CLERK		SCOTLAND
	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	DEALER	METHODIST	IRELAND
	DAVID SMITH			
	DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	WILLIAM STARR	MILITIA OFFICIAL	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	ROBERT ABERNETHY	BLACKSMITH	PROTESTANT	ENGLAND
	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	JOHN WILSON	?		
1859	GEORGE G. MAGEE ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
	PETER SCHRAM	CLERK		SCOTLAND
	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	ROBERT ABERNETHY	BLACKSMITH	PROTESTANT	ENGLAND
	JOHN WILSON	?		
	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	ALEXANDER LOWRIE	COACH BUILDER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	THOMAS WEBB	SHOEMAKER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND?	ENGLAND?
	JOHN HUNTER	LABOURER	PROTESTANT	IRELAND
	DAVID SMITH	?		
	WILLIAM STARK	MILITIA OFFICIAL	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND

YEAR	NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1859	ROBERT SCOTT	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	ALFRED G. SMYTH	BROKER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
1860	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	DEALER	METHODIST	IRELAND
	THOMAS WEBB	SHOEMAKER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND?	ENGLAND?
	JOHN HUNTER	LABOURER	PROTESTANT	IRELAND
	ROBERT SCOTT	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	ALEXANDER LOWRIE	COACH BUILDER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	PETER SCHRAM	CLERK		SCOTLAND
	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	RICHARD WIGNORE	CARPENTER	METHODIST	IRELAND
	B. SMITH			
	MCGAULEY	PROFESSOR		IRELAND
	A.G. SMYTH	BROKER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	DEALER	METHODIST	IRELAND	
GEORGE G. MAGEE ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND	
WILLIAM MCBRIDE	BROKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND	

^c Chairman

Sources: London Board Minutes

ARBCST

London Free Press

Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871

London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 71
 NAMES OF LONDON COUNCILLORS BY WARD, OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH,
 1853 TO 1860

YEAR	WARD	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
TOWN					
1853	ST. PATRICK	MURRAY ANDERSON	TINSMITH	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		JAMES OLIVER	SHOEMAKER	METHODIST	IRELAND
		EDWARD ADAMS ^a	GROCCER		
		THOMAS CARLING	YEOMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	ST. GEORGE	WILLIAM BARKER ^r	CLERK/AGENT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		J.C. NEREDITH	CLERK	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	ST. ANDREW	MARCUS HOLMES ^d	BLACKSMITH	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		JAMES COUSINS	MERCHANT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
ST. DAVID	ELLIS HYMAN	TANNER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	GERMANY	
	JOHN SCANLAN	PROPRIETOR	ROMAN CATHOLIC	ENGLAND	
ST. PATRICK	PETER SCHRAM	CLERK	METHODIST	SCOTLAND	
	JAMES DANIELL	LAWYER	PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND	
1854	ST. PATRICK	MURRAY ANDERSON ^d	TINSMITH	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		ELIJAH LEONARD	FOUNDER	PRESBYTERIAN	ENGLAND
	EDWARD ADAMS	GROCCER			
	ST. GEORGE	THOMAS CARLING	YEOMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		WILLIAM BARKER ^r	CLERK/AGENT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	ST. ANDREW	ROBERT WILSON	AUCTIONEER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		MARCUS HOLMES ^m	BLACKSMITH	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
	ST. DAVID	JAMES COUSINS	MERCHANT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
ELLIS HYMAN		TANNER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	GERMANY	
ST. DAVID	JAMES MOFFATT	MILITIP OFFICIAL	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND	
	JOHN BLAIR	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND	
	JOHN CLEGG	MILLWRIGHT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND	

YEAR	WARD	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
CITY					
1855	1	PETER SCHRAM JAMES MOFFATT JOHN BLAIR BARNABAS WHEELER	CLERK MILITIA OFFICIAL CARPENTER SHOEMAKER	METHODIST PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN METHODIST	SCOTLAND SCOTLAND IRELAND ENGLAND
	2	MURRAY ANDERSON* ELIJAH LEONARD WILLIAM MCBRIDE GEORGE M. GUNN	TINSMITH FOUNDER BROKER MERCHANT	METHODIST PRESBYTERIAN METHODIST METHODIST	ENGLAND ENGLAND ENGLAND SCOTLAND
	3	JAMES DANIELL JOSEPH GIBBONS ARTHUR WALLACE JOHN CLEGG	LAWYER SADDLER CONTRACTOR MILLWRIGHT	PRESBYTERIAN METHODIST CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND IRELAND IRELAND IRELAND
	4	ROBERT ABERNATHY J.W. KERMOTT FRANK SMITH DAVID GLASS	BLACKSMITH ? GROCER LAW STUDENT	PROTESTANT CHURCH OF ENGLAND? METHODIST	IRELAND? IRELAND
	5	DANIEL LESTER GEORGE G. MAGSE THOMAS CARTER ROBERT SMITH	GROCER MERCHANT HOTELKEEPER FOUNDER	PRESBYTERIAN METHODIST CHURCH OF ENGLAND METHODIST	IRELAND IRELAND IRELAND ENGLAND
	6	JOHN CARLING THOMAS PEEL WILLIAM GLEN PAUL PHIPPS	BREWER MERCHANT GROCER CONTRACTOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN? METHODIST	ENGLAND IRELAND SCOTLAND? ENGLAND
	7	WILLIAM BARKER WILLIAM DARBY ROBINSON ORR JOHN WELLS	CLERK/AGENT TAILOR WAGONMAKER	ROMAN CATHOLIC PRESBYTERIAN PROTESTANT	ENGLAND IRELAND IRELAND CANADA
1856	1	PETER SCHRAM JAMES MOFFATT JOHN BLAIR RICHARD S. TALBOT	CLERK MILITIA OFFICIAL CARPENTER CONVEYANCER	METHODIST PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND	SCOTLAND SCOTLAND IRELAND IRELAND

YEAR	WARD	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1856	2	ELIJAH LEONARD WILLIAM MCBRIDE SAMUEL MCBRIDE JOHN O'NEIL	FOUNDER BROKER TINSMITH GENTLEMAN/LAWYER?	PRESBYTERIAN METHODIST METHODIST ROMAN CATHOLIC?	ENGLAND ENGLAND IRELAND IRELAND
	4	FRANCIS SMITH J.W. KERMOTT WILLIAM GLASS WILLIAM T. KIELY	GROCER ? SHERIFF STAGE PROPRIETOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND? METHODIST ROMAN CATHOLIC?	IRELAND? IRELAND IRELAND?
	6	JOHN CARLING THOMAS PEEL PAUL PHIPPS EDWARD GARRATT	BREWER MERCHANT CONTRACTOR BUILDER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND METHODIST METHODIST	ENGLAND IRELAND ENGLAND ENGLAND
	1	JAMES MOFFATT JAMES M. COUSINS JOHN BLAIR GEORGE TAYLOR	MILITIA OFFICIAL MERCHANT CARPENTER BRICKLAYER	PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND	SCOTLAND ENGLAND IRELAND ENGLAND
2					
1857					

YEAR	WARD	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1857	3	MARCUS HOLMES	BLACKSMITH	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		DAVID GLASS	LAW STUDENT	METHODIST	IRELAND
		JOHN A. ARNOLD JAMES DURAND	SHOEMAKER CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	4	FRANCIS SMITH	GROCCER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND?	IRELAND?
		ROBERT ABERNATHY WILLIAM GLASS WILLIAM T. KIELY	BLACKSMITH SHERIFF STAGE PROPRIETOR	PROTESTANT METHODIST ROMAN CATHOLIC?	IRELAND IRELAND IRELAND?
	5	DANIEL LESTER HAMILTON HUNTER ROBERT SMITH WILLIAM DOTY	GROCCER PUBLISHER FOUNDER ?	PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND METHODIST	IRELAND IRELAND ENGLAND
	6	JOHN CARLING	BREWER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
EDWARD GARRATT PAUL PHIPPS GEORGE FITZGERALD		BUILDER CONTRACTOR CARPENTER	METHODIST CHURCH OF ENGLAND?	ENGLAND ENGLAND	
7	SAMUEL STANSFIELD	AUCTIONEER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND	
	P.G. NORRIS JOHN ROSS RICHARD THOMPSON	LAWYER GENTLEMAN/CLERK DEALER	ROMAN CATHOLIC PRESBYTERIAN METHODIST	IRELAND SCOTLAND ENGLAND	
1858	1	JAMES M. COUSINS	MERCHANT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		JOHN BLAIR BARNABAS WHEELER ROBERT GUNN	CARPENTER SHOEMAKER CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN METHODIST METHODIST	IRELAND ENGLAND ENGLAND IRELAND
	2	MURRAY ANDERSON	TINSMITH	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		WILLIAM MCBRIDE	BROKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		SAMUEL MCBRIDE JOHN O'NEIL	TINSMITH GENTLEMAN/LAWYER?	METHODIST ROMAN CATHOLIC?	IRELAND IRELAND
3	MARCUS HOLMES DAVID GLASS* JOHN COUSINS JAMES DURAND	BLACKSMITH LAW STUDENT BLACKSMITH CARPENTER	CONGREGATIONAL METHODIST PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN	ENGLAND IRELAND IRELAND SCOTLAND	

YEAR	WARD	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1858	4	FRANCIS SMITH	GROSER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND?	IRELAND?
		JOHN GRIFFITH	ARTIST	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	JAMES H. FLOCK	MERCHANT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND	
	CHARLES PRIDDIS				
	5	ROBERT SMITH	FOUNDER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		HENRY ROOTS	DEALER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	6	WILLIAM DOTY	BAILIFF	PROTESTANT	CANADA
BROCK STEVENS					
EDWARD GARRATT		BUILDER	METHODIST	ENGLAND	
7	PAUL PHIPPS	CONTRACTOR	METHODIST	ENGLAND	
	WADE OWEN	BUILDER	METHODIST	ENGLAND	
	RICHARD F. MATHEWS	CARPENTER	METHODIST	IRELAND	
				IRELAND	
1859	1	P.G. NORRIS	LAWYER	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
		FRANCIS E. CORNISH	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		THOMAS PARTRIDGE JR	LAWYER	PROTESTANT	ENGLAND
		MARTIN MACNAMARA	BLACKSMITH	ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND
	2	JAMES MOFFATT	MILITIA OFFICIAL	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.I. MACKENZIE	CARPENTER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
	3	CHARLES STEAD	PAINTER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		JOHN BONSER			
		SAMUEL MCBRIDE	TINSMITH	METHODIST	IRELAND
	4	WILLIAM BEGG	SHOEMAKER	CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	SCOTLAND
J.K. BROWN		MERCHANT	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND	
3	JAMES GILLEAN	BOOK SELLER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND?	ENGLAND?	
	T.H. BUCKLEY	GROSER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND	
4	B.A. MITCHELL	DRUGGIST	ROMAN CATHOLIC	SCOTLAND	
	JAMES REID	COOPER	METHODIST	SCOTLAND	
	DAVID HUGHES	GENTLEMAN		WALES	
4	W.S. SMITH	MERCHANT	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND	
	JAMES H. FLOCK	MERCHANT	CONGREGATIONAL	CANADA	
		ALEXANDER HAMILTON	BAPTIST?	ENGLAND?	
		ARIEL TOUSELEY			

YEAR	WARD	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1859	5	ROBERT SMITH	FOUNDER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		GEORGE WEBSTER	MERCHANT	METHODIST	U.S.A.
		DUGALD MCPHERSON JESSE RAPLEY	CARPENTER TEAMSTER	PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND	SCOTLAND ENGLAND
1860	6	EDWARD GARRATT	BUILDER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		PAUL PHIPPS WADE OWEN	CONTRACTOR BUILDER	METHODIST	ENGLAND IRELAND
		JOHN CHRISTIE	CARPENTER	METHODIST	IRELAND
1860	7	FRANCIS E. CORNISH	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		THOMAS PARTRIDGE JR	LAWYER	PROTESTANT	ENGLAND
		MARTIN MACNAMARA THOMAS O'BRIEN	BLACKSMITH TEAMSTER	ROMAN CATHOLIC ROMAN CATHOLIC	IRELAND IRELAND
1860	1	J. I. MACKENZIE	?	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		HARLES STEAD	CARPENTER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		MARNABAS WHEELER A. CAMPBELL	SHOEMAKER ?		
1860	2	SAMUEL MCBRIDE	TINSMITH	METHODIST	IRELAND
		WILLIAM BEGG	SHOEMAKER	CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	SCOTLAND
		WILLIAM POPE JAMES GILLEAN	BUILDER BOOK SELLER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN	ENGLAND SCOTLAND
1860	3	T.H. BUCKLEY	GROCCER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND?	ENGLAND?
		CALVIN D. HOLMES	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		DAVID HUGHES JOSEPH J. SPETTIGUE	GENTLEMAN MERCHANT	METHODIST METHODIST	WALES ENGLAND
1860	4	JAMES H. FLOCK	?	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		HUGH STEVENSON	PROPRIETOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	SCOTLAND
		JOHN GRIFFITH ALEXANDER MURRAY	ARTIST BUILDER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN	ENGLAND SCOTLAND
1860	5	ROBERT SMITH	FOUNDER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		JAMES W. MCGAULEY	PROFESSOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
		DUGALD MCPHERSON JESSE RAPLEY	CARPENTER TEAMSTER	PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND	SCOTLAND ENGLAND

YEAR	WARD	NAMES	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1860	6	EDWARD GARRATT PAUL PHIPPS WADE OWEN JOHN CHRISTIE	BUILDER CONTRACTOR BUILDER CARPENTER	METHODIST METHODIST METHODIST	ENGLAND ENGLAND IRELAND IRELAND
	7	FRANCIS E. CORNISH JOHN ROSS THOMAS PARTRIDGE JR THOMAS O'BRIEN	LAWYER GENTLEMAN/CLERK LAWYER TEAMSTER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN PROTESTANT ROMAN CATHOLIC	ENGLAND SCOTLAND ENGLAND IRELAND

" Mayor r Reeve d Deputy

Note 1: In each ward, the first two names are aldermen and the second two names are councillors.

Note 2: William McBride and James Moffatt were mayors in 1859 and 1860 respectively. Neither was recorded as an alderman or councillor in those years.

Sources: History of Middlesex
 Census of Canada -- 1861, 1871
 London City Directories -- 11856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 72

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN,
ENROLLED IN SCHOOL BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, 1860-61 (n=3232)^a

AGE GROUP	SEX	
	MALES	FEMALES
5-8 NUMBER PERCENT	335 55.6	303 47.9
9-12 NUMBER PERCENT	458 83.3	400 76.9
13-16 NUMBER PERCENT	276 60.9	245 51.8

^a 3237 children between the ages of 5 and 16 were recorded on the census; the ages of five children were not reported.

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 73

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN,
ENROLLED IN SCHOOL,
BY AGE GROUP, SEX, AND MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS,
1860-61 (n=3236)^a

AGE GROUP	RELIGION		
	PROTESTANT	ROMAN CATHOLIC	OTHER
ALL			
5-8 NUMBER	522	111	7
PERCENT	52.9	47.0	50.0
9-12 NUMBER	700	146	14
PERCENT	80.1	80.7	82.4
13-16 NUMBER	439	73	9
PERCENT	57.5	51.0	42.9
MALES			
5-8 NUMBER	273	58	4
PERCENT	56.1	53.7	57.1
9-12 NUMBER	380	70	8
PERCENT	83.3	83.3	80.0
13-16 NUMBER	231	41	4
PERCENT	66.7	55.4	33.3
FEMALES			
5-8 NUMBER	247	53	3
PERCENT	49.6	41.4	42.9
9-12 NUMBER	318	76	6
PERCENT	76.4	78.4	85.7
13-16 NUMBER	208	32	5
PERCENT	52.7	46.4	55.6

^a Based on household head's religion.

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 74

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOL,
BY AGE GROUP, SEX, AND SELECT RELIGIOUS GROUPS, 1860-61^a

AGE GROUP	RELIGION							
	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	METHODIST	PRESBYTERIAN	OTHER PROTESTANT	OTHER	
ALL								
5-8	111	27	165	115	98	115	7	
PERCENT	47.0	46.6	50.9	52.8	53.3	57.2	50.0	
9-12	146	25	226	141	131	175	14	
PERCENT	80.7	62.5	76.4	75.8	91.6	84.5	82.4	
13-16	73	18	156	96	68	101	9	
PERCENT	51.0	42.9	57.4	53.6	71.6	58.1	42.9	
MALE								
5-8	58	14	86	60	46	67	4	
PERCENT	53.7	53.9	53.1	54.1	55.4	63.8	57.1	
9-12	70	11	125	81	66	97	8	
PERCENT	83.3	57.9	79.6	80.2	95.7	88.2	80.0	
13-16	41	7	94	43	31	56	4	
PERCENT	55.4	43.8	66.2	57.3	73.8	60.9	33.3	
FEMALE								
5-8	53	13	79	55	52	48	3	
PERCENT	41.4	40.6	48.8	51.4	51.5	50.0	42.9	
9-12	76	14	101	60	65	78	6	
PERCENT	78.4	66.7	72.7	70.6	87.8	80.4	85.7	
13-16	32	11	62	53	37	45	5	
PERCENT	46.4	42.3	47.7	51.0	69.8	54.9	55.6	

^a Based on household head's religion.

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 75
NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOL,
BY PLACE OF BIRTH, AGE GROUP, AND SEX, 1860-61 (n=3231)^a

AGE GROUP	PLACE OF BIRTH					
	ENGLAND	IRELAND	SCOTLAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
ALL	223	214	107	47	37	10
	57.0	49.9	53.0	43.5	45.1	43.5
9-12	304	293	137	45	61	18
	82.6	80.3	85.6	72.6	66.3	78.3
13-16	161	187	87	34	39	13
	54.2	58.1	67.4	48.6	47.0	52.0
MALES	118	111	59	23	16	8
	64.1	53.4	55.1	44.2	42.1	61.5
9-12	169	153	66	24	36	10
	88.5	81.4	85.7	77.4	72.0	76.9
13-16	80	105	44	19	20	8
	57.1	61.0	71.0	65.5	52.6	66.7
FEMALES	105	103	48	24	21	2
	50.7	46.6	50.5	42.9	47.7	20.0
9-12	135	140	71	21	25	8
	76.3	79.1	85.5	67.7	59.5	80.0
13-16	81	82	43	15	19	5
	51.6	54.7	64.2	36.6	42.2	38.5

^a Based on household head's place of birth.

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 76
 NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN,
 BY AGE GROUP, SEX, AND SOCIAL CLASS, 1860-61 (n=3230)*

AGE GROUP	SOCIAL CLASS			
	UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS	LOWER CLASS	UNCLASSIFIED
ALL				
5-8	50	378	126	86
NUMBER	51.0	53.9	46.5	52.1
PERCENT				
9-12	78	478	163	140
NUMBER	83.9	83.7	75.1	74.1
PERCENT				
13-16	60	280	79	100
NUMBER	61.2	59.8	44.4	55.2
PERCENT				
MALES				
5-8	27	199	65	44
NUMBER	54.0	58.5	49.2	55.0
PERCENT				
9-12	37	265	78	77
NUMBER	80.4	86.3	78.8	79.4
PERCENT				
13-16	24	155	42	55
NUMBER	60.0	66.2	47.2	61.1
PERCENT				
FEMALES				
5-8	23	177	61	42
NUMBER	47.9	49.3	43.9	49.4
PERCENT				
9-12	41	211	83	63
NUMBER	87.2	80.5	70.3	68.5
PERCENT				
13-16	36	125	37	45
NUMBER	62.1	53.6	41.6	49.5
PERCENT				

* Based on household head's social class.
 Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 77

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN,
BY AGE GROUP, SEX, AND OCCUPATION, 1860-61 (n=3215)*

AGE GROUP	OCCUPATION						
	AGRICULTURE	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	UNCLASSIFIED	
ALL	9 40.9	77 60.6	21 43.8	286 53.6	66 56.4	179 46.7	
5-8	14 87.5	96 89.7	32 69.6	361 83.4	82 85.4	271 74.0	
9-12	8 66.7	59 62.1	18 34.6	196 59.4	68 63.6	169 52.2	
13-16	7 50.0	36 56.3	13 48.1	150 58.8	39 61.9	88 49.7	
MALES	8 100.0	49 98.0	17 68.0	208 85.6	37 82.2	137 77.8	
5-8	4 66.7	34 77.3	10 37.0	105 64.0	34 68.0	89 55.6	
9-12	2 25.0	39 63.9	8 38.1	136 48.7	27 50.0	91 44.2	
13-16	6 75.0	45 81.8	15 71.4	153 80.5	45 88.2	134 70.5	
FEMALES	4 66.7	25 50.0	8 32.0	91 54.8	34 59.6	80 48.8	
5-8							
9-12							
13-16							

* Based on household head's occupation.

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 78

PARTIAL LIST OF THE NAMES AND OCCUPATIONS OF BLACK HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN LONDON AND THEIR SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN BY AGE, SEX, AND ENROLLMENT STATUS, 1860-61^a

HOUSEHOLDER		STUDENT				
NAME	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	NAME	SEX	AGE	ENROLLMENT STATUS
ISAAC ADAMS	METHODIST	LABOURER	JANE ADAMS	F	16	IN SCHOOL
NICHOLAS ARMS	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	LABOURER	CHARLOTTE ARMS	F	16	NOT IN SCHOOL
			JAMES ARMS	M	13	
			MARY ARMS	F	12	
			ELIZA ARMS	F	10	
ELIZABETH ARMS	F	9				
WILLIAM C. BELL	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PLASTERER	W. C. BELL	M	6	IN SCHOOL
			L. BELL	M	13	
			J. BELL	M	11	
SARAH COOPER	METHODIST	NOT CLASSIFIED	JANE COOPER	F	14	NOT IN SCHOOL
			SARAH COOPER	F	7	
WILLIAM HENRY DICK	BAPTIST	SHOEMAKER	GEORGE JOHNSTON	M	12	NOT IN SCHOOL
ANTHONY GRAY	BAPTIST	BARBER	OTHELLO GRAY	M	16	NOT IN SCHOOL
			JAMES GRAY	M	10	
			FANNY GRAY	F	15	
			ROSA GRAY	F	14	
			MARY GRAY	F	11	
GEORGE GRAY	M	9				
THOMAS HARRISON	METHODIST	LABOURER	ELIZE HARRISON	F	12	IN SCHOOL

HOUSEHOLDER		STUDENT				
NAME	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	NAME	SEX	AGE	ENROLLMENT STATUS
HENRY JAMES	METHODIST	LABOURER	AMY JAMES	F	15	IN SCHOOL
			B. JAMES	M	13	IN SCHOOL
			JANE JAMES	F	11	IN SCHOOL
			JOSHUA JAMES	M	9	IN SCHOOL
			HENRY JAMES	M	6	NOT IN SCHOOL
A.T. JONES	BAPTIST	DRUGGIST	A.O. JONES	M	14	IN SCHOOL
			FRANCESA JONES	F	12	IN SCHOOL
			VICTORIA JONES	F	10	IN SCHOOL
			TERRESA JONES	F	6	NOT IN SCHOOL
CALVIN JONES	N.D.	BARBER	C. MOSBY	M	15	NOT IN SCHOOL
HENRY LOGAN	METHODIST	LABOURER	ALEX LOGAN	M	16	NOT IN SCHOOL
			WILLIAM WILLIAMS	M	10	IN SCHOOL
			CHARLOTTE WILLIAMS	F	14	NOT IN SCHOOL
JOSEPH MOSEBY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	BARBER	CORNELIUS MOSEBY	M	8	IN SCHOOL
			CHARLEY MOSEBY	M	11	IN SCHOOL
			HANNAH MOSEBY	F	6	NOT IN SCHOOL
			CARVO MOSEBY	M	14	NOT IN SCHOOL
			ELIZA MOSEBY	F	16	NOT IN SCHOOL
HENRY MOREHEAD	BAPTIST	LABOURER	SUSAN MOREHEAD	F	13	NOT
			HANNAH MOREHEAD	F	11	IN
			KNIKA MOREHEAD	F	9	SCHOOL
			LUCINDA MOREHEAD	F	6	
			HENRY MOREHEAD	M	5	
NELSON MOSS	BAPTIST	SHOEMAKER	EMILY MOSS	F	7	IN SCHOOL
JOHN POPE	BAPTIST	LABOURER	WILLIAM POPE	M	15	NOT IN SCHOOL
JOHN F. REID	ETHODIST	TEAMSTER	F. REID	F	9	NOT IN SCHOOL

HOUSEHOLDER		STUDENT				
NAME	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	NAME	SEX	AGE	ENROLLMENT STATUS
RICHARD SMITH	BAPTIST	BARBER	JAMES SMITH LUCINDA SMITH RICHARD SMITH MARY SMITH ELIZABETH SMITH CAROLINE SMITH	M F M F F F	15 14 14 11 9 5	NOT IN SCHOOL
ROBERT WARREN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PLASTERER	CHRISTINA WARREN R.J. WARREN	F M	10 6	IN SCHOOL

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72
 Benjamin Drew, The Refugees.

TABLE 79

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN AGED 13 TO 16 WITH AN OCCUPATION,
 BY SEX AND PLACE OF BIRTH IN 1861 (n = 40)

SEX	DISTRIBUTION	ENGLAND & WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
MALE	NUMBER PERCENT	3 25.0	0 0.0	5 41.7	2 16.7	2 16.7	0 0.0
FEMALE	NUMBER PERCENT	10 35.7	4 14.3	8 28.6	4 14.3	2 7.1	0 0.0
LONDON POPULATION	PERCENT	18.9	8.6	18.6	45.0	6.2	2.7

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 80

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN AGED 13 TO 16 WITH AN OCCUPATION,
 BY SEX AND RELIGION IN 1861 (n = 40)

SEX	DISTRIBUTION	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PRESBYTERIAN/ CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	METHODIST	OTHER
MALE	NUMBER PERCENT	4 33.3	1 8.3	1 8.3	0 0.0	1 8.3	5 41.7
FEMALE	NUMBER PERCENT	11 39.3	6 21.4	1 3.6	3 10.7	3 10.7	4 14.3
LONDON POPULATION	PERCENT	29.9	14.3	17.9	4.5	19.6	13.8

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 81

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN AGED 13 TO 16,
NEITHER AT WORK OR SCHOOL, BY SEX AND PLACE OF BIRTH IN 1861 (n = 366)

SEX	DISTRIBUTION	ENGLAND & WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
MALE	NUMBER	57	18	62	8	16	5
	PERCENT	34.3	10.8	37.3	4.8	9.6	3.0
FEMALE	NUMBER	66	20	60	22	24	8
	PERCENT	33.0	10.0	30.0	11.0	12.0	4.0
LONDON POPULATION	PERCENT	18.9	8.6	18.6	45.0	6.2	2.7

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 82

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN AGED 13 TO 16,
NEITHER AT WORK OR SCHOOL, BY SEX AND RELIGION IN 1861 (n = 366)

SEX	DISTRIBUTION		CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PRESBYTERIAN/ CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	METHODIST	OTHER PROTESTANT	OTHER			
	NUMBER	PERCENT										
MALE	45	27.1	10	6.0	32	19.3	9	5.4	31	18.7	8	4.8
FEMALE	57	28.5	10	5.0	36	18.0	12	6.0	33	16.5	4	2.0
LONDON POPULATION			29.9	14.3	17.9	4.5	19.6	13.8				

Source: Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 83

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION BY RELIGION,
1842, 1852, 1861, AND 1871

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PRESBYTERIAN/ CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	METHODIST	OTHER
1842	NUMBER	1132	378	297	65	506	239
	PERCENT	43.3	14.4	11.4	2.5	19.3	9.1
1852	NUMBER	2201	1049	1179	371	1113	1122
	PERCENT	31.3	14.9	16.8	5.3	15.8	15.9
1861	NUMBER	3452	1652	2091	515	2268	1597
	PERCENT	29.9	14.3	17.9	4.5	19.6	13.8
1871	NUMBER	5282	2678	2700	713	3941	512
	PERCENT	33.4	16.9	17.1	4.5	24.9	3.2

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861, 1871.

TABLE 84

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION BY PLACE OF BIRTH,
1842, 1852, 1861, AND 1871, AND BY ORIGIN IN 1871

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
1842	NUMBER	490	236	528	1176	175	0
	PERCENT	18.8	9.1	20.3	45.1	6.7	0.0
1852	NUMBER	1334	712	1877	2620	394	98
	PERCENT	19.0	10.1	26.7	37.2	5.6	1.4
1861	NUMBER	2185	999	2149	5119	719	384
	PERCENT	18.9	8.6	18.6	45.0	6.2	2.7
1871	NUMBER	3192	1091	1917	8648	714	221
	PERCENT	20.2	6.9	12.1	54.6	4.5	1.4
ORIGIN							
1871	NUMBER	6783	2882	5379			
	PERCENT	42.9	18.2	34.0			

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861, 1871.

TABLE 85

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY SOCIAL CLASS,
1834, 1842, 1852, 1861, AND 1871

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS	LOWER CLASS	UNCLASSIFIED
1834	NUMBER PERCENT	42 24.0	119 68.0	13 7.5	1 0.6
1842	NUMBER PERCENT	50 11.9	244 58.1	115 27.4	11 2.6
1852	NUMBER PERCENT ADJUSTED PERCENT	106 6.0	1031 58.6	408 23.2 28.5	215 12.2 6.9
1861	NUMBER PERCENT ADJUSTED PERCENT	135 5.5	1447 58.6	402 16.2 31.4	487 19.7 4.5
1871	NUMBER PERCENT ADJUSTED PERCENT	285 5.1	3135 55.9	1105 19.7 30.6	1085 19.3 8.2

Sources: London Land Registration Records - 1826 to 1834
Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861, 1871.

TABLE 86

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR,
1834, 1842, 1852, 1861, AND 1871

YEAR	DISTRIBUTION	AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	UNCLASSIFIED
1834	NUMBER PERCENT	36 20.6	13 7.4	4 2.3	74 42.3	14 8.0	34 18.9
1842	NUMBER PERCENT	4 1.0	34 8.1	30 7.1	199 47.4	22 5.2	129 30.7
1852	NUMBER PERCENT	62 3.5	206 11.7	137 7.8	884 50.2	71 4.0	400 22.7
1861	NUMBER PERCENT	32 1.3	402 16.2	434 17.5	1179 47.6	149 6.0	279 11.3
1871	NUMBER PERCENT	90 1.6	989 17.6	780 13.9	2667 47.5	350 6.2	734 13.1

Sources: London Land Registration Records - 1826 to 1834
Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861, 1871.

TABLE 87

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS BY OCCUPATION IN 1871
(FUNCTIONAL OCCUPATION SCHEME)

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
FARMER (48)	ACCOUNTANT (49)	BARBER (17)	BAKER (38)	ARCHITECTS (3)	CONTRACTOR (7)
GARDENER (31)	AGENT (31)	BARKEEPER (38)	BLACKSMITH (130)	ARTIST (9)	GUARD (10)
NURSERYMAN (1)	AUCTIONEER (6)	HOSPITAL ATTENDANT (8)	BOOKBINDER (10)	BARRISTER (48)	LABOURER (632)
VARIOUS (4)	BANKER (4)	HOTELKEEPER (63)	BOX/TRUNKMAKER (2)	CIVIL ENGINEER (8)	MESSENGER/PORTER (50)
	BROKER (10)	LAUNDRESS (27)	BRICKLAYER (47)	CLERGY (27)	PACKER (2)
	BOOKSELLER (17)	MIDWIFE (2)	BREWER (23)	COURT OFFICER (11)	PENSIONER (11)
	CABMAN/CARTER (100)	FEMALE SERVANT (502)	BRUSH/BROOMMAKER (3)	DENTIST (3)	RETIRED OFFICER (2)
	CLERK (347)	MALE SERVANT (123)	BUILDER (42)	GOV'T EMPLOYEE (30)	VARIOUS (20)
	COMMERCIAL TRAVELLER (16)		BUTCHER (37)	LAND SURVEYOR (2)	
	DEALER (18)		CABINETMAKER (81)	MILITIA OFFICIAL (5)	
	EXPRESS EMPLOYEE (3)		CARVER (8)	MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEE (10)	
	GRAIN DEALER (8)		CARPENTER (360)	MUSICIAN (8)	
	PEDDLER (15)		CARRIAGEMAKER (116)	NOTARY (1)	5

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
	INSURANCE EMPLOYEE (9)		CHEMIST (37)	NUN (27)	
	MARINER (7)		CHAIRMAKER (2)	PHYSICIAN (28)	
	MERCHANT (126)		CONFECTIONER (32)	PHOTOGRAPHER (10)	
	PILOT (1)		COOPER (142)	POLICEMAN (11)	
	RAILWAY EMPLOYEE (175)		DRESSMAKER (188)	PROFESSOR (1)	
	SHOPKEEPER (22)		EDGE TOOLMAKER (4)	LAW STUDENT (7)	
	TELEGRAPH EMPLOYEE (25)		ENGINEER (3)	MEDICAL STUDENT (1)	
			ENGRAVER (3)	TEACHER (65)	
			FOUNDRYMAN (82)	VARIOUS (35)	
			FURRIER (10)	VETERINARY SURGEON (6)	
			GOLDSMITH (14)		
			GROCCER (57)		
			HATTER (6)		
			HOSIER (1)		
			LOCKSMITH (3)		
			MANUFACTURER (64)		
			MARBLEWORKER (15)		
			MECHANIC (61)		
			MILLER (32)		

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
			MINER (2)		
			PAINTER (108)		
			PLASTERER (51)		
			PLUMBER (17)		
			POTTER (3)		
			PRINTER (76)		
			SADDLER (44)		
			SAWYER (2)		
			SEAMSTRESS (54)		
			SHIPBUILDER (1)		
			SHOEMAKER (206)		
			STEAM ENGINE BUILDER (8)		
			STONE MASON (32)		
			TAILOR (163)		
			TANNER (43)		
			VARIOUS (43)		
			WATCHMAKER (15)		
			WEAVER (2)		
			WHEELWRIGHT (1)		
PERCENT					
1.6	17.6	13.9	47.5	6.2	13.1
DISTRIBUTION					

Source: Census of Canada, 1871

TABLE 88

NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF LARGEST OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN LONDON BY RANK AND NUMBER,
1834, 1842, 1852, 1861, AND 1871

RANK	1834	1842	1852	1861	1871
1	Farmer (36)	Labourer (101)	Labourer (340)	Female Servant (349)	Labourer (632)
2	Carpenter (22)	Carpenter (57)	Carpenter (120)	Labourer (258)	Female Servant (502)
3	Gentleman (19)	Innkeeper (24)	Clerk (78)	Shoemaker (143)	Carpenter (360)
4	Merchant (13)	Merchant (21)	Female Servant (76)	Carpenter (161)	Clerk (347)
5	Labourer (12)	Shoemaker (18)	Dressmaker (74)	Clerk (132)	Shoemaker (206)
6	Shoemaker (8)	Gentleman (14)	Shoemaker (73)	Railway Employee (80)	Dressmaker (188)
7	Blacksmith (5)	Tailor (14)	Tailor (68)	Merchant (77)	Railway Employee (175)
8	Painter (5)	Grocer (11)	Blacksmith (59)	Tailor (67) Blacksmith (67)	Tailor (163)

Sources: London Land Registration Records - 1826 to 1834
Census of Canada - 1842, 1852, 1861, 1871.

TABLE 89

NAMES OF TRUSTEES FOR THE LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL
BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1861	CHARLES C. BROUGH, AM ^c JOHN J. PROUDFOOT, DD FRANCIS NICHOL JOHN MCLEAN, AM RICHARD FLOOD, AM JOHN WILSON	CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND SCOTLAND SCOTLAND SCOTLAND
1862	CHARLES C. BROUGH, AM ^c JOHN J. PROUDFOOT, DD FRANCIS NICHOL JOHN MCLEAN, AM RICHARD FLOOD, AM JOHN WILSON?	CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND SCOTLAND SCOTLAND SCOTLAND
1863	CHARLES C. BROUGH, AM ^c JOHN J. PROUDFOOT, DD FRANCIS NICHOL JOHN MCLEAN, AM JOHN WILSON RICHARD FLOOD, AM	CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY LAWYER CLERGY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND SCOTLAND SCOTLAND SCOTLAND
1864	CHARLES C. BROUGH, AM ^c JOHN J. PROUDFOOT?, DD FRANCIS NICHOL JOHN MCLEAN, AM ? WILLIAM ELLIOT	CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND SCOTLAND SCOTLAND ENGLAND

YEAR	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1865	CHARLES C. BROUGH, AM ^c JOHN J. PROUDFOOT?, DD FRANCIS NICHOL JOHN MCLEAN, AM JOHN SCOTT	CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND SCOTLAND SCOTLAND
1866	CHARLES C. BROUGH, AM ^c FRANCIS NICHOL JOHN MCLEAN, AM JOHN SCOTT WADE OWEN CHARLES G. MOORE	CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY BUILDER DOCTOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN ? PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND SCOTLAND IRELAND ENGLAND
1867	CHARLES C. BROUGH, AM FRANCIS NICHOL JAMES SMYTHE, AM JOHN SCOTT WADE OWEN CHARLES G. MOORE	CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY BUILDER DOCTOR	CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN ? PRESBYTERIAN	IRELAND SCOTLAND IRELAND IRELAND ENGLAND
1868	THOMAS PARTRIDGE JR. FRANCIS NICHOL JAMES SMYTHE, AM JOHN SCOTT WADE OWEN CHARLES G. MOORE	LAWYER CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY BUILDER DOCTOR	METHODIST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN ? PRESBYTERIAN	ENGLAND SCOTLAND IRELAND IRELAND ENGLAND
1869	THOMAS PARTRIDGE JR. JOHN J. PROUDFOOT, DD JAMES SMYTHE, AM JOHN SCOTT WADE OWEN CHARLES G. MOORE	LAWYER CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY BUILDER DOCTOR	METHODIST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN ? PRESBYTERIAN	ENGLAND SCOTLAND IRELAND IRELAND ENGLAND

YEAR	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1870	THOMAS PARTRIDGE JR. JOHN J. PROUDFOOT, DD JAMES SMYTHE, AM JOHN SCOTT WADE OWEN CHARLES G. MOORE	LAWYER CLERGY CLERGY CLERGY BUILDER DOCTOR	METHODIST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND PRESBYTERIAN ? PRESBYTERIAN	ENGLAND SCOTLAND IRELAND IRELAND ENGLAND

c Chairman

Sources: Census of Canada - 1861, 1871
 London Grammar School Trustees Annual & Half-Yearly Reports
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 90
 NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY YEAR AND SUBJECTS,
 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	SUBJECTS										NON RESIDENTS
		LATIN	GREEK	FRENCH	ENGLISH	MATHEMATICS	GEOGRAPHY / HISTORY	PHYSICAL SCIENCE				
1861	50	32	13	27	50	49	42/45	44			23	
1862	61	42	11	27	55	60	58/47	42			15	
1863	68	53	18	25	63	65	58/61	63			24	
1864	61	54	19	23	61	61	53/61	61			22	
1865	83	75	20	27	83	83	83/83	72			19	
1866	81	81	14	15	81	81	81/66	49			32	
1867	75	75	14	19	75	75	75/27	57			28	
1868	74	74	17	18	74	74	74/64	64			--	
1869	76	76	15	19	76	76	76/76	69			--	
1870	71	71	15	17	71	71	71/71	65			--	

Sources: Provincial Annual Reports - 1861 to 1870
 London Grammar School Trustees Annual & Half-Yearly Reports.

TABLE 91

NAMES OF STUDENTS WHO ATTENDED THE LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL,
1861 TO 1867

Thomas E. Allan	Robert Dobb
Russ Allen	John Dignam
William Ashberry	Charles Drummond
Edwin Babington	Henry Drummond
Charles Baker	Robert Dyas
Philip C.S. Barbour	William Dyas
Benjamin Barnard	Eliphalet Edwards
Henry Barnard	William Ellice
James Bay	Edward English
William Beatty	William James Evans
Ernest Beddome	Sidney Farley
George Beddome	Charles Farrar
Allan Bell	James Farrar
Archibald Bell	Joseph Ferguson
Richard Biddulph	Alfred Fitzgerald
Ralph Birrell	Harvey Fitzgerald
Robert Bodkin	William Fitzgerald
James Bowman	Francis Foley
William Bringham	William Foley
Alfred Browne	James Forbes
William Brownlee	John Ford
Henry Bruce	Thomas Fowler
Ernest Buckley	Robert Fox
Louis Butler	George Francis
Ludwick Cameron	John W. Gardiner
Alexander Campbell	Edward Garrett
Frederick Campbell	Robert Geary
James Campbell	Goodwin Gibson
Lachlin Campbell	Richard Gill
James Carrie	James Gillean
Edward Carville	William Gillean
Herman Carville	Alfred Glass
Robert Cattley	Angelo Grannan
George Chidley	Charles Grant
John Clarke	Murdoch Grant
Thomas Clarke	Arthur Gray
William Claris	Alexander Henry Graydon
James Cook(e)	Aquilla Graydon
Veysie Curran	George Griswald
John Cushing	Nicholas Hamilton
Albert Dalton	Aquilla Hardy
Lawrence Dampier	Alexander Harper
John Darby	Philip Harper
Evans Davis	William Harrison
Daniel Deacon	Ellen Hayes
Job Deacon	Edwin Heathfield
James Dewar	William Henderson
William Dewar	Arthur P. Hennessy

William Hewson
James Hoban
Thomas Hodge
Alfred Hogg
John N. Hooper
William J. Hooper
Adam Hope
George Hope
Robert Hope
Charles Horton
William Horton
Edward Howell
Charles B. Hunt
Matthew Hutchinson
Samuel Hutchinson
Thomas Ingram
Alexander Irvine
George Jackson
Henry Frederick Jelly
Robert Jennings
Thomas Jennings
George Jones
John R. Jones
James Kennedy
Clarence Kerston
Angus Kirkland
John Lamb
Joseph Lamb
Edward Landor
John E. Landor
John Lawless
Lawrence Lawless
John Ledyard
John Leitch
Edwin Leonard
James Logan
George Madden
Oscar Mallett
William Maltby
Deane Manley
Thomas Manley
Walter Martin
Samuel H. Matthews
Donald McAuley
William McBean
Jane McCrea
Charles McDonald
John McDonald
Charles McDonnell
Robert McFee
Duncan McGeachy
Alexander McIntosh
Alexander McKenzie
John McLeary

William Y. McLeod
James McMartin
William McMillan
John McQuien
Frank Medbery
Robert G. Mercer
Charles Meredyth
Edward Meredyth
Henry Meredyth
Thomas Meredyth
Fredrick Mitchell Jr.
Fredrick Mitchell Sr.
Joseph Mitcheltree
John Michie
John Moffatt
William John Moffat
Charles Monsarrat
Thomas Montgomery
Charles Moore
William Moore
John Morris
William Morris
Archibald Morrison
Donald Morrison
Arthur Mortimer
George Mortimer
James Murphy
John Murray
Robert Nellis
Matthew Nesbit
George Nichol
William Nichols
Adam Nicholson
Emma Nixon
John Noble
Joseph O'Dwyer
Martin O'Dwyer
William Olmstead
Francis J. Osborne
John Palmer
Richard Pegler
Francis Peters
Rice A. Pierce
John Edward Platt
Alexander Pontey
John Porter
George Priddis
Thomas Purdom
James Quarry
John Quarry
Edmund Raymond
James Reid
Robert Reid
Joseph Rich

George L. Ridout
William Ritchie
Charles Roberts
Edward J. Robinson
James Rose
John Salter
Thomas Sanders
Stephen A. Saunders
Henry Scarrow
Edmund Scott
John Scott
Thomas Scott
Horton Selby
Charles Shanley
Angus Shaw
George Shaw
Thomas Siaght
Gordon Smart
Albert Smith
Alexander Smith
James Smith
William J. Smith
Edward Smythe
W.L. Smythe
Joseph Starr
Charles Stephens
Herbert Stephens

Roland Stephens
William Somers Stripp
John Sturgeon
John Taylor
William Taylor
Thomas Teare
Adam Telfer
William Tibbs
Gilbert R. Traver(s)
Robert Tutt
John Vile
Montgomery Walden
John Wallace
John Ward
James T. Westland
William White
John Williams
Walter Williams
Malcolm Wilson
Nicholas Wilson
William A. Wilson
Edward Winnett
Trueman B. Woodhull
James Wright
Thomas Wright
William Young

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Sources: Half-Yearly Returns of the Board of Grammar School
Trustees - 1861-65
Half-Yearly Returns of the Joint Board of Grammar
and Common School Trustees - 1865-67.

TABLE 92

NAMES OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS,
BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1861 TO 1867

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Theophilus Allan	Clerk	Congregational	England
William Ashberry/Ashbury?	Gentleman	Church of England	Ireland
Thomas Babington	Machinist	Other	England
Peter C. Barnard	Auctioneer	Church of England	England
John Beatty	?	Other	Scotland
Foskett Beddome	Agent	Church of England	England
Richard Biddulph	Farmer	Church of England	Ireland
John Birrell	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
William Bowman	Engineer	Methodist	England
John Browne	Servant	Church of England	Ireland
T.H. Buckley	Merchant	Church of England	England
Alser Cameron	Farmer	Presbyterian	Scotland
John Campbell	Farmer	Presbyterian	Scotland
Thomas Campbell	Builder	Presbyterian	Scotland
George Cattley	Notary	Church of England	England
Charles Clarke	Farmer	?	England
William Dalton	Pensioner	Roman Catholic	Ireland

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
John L. Dampier	Clerk	Church of England	England
David Davis	Blacksmith	Congregational	Wales
James Dewar	Farmer	Church of England	England
William Dignam	Farmer	Methodist	Scotland
John Dyas	Teacher	Church of England	Ireland
Jane Ellice	--	Congregational	Ireland
? Evans		Methodist	Ireland
David Farrar	Physician	Presbyterian	Scotland
William Fitzgerald	Farmer	Church of England	Ireland
Elizabeth? Ford	Milliner	Methodist	Ireland
? Fox			England
Andrew Gardiner	Tailor	Church of England	England
Edward Garrett	Builder	Methodist	England
Christina Gibson	Wife	Presbyterian	Scotland
W.C. Gill	Lawyer	Protestant	France
James Gillean	Bookseller	Presbyterian	Scotland
Graham Glass	Saloonkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
William? Grannan	Broker	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Charles Grant	Carpenter	Presbyterian	Scotland
Jane Gray	Matron	Church of England	Canada
Simpson H. Graydon	Lawyer	Church of England	Ireland

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
E. Griswald	Railway Employee	Methodist	U.S.A.
James Hamilton	Banker	Church of England	England
? Hardy		Church of England	Ireland
J.G. Harper	Banker	Roman Catholic	England
William Harrison	Engineer	Methodist	England
? Hayes		Presbyterian	England
Edwin Heathfield	Druggist	Church of England	England
? Henderson		Presbyterian	Scotland
Patrick Hennessy	Farmer	Church of England	Ireland
Ellen Hoban	--	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Isaac Hogg	Watchmaker	Methodist	England
John Hooper	Printer	Church of England	England
Charles Hope	Merchant	Unitarian	Scotland
Charles Hunt	Miller	Church of England	England
John Ingram	Builder	Methodist	Ireland
Richard Irvine	Waiter	Church of England	Ireland
William Jackson	Farmer	Methodist	England
? Jelly		Church of England	Ireland
Margret Jennings	Hotelkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
? Jones		Church of England	England
(Emily) Kerston	Housewife	Church of England	England

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Alexander Kirkland	Merchant	Church of England	Scotland
Joseph? Lamb	Tailor	Church of England	Ireland
Lawrence Lawless	Gov't Official	Methodist	Ireland
Edward? Ledyard	---	Church of England	England
Elijah Leonard	Founder	Presbyterian	Scotland
James Logan	Agent	Presbyterian	Scotland
? Madden		Church of England	England
? Matthews		Church of England	England
Elizabeth McBean	Widow	Presbyterian	Scotland
? McDonald		Presbyterian?	Scotland?
? McDonnell			Scotland?
Hector McFec	Labourer	Roman Catholic	Scotland
James McIntosh	Labourer	Presbyterian	Scotland
John J. McKenzie	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
Peter McMartin	Innkeeper	Presbyterian	Scotland
William McMillan	Farmer	Presbyterian	Scotland
? Mercer		Church of England	Scotland
John Meredyth	Clerk	Church of England	Ireland
B.A. Mitchell	Druggist	Church of England	England
Caroline Michie	Housewife	Presbyterian	England
James Moffatt	Militia Official	Protestant	Scotland

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Charles Monsarrat	Banker	Church of England	Ireland
Charles Moore	Physician	Church of England	England
John Morris	Carpenter	Protestant	Wales
Arthur Mortimer	Clergyman	Church of England	England
George Murray	Miller	Presbyterian	Scotland
John Nellis	Physician	Methodist	U.S.A.
Francis Nichol	Clergyman	Presbyterian	Scotland
Walter Nichols	Shoemaker	Methodist	Scotland
Adam Nicholson	Hotelkeeper	Church of England	England
? Olmstead		Methodist	England
Jane Osborne	Housewife	Church of England	England
Henry Palmer	Carpenter	Methodist	England
John Pegler	Gardener	Methodist	England
Samuel? Peters	Lawyer	Methodist	England
John Porter	Railway Employee	Presbyterian	Scotland
Charles Priddis	Merchant	Church of England	England
Abraham Purdom	Carpenter	Presbyterian	Scotland
? Quarry		Presbyterian	Scotland
Edmund Raymond	Hatter	Congregational	England
Robert Reid	Bookseller	Presbyterian	Scotland
Robert Rich	Merchant	Methodist	England

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Louisa Ridout	Housewife	Church of England	England
Robert Ritchie	Shoemaker	Baptist	Scotland
Theresa Roberts	Servant	Church of England	Ireland
Henry Robinson	Insurance	Church of England	Ireland
Hugh Rose	Merchant	Presbyterian	Scotland
John Salter	Druggist	Methodist	England
George Scott	Gentleman	Church of England	England
William/Robert Scott	Carpenter	Presbyterian	Scotland
James Shanley	Lawyer	Church of England	Ireland
Benjamin Shaw	Grain Dealer	Church of England	Ireland
John Smart	Grocer	Presbyterian	Scotland
W.S. Smith	Dealer	Church of England	Ireland
W. Smith	Merchant	Church of England	Ireland
Alfred G. Smyth	Militia Official	Church of England	England
William Starr	Militia Official	Roman Catholic	Ireland
Richard Stephens	Farmer	Independent	Ireland
? Stripp		Baptist	England
W. Sturgeon	Shopkeeper	Church of England	Ireland
William Taylor	Shoemaker	Church of England	Ireland
William/John Tibbs	Plasterer	Church of England	England
? Travers		Methodist	England

HOUSEHOLD HEAD	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
Patrick Wallace	Policeman	Roman Catholic	Ireland
John? Ward	Grocer	Roman Catholic	Ireland
James Westland	Grocer	Presbyterian	England
John? White	Baker	Church of England	Ireland
John Wilson	Lawyer	Church of England	Scotland
Nicholas Wilson	Teacher	Church of England	Ireland
Henry Winnett	Boilermaker	Church of England	Ireland
Thomas Woodhull	Carpenter	Church of England	England
Hugh Wright	Clerk	Church of England	Scotland
Maria Wright	Housewife	Methodist	Ireland
John Young		Church of England	Scotland

Sources: Half-Yearly Returns of the Board of Grammar School Trustees - 1861 to 1865
 Half-Yearly Returns of the Joint Board of Grammar and Common School Trustees -
 1865 to 1867
 Census of Canada - 1861, 1871.

TABLE 93

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY RELIGION, 1855 TO 1860 AND 1861 TO 1867

	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PRESBYTERIAN/ CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	METHODIST	OTHER
1855 TO 1860						
NUMBER	38	13	12	0	15	19
PERCENT	39.2	13.4	12.4	0.0	15.5	19.6
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION IN 1861	29.9	14.3	17.9	4.5	19.6	13.8
1861 TO 1867						
NUMBER	59	29	8	2	21	13
PERCENT	44.7	22.0	6.1	1.5	15.9	9.8
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION IN 1871	33.4	16.9	17.1	4.5	24.9	3.2

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Half-Yearly Reports - 1855 to 1860, 1861 to 1870
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 94

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1855 TO 1860 AND 1861 TO 1867

	ENGLAND AND WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
	1855 TO 1860					
NUMBER	33	18	39	6	1	2
PERCENT	33.0	18.2	39.4	6.1	1.0	2.0
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION IN 1861	18.9	8.6	18.6	45.0	6.2	2.7
	1861 TO 1867					
NUMBER	55	38	37	1	2	1
PERCENT	41.0	28.4	27.6	0.7	1.5	0.7
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION IN 1871	20.2	6.9	12.1	54.6	4.5	1.4

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Half-Yearly Reports - 1855 to 1860, 1861 to 1870
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 95

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY SOCIAL CLASS, 1855 TO 1860 AND 1861 TO 1867

CLASS	1855		1860		1861		1867		UNCLASSED
	UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS	LOWER CLASS	UNCLASSED	UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS	LOWER CLASS	UNCLASSED	
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6			
NUMBER	32	48	10	1	8				
PERCENT	32.3	48.5	10.1	1.0	8.1				
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION IN 1861 (ADJUSTED)	5.5	61.1	25.6		2.6				
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY	1	2	3	4	5	6			
NUMBER	29	41	26	2	2	11			
PERCENT	26.1	36.9	23.4	1.8	1.8	9.9			
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON POPULATION IN 1871 (ADJUSTED)	5.1	55.9	31.9		7.1				

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Half-Yearly Reports - 1855 to 1860, 1861 to 1870
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 96

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS
OF LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS BY OCCUPATIONAL SECTOR, 1855 TO 1860 AND 1861 TO 1867

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
FARMER (11)	AGENT (2)	HOTELKEEPER (2)	BAKER (1)	CLERGY (2)	GENTLEMAN (2)
GARDENER (1)	AUCTIONEER (1)	INNKEEPER (1)	BLACKSMITH (1)	DOCTOR (3)	HOUSEWIFE (6)
	BANKER (3)	SALOONKEEPER (1)	BOILERMAKER (1)	GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL (1)	LABOURER (2)
	BOOKSELLER (2)	SERVANT (2)	BUILDER (3)	LAWYER (6)	MATRON (1)
	BROKER (1)		CARPENTER (6)	MILITIA OFFICIAL (3)	PENSIONER (1)
	CLERK (4)		DRUGGIST (3)	POLICEMAN (1)	WIDOW (1)
	DEALER (1)		ENGINEER (2)	TEACHER (2)	
	GRAIN DEALER (1)		FOUNDER (1)		
	INSURANCE EMPLOYEE (1)		GROCCER (3)		
	LANDING WAITER (1)		HATTER (1)		
	MERCHANT (9)		MACHINIST (1)		
	RAILWAY EMPLOYEE (2)		MILLER (2)		
	SHOPKEEPER (1)		MILLINER (1)		

AGRICULTURAL	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL	NOT CLASSIFIED
			PLASTERER (1)		
			PRINTER (1)		
			SHOEMAKER (3)		
			TAILOR (2)		
			WATCHMAKER (1)		
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION IN 1871					
10.8	26.1	5.4	30.6	15.3	11.7
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN 1871 WITH AN OCCUPATION					
1.6	17.6	13.9	47.5	6.2	13.1

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Half-Yearly Reports - 1855 to 1860, 1861 to 1870
 Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1871-72.

TABLE 97

ATTENDANCE RATES FOR LONDON GRAMMAR SCHOOL STUDENTS
BY YEAR, DAYS ATTENDED, AND PERCENT AVERAGE ATTENDANCE,
1853 TO 1860 AND 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	NUMBER OF STUDENTS	TOTAL NUMBER OF DAYS ATTENDED	AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS ATTENDED	PERCENT AVERAGE ATTENDANCE
1853	48	--	--	--
1854	87	246	--	46.1
1855	87	211	88	41.7
1856	75	206	88	42.7
1857	79	214	75	35.0
1858	60	213	66	31.0
1859	70	213	71	33.3
1860	58	212	59	27.8
1861	50	213	48	22.5
1862	61	211	59	28.0
1863	68	210	68	32.4
1864	61	214	61	28.5
1865	83	197	52	26.4
1866	81	207	76	36.7
1867	75	214	86	40.2
1868	74	--	--	--
1869	76	--	--	--
1870	71	--	--	--

Sources: London Grammar School Trustees Annual & Half-Yearly Returns - 1855 to 1867.
Provincial Annual Reports - 1868 to 1870.

TABLE 98

NAMES OF ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SCHOOL TRUSTEES BY OCCUPATION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH,
1863 TO 1870

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1863		PETER McMARTIN	HOTELKEEPER	SCOTLAND
		WILLIAM SMIBERT		
		JAMES HOWARD	TAILOR?	IRELAND?
1865		EDWARD MURPHY	SHOEMAKER	IRELAND
		MILES BYRNE	GROCER	IRELAND
		PATRICK TIERNEY	LABOURER/CARPENTER	IRELAND
		WILLIAM DALTON	FLOUR DEALER	IRELAND
		JAMES REID	CARPENTER	SCOTLAND
		JOHN GEE	SHOEMAKER	IRELAND
1866		MILES BYRNE ^c	GROCER	IRELAND
		PATRICK TIERNEY	LABOURER	IRELAND
		W. DOUGHTON		IRELAND
1867		MILES BYRNE ^c	GROCER	IRELAND
		JAMES REID	CARPENTER	SCOTLAND
		DUNCAN MCMILLAN	LAWYER?	SCOTLAND?

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1868	1	JAMES MCCARTHY*	LABOURER?	IRELAND
		DUNCAN MCMILLAN	LAWYER?	SCOTLAND?
	2	THOMAS O'BRIEN*	LAWYER	IRELAND
		JOHN MCLAUGHLIN	LABOURER	IRELAND
	3	JOHN ORANGE	TAILOR	IRELAND
		DENIS MCCARTHY	LABOURER	IRELAND
	4	WILLIAM DALTON	FLOUR DEALER	IRELAND
JAMES REID		CARPENTER	SCOTLAND	
5	DANIEL REGAN	MERCHANT	IRELAND	
	JOHN PRENDERGAST	CARPENTER	IRELAND	
6	MILES BYRNE	GROCEER	IRELAND	
	TIMOTHY SHEA	LABOURER	IRELAND	
7	JAMES EGAN	ARTIST	IRELAND	
	JOHN HOLLAND	TAILOR	IRELAND	
1870	1	J. DOYLE	HARNESSEMAKER	IRELAND
		T.E. O'CALLAGHAN*	SHOPKEEPER	IRELAND
	2	THOMAS RYAN	LABOURER	IRELAND
		JOHN MCLAUGHLIN	LABOURER	IRELAND
	3	MARTIN DURKIN	LABOURER	IRELAND
		JAMES REID	CARPENTER	SCOTLAND

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1870	4	PHILIP COOK	SHOEMAKER	IRELAND
		WILLIAM DALTON	FLOUR DEALER	IRELAND
	5	JOHN PRENDERGAST	CARPENTER	IRELAND
		DANIEL REGAN ^c	MERCHANT	IRELAND
	6	PATRICK M'CLOUGHLIN	MOULDER	IRELAND
		JAMES FITZGIBBON	BAKER	IRELAND
		JAMES EGAN	ARTIST	IRELAND
	7	REV P. P. STONE ^t	CLERGYMAN	IRELAND

^c Chairman ^s Secretary ^t Treasurer

Sources: A0, RG2, C6C, Box 55, No. 6018, December 15, 1863
London Advertiser, July 18, 1865
A0, RG2, C6C, Box 98, No. 6164, October 17, 1866
A0, RG2, C6C, Box 109, No. 2953, March 22, 1867
London City Directory - 1868-69
London Advertiser, January 13, 1870.

TABLE 99

NAMES OF ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE STUDENTS WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE FESTIVITIES
 FOLLOWING THE SUMMER EXAMS IN 1865,
 BY NAME, OCCUPATION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD

STUDENT'S NAME	HOUSEHOLD HEAD'S NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
VOCALISTS			
ANNIE BROWN	JAMES BROWN	LABOURER	IRELAND
JOSIE COLLISON	THOMAS COLLISON	CLERK	IRELAND
ANNIE HEAVEY	JAMES HEAVEY?	SHOPKEEPER	IRELAND
ELIZABETH ROACH	JOHN ROACH	ENGINEER	IRELAND
PRIZE WINNERS			
JOHN DURKIN	MARTIN DURKIN	LABOURER	IRELAND
HUGH DALY	DENNIS DALY	RAILWAY EMPLOYEE	IRELAND
PATRICK MULKERIN	MICHAEL MULKERIN	ENGINEER	IRELAND?
JOHN RONEN	PATRICK RONEN	BLACKSMITH	IRELAND
MICHAEL BYRNE	MILES BYRNE	CLERK/GROCCER?	IRELAND
THOMAS DOUGLASS	JAMES DOUGLASS	WOODTURNER	IRELAND
JOHN MCNAMARA	M. MCNAMARA	BLACKSMITH	IRELAND
WILLIAM DARBY	WILLIAM DARBY	TAILOR	IRELAND
WILLIAM MCHUGH	PATRICK MCHUGH	GENTLEMAN	IRELAND

STUDENT'S NAME	HOUSEHOLD HEAD'S NAME	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
FLORENCE FISHER			IRELAND
WILLIAM TILLMAN			
H. CROWDY			
JOHN MURPHY	EDWARD MURPHY	SHOEMAKER	IRELAND
RICHARD FISHER			IRELAND
FRANCIS CASSIDY	HENRY CASSIDY		SCOTLAND
THOMAS O'CONNOR	JAMES O'CONNOR	CARPENTER	IRELAND
CHRISTOPHER HEAVEY	JAMES HEAVEY?	SHOPKEEPER	IRELAND
RICHARD QUINN	CHARLES QUINN?	PENSIONER	IRELAND
PAT STONE			
CHARLES NOON	JAMES NOON?	CARPENTER	IRELAND
WILLIAM MACNAMARA	WILLIAM MACNAMARA	MOULDER	IRELAND
MICHAEL BRENNAN	JOHN BRENNAN	TEACHER	IRELAND
JOHN DALTON	WILLIAM DALTON	PENSIONER	IRELAND

Source: London Advertiser, July 19, 1865.

TABLE 100

SCHOOL MONIES APPROPRIATED FOR LONDON COMMON AND ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SCHOOLS,
BY SOURCE, AMOUNT, NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS, 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	SCHOOL TYPE	PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE GRANT	LOCAL		TOTAL AMOUNT RECEIVED	AMOUNT PAID TEACHERS	TOTAL NUMBER SCHOOLS	TOTAL NUMBER TEACHERS
			MUNICIPAL ASSESSMENT	OTHER SOURCES				
1861	COMMON	1 148.00	8 000.00	10.00	9 158.00	7 448.37	5	21
	SEPARATE	145.50	512.90	899.23	1 557.63	948.43	1	4
1862	COMMON	1 160.00	8 000.00	100.00	9 260.00	6 999.08	6	22
	SEPARATE	155.50	310.00	1019.67	1 485.17	677.00	1	4
1863	COMMON	1 175.00	8 000.00	--	9 175.00	7 013.88	6	22
	SEPARATE	159.50	340.00	372.47	871.97	870.00	1	4
1864	COMMON	1 112.00	8 000.00	440.15	9 552.15	8 051.12	6	22
	SEPARATE	162.50	557.98	342.72	1 063.20	813.74	1	3
1865	COMMON	1 217.00	9 000.00	1563.37	11 950.87	8 712.57	7	24
	SEPARATE	170.50	380.76	882.60	1 433.86	981.73	1	5
1866	COMMON	1 271.00	8 000.00	1117.00	10 388.00	8 264.90	7	25
	SEPARATE	179.50	227.34	1073.62	1 480.46	962.17	1	3
1867	COMMON	1357.04	9 000.00	5989.67	16 293.17	7 803.50	8	25
	SEPARATE	196.50	901.53	807.83	1 905.86	355.50	1	4

YEAR	SCHOOL TYPE	PROVINCIAL LEGISLATIVE GRANT	LOCAL SOURCES		TOTAL AMOUNT RECEIVED	AMOUNT PAID TEACHERS	TOTAL NUMBER SCHOOLS	TOTAL NUMBER TEACHERS
			MUNICIPAL ASSESSMENT	OTHER SOURCES				
1868	COMMON	1 405.00	10 000.00	7037.00	18 690.00	8 550.64	8	25
	SEPARATE	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	1	--
1869	COMMON	1 376.00	11 000.00	6647.79	19 592.88	9 547.10	8	26
	SEPARATE	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	1	--
1870	COMMON	2 870.33	11 000.00				8	26
	SEPARATE	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	N.D.	1	--

Sources: ARBCST
Provincial Annual Reports
London Board Annual Report - 1870, Table C.

TABLE 101

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON COMMON AND SEPARATE SCHOOL STUDENTS
IN READING CLASSES (BOOKS 1 TO 5 - NATIONAL READERS), 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	BOOK 1	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 2	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 3	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 4	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 5	% OF TOTAL	TOTAL NUMBER PUPILS	TOTAL PUPILS ENROLLED
1861 COMMON	662	26.2	498	19.7	654	25.9	364	14.4	349	13.8	2 527	2 527
SEPARATE	114	29.0	79	20.1	97	24.7	61	15.5	42	10.7	393	393
1862 COMMON	746	28.0	1146	43.1	264	9.9	215	8.1	290	10.9	2 661	2 661
SEPARATE	174	42.2	96	23.3	72	17.5	54	13.1	16	3.9	412	412
1863 COMMON	874	31.5	811	29.2	402	14.5	329	11.9	359	12.9	2 775	2 825
SEPARATE	100	22.9	83	19.0	98	22.5	102	23.4	53	12.2	436	436
1864 COMMON	728	24.5	1458	49.1	321	10.8	262	8.8	203	6.8	2 972	2 972
SEPARATE	242	45.3	114	21.3	91	17.0	50	11.2	27	5.1	534	534
1865 COMMON	699	21.7	749	23.3	884	27.5	439	13.6	447	13.9	3 218	3 218
SEPARATE	168	34.1	109	22.2	103	20.9	67	13.6	45	9.1	492	492
1866 COMMON	832	25.7	1106	34.2	476	14.7	358	11.1	465	14.4	3 237	3 237
SEPARATE	168	34.1	109	22.2	103	20.9	67	13.6	45	9.1	492	492

YEAR	BOOK - 1	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 2	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 3	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 4	% OF TOTAL	BOOK 5	% OF TOTAL	TOTAL NUMBER PUPILS	TOTAL PUPILS ENROLLED
1867 COMMON	827	24.5	973	28.9	772	22.9	485	14.4	315	9.3	3 372	3 372
SEPARATE	106	25.0	89	21.0	119	28.1	110	25.9	--	0.0	424	424
1868 COMMON	943	26.3	976	27.2	889	24.8	422	11.8	356	9.9	3 586	3 586
SEPARATE	153	25.0	210	34.4	158	25.9	50	8.2	40	6.5	611	571
1869 COMMON	1117	30.1	1014	27.3	612	16.5	522	14.1	448	12.1	3 713	3 713
SEPARATE	177	32.6	12	20.6	86	15.8	168	30.9	--	0.0	543	543
1870 COMBINED	1404	34.1	1076	26.1	689	16.7	495	12.0	454	11.0	4 118	4 108

Sources: ARBCST
Provincial Annual Reports.

TABLE 102

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON COMMON AND SEPARATE SCHOOL STUDENTS
BY SUBJECT OF INSTRUCTION, 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	SCHOOL TYPE	ARITHMETIC %	GRAMMAR %	GENERAL GEOGRAPHY %	CANADIAN GEOGRAPHY & HISTORY %	HISTORY %	WRITING %	BOOK KEEPING %	MEASUREMENT %	ALGEBRA %	GEOMETRY %	NATURAL PHILOSOPHY %	VOCAL MUSIC %	LINEAR DRAWING %	OTHER %	NUMBER OF STUDENTS
1861	COMMON	79.1	72.7	100	63.3	30.9	79.1	2.0	4.9	12.7	2.0	6.5	7.1	12.7	23.9	2 527
	SEPARATE	72.5	35.1	26.5	0.0	10.2	60.8	1.5	0.3	1.0	2.3	0.0	13.5	0.0	30.3	393
1862	COMMON	72.0	56.5	100	28.9	19.0	72.0	2.4	2.9	10.9	2.0	2.9	100	10.9	18.0	2 661
	SEPARATE	100	82.0	82.0	45.9	19.4	90.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	18.2	0.0	0.0	412
1863	COMMON	70.8	64.8	100	38.6	38.6	69.1	3.3	5.5	12.7	2.3	6.6	100	12.7	20.2	2 825
	SEPARATE	65.8	28.0	53.0	2.3	11.9	65.8	1.4	0.2	1.1	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	31.0	436
1864	COMMON	75.5	47.6	75.5	26.4	15.6	71.1	1.6	2.4	15.6	1.7	6.2	100	15.6	16.5	2 972
	SEPARATE	71.2	29.2	64.2	27.0	13.1	73.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	13.3	0.0	28.5	534
1865	COMMON	78.3	55.0	78.3	32.5	27.5	78.3	2.2	2.2	13.9	1.7	7.2	100	13.9	20.4	3 218
	SEPARATE	90.7	52.6	90.7	90.7	15.9	100	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	30.5	0.0	18.3	492
1866	COMMON	86.1	80.1	86.1	40.1	40.1	80.1	2.3	3.0	14.4	2.1	3.0	100	14.4	24.4	3 237
	SEPARATE	90.7	52.6	90.7	90.7	15.9	100	2.6	0.0	0.0	1.6	0.0	30.5	0.0	18.3	492
1867	COMMON	72.7	69.1	28.3	14.7	16.7	76.3	1.9	15.8	12.8	1.7	10.5	13.4	5.2	17.4	3 372
	SEPARATE	89.4	82.3	82.3	35.6	40.1	84.7	5.9	9.4	9.4	2.1	0.0	5.9	0.0	34.2	424
1868	COMMON	73.7	65.4	73.7	21.4	18.3	73.7	2.7	11.5	11.5	2.1	11.5	19.1	21.4	32.1	3 586
	SEPARATE	68.2	58.7	61.3	24.7	37.4	68.7	16.2	9.1	10.2	15.2	0.0	13.5	0.0	16.9	591
1869	COMMON	85.0	69.9	100	14.1	26.1	64.2	2.3	10.1	15.9	2.2	12.5	24.9	22.0	41.3	3 713
	SEPARATE	87.6	54.7	55.5	0.0	18.0	55.7	8.3	1.1	10.4	2.8	0.0	13.0	0.0	14.8	539
1870	COMBINED	70.5	52.2	70.5	30.5	37.1	68.4	3.9	11.5	19.9	2.6	14.1	27.2	12.5	35.7	4 108

Sources: ARBCST
Provincial Annual Reports.

TABLE 103

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS
 ATTENDING LONDON'S COMMON AND ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SCHOOLS,
 BY NUMBER OF DAYS IN ATTENDANCE, 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	DAYS IN ATTENDANCE											TOTAL NUMBER PUPILS		
	<20 DAYS	%	20- 50 DAYS	%	50- 100 DAYS	%	100- 150 DAYS	%	150- 200 DAYS	%	>200 DAYS		%	
1861	COMMON	165	6.5	236	9.3	304	12.0	322	12.7	354	14.0	1146	45.4	2 527
	SEPARATE	73	18.6	79	20.1	32	8.1	125	31.8	64	16.3	20	5.1	393
1862	COMMON	140	5.3	314	11.8	464	17.4	436	16.4	431	16.2	876	32.9	2 661
	SEPARATE	--	0.0	11	2.7	75	18.2	156	37.9	80	19.4	90	21.8	412
1863	COMMON	112	4.0	262	9.3	384	13.6	385	13.6	524	18.5	1158	41.0	2 825
	SEPARATE	25	5.7	116	26.6	90	20.6	86	19.7	97	22.2	22	5.0	436
1864	COMMON	194	6.5	301	10.1	461	15.5	417	14.0	394	13.3	1205	40.5	2 972
	SEPARATE	61	11.4	102	19.1	133	24.9	122	21.0	106	19.9	20	3.7	534
1865	COMMON	216	6.7	380	11.8	487	15.1	442	13.7	371	11.5	1322	41.1	3 218
	SEPARATE	63	12.8	126	25.6	155	31.5	71	14.4	56	11.4	21	4.3	492
1866	COMMON	210	6.5	392	12.1	473	14.6	455	14.1	420	13.0	1287	39.8	3 237
	SEPARATE	63	12.8	126	25.6	155	31.5	71	14.4	56	11.4	21	4.3	492
1867	COMMON	293	8.7	405	12.0	544	16.1	424	12.6	392	11.6	1314	39.0	3 372
	SEPARATE	16	3.8	91	21.5	102	24.1	100	3.6	61	14.4	54	12.7	424

YEAR	DAYS IN ATTENDANCE												TOTAL NUMBER PUPILS
	<20 DAYS	%	20-50 DAYS	%	50-100 DAYS	%	100-150 DAYS	%	150-200 DAYS	%	<200 DAYS	%	
1868 COMMON	323	9.0	481	13.4	773	21.6	781	21.8	911	25.4	317	8.8	3 586
SEPARATE	44	7.4	98	16.6	104	17.6	121	20.5	148	25.0	76	12.9	591
1869 COMMON	342	9.2	566	15.2	787	21.2	891	24.0	923	24.9	204	5.5	3 713
SEPARATE	27	5.0	94	17.4	116	21.5	124	23.0	143	26.5	35	6.5	539
1870 COMBINED	295	7.2	668	16.3	902	22.0	892	21.7	1075	26.2	276	6.7	4 108

Sources: ARBCST
Provincial Annual Reports.

TABLE 104

NAMES OF LONDON COMMON SCHOOL TRUSTEES BY OCCUPATION, RELIGION, AND ORIGIN OR BIRTH, 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1861		ALEXANDER JOHNSTON ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
		JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		OSWALD BAYNES	PATTERNMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND
		RICHARD WIGMORE	CARPENTER	METHODIST	IRELAND
		ROBERT SCOTT	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
		DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		WILLIAM MCBRIDE	BROKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		PETER SCHRAM	CONTRACTOR	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		JAMES JOHNSTON	BRICKLAYER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		BOYSEF			
		THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND
		BAIN			
1862		ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
		JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH		
1862		OSWALD BAYNES	PATTERNMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND		
		ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND		
		JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
		SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND		
		DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
		WILLIAM MCBRIDE ^c	BROKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND		
		PETER SCHRAM	CONTRACTOR	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND		
		JAMES JOHNSTON	BRICKLAYER	METHODIST	ENGLAND		
		THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND		
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND		
		ROBERT GUNN	SHOEMAKER	METHODIST	IRELAND		
		ROBERT GUNN	SHOEMAKER	METHODIST	IRELAND		
		WILLIAM WADE	BLACKSMITH				
1863	1	OSWALD BAYNES	CABINETMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND		
		ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND		
		JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
		WILLIAM MCBRIDE ^c	BROKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND		
		THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND		
		SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND		
		DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
		ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND		
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND		
		1863	2	OSWALD BAYNES	CABINETMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND
				ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
				JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER			PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
WILLIAM MCBRIDE ^c	BROKER			METHODIST	ENGLAND		
THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN			CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND		
SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER			CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND		
DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER			PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT			METHODIST	IRELAND		
ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN			METHODIST	SCOTLAND		
1863	3			OSWALD BAYNES	CABINETMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND
				ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
				JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
		WILLIAM MCBRIDE ^c	BROKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND		
		THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND		
		SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND		
		DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
		ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND		
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND		
		1863	4	OSWALD BAYNES	CABINETMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND
				ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
				JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER			PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
WILLIAM MCBRIDE ^c	BROKER			METHODIST	ENGLAND		
THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN			CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND		
SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER			CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND		
DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER			PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT			METHODIST	IRELAND		
ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN			METHODIST	SCOTLAND		
1863	5			OSWALD BAYNES	CABINETMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND
				ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
				JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
		WILLIAM MCBRIDE ^c	BROKER	METHODIST	ENGLAND		
		THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND		
		SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND		
		DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
		ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND		
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND		
		1863	6	OSWALD BAYNES	CABINETMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND
				ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
				JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER			PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
WILLIAM MCBRIDE ^c	BROKER			METHODIST	ENGLAND		
THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN			CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND		
SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER			CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND		
DUGALD MCPHERSON	CARPENTER			PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND		
ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT			METHODIST	IRELAND		
ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN			METHODIST	SCOTLAND		

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1863	7	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		JAMES JOHNSTON	BRICKLAYER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
1864	1	ROBERT REID	STATIONER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		WILLIAM WADE	BLACKSMITH		
		OSWALD BAYNES	CABINETMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND
		ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		WILLIAM ROWLAND	MERCHANT	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
		JOHN PHILLIPS	CLERK	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
1865	6	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND
1865	7	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		JAMES JOHNSTON	BRICKLAYER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		ALFRED G. SMYTH ^c	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
		WILLIAM ROWLAND	MERCHANT	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		ROBERT REID	STATIONER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		SAMUEL PETERS	SURVEYOR	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		PETER SCHRAM	CONTRACTOR	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1865		JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		JOHN PHILLIPS	CLERK	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		THOMAS PARTRIDGE	LAWYER/CARPENTER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
		EDWARD M. HEAL	CLERK	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	CANADA
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND
1866	1	JAMES M. COUSINS	PUMPMAKER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		PETER SCHRAM	CONTRACTOR	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
	2	THOMAS PARTRIDGE JR.	LAWYER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		SAMUEL PETERS	SURVEYOR	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	3	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	4	THOMAS WEBB	GENTLEMAN	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
1867		WILLIAM RONLAND*	MERCHANT	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
	5	JOHN PHILLIPS	CLERK	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		SIMPSON H. GRAYDON	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	6	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND
	7	EDWARD M. HEAL	CLERK	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	CANADA
		THOMAS PARTRIDGE SR.	CARPENTER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	1	JAMES M. COUSINS	PUMPMAKER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1867		ALEXANDER CAMPBELL	WAGONMAKER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	2	THOMAS PARTRIDGE JR.	LAWYER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		OSWALD BAYNES	CABINETMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND
	3	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	4	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		WILLIAM ROWLAND	MERCHANT	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
	5	JOHN PHILLIPS	CLERK	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		SIMPSON H. GRAYDON ^c	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND
	6	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
1868		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND
	7	EZRA A. TAYLOR	STATIONER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		THOMAS PARTRIDGE SR.	CARPENTER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	1	JAMES M. COUSINS	PUMPMAKER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		ALEXANDER CAMPBELL	WAGONMAKER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	2	ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		OSWALD BAYNES	CABINETMAKER	BAPTIST	ENGLAND
	3	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	4	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	WILLIAM ROWLAND	MERCHANT	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND	
5	JOHN PHILLIPS	CLERK	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND	
	SIMPSON H. GRAYDON ^c	LAWYER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	IRELAND	

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1868	6	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND
	7	EZRA A. TAYLOR	STATIONER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		THOMAS PARTRIDGE SR.	CARPENTER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
1869	1	JAMES M. COUSINS	PUMPMAKER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		PETER SCHRAM	CONTRACTOR	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
	2	ALFRED G. SMYTH	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		JAMES WRIGHT	MERCHANT	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	3	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	4	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		WILLIAM ROWLAND	MERCHANT	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
	5	JOHN PHILLIPS	CLERK	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		THOMAS BROWN	MANUFACTURER	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
6	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON ^c	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND	
	ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND	
7	EZRA A. TAYLOR	STATIONER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND	
	THOMAS PARTRIDGE SR.	CARPENTER	METHODIST	ENGLAND	
1870	1	JOHN BONSOR	PAINTER	METHODIST	ENGLAND
		HENRY WHEELER	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	ENGLAND
	2	ALFRED G. SMYTH ^c	MILITIA OFFICER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		JAMES WRIGHT	MERCHANT	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	3	JAMES DUNBAR	BLACKSMITH	PRESBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND

YEAR	WARD	TRUSTEE NAME	OCCUPATION	RELIGION	ORIGIN/BIRTH
1870		J.G. MCINTOSH	SHOPKEEPER	PREBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	4	JOHN ROSS	GENTLEMAN/CLERK	PREBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
		WILLIAM ROWLAND	MERCHANT	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
	5	JOHN PHILLIPS	CLERK	CONGREGATIONAL	ENGLAND
		THOMAS BROWN	MANUFACTURER	PREBYTERIAN	SCOTLAND
	6	ALEXANDER JOHNSTON	MERCHANT	METHODIST	IRELAND
		ALEXANDER GUNN	GENTLEMAN	METHODIST	SCOTLAND
	7	EZRA A. TAYLOR	STATIONER	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	ENGLAND
		THOMAS PARTRIDGE SR.	CARPENTER	METHODIST	ENGLAND

c Chairman * Secretary

Sources: London Board Annual Reports
 ARBCST - 1861 to 1870
 London Free Press
 Annual Reports of the Joint Board of Grammar and Common School Trustees.

TABLE 105

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON COMMON AND SEPARATE SCHOOL STUDENTS
BY AGE AND SEX, AND LONDON POPULATION TOTALS, 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	LONDON POPULATION	CHILDREN 5 TO 16	PUPILS 5 TO 16	CHILDREN 5 TO 16 IN SCHOOL	TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS	TOTAL NUMBER OF MALE PUPILS	TOTAL NUMBER OF FEMALE PUPILS
1861	12 000	2 666	2 793	105%	2 920	1 513	1 407
1862	15 000	3 334	3 019	91%	3 073	1 646	1 427
1863	15 649	3 478	3 228 ^a	93%	3 261	1 709	1 552
1864	15 500	3 445	3 440	100%	3 506	1 825	1 681
1865	17 500 ^g	4 200	3 642	87%	3 710	2 015	1 695
1866	18 102 ^h	4 300 ^b	3 661	86%	3 729	2 029	1 700
1867	15 750	4 300 ^c	3 672	85% [104%]	3 796	1 880	1 916
1868	15 102 ⁱ	4 300 ^d	3 851	90% [104%]	4 157	2 163	1 994
1869	14 600	4 160 ^e	4 019	97% [122%]	4 256	2 183	2 073
1870	14 118	4 160 ^f	3 997	96%	4 108	2 151	1 957

^a The local superintendent estimated that about 100 students attended infant schools, leaving 117 students attending no school.

^b The local superintendent estimated the school population at "about 4,300"; therefore, the accuracy of this figure is questionable.

^c The local superintendent recorded the school population as 3,540 not 4,300; therefore, 104% of the school age population was enrolled in school.

^d The local superintendent recorded the school population as 3,700 not 4,300; therefore, 104% of the school age population was enrolled in school.

- e The local superintendent recorded the school population as 3,300 not 4,160; therefore, 122% of the school age population was enrolled in school.
- f No ARBCST available for 1870.
- g The local superintendent reported the citizen population as 17,500 and the military population as 1,398. The citizen population is cited here because previous population figures do not appear to have included the military population.
- h The local superintendent reported the citizen and military population as 19,500. Therefore, subtracting the military population (using the 1865 figure) from the superintendent's estimate gives a citizen population of 18,102.
- i The local superintendent reported the citizen and military population as 16,500. Therefore, subtracting the military population (using the 1865 figure) from the superintendent's estimate gives a citizen population of 15,102.

Sources: Provincial Annual Reports - 1861 to 1870
 ARBCST - 1861 to 1869
 Census of Canada - 1861.

TABLE 106

NUMBER OF GRAMMAR & PRIVATE SCHOOLS, AND PUPILS FOR LONDON,
1861 TO 1870

YEAR	GRAMMAR SCHOOL		PRIVATE SCHOOLS		TOTAL SCHOOLS	
	NUMBER	PUPILS	NUMBER	PUPILS	NUMBER	PUPILS
1861	1	50	1	30	2	80
1862	1	61	4	80	5	141
1863	1	68	2 ^a	130	3	198
1864	1	61	2	130	3	191
1865	1	83	1	130	2	213
1866	1	81	2	280	3	361
1867	1	75	2	290	3	365
1868	1	74	2	245	3	319
1869	1	76	3	245	3	321
1870	1	71	4	245	4	316

^a The ARBCST records four private schools, not two.

Source: Provincial Annual Reports - 1861 to 1870.

TABLE 107

NAMES OF PRIVATE SCHOOL TEACHERS IN LONDON, 1861 TO 1870

YEAR	GIRLS' SCHOOLS	MIXED/UNKNOWN SCHOOLS	BOYS' SCHOOLS
1861	Mount Hope, Sacred Heart Primary School, Mrs Beddome, Mrs Holmes/Miss Lawford	Miss Bushell, Mr Arthur Moore, Mr Charles P. Watson, Mr Joseph Clark?	Mr James C. Thompson, Mr Thomas D. Luard
1862	Mount Hope, Sacred Heart Primary School, Mrs Beddome, Mrs Holmes/Miss Lawford	Mr Charles P. Watson	Mr James C. Thompson, Mr Thomas D. Luard, Jones & Searl's Commercial College (London Commercial College)
1863	Sacred Heart Primary School, Mount Hope, Mrs Beddome, Mrs Raymond, Mrs Holmes (Miss Lawford?)	Mr Charles P. Watson, Misses Evans, Mr Hiram Kordes, Mrs Joseph Cox, Mr W.T. Ward, Mr John Hargreaves, Mr Thomas Hodgins, Mrs W. McIntosh, Mr St. John Hyttenrauch	Mr James C. Thompson, Mr Thomas D. Luard, Jones & Hall's Commercial College (London Commercial College)
1864	Sacred Heart Primary School, Mrs Beddome, Mrs Raymond, Mount Hope, Mrs Holmes (Miss Lawford?)	Mr Charles P. Watson, Mr Borel, Mr John Hargreaves, Mr J. Hall, Mr Hiram Kordes, Mr Peel & Wilken's Drawing and Modelling School, Mrs Hayden, Mrs Joseph Cox, Mr David Chambers, Mr Angus Cameron	Mr James C. Thompson, London Commercial College, Board Evening School
1865	Sacred Heart Primary School, Mount Hope, Mrs Beddome, Female Evening School, Mrs Raymond/Miss Green, Mrs Holmes	Mr Jacobs, Mr James Bogan, Mrs Warren, Mr J. Hall	Mr James C. Thompson, London Commercial College, Board Evening School, London Collegiate Institute (Hellmuth Boys College), London Military School
1866	Mount Hope, Sacred Heart Primary School, Mrs Raymond	Mr J. Hall, Mr Thompson Ward, Mrs Mary Moore, Miss Jane E. Ward, Mr James H. Metcalfe	Mr James C. Thompson, London Commercial College, London Collegiate Institute (Hellmuth Boys College)

YEAR	GIRLS' SCHOOLS	MIXED/UNKNOWN SCHOOLS	BOYS' SCHOOLS
1867	Mount Hope, Sacred Heart Primary School	Mr J. Hall, Mr James H. Metcalfe, Comfort Place?, Duke Street?	Mr James C. Thompson, London Commercial College, London Collegiate Institute (Hellmuth Boys College)
1868	Mount Hope, Sacred Heart Primary School, Miss McMillan	Mrs W.T. Erith, Mrs Crawford, Mr J. Hall, Mr Charles Clark, Mr James H. Metcalfe, Mr James Lyman, Miss Grace Davidson, Mr Alexander Carroll, Mr Malcolm McInnes	London Educational Institute, London Commercial College, Mr James C. Thompson, Hellmuth Boys College
1869	Sacred Heart Primary School, Mount Hope, Hellmuth Ladies College	Velocipede School, Mr & Mrs J.C. Moyles, Riding School, Mr J. Hall, Mount Hope Orphanage	London Educational Institute, London Commercial College, Mr James C. Thompson, Commercial College, Hellmuth Boys College
1870	Miss E.J. Wright, Sacred Heart Primary School, Mount Hope, Miss Hopkins, Hellmuth Ladies College	Mr J. Hall, Mount Hope Orphanage	London Educational Institute, Hellmuth Boys College, London Commercial College

Sources: London Newspapers - 1861 to 1870
London City Directory - 1863-64, 1864-65, 1866-67, 1868-69
ARBCST - 1861 to 1870.

TABLE 108

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN,
ENROLLED IN SCHOOL BY AGE GROUP AND SEX, 1870-71 (n=4623)

AGE GROUP	SEX	
	MALES	FEMALES
5-8 NUMBER PERCENT	605 76.0	547 69.4
9-12 NUMBER PERCENT	720 91.4	710 90.8
13-16 NUMBER PERCENT	352 48.4	381 51.4

Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

TABLE 109

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN,
ENROLLED IN SCHOOL,
BY AGE GROUP, SEX, AND MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS,
1870-71 (n=4623)^a

AGE GROUP	RELIGION		
	PROTESTANT	ROMAN CATHOLIC	OTHER
ALL			
5-8 NUMBER	874	227	14
PERCENT	72.8	75.2	70.0
9-12 NUMBER	1120	242	13
PERCENT	91.5	90.6	100.0
13-16 NUMBER	595	92	7
PERCENT	54.1	40.7	50.0
MALES			
5-8 NUMBER	468	119	7
PERCENT	74.0	77.8	58.3
9-12 NUMBER	567	118	8
PERCENT	92.3	90.1	100.0
13-16 NUMBER	293	39	3
PERCENT	53.9	34.8	50.0
FEMALES			
5-8 NUMBER	406	108	7
PERCENT	70.8	72.5	87.5
9-12 NUMBER	553	124	5
PERCENT	90.6	91.2	100.0
13-16 NUMBER	302	53	4
PERCENT	55.7	46.5	50.0

^a Based on household head's religion.

Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

TABLE 110

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOL,
BY AGE GROUP, SEX, AND SELECT RELIGIOUS GROUPS, 1870-71 (n = 4623)*

AGE GROUP	RELIGION							
	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	METHODIST	PRESBYTERIAN	OTHER PROTESTANT	OTHER	
ALL								
5-8	227	37	374	255	180	65	14	
NUMBER	75.2	68.5	71.2	73.1	71.1	80.2	70.0	
PERCENT								
9-12	242	55	471	342	231	76	13	
NUMBER	90.6	93.2	89.4	94.7	88.8	91.6	100.0	
PERCENT								
13-16	92	39	258	166	133	38	7	
NUMBER	40.7	62.9	48.6	53.9	51.8	53.5	50.0	
PERCENT								
MALES								
5-8	119	11	200	138	99	31	7	
NUMBER	77.8	57.9	76.6	73.8	78.0	83.8	58.3	
PERCENT								
9-12	118	27	235	178	111	43	8	
NUMBER	90.1	93.1	89.7	95.2	88.1	95.6	100.0	
PERCENT								
13-16	39	17	124	82	68	19	3	
NUMBER	34.8	70.8	47.5	52.6	53.5	45.2	50.0	
PERCENT								
FEMALES								
5-8	108	26	174	117	81	34	7	
NUMBER	72.5	74.3	65.9	72.2	64.3	77.3	87.5	
PERCENT								
9-12	124	28	236	164	120	33	5	
NUMBER	91.2	93.3	89.1	94.3	89.6	86.8	100.0	
PERCENT								
13-16	53	22	134	84	65	19	4	
NUMBER	46.5	57.9	49.6	55.3	50.0	65.5	50.0	
PERCENT								

* Based on household head's religion

Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

TABLE 111

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN ENROLLED IN SCHOOL,
BY AGE GROUP, SEX, AND PLACE OF BIRTH, 1870-71 (n=4623)^a

AGE GROUP	PLACE OF BIRTH					
	ENGLAND	IRELAND	SCOTLAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
ALL						
5-8	433	283	145	212	41	38
PERCENT	75.8	71.6	70.0	73.6	60.3	69.1
9-12	558	382	191	195	63	41
PERCENT	90.7	93.2	88.8	92.0	81.8	100.0
13-16	254	205	113	96	48	17
PERCENT	47.6	48.2	52.8	53.0	59.3	50.0
MALES						
5-8	221	141	76	130	17	20
PERCENT	79.2	75.8	76.8	76.5	51.5	69.0
9-12	283	187	92	97	35	26
PERCENT	91.3	93.5	86.8	94.2	81.4	100.0
13-16	124	98	59	45	17	9
PERCENT	46.1	45.8	51.8	53.6	56.7	52.9
FEMALES						
5-8	212	142	69	82	24	18
PERCENT	72.6	67.9	63.9	69.5	68.6	69.2
9-12	275	195	99	98	28	15
PERCENT	90.2	92.9	90.8	90.0	82.4	100.0
13-16	130	107	54	51	31	8
PERCENT	49.1	50.7	54.0	52.6	60.8	47.1

^a Based on household head's place of birth.
Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

TABLE 112

**NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN,
BY AGE GROUP, SEX, AND SOCIAL CLASS, 1870-71 (n=4620)***

AGE GROUP	SOCIAL CLASS			UNCLASSED
	UPPER CLASS	MIDDLE CLASS	LOWER CLASS	
ALL				
5-8	78	693	270	109
NUMBER				
PERCENT	69.6	72.9	69.9	82.6
9-12	95	873	314	147
NUMBER				
PERCENT	95.0	92.1	86.0	94.2
13-16	78	427	134	94
NUMBER				
PERCENT	60.9	51.0	45.4	43.5
MALES				
5-8	43	353	149	59
NUMBER				
PERCENT	71.7	77.1	71.6	83.1
9-12	52	445	155	68
NUMBER				
PERCENT	96.3	92.5	85.6	94.4
13-16	38	202	73	39
NUMBER				
PERCENT	63.3	48.8	46.8	39.8
FEMALES				
5-8	35	340	121	50
NUMBER				
PERCENT	67.3	69.0	68.0	79.4
9-12	43	428	159	79
NUMBER				
PERCENT	93.5	91.6	86.4	94.0
13-16	40	225	61	55
NUMBER				
PERCENT	58.8	53.1	46.6	46.6

* Based on household head's social class.
Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

TABLE 113

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN,
BY AGE GROUP, SEX, AND OCCUPATION, 1870-71 (n=4596)*

AGE GROUP	OCCUPATION							UNCLASSED
	AGRICULTURE	COMMERCIAL	DOMESTIC	INDUSTRIAL	PROFESSIONAL			
ALL								
5-8	11	140	49	531	143			271
PERCENT	91.7	67.3	67.1	75.0	76.5			70.0
9-12	17	200	79	651	24			350
PERCENT	100.0	89.7	84.9	93.0	94.7			88.4
13-16	13	81	47	309	91			189
PERCENT	52.0	47.1	47.0	51.3	63.2			45.2
MALES								
5-8	8	80	23	269	77			145
PERCENT	100.0	73.4	71.9	78.2	81.1			71.4
9-12	9	108	40	328	65			165
PERCENT	100.0	93.1	88.9	92.1	98.5			86.4
13-16	6	47	19	145	43			90
PERCENT	50.0	52.8	38.0	48.8	62.3			43.3
FEMALES								
5-8	3	60	26	262	66			126
PERCENT	75.0	60.6	63.4	72.0	71.7			68.5
9-12	8	92	39	323	59			185
PERCENT	100.0	86.0	81.3	93.9	90.8			90.2
13-16	7	34	28	164	48			99
PERCENT	53.8	41.0	56.0	53.8	64.0			47.1

* Based on household head's occupation.

Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

TABLE 114

PARTIAL LIST OF THE NAMES AND OCCUPATIONS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS OF SCHOOL AGE BLACK CHILDREN IN LONDON BY AGE, SEX, AND ENROLLMENT STATUS, 1870-71^a

HOUSEHOLDER			STUDENT			
NAME	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	NAME	SEX	AGE	ENROLLMENT STATUS
ISAAC ADAMS	METHODIST	LABOURER	MARGRET ADAMS	F	12	IN SCHOOL
NICOLAS ARMES	ROMAN CATHOLIC	LABOURER	ADELINE ARMES JOHN NICHOLAS	F M	13 6	NOT IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL
TITUS BASSFIELD	PRESBYTERIAN	CLERGYMAN	SARAH BASSFIELD SAMUEL BASSFIELD DANIEL BASSFIELD SIDNEY BASSFIELD	F M M M	16 14 10 8	NOT IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL
WILLIAM C. BELL	BAPTIST	PLASTERER	WILLIAM C. BELL	M	15	IN SCHOOL
NANCY BROWN	METHODIST	LAUNDRESS	WILLIAM BROWN	M	16	NOT IN SCHOOL
MOSES BRYANT	BAPTIST	LABOURER	WILLIAM BRYANT	M	11	NOT IN SCHOOL
THOMAS CLEGG (WHITE)	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	LAWYER	FRANCIS STEWART	F	14	NOT IN SCHOOL
SARAH COOPER	METHODIST	LAUNDRESS	DAVID COOPER	M	5	NOT IN SCHOOL
WILLIAM H. DICK	BAPTIST	SHOEMAKER	ELIZABETH DICK	F	9	IN SCHOOL
NELSON EPPERSON	ROMAN CATHOLIC	LABOURER	CATHERINE EPPERSON BONAPARTE EPPERSON NELSON EPPERSON GARIBALDI EPPERSON ELIZA EPPERSON	F M M M F	14 12 10 8 6	NOT IN SCHOOL NOT IN SCHOOL NOT IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL
J. B. GORDON	METHODIST	ENGINEER	ELIZA JANE GORDON ELLEN M. GORDON	F F	7 14	IN SCHOOL
SUSAN GRASON	BAPTIST	LAUNDRESS	CHARLOTTE GRASON MARY GRASON	F F	6 5	NOT IN SCHOOL

HOUSEHOLDER			STUDENT			
NAME	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	NAME	SEX	AGE	ENROLLMENT STATUS
ANTHONY GRAY	BAPTIST	BARBER	JAMES GRAY	M	13	NOT IN SCHOOL
NORATHA HANLEY	BAPTIST	LAUNDRESS	ROBERT HANLEY	M	11	IN SCHOOL
WILLIAM J. HARDING	BAPTIST	BARBER	ELIZABETH HARDING	F	13	IN SCHOOL
THOMAS HARRISON	METHODIST	LABOURER	MARY HARRISON	F	14	IN SCHOOL
			ISABELLA HARRISON	F	12	IN SCHOOL
			THOMAS HARRISON	M	11	IN SCHOOL
			RICHARD HARRISON	M	6	IN SCHOOL
			WILLIAM HARRISON	M	5	NOT IN SCHOOL
AGATHA HAWKINS	BAPTIST	LAUNDRESS	CHARLES HAWKINS	M	14	IN SCHOOL
MARGRET HENDERSON	BAPTIST	LAUNDRESS	CHARLES HENDERSON	M	12	IN SCHOOL
			ADELAIDE HENDERSON	F	11	IN SCHOOL
WILLIAM HUME (WHITE)	PRESBYTERIAN	CLERK	LOUISA DICKINSON	F	16	NOT IN SCHOOL
HENRY JAMES	METHODIST	GARDENER	JOHN ELSON JAMES	M	14	NOT IN SCHOOL
			ESTHER ANN JAMES	F	9	IN SCHOOL
MARY JOHNSTON	METHODIST	LAUNDRESS	ELLEN JOHNSTON	F	12	IN SCHOOL
			JOHN JOHNSTON	M	6	IN SCHOOL
GEORGE KING	BAPTIST	PLASTERER	MARTHA PINIEW	F	15	NOT IN SCHOOL
CHRISTOM LEWIS	BAPTIST	PORTER	ANN LEWIS	F	16	NOT IN SCHOOL
JOHN LEWIS	METHODIST	LABOURER	ROBERT LEWIS	M	14	IN SCHOOL
			JOSEPH LEWIS	M	9	IN SCHOOL
			WILLIAM LEWIS	M	7	IN SCHOOL
			JOHN LEWIS	M	5	NOT IN SCHOOL
SAMUEL LEWIS	METHODIST	LABOURER	JAMES ALBERT LEWIS	M	13	IN SCHOOL
			MARY ALICE LEWIS	F	10	IN SCHOOL

HOUSEHOLDER			STUDENT			
NAME	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	NAME	SEX	AGE	ENROLLMENT STATUS
HENRY MACKY	METHODIST	LABOURER	HENRIETTA MACKY ALBERT MACKY HENRY MACKY	F M M	15 12 10	IN SCHOOL
JOHN W. MARSH (WHITE)	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	CLERGYMAN	LOUISA WILLIAMS	F	14	NOT IN SCHOOL
MARGARET MOSBY	METHODIST	LAUNDRESS	MARGARET MOSBY	F	10	IN SCHOOL
WILLIAM MOORHEAD	BAPTIST	LABOURER	ADACINDA MOORHEAD WILLIAM MOORHEAD SERAH MOORHEAD MARIA MOORHEAD	F M F F	15 13 11 6	IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL NOT IN SCHOOL
NATHAN PETERS	METHODIST	LABOURER	STEPHEN PETERS CLARRY PETERS JOSHUA PETERS	M M M	16 13 5	NOT IN SCHOOL
JOHN W. POPE	BAPTIST	PLASTERER	FREDERICK POPE	M	14	IN SCHOOL
RASMARA REDFORD	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	HOUSEWIFE	WILLIAM REDFORD	M	5	NOT IN SCHOOL
JOHN REED	METHODIST	TEAMSTER	HENRIETTA REED ALEXANDER REED ELLON REED	F M F	13 10 6	IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL NOT IN SCHOOL
TUCKER ROBINSON	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	LABOURER	CATHERINE ROBINSON	F	8	IN SCHOOL
JACOB SAUNDERS	BIBLE BELIEVER	LABOURER	HUGHES SAUNDERS CHARLES SAUNDERS MARY SAUNDERS JACOB SAUNDERS JAMES SAUNDERS LIZZIE SAUNDERS	M M F M M F	15 13 12 10 8 6	NOT IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL
MARY SCOTT	METHODIST	HOUSEWIFE	EMILY SCOTT L.F.A. SCOTT J.C. SCOTT GEORGE SCOTT	F F M M	14 12 10 6	NOT IN SCHOOL

HOUSEHOLDER		STUDENT				
NAME	RELIGION	OCCUPATION	NAME	SEX	AGE	ENROLLMENT STATUS
THOMAS SCOTT	BAPTIST	BARBER	WILLIAM SCOTT FRANCIS SCOTT JANE SCOTT MARY L. SCOTT JOHN THOMAS SCOTT	M M F F M	15 13 8 7 5	IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL NOT IN SCHOOL
RICHARD SMITH	BAPTIST	LABOURER	CAROLINE SMITH THOMAS SMITH WILLIAM SMITH	F M M	14 13 9	IN SCHOOL IN SCHOOL NOT IN SCHOOL
CYNTHIA STEWART	METHODIST	NOT GIVEN	OLIVIA STEWART SHADRICH STEWART	F M	16 15	NOT IN SCHOOL SCHOOL
GEORGE TAYLOR	METHODIST	BARBER	WILLIAM TAYLOR MARY TAYLOR MARTHA TAYLOR	M F F	12 10 7	IN SCHOOL SCHOOL
ISMAC THROCKMORTON	BAPTIST	BARBER	JAMES THROCKMORTON ANN THROCKMORTON	M F	9 7	IN SCHOOL SCHOOL
ANTONY WALKER	BAPTIST	LABOURER	NANCY WALKER	F	6	NOT IN SCHOOL
SARAH WALTERS	METHODIST	NOT GIVEN	CATHERINE WALTERS SARAH WALTERS MATILDA WALTERS	F F F	15 12 9	IN SCHOOL SCHOOL
JOHN WARREN	METHODIST	PLASTERER	WADE WARREN GEORGE WARREN	M M	7 5	IN SCHOOL NOT IN SCHOOL
GASPARD WILLIAMS	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	LABOURER	MARYANN WILLIAMS ELLEN WILLIAMS JOHN WILLIAMS	F F M	12 9 7	IN SCHOOL NOT IN SCHOOL NOT IN SCHOOL
HENRY WILLIAMS	METHODIST	PLASTERER	SARAH V. WILLIAMS JOHN A. WILLIAMS	F M	15 5	NOT IN SCHOOL SCHCOL
ZECHARIAH WILLIAMS	METHODIST	LABOURER	CAROLINE WILLIAMS	F	7	IN SCHOOL

Sources: Census of Canada - 1842, 1861, 1871
 London City Directories - 1856-57, 1863-64, 1671-72
 Benjamin Drew, The Refugees.

TABLE 115

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN AGED 13 TO 16 WITH AN OCCUPATION,
BY SEX, AND PLACE OF BIRTH & ORIGIN IN 1871 (n = 370)

SEX	DISTRIBUTION	PLACE OF BIRTH					
		ENGLAND & WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
MALE	NUMBER PERCENT	32 12.3	7 2.7	9 3.5	190 73.1	15 5.8	7 2.7
FEMALE	NUMBER PERCENT	10 9.1	5 4.5	8 7.3	75 68.2	9 8.2	3 2.7
LONDON POPULATION	PERCENT	20.2	6.9	12.1	54.6	4.5	1.4
ORIGIN							
SEX	DISTRIBUTION	ENGLAND & WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	OTHER	AFRICAN	
MALE	NUMBER PERCENT	111 42.7	46 17.7	87 33.5	13 5.0	3 1.2	
FEMALE	NUMBER PERCENT	35 31.8	23 20.9	43 39.1	0 0.0	0 0.0	
LONDON POPULATION	PERCENT	42.9	18.2	34.0	2.8	2.1	

Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

TABLE 116

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN AGED 13 TO 16 WITH AN OCCUPATION,
BY SEX AND RELIGION IN 1871 (n = 370)

SEX	DISTRIBUTION	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PRESBYTERIAN/ CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	METHODIST	OTHER
MALE	NUMBER	86	40	49	5	63	17
	PERCENT	33.1	15.4	18.8	1.9	24.2	6.6
FEMALE	NUMBER	37	22	28	6	12	5
	PERCENT	33.6	20.0	25.5	5.5	10.9	4.5
LONDON POPULATION	PERCENT	33.4	16.9	17.9	4.5	24.9	3.2

Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

TABLE 117

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN AGED 13 TO 16
NEITHER AT WORK NOR AT SCHOOL, BY SEX AND PLACE OF BIRTH & ORIGIN IN 1871 (n = 375)

SEX	DISTRIBUTION	PLACE OF BIRTH					
		ENGLAND & WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	CANADA	UNITED STATES	OTHER
MALE	NUMBER	21	2	7	88	5	0
	PERCENT	17.1	1.6	5.7	71.5	4.1	0.0
FEMALE	NUMBER	35	7	10	180	14	6
	PERCENT	13.9	2.8	4.0	71.4	5.6	2.4
LONDON POPULATION	PERCENT	20.2	6.9	12.1	54.6	4.5	1.4
ORIGIN							
SEX	DISTRIBUTION	ORIGIN					
		ENGLAND & WALES	SCOTLAND	IRELAND	OTHER	AFRICAN	
MALE	NUMBER	44	25	48	3	3	
	PERCENT	35.8	20.3	39.0	2.4	2.4	
FEMALE	NUMBER	100	38	101	4	9	
	PERCENT	39.7	15.1	40.1	1.6	3.6	
LONDON POPULATION	PERCENT	42.9	18.2	34.0	2.8	2.1	

Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

TABLE 118

NUMERICAL AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF LONDON CHILDREN AGED 13 TO 16 NEITHER AT WORK NOR AT SCHOOL, BY SEX AND RELIGION IN 1871 (n = 375)

SEX	DISTRIBUTION	CHURCH OF ENGLAND	PRESBYTERIAN/ CHURCH OF SCOTLAND	ROMAN CATHOLIC	BAPTIST	METHODIST	OTHER
MALE	NUMBER	42	22	29	4	16	10
	PERCENT	34.1	17.9	23.6	3.3	13.0	8.4
FEMALE	NUMBER	82	40	43	10	61	16
	PERCENT	32.5	15.9	17.1	4.0	24.2	6.4
LONDON POPULATION	PERCENT	33.4	16.9	17.1	4.5	24.9	3.2

Source: Census of Canada - 1871.

APPENDIX IV

CODING SCHEME FOR THE 1861 AND 1871 QUANTITATIVE CENSUS DATA^a

Ward

Dwelling Number

Family Number

Surname

Given Name

Sex

Age

Birth

England	Newfoundland
Ireland	Prince Edward Island
Scotland	Nova Scotia
Wales	New Brunswick
France	Quebec
Germany, Prussia	Ontario
Italy	Manitoba
Austria	British Columbia
Russia, Poland	Northwest Territories
Spain, Portugal	United States
Sweden, Norway, Denmark	Other Country
Switzerland	At Sea
Holland, Belgium	Canada
Other European	Not Given

Religion

Adventist	Methodist
Baptist	Mormon
Bible Believer	Pagan
Brethren	Presbyterian
Roman Catholic	Protestant
Christian Conference	Quaker
Church of England	Sweden Borgians
Congregational	Unitarians
Evangelical	Universalists
Greek	Atheists
Irvingites	Deists
Jews	No Religion
Lutheran	Other Denomination
Mahomend	Not Given

Origin

English	Dutch, Belgian
Irish	Other European
Scotch	Half Breed
Welsh	Indian Savage
French	African Noir
German	Jewish
Italian	Indian
Austrian	Chinese
Russian, Polish	Other Asian
Spanish, Portuguese	Other Country
Scandinavian	Not Given
Swiss	

Occupation

Accountant	Carpenter, Joiner
Advocate, Lawyer	Carriagemaker
Agent	Carrier
Architect	Carver, Gilder
Articled Apprentice	Chairmaker
Artist, Author	Chemist, Druggist
Assessor	Christian Brother
Auctioneer	Cigarmaker
Axemaker	Civil Engineer
Bailiff	Civil Service
Baker	Clergyman
Banker, Broker	Commercial Clerk
Bank Messenger	Commercial Traveller
Barber	Contractor
Barkeeper	Confectioner
Beggar	Cook
Blacksmith	Cooper
Boat Bargeman	Coppersmith
Bookbinder	Court Officer
Bookkeeper	Cutter
Bookseller	Dealer, Trader
Boom Keeper	Dentist
Boxmaker	Deputy Sheriff
Brakeman	Draper
Brass Founder	Dressmaker
Brewer, Distiller	Dyer
Bricklayer	Edgemaker
Brickmaker	Engineer, Mechanic
Brigade Major	Engraver-Lithograph
Broker	Express Employee
Brushmaker	Farmer
Builder	Farrier, Vet Surgeon
Butcher	Finisher
Cabinetmaker	Fireman
Cabman, Carter	Fishermen
Carder	Fishing, Tacklemaker

Foundryman	Miner
Framer	Moulder
French Polisner	Municipal Employee
Fruit Dealer	Musician
Furrier	Newspaper Publisher
Furnace Dealer	News Agent
Furrier	Notaries
Furnace Builder	Nun
Gardener	Nurse
Gasfitter	Nurserymen
Gasworks Engineer	Official Assignee
Gentleman of Private Means	Oil Refiner
Goldsmith, Jeweller	Optician
Government Employee	Ostler
Grain Dealer	Packer
Grocer	Painter, Glazier
Gunsmith	Pensioner
Harnessmaker	Photographer
Hatter	Physician, Surgeon
Hawker, Peddlar	Pilot
High Constable	Plasterer
Hoopskirtmaker	Plumber
Hosier, Glover	Post Office Clerk
Hospital Attendant	Policeman
Hotel Keeper	Porter
Hunter	Potter
Indian Rubber Operator	Printer
Insurance Employee	Professor
Iron safemaker	Pumpmaker
Janitor	Quarrymen
Judge	Railway Employee
Keeper, Guard	Retired Officers
Labourer	Rigger
Land Surveyor	Saddler
Laundress	Sailmaker
Livery	Saloon Keeper
Locksmith	Land Agent
Lumberman	Sawmaker
Machinist	Sawyer
Maltster	Seamstress, Tailoress
Manufacturer	Secretary
Marble Worker	Servants--Female
Mariner	Servants--Male
Matron	Shipbuilder
Mechanic	Ship Chandler
Merchant	Shipper
Messenger	Shoemaker
Midwives	Shopkeeper
Militia Official	Silverplater
Miller	Stationer
Milliner	Station Master
Millwright	Steam Engine Builder

Stevedores
Stone Mason
Student
Student-in-Law
Student-in-Medicine
Surveyor
Tailor
Tanner
Taxidermist
Teacher
Teamster
Telegraph Employee
Tinsmith
Tobacconist
Trussmaker
Undertaker
Vet Surgeon
Wagonmaker
Waiter
Warehouse Manager
Watchmaker
Weaver
Wheelwright
Woodturner
Not Classified
Housewife

Marital Status

Newlywed

Education

Infirm

* Descriptive titles taken from Census tables.

Sources: Census of Canada - 1861, 1871

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