

SCHOOL BOARD REORGANIZATION IN
CAMPBELLTON, N. B. 1970-74: A
SOCIOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY

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1970-74: A SOCIOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY

by



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Abstract

This study was undertaken to discover the factors, both historic and sociological, for the reorganization of the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Complex of Campbellton, New Brunswick from a single bilingual high school into two unilingual high schools. This history traces the development of a territory by two language groups whose wishes were to educate their children in their own languages, preserving their cultures and religions. Each developed an educational system, but the services and facilities offered by the two groups were not equal.

In the nineteen sixties, the government, in an effort to equalize services, changed the educational financing system and constructed many new schools, one of which was the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Complex on which this study is based. This school housed both language groups as a bilingual school. It remained as such for only three years, after which it was divided on language lines into two unilingual schools. During the three years, the Francophone community became more ethno-centric and with the threat of loss of their language organized to obtain a unilingual French high school. This they were able to accomplish through group solidarity and political action. A comparison is made between this and a similar occurrence in Sturgeon Falls, Ontario.

studied by Danielle Jutneau Lee and Jean Lapointe.

This study is important, as with total immersion classes in French for English students, there will be a new need for bilingual high schools in the future.

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INTRODUCTION

This study of the history of English and French education in Northern New Brunswick seeks to identify the sociological factors which influenced the formation of a bilingual high school in Campbellton in 1970, and its separation into two unilingual schools in 1973.

This introduction is divided into two sections. The first is used to acquaint the reader with New Brunswick, its place in the Atlantic provinces of Canada, its political, linguistic and economic divisions, as well as, a brief history of its education. The second explains in detail the purpose and organization of this study.

New Brunswick is one of the four Atlantic provinces located at the eastern end of Canada: the others being, Newfoundland-Labrador, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Of these four, New Brunswick is the closest, both geographically and socially, to Quebec. Economically, however, they differ, as New Brunswick has comparatively little industrialization and high unemployment. What industry there is, is located mainly in the south where the population is predominantly English-speaking and of British and Loyalist descent: High unemployment is found in the north where the population is predominantly French-speaking and of Acadian descent.

Similarly, the two major political parties are

identified by their Francophone or Anglophone affiliation: the Liberals, Francophone, with their present leader being Joe Daigle, an Acadian; and the Conservatives, Anglophone, with their present leader, Richard Hatfield. Of the two new parties, the New Democrats seem to lack any obvious affiliation. The Acadian Party, however, seeks to represent the Acadian people of the province and has as its mandate the separation of the north to make a completely Francophone province.

The area for this study is located in the heart of where the Acadian Party would like to see this new province created; that is, in Restigouche County. This area is on the Quebec border and the schools service a portion of the Quebec population. The exact location of the study is School District Two. It consists of the City of Campbellton, the Villages of Atholville and Richardsville,¹ the areas of MacLeod's Siding, St. Arthur, Val D'Amour, Glen Levit, Glencoe, Robinsonville, Dawsonville, Tide Head, Flatlands, Upsalquitch and Squaw Cap. The northern boundary is the Restigouche River, the Quebec border; the southern boundary is Seven Mile Ridge; the west boundary is Squaw Cap; and the east boundary is MacLeod's Siding.

The history of education in New Brunswick has been studied in great and exact detail by Katherine MacNaughton

¹ Richardsville was incorporated into the City of Campbellton in 1979.

in the book, The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick.² The area of Restigouche County has a somewhat different coverage as it did not follow the pattern as laid out for the rest of the province. Restigouche County consisted of land that was under Crown jurisdiction and set aside for forestry; because of this, little taxes could be levied, and educational funding was lacking. Therefore, a great deal of the early education of this area was privately funded.

A second problem of educational history in Restigouche was the French-speaking population and their desire for education which was church affiliated. Although the province would allow taxes to be levied for public instruction, it frowned on Catholic clergy being involved in education, and on the teaching of religion in schools. There was legislation against these practices, and there still is, in public schools.

To add to this problem, Restigouche County was excluded from compulsory education acts because of the taxing structure. This meant that, although the schools in Campbellton had adequate support,³ the schools located in the rural areas of Restigouche (especially the Franco-

² Katherine MacNaughton, The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick, University of New Brunswick Historical Studies No. 1 (Fredericton: 1947).

³ This was due to the higher population concentration.

phone schools) had little support.⁴ Restigouche County had the poorest tax collection and assessment for education in all of New Brunswick.⁵

This tax system remained in effect until the mid nineteen sixties, when under the new premier, Louis Robichaud,⁶ the Liberal government centralized education in the province. In this centralization policy, all funds for education became included in provincial income tax, and this money was redistributed to each district in an attempt to "equalize" the educational services for all children in New Brunswick.⁷ Also included was a new provincial wage scale for all teachers based on years of experience and years of education. This replaced a system where each teacher bargained with individual School Boards for wages, thus giving schools in larger and/or richer localities better paid and often better qualified teachers.

Along with equalization of services, there came an equalization of facilities. This involved the building

⁴ In her unpublished doctoral thesis, The Development of the Bilingual Schools of New Brunswick (Toronto: 1964), Maud Hazel Hody found that in Restigouche rural areas, the pupil per teacher ratio was over forty in Francophone schools, but the average in the Anglophone was thirty pupils per teacher.

⁵ Hody, p. 276.

⁶ New Brunswick's first Acadian premier.

⁷ This often meant giving more to poorer areas to make up for previous discrepancies.

of many new schools, especially large comprehensive high schools with vocational departments. These new schools were called complexes.

One of the new complexes was constructed in Campbellton in 1970, and named "The Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Complex"; and it is the school on which this study is based. It was built to house all the French and English-speaking students of District Two. As a bilingual high school, that is one which housed both groups at the same time, this school lasted three years, after which time, the students attended classes in the same building but at different times on a rotation shift system.⁸ (During this time the French-speaking junior high school students also began to attend classes in the Complex. They were on the same shift as the Francophone senior high students.)

The shift system continued until 1977, when the construction of a second senior high school, the Sugarloaf Senior High, was completed and the English-speaking students moved to this new building. These students, however, shared the vocational facilities (which had been physically divided with cement walls in the shop areas) with the Francophone students at the newly renamed

⁸ One language group would attend from 7:45 until 12:45, the other attending from 1:00 to 6:00 daily. Every six weeks the system was reversed or "rotated."

complex, "Polyvalente Roland Pepin." Construction of vocational facilities at Sugarloaf High were completed in the fall of 1980.

The purpose of this study is to discover the major factors, both historical and sociological, which influenced the School Board's decision to create, first, a bilingual high school, and then to divide it into two unilingual high schools.

To do this, I have made a search of all the histories and early accounts of education in District Two,⁹ and from these have reconstructed a history of education of both French and English-speaking peoples of the area. This is divided into two sections, the first included the first white settlers' claims to the area in 1534, the early settlement of the Acadians around 1700, their expulsion after the Battle of the Restigouche¹⁰ in 1760, the new Scottish settlers, their building of schools and churches, the first School Board, the return of the Acadian people with the building of the Intercolonial Railway in 1878, the rapid growth in the Acadian population and subsequent to this, the establishment of schools to serve their needs, first in the late 1890's, in 1910 and again in 1922. This L'Academie de l'Assomption began a new era

⁹ Formerly Addington Parish.

¹⁰ The last sea battle of The Seven Years War between England and France over the ownership of Canada.

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in Campbellton, during which the unrest of the Acadian population began to form; so with the construction of this school ends the first historical section.

The second section begins with the words of General de Gaulle and recaps the situation of Francophone education between 1922 and the mid sixties in Campbellton; that is, the growing unrest caused by "bilingual" schools, the lack of funds, the antiquated tax structure, the new English high school facilities, the growing Quebec movement with the Front de Liberation de Quebec, the Université de Moncton and the earlier division of Roman Catholic churches, the election of the first Acadian premier and his sweeping changes in education: the changes in collecting school tax, the common wage scale, the making public of religious-affiliated schools, the development of new French curricula and the building of new facilities, leads to the third section of this study.

The third section of this study is a narrative describing the three year existence of one of these bilingual schools, the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Complex and its re-organization into two separate unilingual schools. This account includes the factors which influenced this outcome; that is, the changes in superintendents and principals during this time, the interest of citizens and groups in education and the

obtaining of their "rights," the new incentives for Acadian peoples to have pride in their culture and a desire to keep their language, the administrative difficulties, the translation and duplication of services for teachers and students of two language groups within the same organization, and, finally, the difficulty in sharing facilities between two separate and easily identifiable groups.

The fourth section of this study is the application of the principles of Realistic Group Conflict Theory as developed by Robert A. Levine and Donald T. Campbell in their book, Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior, to its history, the Complex and its division. With the use of these principles:

1. Real conflict of group-interests causes intergroup conflict.
2. Real conflict of interests, overt, active or past intergroup conflict, and/or presence of hostile, threatening, and competitive outgroup neighbours, which may be called real threat, cause perception of threat.
3. Real threat causes hostility to the source of the threat.
4. Real threat causes ingroup solidarity.
5. Real threat causes increased awareness of own ingroup identity.
6. Real threat increases the tightness of group boundaries.
7. Real threat reduces defection from the group.

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8. Real threat increases punishment and rejection of defectors.
 9. Real threat creates punishment and rejection of deviants.
 10. Real threat increases ethnocentrism.¹¹

The development of the Francophone ingroup's ethnocentrism is studied. In this it is seen that the bilingual Complex which housed both French-speaking and English-speaking students was seen as a threat by the Francophone group. This group (identified as the ingroup) perceived this threat as through their history they had been able to maintain their language and identity (perceived as having a common language, religion and heritage) through separate church affiliated Francophone schools. The bilingual schools which had existed in New Brunswick had been designed to introduce French-speaking children to English and make them bilingual. There had been no such schools for Anglophones.

The Francophones saw the Complex, where the language of socialization was English, as a threat to their newly gained right in education. (Curricula had been developed in French for all subjects whereas before only English curricula had existed for most.) This caused a solidarity in their group with many joining Francophone committees

¹¹ Robert A. Levine and Donald T. Campbell, Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1972), pp. 29-33.

which organized against the bilingual school and its directors (both of whom were considered anglicized Acadians). This solidarity was evidenced in campaigns to speak only French, to the frequenting of only Francophone businesses, the writing of letters and petitions to the government demanding a separate Francophone school and the ostracism of those who rejected the Francophone cause.

This strengthened ethnocentrism led to the division of the school and the creation of two separate unilingual high schools in Campbellton.

The fifth section of this study is a comparison between a case study done by Danielle Jutneau Lee and Jean Lapointe on the obtaining of a French unilingual high school in Sturgeon Falls, Ontario,¹² with the similar situation in Campbellton. Although both communities differ, as do the legislation in both provinces,¹³ the organizing of the Francophone communities to obtain their goals were very similar.

Sturgeon Falls had a bilingual high school, but in 1968, the Francophone community began a series of meet-

¹² Danielle Jutneau Lee and Jean Lapointe, "Conflict over Schools in a multi-Ethnic Society: A Case Study," Education Change and Society, pp. 159-172.

¹³ Ontario is still a unilingual province with rights for Francophones, while New Brunswick is officially a bilingual province.

ings which lasted three years, during which time there were discussions, petitions, etc. to obtain a unilingual French high school. At the end of this time, in September 1971, the conflict became manifest with the School Board's rejection of this request.¹⁴ By this rejection, there came an impasse at the local level so a request went to the Ontario government which set up the Symons Commission. This commission recommended a separate unilingual French high school.¹⁵

This is somewhat similar to the three year conflict, during which time the Complex was a bilingual high school with the open conflict shown in the third year when protests were held openly and protestors went to the provincial government. The conflict was ended with the promise that the bilingual high school would become unilingual French and that a new English high school would be built. This is the same solution as in Sturgeon Falls.

The methods of research in both studies were similar; that is, the reconstruction of the events through documents, interviews and records of meetings. However, in the present study, newspaper accounts, editorials and letters to the editor were collected. Also, Lee and Lapointe mentioned the difficulty in not being in Sturgeon Falls

¹⁴ Lee and Lapointe, p. 164.

¹⁵ Lee and Lapointe, p. 170.

during the actual crisis. In this case, I taught in the Campbellton High School the year before the Complex was built and in the Complex the first and third years of its being a bilingual school,¹⁶ also the years following, except 1977-78,¹⁷ and since then in the new Sugarloaf Senior High School.¹⁸

The three hypotheses given by Lee and Lapointe:

- 1) that disagreement between the majority and the minority, over the final goals of their relationship constitutes a sufficient but not a necessary condition of manifest conflict,¹⁹
- 2) that the cost implied for the majority will affect its position vis-a-vis the establishment of a French language high school,
- 3) that the degree of organizational capacity of the minority is (negatively) related to the degree of opposition of the majority.²⁰

The final section of this study is a concluding summary of the study with insights into the present situation in the province; that is, the new unilingual School Boards, the division of the Campbellton Board into two unilingual Boards and the desire of the Acadian

¹⁶ The second year, 1971-72, I was on a leave-of-absence and attended U.N.B.

¹⁷ Sabbatical leave.

¹⁸ This may make a question as to my objectivity. However, during the crisis, I was on neither "side" as my background is both English and French.

¹⁹ Lee and Lapointe, p. 164.

²⁰ Lee and Lapointe, p. 165.

Party for a separate unilingual French province in Northern New Brunswick. Total immersion classes for English students and a movement among the French to have English total immersion classes indicate a need for new bilingual high schools. Therefore, this study is necessary in the understanding of the conflicts which led to the division of such a school. Difficulties were caused by an imbalance in the rights and needs of two groups of people. If Canada is to remain a country, there must be provisions made for a real bilingual educational system, in which subjects are offered in both languages, students of both language groups are seen as equals, universities also become bilingual institutions, and where there is no feeling of threat to either group.

CHAPTER I
BACKGROUND AND EARLY HISTORY 1534-1922

The name "Bay of Chaleur," where District Two is located, is an ironic misnomer. In 1534, when Jacques Cartier sailed into the Bay, he found the waters warmer than those of the Atlantic and thus gave it the name "Chaleur."²⁰ Early settlers were to find, however, that although the waters were warmer, the winters were extremely cold with great accumulations of snow. Because of this, few people actually settled in the area, but rather harvested the forests and rivers, setting up trading posts at the mouth where the Restigouche River opens into the Bay. This may be seen as one of many limitations to the writing of a history of this area, especially a history of education. Few of the early people seemed interested in settling and setting up schools. Further limitations are created by early battles and acts of war which destroyed any records which may have been available in the small settlements. The first of these was the Battle of the Restigouche in 1760;²¹ and later during the War of Independence, the small settlement and trading post were burned

²⁰George B. MacBeath, The Story of the Restigouche, p. 9.

²¹MacBeath, p. 12.

twice by privateers.²² Fires may also be seen as another limitation in writing this history as Campbellton, after it had been finally established as a community, was totally razed by fire in 1861 and again in 1910.²³ These fires destroyed all buildings, newspapers, school records and other files from which one might obtain information. Therefore, what information there is available comes from histories written at various times by various people (usually from the community itself), which are often anecdotal and have conflicting information.

The area, even with its inclement winter weather, has had some sort of settlement for a long period of time. The Micmac first lived in the area, having their burial ground in what is present day Atholville. Later, the French set up small settlements (around 1700) where present day Campbellton is located. This settlement was called Point Aux Sauvages.²⁴ These two groups, however, moved across the river in 1750, as the French had built a fort

²² J. Duncan, "Historic Events of the Early Days of Our Country," Campbellton Tribune, Dec. 14, 1927. (Reprinted from the Campbellton-Pioneer, 1890), p. 4.

²³ John T. Reid, A History of Campbellton. The Moncton Publishing Company (Moncton: 1950), p. 23.

²⁴ Robert Cooney, A Cependious History of the Norther Part of the Province of New Brunswick and of the District of Gaspé in Lower Canada. Reprinted in 1896 by D. G. Smith at Chatham, Miramichi, New Brunswick, from one of the original copies printed by Joseph Howe, at Halifax, in 1832.

for protection from the British. This proved a necessity as in 1760 the last official naval engagement of the Seven Years War took place just off shore from this fort. The Battle of the Restigouche ended French supremacy in Eastern Canada. It also ended settlement in the area for quite some time as the French inhabitants were loaded on ships and taken away with other Acadians in what is now known as the "Expulsion of the Acadians." Those who escaped this forced exodus withdrew to settle along the Gaspé coast.²⁵

This may be seen as the beginning seed of the conflict which was to trouble a bilingual school in Campbellton, two hundred and ten years later as "The Dispersal was a devastating physical and psychological blow and it has become crystallized in the cultural sentiments of the Acadian people."²⁶

* * * * *

²⁵ That the French did not stay in the immediate Campbellton vicinity may be deduced from the biography of L'Abbe-Bourg by Father Melanson. Within this account of the first Acadian priest of the Bay of Chaleur region (from 1773-1795) there is a letter recorded from him to his superior, Monsignor Grant (dated 1785). In this letter Bourg records his flock, numbering each of the "familles d'habitant" but in naming Restigouche, mentions only the mission (which also served the Micmac). This is recorded in L'Abbe-Bourg, Premier Pretre pour L'Acadia et la Baie-des-Chaleur, p. 112.

²⁶ Maud Hazel Hody. The Development of the Bilingual Schools of New Brunswick, unpublished doctoral thesis (Toronto: 1964).

This land that the Acadians had claimed from another people was again claimed from them, and another stage in the history of the area began. During this stage, the English-speaking Scottish settlers were to become the owners and settlers of the land, bringing with them a new religion and setting up the first schools and school board. This all began in 1770, when the newly claimed Restigouche area was made into a land grant by the British government. It was bought by traders, Walker and Gaillie, who immediately sold it in 1773 to John Shoolbred.²⁷

According to a history of the area published in 1890, "Samuel Lee, Esq. about this time, discovered that Shoolbred and Smith as seigneurs, had not fulfilled their contracts as no roads were built, no schools, etc. established and subsequently bought the grant for the area."²⁸ This was done in 1785. By 1805, however, a church was built at Pratt's Point in Athol with the first minister and teacher, a Reverend Mr. Young of the Church of England. Although the congregation was Scottish and Presbyterian, they had had to accept an Anglican preacher because their congregation could not afford a minister.²⁹

Before this, there had been education, but it was

²⁷ MacBeath, p. 13.

²⁸ Duncan, p. 4.

²⁹ MacBeath, p. 23.

privately financed; a tutor named Ryan had been hired by Adam Gerrard, the Collector of Customs to teach in his house.

Church-affiliated and privately-financed education existed in the area for the next thirty years. The teacher-preachers after Mr. Young, were Mr. Potts, "an old soldier,"³⁰ Reverend Mr. Gray and Reverend Mr. Drips.³¹ Those not associated with the Church were Robertson, an Englishman, and MacKenzie and Calender, two Scotsmen, all of whom were to have taught in the house of John Duncan at different times. The average attendance was to have been between fifteen and twenty pupils.³² That there was enough money at this time for a few families to hire these men, was probably due to the wealth in fish, furs and lumber. Salmon were exported in locally made barrels, the fur trade was still flourishing, but the real money was in lumber and trees. These trees were used in the many new sawmills which also provided lumber for shipbuilding. Both sawmills and shipbuilding brought new wealth to the area.

³⁰ MacBeath, p. 23.

³¹ There is some confusion as to which order they came in. MacBeath places them in this order, while Duncan has them reversed. Duncan also has anecdotal information on each, her knowledge of them could be more accurate.

³² Duncan, p. 4.

With this new wealth came a growth in population and the need for a school board. The first school board began in the mid eighteen twenties, although there is confusion over the exact date. John T. Reid dates it at 1837, while MacBeath dates it ten years earlier at 1827, adding the information that private tutors were hired to give instruction.³³ One of these tutors, he claims, was William Crocket who was to become Superintendent of Education for New Brunswick. Private information suggests that Crocket was not born until 1832, at Breehin, Scotland.³⁴ This later date of birth along with the use of the same text as Reid casts doubt on the date, 1827. An exhaustive search of the applications for licenses to teach at the Provincial Archives in Fredericton, however, did turn up evidence that there was some form of a board of trustees as early as 1829. A letter, dated February 26 of that

³³ MacBeath, p. 24.

³⁴ This came from Mrs. John Dawson (nee Crocket) grand-daughter of William Crocket. Mrs. Dawson also kept articles written in The Campbellton Tribune (her father, C. S. O. Crocket was founder and editor of this paper) by John T. Reid entitled "A Pen Picture of Campbellton." In the section called "Education and Schools" (published on February 15, 1950), John T. Reid uses the exact same words and dates that MacBeath used in his book published four years later. He had also added that Crocket was eighteen at the time which would put Crocket's date of birth back to 1809. This is further put in doubt in A Brief History of Teacher Training in N. B. by J. E. Picot which states that William Crocket retired from his post as Principal of Norman School in 1906.

year, from Allan Andrew, requested a license to teach. It was signed by "two trustees for schools"--Adam Farrar and David MacIntosh of Campbellton.³⁵

A school was eventually built, but it and all records of its existence were destroyed in the Campbellton fire of 1861.

* * * * *

The "Expulsion of the Acadians" was most noticeable on the North Shore of New Brunswick as can be attested to in the early histories. For over one hundred years, there were few French-speaking people in the area and their return did not come until the building of the Inter-colonial Railway in the mid eighteen seventies. About the time of their arrival, there were several occurrences outside the area which were to eventually change the economy. This along with the rapidly increasing French population changed the direction of the French community, beginning with the building of L'Academie de l'Assomption in 1922.

Where were the Acadians? Cooney, in his history of New Brunswick and the Gaspé (first published in 1832) states: "The settlers on the Restigouche, comprising

³⁵ Provincial Archives, Fredericton (Folder 2).

about ninety families, consisting of Scotch immigrants, and American Royalists, are but thinly dispersed along the tide way . . .³⁶ This indicates few settlers at this time which is substantiated by the census of 1841. It indicates only 814 people in the whole parish of Addington (District Two), but there is no indication as to whether these people were of French or English extraction. One church only is mentioned, the Presbyterian Church already referred to.³⁷ The next census of 1852 gives a population of 1147, two churches--Presbyterian and Methodist--and three school houses.³⁸

The inhabitants of the area were stated, in 1855, to be of English and Scottish extraction with the admixture of Irish.³⁹ The addition of the Irish is confirmed in the census of 1862 which shows 271 Catholics in a population of 1125. The loss of population may be explained by the fire of 1861, already mentioned. Four school houses with 123 children were also recorded.⁴⁰

³⁶ Robert Cooney, p. 224.

³⁷ Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick, Appendix XXVII.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Alexander Munroe, New Brunswick, With A Brief Outline of Nova Scotia and the Prince Edward Island, p. 192.

⁴⁰ Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick.

The first Census of Canada in 1870-71 gives religious background and ethnic origin of the population; in Addington, of the 1194 inhabitants, those of Irish descent numbered 279, those of French, only 107.⁴¹

In the 1870's, however, the Acadians began to return in substantial numbers. This was due, in part, to the construction of the Intercolonial Railway in 1876⁴² which brought in workers and industrialization. It also brought Tariffs, which protected goods from central Canada; these were later to erode the economy of the area. This increase in population is shown in the Census of Canada in 1880-81, where the population number for Addington had increased to 1878. The greatest increase, however, was of those of French descent to 318.⁴³ By the next decade, the French population had risen by two-thirds to 517, whereas the total population had risen by approximately one-third to 2751.⁴⁴

There is record of only one public school in Campbellton then, called the King Street School;⁴⁵ however,

⁴¹ Census of Canada 1870-71, Vol. 1, p. 222.

⁴² James Hannay D.L.L., History of New Brunswick, p. 323.

⁴³ Census of Canada 1880-81, Vol. 1, pp. 23, 226.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 234.

⁴⁵ There may also have been one at Roseberry, but indications are that it was not used at this time. This information comes from J. Reid, p. 13.

a Roman Catholic school was established by the Sisters of Saint Joseph in which two-thirds (four out of six) of the teaching staff were from Montreal.⁴⁶ This was situated in rooms in the hospital (Hotel Dieu) where there were both teaching and nursing nuns. This Catholic school proved to be needed, as by 1901, the population of Addington Parish had risen to 3577⁴⁷ of whom 1549⁴⁸ were listed as Roman Catholic, and those of French origin, 1136.⁴⁹ If it can be assumed that the majority of Francophones were Catholic, it would appear that the majority of the students in the Convent School were French-speaking. A new English school was soon constructed--the Andrew Street School, sometimes known as the Grammar School.

In 1910, however, all the three schools were destroyed by a fire, which started in Richards' Saw Mill, spreading rapidly by a strong east wind. By the end of the day, Campbellton was totally razed; that is, all dwellings, but two or three. The schools, stores, hospital, newspaper offices, etc.,⁵⁰ had been destroyed. There had

⁴⁶ Archives--Sisters of Saint Joseph Bathurst Mother House.

⁴⁷ Census of Canada, Vol. 1, p. 18.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 164.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 292.

⁵⁰ MacBeath, p. 25.

been, fortunately, no loss of life, and as a result, plans were devised and carried out immediately on the reconstruction of the town. Some students did lose a year of education due to the lack of facilities, but there soon was a new Grammar School, the Andrew Street School,⁵¹ and a separate Convent School as part of the new Hotel Dieu Hospital. This was run by the Sisters of Saint Joseph until 1918, when the building again burned down. At this point, the sisters found running a hospital and a school too demanding and rebuilt only the hospital.⁵² Many of the students who attended this school lost another year as there were not enough rooms in the Grammar School and all the teachers there were English-speaking, while many of the students from the Convent were French-speaking.⁵³ The Roseberry Street School was built at this time, because of the overcrowding in the Grammar School.⁵⁴

At this point, it is important to note that some Acadian families settled in Campbellton and Atholville where their children would attend the above-mentioned

⁵¹ This is the same school which, sixty-two years later, would become the central issue in the division of the bilingual high school.

⁵² Archives--Sisters of Saint Joseph Bathurst Mother House.

⁵³ Private information, Lucie Loubert, former student of the Convent.

⁵⁴ Reid, p. 13.

schools and the fathers would work at the many shingle mills and/or the Canadian National Railways. Most families, however, settled in small, homogeneous communities away from the already established English-speaking population. The primary settlements were in St. Albert, St. Arthur, Val d'Amour and Malause.⁵⁵

These families, in the rural districts, were often poor and seemed to make little effort (or were unable) to support their schools which could only hire teachers on local permits which further eliminated the schools from the higher grants paid to teachers with superior qualifications. In fact, it was believed that less than one quarter of the population was attending elementary school at that time.⁵⁶

Education, in Campbellton, was given in English in public schools until 1922 when Monsignor Melanson, then parish priest of Notre-Dame des Neiges formed a religious teaching order, La Congregation des Filles de Marie de L'Assomption." To do this, he travelled the country recruiting girls from Acadian families who wanted an education and wanted to become nuns. These young women were brought to a newly constructed Mother House where they were trained for a year to teach. Later, many of

⁵⁵ Emery Leblanc, L'Aviron.

⁵⁶ Hody, p. 276.

these same women were sent to Normal School where they received their full teacher qualifications. These nuns needed a place to teach and under the guidance of Monsignor Melanson, a drive was made for funds, which were donated by many of the people in Campbellton of all religions and languages. The money was used to construct L'Academie de L'Assomption in 1922. This was the school from which the students would be eventually sent to the new Complex forty-eight years later. The new school, however, had a new spirit, an Acadian spirit, which may be best explained in the following extract from Appel a L'Apostolat de L'Ecole-Chretienne:⁵⁷

Si, grace a leur devotion a la mere des affliges, bon nombre des nos ancetres ont pu echapper a la fureur de persecutions, aujourd'hui pour conjurer la vague indifference religieuse qui passe sur notre pays, le besoin se fait sentir plus que jamais pour nous, les descendants des martyrs de 1755, de recourir a Notre-Dame de l'Assomption, notre Patronne, afin qu'elle sauve une seconde fois l'Acadie.⁵⁸

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⁵⁷ This book was written as a commemorative on the new school and the new teaching order of Les Filles de L'Assomption. Much of the above information comes from it.

⁵⁸ These words were spoken by Monsignor Melanson and recorded on page 44. Translated, they mean, "If, thanks to their devotion to Our Lady of the Afflicted, a good number of our ancestors were able to escape the furor of persecution, today to efface the vague religious indifference which passes through our country, the need is felt, for us, the descendants of the martyrs of 1755, to feel, once again, the rediscovery of Our Lady of the Assumption, our patron, who will once again save Acadia a second time. (My translation)

This spirit of Acadian revival was to end an age which had seen this same people claim a land, which was subsequently taken from them and from which they had been expelled. This land was again claimed by Scottish immigrants and traders who established churches, private schools and industries. Later these same people hired tutors to teach their children created a board of school trustees and built and rebuilt school buildings as their town was destroyed by fire. The building of a railway, brought more industrialization and settlers; however, many of these new settlers were returning Acadians, bringing back with them their religion and language. The rapid growth in their numbers necessitated the building of a church affiliated school and new church.

The fire of 1910 destroyed all that had been built, but with the rebuilding of the town, new schools, both English and French, were constructed. The French school, however, was again destroyed by fire and education was given only in English in the town's two schools until the building of L'Academie de L'Assomption in 1922.

CHAPTER II

LATER HISTORY 1922-1969

"Vivre le Quebec libre." These words of General de Gaulle, spoken in the late nineteen sixties, shocked English Canadians throughout the country; and yet, they were a strange re-echoing of the words of Monsignor Melanson over forty years earlier. "Long live free Quebec" and "Let us save Acadia a second time." Free from what? and saved from what? The answer seemed obvious, but the events between these two declarations appeared so insignificant as to manifest such great emotion. In northern New Brunswick, new English public schools had been built, while L'Academie remained the only school for Francophones; these students had to take half their courses in English, even though the French population had greatly increased in size as compared with the growth of the total population. Rural schools, especially Francophone, still had little funds, the results of an antiquated tax structure. Their teachers were over-worked and had poorer qualifications when compared to their English counterparts. When the changes came, they seemed abrupt and to be born within the French-speaking areas of both provinces which had gone unobserved by English-speaking Canadians.

Earlier, in 1919, compulsory attendance was ordered

for all children fourteen years and under,⁵⁹ and a school, the Roseberry Street School, had been rebuilt to accommodate the growing numbers of children. This school, however, burned again and with overcrowding in the Andrew Street School, the town rented eight classrooms in L'Academie. Although the Roseberry Street School was again rebuilt, there appeared a need for another new school and subsequently, in 1925, a new high school with academic, commercial, and vocational facilities was built.⁶⁰ The students from L'Academie were later to share these vocational facilities, walking to the high school for their classes and then back again. These same students, many of them Francophone, took half of their classes in English; that is, English, Math and Science, while their other classes were taught in French.⁶¹ This "dual-medium" plan of teaching English, Mathematics and Science in English and all other subjects in French had been used in New Brunswick for a number of years and was called bilingual education.

In the early years of bilingual education in New Brunswick it was assumed that the object of bilingual education was to introduce Acadian children to the English language as early and efficiently as possible. Therefore

⁵⁹ Reid, p. 14.

⁶⁰ Reid, p. 13.

⁶¹ Private information from a student who attended L'Academie from 1938 to 1946.

the French language might be ignored as soon as French-speaking children gained sufficient mastery of English to be instructed in it. Gradually, the mastery of "first-language" French and "second Language" English came to be accepted as the aim of bilingual education in New Brunswick, although young Acadians were expected at graduation from high school to speak English fairly fluently, and to be fully acquainted with English grammar.⁶²

This gradual change in emphasis from English to French was probably caused by two factors, the first being quite practical; that is, many of the Acadian families who returned to the area had previously lived in Quebec⁶³ and therefore, they and their children were unilingual French. As already noted, often these families moved into small homogeneous communities outside Campbellton, where they retained their language. Teachers, upon receiving these students, found instructing them in French easier and have said that they often had to make translations of textbooks into French before they could teach their pupils.⁶⁴ Secondly, with the growing French population, everyday business could be conducted more and more in French; that is, in smaller communities, the total population spoke French, and within Campbellton itself, more clerks in stores, doctors, lawyers, etc., were bilingual

⁶² Hody, p. 227.

⁶³ Private information, Monsignor Savoie.

⁶⁴ Private information from a former Francophone teacher.

One's need for the English language declined.

Added to this, a division was made in Campbellton among Roman Catholics; that is, construction of a new church for English-speaking Catholics was begun in the mid nineteen forties. This new church, St. Thomas Aquinas, was designated "Irish," although the congregation was not necessarily so. To decide which members of Notre-Dame de Neiges would attend St. Thomas, the list of parish names was taken and those with non-French last names were designated "Irish" and were to attend the new church.⁶⁵ This now gave the Francophone community a separate church and school, further isolating them from the Anglophone community, where communication could be made totally in French. It also identified Acadians as those whose last names were French and were Roman Catholics.

The English community was also growing, but at a slower rate, although the need had been felt to construct another new school, the King Street School, in the late thirties, to enlarge the Roseberry Street School in the mid forties⁶⁶ and to construct another new school, the Lord Beaverbrook, in the mid fifties. All these new town schools could be afforded by the School Board

⁶⁵ Private information from a parishioner of St. Thomas Aquinas.

⁶⁶ Reid, p. 14.

because of the town school tax, however, the schools in the rural areas were still following the same antiquated tax structure which had been legislated many years before. By 1960, there was neither a county finance unit nor a larger district unit and local boards kept taxes low by hiring teachers with local permits and by giving them large numbers to teach. This appeared worse in the small bilingual rural schools where the teacher-pupil ratios exceeded forty, while in the English rural schools the teacher-pupil ratios averaged thirty.⁶⁷ A change was desperately needed in educational finance, especially as the town became more affluent, widening the differences between the education offered there and that offered outside its boundaries. There was also a vast discrepancy in the funding of the public Anglophone schools and the privately funded French Academie.

* * * * *

The sixties were a time of change, especially in New Brunswick. Louis Robichaud, the first Acadian premier, was elected and brought sweeping changes to education. The F. L. Q. became a central issue in Quebec, the University of Moncton hired professors from Quebec and

⁶⁷ Hody; p. 306.

produced teachers for New Brunswick, teachers who encouraged those already in the education field to demand and create new curriculum in French for each subject. There came a desire to change the status quo and the biggest change was within the Francophone community.

When Louis Robichaud came to power, the total financial structure for education in District Two, as well as the whole province, was changed. His government abolished the system by which local boards collected taxes which it used to pay teachers and build schools; instead, he introduced a plan called "Equal Opportunity."⁶⁸ In this plan, school taxes became included in provincial income taxes and were then redistributed to the districts through the Treasury Board. To ensure that all districts could vie equally for teachers, a provincial wage scale was devised on an education and experience grid; that is, the more education and experience, the higher the salary a teacher would receive. This standardization of salary, in itself, was a great aid to the rural districts (which were incorporated into thirty-two larger districts), which now had money from the Treasury Board to pay qualified teachers. This was especially true for the Acadian districts of the North, which were often allotted extra

⁶⁸ I know this plan well, as when I was a college student I had a summer job in publicity for this program.

money to catch up with the rest of the province. This was seen as a disadvantage by the larger centres of Saint John, Moncton and Fredericton (all predominantly English-speaking at the time) who had previously enjoyed the position of being able to offer higher salaries and thereby attracted better qualified teachers.⁶⁹

Many of the newly qualified French-speaking teachers were obtaining their education from the University of Moncton. This University hired most of its teaching staff from Quebec where a strong nationalism (for their province) was developing. This feeling of pride in language and culture was transmitted to the students and thus, to the new Francophone teachers of the province. There were also demonstrations, petitions and a fervour for more "rights" for Acadian students. This was probably influenced by the growing awareness of the "French fact," developed by not only the F. L. Q.⁷⁰ in Quebec, but by a Royal Commission of Ottawa. In the Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, a statement was made that the conflict over Francophone schools was caused by the English-speaking majority's rejection of

⁶⁹ Teachers, before this time had to bargain individually with each school board which could determine salary and benefits. This was also true for any raise in wages as is evidenced in the District Two Minute Book of the Board of School Trustees.

⁷⁰ Front de Liberation de Québec.

bilingualism; that is, the refusal of English-speaking Canadians to learn French, and of their expecting the Francophone minority to learn to speak English.⁷¹ With this came a new phenomenon, the refusal of many Francophones to speak English.

Within District Two, it became obvious, that though it may be more convenient to speak both languages, one could now conduct all everyday living in French. Businesses were hiring bilingual people; a newspaper, L'Aviron, was founded which served the Francophone population; the church was unilingual French. All that needed changing was the schools. A vehicle for this change was created by "Equal Opportunity" when the total curricula for the province was revised. This change was the development of a credit system for high school subjects which necessitated the offering of many new courses with different "levels" of academic expectations.⁷² These new courses allowed revisions at all levels and began a movement to devise curricula in French for all subjects. This

⁷¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1968; Book II, 47.

⁷² In this curricula, core subjects, such as English, Mathematics, History, Français, Historie were offered as either college preparatory subjects with a fixed curricula or as vocational with a totally new curricula. A student needed fifteen credits to graduate, receiving a credit for each course passed. This replaced the system by which failure in one course or average meant a year's repetition of all subjects.

movement gained impetus, so that by the late sixties all subjects, with the exception of some in vocational areas had either textbooks in French or total curricula and textbooks in French.⁷³

With this new equality offered in courses, teachers and services, another need became apparent and that was for an equalization of facilities. In the province, quite a number of new schools were built; in Campbellton alone, there were two: the first was an elementary school named "Apollo II" which was designated a bilingual elementary school. (It soon changed to a unilingual French School.) The second school was a large comprehensive high school; that is, a school which contained business education, home economics, industrial arts facilities, as well as academic facilities. These new complexes (as they were called), built under the Robichaud government, were constructed so rural students were given an opportunity to take courses in subject areas previously available only in larger centres. Many of these complexes were constructed in the northern Acadian districts. Buses were purchased, bus routes were devised, and in Campbellton, a total reorganization by the School Board of the existing schools took place. The high school students from L'Academie were to attend the new school,

⁷³ Interview with Brother Dumais. (See Appendix B),

and this building subsequently ceased being used for education. The English junior high school students of the total district were to be bussed to town to attend the former Campbellton Senior High School, as the English high school students had also moved to the new complex. The Andrew Street School, the former Grammar School, was to become the Francophone junior high. This proved to be a rather unfortunate decision on the part of the board as this school, formerly an English elementary and then junior high, had been rumoured to have been condemned for a number of years. There were reports of rats in the basements, poor plumbing and heating and a lack of fire escapes. This, however, was the board's decision and was to presage difficulties in three year's time.

* * * * *

The years after the building of L'Academie de l'Assomption were those in which the French community in Campbellton developed a sense of its uniqueness in the town. There was a new high school, a separate church, a newspaper, and bilingual businesses and professional services offered. In the rural areas, however, although many of these same features existed, there was a large discrepancy in the educational services and facilities offered and what Francophones in town enjoyed. There

was also a vast difference between what was offered rural Anglophones and rural Francophones who appeared to have minimal facilities and services in education in the area. Within the town of Campbellton itself, many new public schools had been built with modern facilities and where classes were taught in English.

From these differences in services offered, there developed a movement among Francophone educators to equalize services, which was greatly aided by the election of the first Acadian premier. His government was to completely reorganize the financial basis of education in New Brunswick, equalizing services and facilities to all New Brunswickers. One of the new schools which was built at this time was the Polyvalente Senior High School Complex on which this study is based.

CHAPTER III

THE YEARS OF THE COMPLEX 1969-1974

"Million Dollar School Complex Underway" was the headline banner of the Campbellton Graphic of January 2, 1969. This was subheaded "Contract Officially Signed at Ceremony Here Friday"; an accompanying picture of smiling officials completed a show of optimism and enthusiasm in the future school.

Within the next year and a half, however, several incidents foreshadowed complications which would eventually lead to the dissolution of the "million dollar complex" as a bilingual school. These included: the forced resignation of the incumbent superintendent, a split-vote on the choice of principal for the new school, briefs and letters presented by both French and English teachers expressing concern over the security of their positions in a bilingual district, and growing interest in education by organizations and associations within the community. Each of these incidents, or series of incidents, was involved with the obtaining or maintaining of one's (a group's) "rights." Although this was a natural phenomenon of the sixties, it was also a continuation of the development of Acadian awareness in the advancement of their language and culture through education.

During the year and a half, when construction of the plant was being completed, the students from L'Academie

de l'Assomption moved into the new building, bringing their principal as director.⁷⁴ This was in January. However, by June, his position was changed to vice-principal for the following year. In a vote taken by the School Board for the new director of the Complex he had received five votes; the new principal, six; and another candidate, one.

The new director of the Complex was Supervisor for Science and Mathematics for District Two (both English and French) and had had no previous experience as either a principal or a vice-principal. This, along with the split vote by the School Board, caused difficulties. The new director herself declared when asked if she were accepted as principal--"Not by the French"⁷⁵ as "I am French, but I am also Protestant" and indicated that religion meant a great deal.⁷⁶ Another reason for her not being considered "French" was that her education was at public schools and institutions, as education given in French was affiliated with the Catholic Church (L'Academie de l'Assomption). At this point, it should be noted that to be Acadian in northern New Brunswick,

⁷⁴ Interview with Lou Bursey (See Appendix B).

⁷⁵ Interview with J. Boucher (See Appendix B).

⁷⁶ This is substantiated by Hody who said that the Acadian people define themselves as having to be of Acadian descent, speak French and be Roman Catholic. (p. 19).

one had to be not only of Acadian descent, but French-speaking and Roman Catholic. This had been established as an unwritten principle when the Catholic Church had been divided in the town (previously mentioned).

The situation was complicated when the incumbent superintendent was forced to resign by the Planning Committee of the School Board.⁷⁷ Grounds for his resignation were given as: a) his divulging the nature of the vote in choosing the new principal for the new complex⁷⁸ (this is difficult to comprehend as the minutes of the School Board are in public domain and the information is clearly given in the minutes), b) his divulging pending board policy to the Foyer de l'Ecole de l'Assomption before it was ratified by the board.⁷⁹ Added to this was the accusation by one of the English board members that he "sabotaged everything."⁸⁰

To further complicate matters, the School Board decided on a policy of integration for French and English students in all schools to correspond with the new complex. This policy was announced at a meeting February 17, 1970, at the Lord Beaverbrook School. Many of the teachers

⁷⁷ Minutes of District Two School Board.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

were unnerved at this sudden shift in policy and the meeting became very emotional, fearing that they too would have to become bilingual or their teaching positions would be put in jeopardy. (I was in attendance at this meeting.) Subsequent to this Mr. Gauvin stated that "The problem here is that there is a confrontation between the teachers, the parents and the Board. The Board is on one side and the teachers and parents on the other"⁸¹ and that "he could not say that integration or segregation was the solution. Neither method had been fully proven." Later he added, "There is no guarantee that all students are going to be bilingual, and if children are forced into a situation, harm could be done to the child."⁸²

Although members of the Board said that there was "no quarrel" with the complex, Mr. Gauvin's reply sheds light on the whole situation . . . "people get emotionally involved. Local press releases get them worked up."⁸³ He felt that the Board should move more slowly, taking another year to study, to receive the approval of the parents and the teachers.⁸⁴

⁸¹ School Board Minute Book.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Board Minutes.

⁸⁴ Board Minutes.

This theory of emotional involvement of the teachers and administrators was further reinforced five days later in a brief presented to the Board. This brief, signed by Lou Bursey, President of the Principals' Association; M. LeBlanc, President of the A.E.F.N.B.; and W. Ferguson, President of the N.B.T.A., presents the views and fears of their members. (See Appendix A.)

After first reviewing the meeting of February 17, and the teachers unfavourable reaction to the policy of integration, the brief presents the accepted policy of unilingual schools (other than the Complex).⁸⁵ This in itself makes the Complex a paradox within the district before it was even occupied by all the students. There were further questions as to job security⁸⁶ and these were directly related to the Complex. The problem here lay in department headships. These, it appeared, would necessitate bilingual people, while many of the incumbent Heads at the Campbellton High School were unilingual English. (L'Academie de l'Assomption did not have vocational facilities at this time and therefore had no department heads in most areas.)

Another problem directly related to this became obvious to both English and French during the next few

⁸⁵ Brief (See Appendix A).

⁸⁶ Brief (See Appendix A).

years; that is, that a bilingual person is considered bilingual only if his/her mother tongue is French. At first, this may seem a rather broad and unfounded generalization, but it is most often true. The problem here lies with both English first language people who seem to avoid speaking French until they have acquired perfect fluency (which is almost impossible without a great deal of practice and errors) and the accepted belief that "English sounds cute with an accent but French doesn't." Therefore, most "bilingual" teachers' mother tongue was French. (I only know of two exceptions.) Many of the English teachers could understand French, but did not speak the language with enough fluency to communicate.

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When all the teachers entered the new plant in the fall of 1970, the foreshadowing of the previous problems became a reality. In a bilingual high school with many unilingual teachers and students, the first problem became communication; the second, the defining of what a bilingual school comprised; the third, fear for job security and that the "other" side would have more of whatever there was to go around (supplies, labs, space and equipment).

In the defining of what a bilingual school was to be, there were many definitions and a strong tradition to fight. The accepted definition (by the provincial government) has been discussed in various studies in New Brunswick.⁸⁷ A bilingual school was one which housed both Anglophone and Francophone students, where the courses English I and Français I were taught and where the subjects of Mathematics, Science and English were taught in English.⁸⁸

This was not the definition given by any of the Complex's administrators who were interviewed. Each had a different definition, but with one common factor; that is, that all students should be taught in both languages. This would have meant that both French and English-speaking students would have received half of their instruction in English and half in French.⁸⁹

This last definition may have been theoretically put

⁸⁷ Richard Gauvin, A Comparative Study of French and English-Speaking Students from a Small Bilingual High School: Their Successes and Failures Following Graduation. (1973). Why I use this particular definition is that this is the same Mr. Gauvin who was the District Superintendent for the north shore including Campbellton during this time.

⁸⁸ Hody, p. 191.

⁸⁹ These definitions were all given in retrospect by previous administrators; one left the district and the other has left teaching altogether. (See Appendix B).

into use, but practically it was difficult. There were now curricula in the fields of both Mathematics and Science with textbooks in French. The students who took these courses, however, were all French-speaking. The English students appeared to lack the fluency to take courses in French, other than second-language courses. Also, there was the belief that if a student wanted to attend a university of either language, that the courses which appeared on his/her transcript should be in the same language as those spoken at that institution.⁹⁰

As the definition of a "bilingual" school was never clear between the administrators and the province, the teachers also had difficulty in understanding what it meant. Many of the older English teachers expressed fears for their job security because they could not speak French. Staff meetings also became "harrowing" experiences. This may seem like a rather strong term, but having attended meetings which lasted up to five hours after a regular teaching day, I feel this term is justified. These lengthy staff meetings were caused by the need for translations of all that was said in both English and French. This became exceedingly tedious as the

⁹⁰ The problem of students crossing from one course offered in their native tongue to one of the "other" seemed to create a vague fear among teachers for the loss of their jobs. Less students in one area in one language meant less teachers on that "side."

majority of teachers could understand both languages (but perhaps could not speak them fluently). Because most teachers could understand both languages, arguments often developed over the nuances and/or syntax of verbal translations. These, in themselves, caused further dissention.

This constant need for translation and duplication of services became a constant area of disagreement. Memoranda were scrutinized for grammatical errors in each language and translation of policies were often questioned. Antagonism and fear became secondary to the teaching situation and there was always "blame" being directed at someone.

These accusations reached a feverish pitch when money and equipment began to disappear from areas of the school. Each side accused the other until it was discovered (much later) by the R.C.M.P. that the "disappearances" were caused by someone outside the teaching, administrative or student bodies. The damage, however, had already been done.

Articles appeared in L'Aviron condemning the idea of bilingual schools, along with a full page advertisement by Un Comite de Professeurs et de Parents.⁹¹ This page contained thirteen reasons why a unilingual French

⁹¹ L'Aviron, Nov. 17, 1971.

junior high school was desirable and six complaints against the Complex. These same complaints were recorded in letters to the School Board also. Most were about inequalities in programs offered the students, the lack of French books in the library and the predominant use of English in the social interaction of the school.⁹²

One of the major difficulties facing the teachers and administrators at this time was that one of the officers of Un Comite de Professeurs et de Parents was the former principal of L'Academie and the incumbent Assistant Principal at the Complex. This group became stronger in the second year of the Complex's existence, a year in which this man became principal at the Francophone Junior High School located in the Andrew Street School.⁹³

Although most people interviewed agreed that during the first year of the Complex there were few difficulties, this was the time when the seeds of future tensions developed.

The Director suspected that separatism was being taught in the Francophone classrooms by the French-

⁹² Letters dated September 24, 1970; and September 30, 1970, May 18, 1971, and March 30, 1971--all signed by Dr. F. St. Laurent, President of Foyer Ecole de l'Assomption.

⁹³ See Appendix B. Interview with Brother Dumais.

speaking teachers.⁹⁴ This information was circulated among the English-speaking teachers during the second year of the Complex.⁹⁵ This, along with the belief that the Superintendent was also a separatist and was favouring the Francophone teachers and students,⁹⁶ added further to the tension of the teachers.

Discipline within the school deteriorated as the Francophone students became more militant, responding to all English-speaking teachers with the phrase, "Je ne comprends pas" and a shrug of their shoulders. The English students soon followed suit and often the same students were using both phrases to avoid obediences to anyone. As this situation developed, teachers found that they had difficulty maintaining discipline within their own classrooms as students wandered the halls refusing to obey anyone and causing noise and distractions to those remaining in the rooms. Towards the end of the second year, some teachers had stopped lecturing and teaching. They merely went to their rooms at the appropriate times, assigned written exercises to the few who attended regularly and collected their pay. This, along with a great deal of vandalism, put a lot of pressure on the

⁹⁴ See Appendix B. Interview with J. Boucher.

⁹⁵ Private Information.

⁹⁶ See Appendix B. Interview with J. Boucher.

Director who could no longer count on her staff for maintaining discipline and found herself without support of the Superintendent. The Superintendent had insisted on a line-staff communication within the district. In this manner, it was unethical for the Director to go to the Board with any information or requests. The Chairman of the Board was Anglophone but wished to keep the Board of School Trustees from splitting; so she, therefore, respected the line-staff communication system. There were, however, accusations by the Anglophone teachers that the Francophone Superintendent did not follow the line-staff communication system as he regularly reported directly to the Francophone administrators and teachers without going through the Director.

By the end of the second year, the Director left her position (and the district) amid rumours as to her being "forced to resign." Although she did not say as much in her interview, she implied that the situation had become intolerable and, therefore, she had resigned.

Again, another brief was presented to the School Board by the local New Brunswick Teachers' Association. (See Appendix A). This brief, dated April 18, 1972, protested the line-staff arrangement of communication

in the district,⁹⁷ accused the new Superintendent, a Francophone, of many infractions of this line of communication, and other unethical practices in communicating ideas throughout the district. Although the brief mentioned other schools, its focal point was the Complex, asking for the Board's reason for accepting the director's resignation and demanding that an investigation be made into her withdrawal of services.

The School Board made an answering brief which stated that the principal had left of "her own free will, at no time was she asked to do so." It was also stated that the superintendent regretted any infraction of the line of communication and made assurances that there would be no more of these problems.⁹⁸ There was no other follow-up to this situation as the Board's answers were published in the local weekly papers. The answer took three editions and was extremely lengthy, reiterating the fact that the Complex would remain bilingual and voicing confidence in the Superintendent.

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⁹⁷ This line-staff communication was from the students to the teachers, the teachers to the principal, the principal to the superintendent, the superintendent to the Board. This effectively isolated the Board from the teachers.

⁹⁸ Recorded in the School Board Minutes.

The third year of the Complex was its most hectic and for the new administrator, (an impossible one in which to manage school. Letters and editorials appeared in L'Aviron condemning bilingual schools and demanding unilingual French schools. Committees were formed, meetings were held, petitions were signed, and the School Board found itself in the centre of a great deal of publicity as it tried to stand firm on its decision to retain the Complex as a bilingual school. To add to this problem, the Andrew Street School became the centre of a controversy on its safety as a French junior high school, the incumbent Superintendent received an educational leave, and a new Superintendent was appointed. By the end of the school year, committees of Francophones had contacted the Minister of Education, Lorne McGuigan, and with the resignation of its second Director, along with half the staff, the Complex was divided into two unilingual schools, both in the same building, but using it at different times.

The new Director had the impossible task of getting all the students and teachers to work together again. He also had the unenviable position of not being accepted by either the French (he had previously been working as an assistant superintendent in Ontario and was seen as English) or the English (his last name, along with his religion and heritage, was French). To compound

matters, he became an efficient administrator on paper,⁹⁹ issuing memoranda with many addenda at an increasing rate; but with this, he failed to communicate verbally with the staff and was therefore seen by them as inefficient. To further complicate this, separate staff meetings for Anglophone and Francophone teachers were introduced¹⁰⁰ and there were more memoranda and policies which then had to be translated and distributed. This caused further difficulties, as there were many complaints as to the "sameness" of the meanings of translations. Divisions were also caused when the student council was divided along unilingual lines by the administrator.¹⁰¹ The Complex virtually became two schools in one with the vice-principals of each linguistic group assuming more and more of the responsibility for their respective groups. The Director physically withdrew into his office and refused to see any of the staff for the latter part of the year. He communicated through the vice-principals and, as mentioned earlier, through countless written memoranda. This further alienated the staff, both Francophone and Anglophone, not

⁹⁹ Interview with Maurice Dion (Appendix B).

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Maurice Dion (Appendix B).

¹⁰¹ Previous to this, the students had remained relatively cordial with one another and the first bilingual student council was supposed to have been very co-operative. Private information from Gerald Blacquiére, former co-president of the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Student Council.

only from the Director, but also from each other. Two staff rooms, one of which was used exclusively by French-speaking teachers, the other by English-speaking, were used. This was not official policy, but became a social practice. Rumours became rampant in each of these rooms concerning the members of the opposite group and of the goings-on at their separate staff meetings. Since the Director did not or could not personally co-ordinate nor control the administration of the staff, the resulting distrust destroyed any remnants of co-operation that had existed in the first years of the Complex.

The division was felt within the community as more and more letters and articles appeared in the local papers, especially in L'Aviron. Titles were "Pour ou Contre" (For or Against); "Les Foyers-écoles de Dalhousie et Campbellton favorisent l'école unilingue." (The Dalhousie and Campbellton Home and School favour the unilingual school). "La colère gronde chez les parents." (Anger grows among parents). This gave voice to resentment which turned into action on April 4, 1973, when the Committee of the Foyer école de l'Assomption met with Richard Gauvin, the Regional Superintendent. At this meeting, the whole group voted categorically against bilingual schools.¹⁰² There was also a need expressed

¹⁰² School Board Minutes.

for a new junior high school to replace the Andrew Street School with its many physical problems.

This desire for a new Francophone junior high began a new series of articles in the paper and the forming of another committee which invited Lorne McGuigan, the then New Brunswick Minister of Education, to visit the Andrew Street School and see the conditions himself. This he did in February and declared it the worst in the province,¹⁰³ but still the School Board did not change its position.

However, in March, the English Home and School Association openly approved of unilingual schools.¹⁰⁴ This they were soon to regret, as the Minister of Education suggested a split shift system with the Complex housing both the French senior and junior high school students in one shift and the English senior high school students in another.¹⁰⁵ This the English saw as a loss to their group and presented a brief in July to the Board of School Trustees opposing this.¹⁰⁶ This followed a week long school boycott in March by the students at the Andrew Street School during which their parents picketed and

¹⁰³ L'Aviron, February 7, 1973, p.13.

¹⁰⁴ The Campbellton Graphic, March 8, 1973, p. 1.

¹⁰⁵ The Campbellton Graphic, May 31, 1973, p. 1.

¹⁰⁶ The Campbellton Graphic, July 5, 1973, p. 1.

camera crews came from the C.B.C.¹⁰⁷ The School Board had to stick with its new decision and so in the fall of 1973, the students began a new system of attending school, one language group attending from 7:45 to 12:45 each day and the other from 1:00 to 6:00. Every six weeks, this system was rotated or reversed.

* * * * *

In the three years that the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Complex remained a bilingual high school, there were many difficulties in ensuring equal treatment to all involved. Because the choice of the new Director was not a unanimous one, there followed a series of conflicts over her administrative role. This, with the change in superintendents, growing interest in education and the confusion as to what constituted a bilingual school caused fear to generate among the staff. This was to presage the eventual resignation of this principal and the difficulties of her successor.

This man's problem lay both within the school which demanded more and more services in unilingual groups, and from within the community itself which became divided on its desires for unilingual schools and the replacement of

¹⁰⁷ L'Aviron, May 30, 1973, p. 1.

the Andrew Street School. With open conflict, came interest from the Minister of Education, and a great deal of publicity which finally forced the School Board to reorganize the district once again. This time, the French junior high and senior high school students were attending the Polyvalente Restigouche along with the English senior high school students. The groups were divided, however, and one language group would attend in the mornings and the other in the afternoons on a rotating split shift system.

CHAPTER IV

REALISTIC GROUP CONFLICT THEORY AS APPLIED TO DISTRICT TWO

Although the Complex had been divided, there appeared no distinct rationale for this occurrence. There were many reasons given, the most obvious being the manifest conflict as exhibited in protests, letters and changes in staff and administration; but the causes could not be defined. Many people within the school system "blamed" various personalities or groups, but the direct causes seemed to allude definition.

The purpose of this chapter is to gather all the pertinent historical and sociological information and present it in a conflict theory framework, identifying some of the factors which lead to the dividing of the bilingual Complex into two unilingual high schools.

The theoretical framework to be used is the Realistic Group Conflict Theory as presented by Robert A. Levine and Donald T. Campbell in their study, Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior. Within Realistic Group Conflict Theory there are ten principles which deal with conflict between two groups, one group identified as the ingroup and the other as the outgroup. In this thesis, I am identifying the Francophone community as the ingroup and the Anglophone as the outgroup. (The reasons for this will be given in detail later in this chapter.)

Realistic Group Conflict Theory "Assumes that group conflicts are rational in the sense that groups do have incompatible goals and are in competition for scarce resources."¹⁰⁸ In this study, the scarce resources are seen as the educational facilities of the new Complex and the incompatible goals are the desires of each group to control and/or have these resources as the sole possession of its group.

Realistic Group Conflict has ten principles as related to conflict between two groups. These are enumerated below:

1. Real conflict of group-interests causes intergroup conflict.
2. Real conflict of interests, overt, active or past intergroup conflict, and/or presence of hostile, threatening, and competitive outgroup neighbours, which may be called real threat, cause perception of threat.
3. Real threat causes hostility to the source of the threat.
4. Real threat causes ingroup solidarity.
5. Real threat causes increased awareness of own ingroup identity.
6. Real threat increases the tightness of group boundaries.
7. Real threat reduces defection from the group.

¹⁰⁸ Robert A. Levine and Donald T. Campbell, Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972), p. 29.

8. Real threat increases punishment and rejection of defectors.
9. Real threat creates punishment and rejection of deviants.
10. Real threat increases ethnocentrism.¹⁰⁹

These ten principles are developed from the one major thesis that the two groups have conflicting interests over the same resources. As stated earlier, the resources are seen as the educational facilities available to senior high school students of District Two; that is, the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Complex. Both groups wanted, not only the use of the facilities, but the control of them; that is, linguistic control where the language of socialization, as well as instruction would be theirs. The Anglophone group saw this as natural as up to this point in the history of education of New Brunswick, bilingual schools were those in which most courses were taught in English and a few courses were taught in French. The purpose of bilingual schools appeared to be the development of bilingual Francophone students, but not bilingual Anglophone students. (This has been discussed fully in the previous chapter.) The Francophone community (especially teachers and students) found this a threat to their newly developed French

¹⁰⁹ Levine and Campbell, pp. 29-33.

curricula for all subjects.¹¹⁰ Along with this, there was perceived the threat of the loss of French by the Francophone student body if the language of socialization in the school was to be English. This was not recognized until near the end of the first year of operation of the Complex. It was realized that most of the verbal communication had been in English; in the student council meetings, student committee meetings, as well as, staff and departmental meetings. This was not planned, but was a practical solution to the situation. Most Francophone teachers and students were bilingual, while most Anglophone teachers and students were unilingual English.

This conflict of language utilization brought intergroup conflict in all areas of education. This may be seen as following the first principle of Realistic Group Conflict Theory: "1. Real conflict of group-interests causes intergroup conflict."¹¹¹ This intergroup conflict began at the beginning of the second year of operation when an advertisement appeared in L'Aviron, the local Francophone newspaper, listing grievances against the Complex. The main grievance appeared to be that the language of socialization in extracurricular activities

¹¹⁰ See Appendix B. Interview with Brother Dumais.

¹¹¹ Levine and Campbell, p. 29.

was English.¹¹² This was supplemented by an editorial decrying this practice and insisting that French be used equally within the Complex.¹¹³ There were also complaints as to the lesser number of optional courses given in French than in English. This article began the overt intergroup conflict within the school and the community. About this time, completely bilingual staff meetings were implemented within the Complex which brought about lengthy translations. The exactness of these translation was often questioned and translations of translations resulted, causing strain and tension. The student council and committee meetings began having the same difficulties, especially because rural students (bus students) were encouraged to participate in these meetings. These students came from unilingual French and/or unilingual English areas outside the city of Campbellton. Few of these students had been exposed to the other language as all the business, religious and social activities in their communities were totally in their mother tongue. Many of these students became militant when they felt that they were being inhibited from participating in debates by their lack of fluency in the other language. This caused resentment in the student body and the

¹¹² L'Aviron, November 17, 1971.

¹¹³ L'Aviron, November 17, 1971.

beginning of the "Je ne comprends pas" syndrome. I use this term as this became the primary answer to all questions, directions or instructions in English. Since many of the Francophone teaching staff were bilingual, they could respond to English-speaking students who said "I don't understand." This became the primary overt act of defiance as a student could "get away with anything" in the presence of Anglophone teachers if he/she used this phrase. Anglophone students sometimes used it if they were not known by an Anglophone teacher. This led to overt acts of vandalism and disobedience within the Complex by the second term of the first year. This overt conflict manifested itself and can be seen as following the second principle of Realistic Group Conflict Theory:

2. Real conflict of interests, overt, active or past intergroup conflict, and/or presence of hostile, threatening, and competitive outgroup neighbours, which collectively may be called real threat, cause preception of threat.¹¹⁴

The conflict over language within the school and the community did give a perception of threat to many of the teaching staff and students of the Complex. Many Anglophone teachers feared the loss of their teaching positions and thus their livelihood because of their inability to

¹¹⁴ Levine and Campbell, p. 30.

115 speak French. Many Francophone teachers and students expressed their fear of losing their language in an atmosphere dominated by the use of English.¹¹⁶ There was also a constant fear of reprisals for having tried to discipline someone of another language or of not having disciplined them and the real fear of the resulting chaos from lack of control. Some teachers and students feared that they would be considered bigoted if they did not constantly yield to the demands of the other group while others feared that they would be considered "turncoats" for siding with positions of the other group which they felt fair.¹¹⁷

This situation was further aggravated by the knowledge that these two linguistic groups had actually been at war in the past in Canada as well as in Europe. This fact was brought to everyone's attention as, at the time, archeologists from Quebec began an underwater excavation of some of the ships sunk during the Battle of the Restigouche, the final naval battle between the English and the French of the Seven Years War.¹¹⁸ This excavation, carried out in the Restigouche River opposite the city.

¹¹⁵ Private information, former teachers at the Complex, D.M. and S.D.

¹¹⁶ See Appendix B. Interview with Brother Dumais.

¹¹⁷ See Appendix B. Interview with M. Dion.

¹¹⁸ Discussed in Chapter I.

of Campbellton, was given publicity in the local papers, making many of the Francophones more aware of their Acadian heritage. Some of the teachers, students and members of the community were descendants of the Acadians who had fled to Gaspe and Tracadie after the battle, their descendants returning with the construction of the Inter-colonial Railway.

As shown in the second chapter of this thesis, there had always been a feeling of threat that the Acadian language, heritage and religion would disappear in the face of the overwhelming numbers of English-speaking peoples of North America. This was evidenced in the speech by Monsignor Melanson at the opening of L'Academie de l'Assomption. The Francophone students who now occupied the Complex and many of their teachers had transferred into the Complex from this same Academie and brought with them its history of distrust and competition, of and with, the English-speaking community. Added to this, there was, within District Two, a history of inequality of services between the two groups. Where the Francophone community had had one privately-funded school to service their children, the Anglophones had several publicly funded schools, even though by 1971, the Francophone community outnumbered the Anglophone in Campbellton. Of the ten thousand, three hundred and eighty-five citizens of Campbellton, five thousand, six

hundred and eighty-five were French.¹¹⁹ As shown in the first chapter of this thesis, historically the English-speaking community had controlled and/or owned most of the industry and property within the area, causing a feeling of economic, as well as cultural, threat by the French community.

This leads to the third principle of Realistic Group Conflict Theory; that is, "3. ° Réal threat causes hostility to the source of threat."¹²⁰

For the purposes of this thesis, I would prefer to use the term "perceived source of threat"; as the source of threat was the Anglophone community (from the Francophone viewpoint); the perceived source of threat came to be seen as the Director of the Complex who represented all that the Francophone community feared. The Director was someone of Acadian descent who had "lost" her Acadian identity. She was Protestant and therefore, according to the history of her people, was no longer Acadian. She had received her education in public schools and had had to relearn her French through immersion courses before taking the position as director. Therefore, she was seen as having lost her language and religion and was seen as Anglicized or "English." The

¹¹⁹ Special Bulletin S P-5, 1971 Census of Canada Catalogue 92-774, Table 2, pp. 2-19.

¹²⁰ Levine and Campbell, p. 30.

Francophone community, especially the teachers, feared that this anglicization would become the policy of the school. (This they had already seen in the history of bilingual education in the province as evidenced in the thesis by Hody, previously mentioned.)

The next Director was also seen as the same "anglicized" Acadian as, although he had retained his Roman Catholic religion, he and his family attended St. Thomas Aquinas, the "Irish" church. His family, having been raised in Ontario, the place of his previous employment, were mainly English-speaking and were seen, therefore, by the Francophone community as an extension of the already feared anglicization of its people.

The hostility towards these two people and their administration of the Complex were evidenced in the many articles which appeared in L'Aviron in the years 1971-73.¹²¹ These articles became more strongly worded as time progressed and expressed a new feeling of group solidarity in the face of the Anglophone threat. This may be seen as evidence of the fourth principle of Realistic Group Conflict Theory; that is, "4. Real threat causes ingroup solidarity."¹²²

¹²¹ L'Aviron: March 10, March 15, April 26, May 10, June 28, July 5, August 9 and September 13 of 1971, and February 7, 14, 21, May 2, 9, 16, 23 and 30 of 1972. (There were often more than one article per paper.)

¹²² Levine and Campbell, p. 31.

As the use of the English language became more pervasive during the first year of operation of the Complex, the Francophone staff became more cohesive in its responses to the situation. Most of the teachers joined the Francophone Home and School Association, Le Foyer d'Ecole de Campbellton; they also joined La Societe des Acadiens and became politically identified with Le Partie Acadien. Many members of the Francophone community also joined these organizations and became politically active, attending meetings, writing letters and protesting in public.¹²³ During this time, there developed spokespersons for the Francophones, one of whom was the former principal of the Academie and later vice-principal of the Complex. (He became the principal of the French Junior High and precipitated much of the controversy over the conditions of the building.)¹²⁴ Other spokespersons were invariably Francophone teachers from the Complex and were, like the above-mentioned spokesman, associated with the Roman Catholic Church.¹²⁵

¹²³ This was especially true during the latter term of 1973, when parents kept their children from attending classes in the French Junior High School and picketed for a week. This brought much television and newspaper publicity from both French and English language media.

¹²⁴ See Appendix B. Interview with Brother Dumais.

¹²⁵ This man was a brother, while some of the others were brothers, nuns or ex-nuns.

The church became a central source of identity for the Francophone community which brings the fifth principle of Realistic Group Conflict Theory into focus; that is, "5. Real threat causes increased awareness of ingroup identity."¹²⁶

The Francophone community, now identified as the ingroup because of its cohesive response to the threat of being assimilated into the English-speaking community, identified itself as being Acadian. This meant that the members shared a common heritage, history, language and religion, because to be Acadian in Eastern Canada one must possess all the above characteristics. The Catholic Church has been the unifying force of the Acadian people since the "Expulsion of the Acadians" in 1755-1760. It has provided a vehicle through which the French language could be maintained by making available education in French and preserving much of the traditions and folkways associated with religious holidays and festivals. The church, Notre Dame de Neiges, became the meeting hall for many of the Francophone societies during the three years of the problems at the Complex. The basement and abandoned Academie de l'Assomption building were used for meeting rooms for Le Foyer d'Ecole, the Societe des Acadiens, le Club Richelieu (a Francophone men's Catholic

¹²⁶ Levine and Campbell, p. 32.

organization) and la Societie Culturelle de la Baie de Chaleur. All of these groups became extremely active, and recruited many new members. There also was a cross-over of membership among the groups so that all were soon identified as belonging to not one, but all groups available.

The Anglophones, however, appeared not to have any cohesiveness to their communities. They were divided religiously. (There were seven different denominations in the City of Campbellton, six of which offered services exclusively in English.) The English-speaking community lacked a common heritage as, although the original settlers were Scottish Presbyterian, the later settlers were of Irish, Royalist and/or English descent. The creation of the United Church of Canada in the 1920's also split the Presbyterian congregation in Campbellton, many of whom left to join the United Church.

There was one effort to unite the Anglophones and that was the attempted formation of an English Home and School Association. This effort did not meet with success as the organizer was identified with a movement to make Canada unilingual English. The English-speaking teachers at the Complex feared that identification with this man would destroy their credibility as to wanting

bilingual education¹²⁷ and, therefore, refused to join. This effectively ended any unification of the Anglophone community.¹²⁸

The Francophone group now developed its own sense of identity without restrictions or concerted efforts against it by the Anglophones. A practice was made of speaking only French and there was a refusal to speak English within the school and/or town. Businesses owned and operated by Francophones were frequented; dealing with Anglophone businesses was discouraged. There were clear boundaries as to what was expected and what was not acceptable behavior.

This evidences the sixth principle of Realistic Group Conflict Theory; that is, "6. Real threat increases the tightness of group boundaries."¹²⁹ These boundaries, Levine and Campbell identify as "social distance maintenance."¹³⁰

This social distance was effectively maintained by

¹²⁷ Private Information from a former teacher at the Complex. (B. F.)

¹²⁸ It should be noted here that the two English weekly newspapers are politically identified--The Graphic with the Liberal Party and The Tribune with the Progressive Conservative Party. These two papers reflected their affiliations and only occasionally editorialized on the problems at the Complex.

¹²⁹ Levine and Campbell, p. 32.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

the exclusive use of French by many of the Francophones, thus isolating them from the mostly unilingual Anglophones. This necessitated the hiring of "bilingual"; that is, French-speaking people in all service industries, especially in provincial public service. This further strengthened the "boundaries" as lives could be totally conducted in the French language. One other "boundary" has been established in the previous chapter of this thesis; that is, that Acadian people in Campbellton invariably had Francophone last names and were Roman Catholic. This was caused by the building of the new "Irish" church, making another limit to being Acadian; that is, having a Francophone surname and being a member of Notre Dame des Neiges.

Because being Francophone was becoming economically, as well as socially, advantageous in District Two, fewer students opted to take their high school courses in English, reducing "defections" from the Francophone community. This could be seen as further substantiating Levine and Campbell's seventh principle of Realistic Group Conflict Theory; that "7. Real threat reduced defection from the group."¹³¹

The real threat of losing their language had created an ingroup solidarity among the Francophones of District

¹³¹ Levine and Campbell, p. 33.

Two; it had strengthened their use of French, their connections to the church and their determination to have their education exclusively in French. This was evidenced in their forming organizations which lobbied both politically and publicly for this right. The organizations, previously mentioned, were responsible for such headlines in L'Aviron as "Une situation qui a assez dure,"¹³² and "Qui doit rougir de honte"¹³³ which expressed the anger and frustration of the Francophone community at their inability to control the language of socialization in the Complex.

This manifestation of Acadian identity and solidarity strengthened the feelings of pride and reduced the number of "anglicized" students at the school. This was further aided by the emergence of L'Universite de Moncton and L'Universite de St. Anne as fully accredited and recognized universities in the Maritimes and in Canada as a whole. Previous to this, students often attended the University of New Brunswick in Fredericton or St. Thomas University (previously in Chatham, New Brunswick, which is geographically closer to the North Shore) of Fredericton. However, with many of the new teachers of the Complex coming from L'Universite de Moncton, more and

¹³² "A situation that is hard to take"

¹³³ "One must blush with shame"

more Francophone students opted to take all their courses in French as they saw more post-secondary educational opportunities open for them in French. They also realized that with the newly introduced federal and provincial policies demanding bilingual or Francophone public employees, that there were more employment opportunities for them if they followed this educational route. This further strengthened their determination to have education in French and strengthened the fear of loss of jobs if Anglophones controlled education at the Complex.

Because of this strengthened feeling, with fewer people "defected" from the group, those who did defect were rejected and in some ways "punished" (usually with ostracism).

For the purpose of this thesis, I will consider the eighth and ninth principles of Realistic Group Conflict Theory together. They are:

8. Real threat increases punishment and rejection of defectors.

and

9. Real threat creates punishment and rejection of deviants.¹³⁴

The created and increased punishment of "defectors" and "deviants" was evidenced in the teaching staff at the Complex. Three Francophone teachers (who possessed all

¹³⁴ Levine and Campbell, p. 33.

the necessary linguistic, religious and ancestral requirements) were openly ostracized by other members of the Francophone staff when they opted to teach their courses in English. (Two were in the Industrial, Vocational teaching area and noted that most of their textbooks were printed only in English¹³⁵ and the third became a member of the administration.¹³⁶) All these men claimed to have been approached by members of the Acadian community and threatened with rejection if they did not conform and join the "cause." All three refused and were subsequently dropped socially by many of their Francophone friends.

Within the community, as the boundaries tightened, Francophone women who had married Anglophones came to be accused of being "anglicized," especially if their children spoke English and received their education in English. These women were no longer asked to join Acadian organizations or often were dropped from the membership and discouraged from rejoining.¹³⁷

Among the student body, there seemed to be less intergroup dating and socialization, although some still

¹³⁵ Private Information, D. L. and R. C., former teachers at the Complex who presently teach at the new English high school, Sugarloaf Senior High School.

¹³⁶ See Appendix B. Interview with M. Dion.

¹³⁷ Private Information.

did exist. Those who did intergroup socialize were generally town students who had grown up in the same neighbourhoods and were bilingual.

With these last two principles of Realistic Group Conflict Theory reinforced, the final and overall principle is that "10. Real threat increases ethnocentrism."¹³⁸

In ethnocentrism taken from Levine and Campbell, there are the following statements which define and explain the phenomenon of ethnocentrism:

Ethnocentrism leads a people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others. It therefore strengthens the folkways.¹³⁹

and

"The greater the group nationalism and ethnocentrism, the greater is the group homogeneity of attitudes, beliefs, language spoken, and ways of behaving, the greater is the group's cohesiveness, and the greater are the pressures for homogeneity and cohesiveness."¹⁴⁰

In each case there is an exaggeration and strengthening of that which makes the ingroup different from the outgroup. This strengthening could be seen in the Complex and in District Two as the ingroup, the Franco-

¹³⁸ Levine and Campbell, p. 33.

¹³⁹ Levine and Campbell, p. 8.

¹⁴⁰ Levine and Campbell, p. 21 (taken from Blake and Mouton, 1961).

phones, insisted on the exclusive use of French in their education, socialization and business. This effectively identified them as different from the outgroup (the Anglophones). Added to the exclusive use of French, there developed within the Complex, especially among the teachers and a certain number of students, interest in Acadian history and culture. This was manifested in an interest in the old folk traditions and foods.

In the community, there is a yearly festival called "The Salmon Festival" usually celebrated with a parade and salmon dinners. At this time, an Acadian Cave a Vin was added to the festivities.¹⁴¹ During these years, there began a series of frecoe and bouillion (Acadian chicken stew) dinners which replaced the teas that the Francophone organizations had previously sponsored.

Socially, Acadian folk music became very popular, especially since the Acadian folk singer and, in some ways folk hero, Edith Butler, lived in the Campbellton area and was involved in much of the rediscovery of Acadian folkways.¹⁴² Traditions, such as the chivaree,

¹⁴¹ Public Knowledge.

¹⁴² Her husband was one of the divers in the underwater excavation of the ships sunk during the Battle of the Restigouche. I had visited them in their home with Acadian friends.

became very prominent.¹⁴³ These traditions were usually performed in public. The Acadian flag became very prominent, hanging above houses, schools and businesses and was displayed on many cars. (It still is.)

* * * * *

This ethnocentrism became an extension of Acadian determination to control their destiny and make a place for themselves in the Maritimes. It was not just a short phenomenon developed from the 1960's, but an on-going awareness of their identity in the face of an overwhelming majority of Anglophones in North America. Francophone numbers increased in District Two until they were no longer a minority, but the majority. They had, until 1970, control over their education within the community; however, with the completion of the Complex and the unification of all high school students, Anglophone and Francophone, in one school, came the threat of assimilation as the language of socialization in the school was English.

¹⁴³ In the Acadian chivaree, the groom is usually kidnapped the night before his wedding and often publicly displayed in an embarrassing manner. During this time, I saw young men tied on trucks and driven through town with much fanfare. They were usually naked, covered only with molasses and feathers or some such concoction.

This threat to the preservation of the French language and the loss of control of their educational system led the Francophone community to become aware of their own identity as a cultural group. This increased their solidarity in the opposition to the school administration and School Board which insisted that both groups remain in the same building and that the directors be "anglicized" Acadians.

Because of their strengthened group awareness, there were a reduced number of "defectors" or those who chose to be educated and work in English. Those who did, however, found that they were rejected by their fellow Francophones who developed an increasing awareness in their culture, heritage and language.

This type of confrontation could only be solved with the reinstatement of control of education for the Francophones by the Francophones. This was done in 1973, when the Restigouche Senior High School Complex was divided and the split-shift system was established. For four years, the two groups would use the same facilities at different times, so that each group could control its education and further develop the ethnocentrism of its group.

CHAPTER V

A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SITUATION IN CAMPBELLTON AND A CASE STUDY ON STURGEON FALLS, ONTARIO

The School was divided. The English students attended at one time, the French students attended the same building at a different time. This had been the result of a long history during which each group had vied for the goods and services available in a small town, and in a province which somehow belonged to both of them. This situation, however, was not unique to New Brunswick. After an exhaustive search, a study was found which involved another bilingual high school that was divided into two unilingual high schools. This happened in Sturgeon Falls, Ontario, in the early 1970's.¹⁴⁴

In the book, Education Change and Society, a section entitled "Conflict over Schools in a Multi-Ethnic Society: A Case Study" by Danielle Jutneau Lee and Jean Lapointe,¹⁴⁵ studies the conflict between Francophones and Anglophones over the creation of a unilingual French high school in Sturgeon Falls, Ontario, and a bilingual (English-oriented) high school from one existing bilingual school.

¹⁴⁴Special Bulletin S P-5, 1971 Census of Canada Catalogue 92-774, Table 2, pp. 2-19.

¹⁴⁵Danielle Jutneau Lee and Jean Lapointe, "Conflict over Schools in a Multi-Ethnic Society: A Case Study," Education Change and Society, Gage Educational Publishing Limited, Toronto, 1977, pp. 159-172.

Although there are many dissimilarities between this occurrence and the one in Campbellton,¹⁴⁶ there is a strong similarity in the organizing of the Francophone communities to obtain their goals; that is, unilingual French high schools. Although Lee and Lapointe do not use Realistic Group Conflict Theory, they do draw their hypotheses from Conflict Theory. The group behavior in both communities showed many similarities. Both Francophone communities became more closely bound, wrote letters and briefs, made presentations to the provincial government, protested openly, had educators and clergy at the head of their movement and ostracized those of their group whom they felt did not conform to the cause. In Sturgeon Falls, the newspaper, La Cause, was published (irregularly) to voice these new feelings and build support while in Campbellton L'Aviron (published regularly) regularly editorialized the problems of its community. The lack of organized opposition of the Anglophones in both communities is also comparable, the Sturgeon Falls group also fearing that with the loss of the bilingual school, their group would be relegated to a new smaller

¹⁴⁶ The provinces differ, having different legislation covering the Francophone people. Ontario is a unilingual province with rights of education for Francophones, while New Brunswick is officially a bilingual province.

and more poorly equipped school.¹⁴⁷ This feeling may be seen in the later opposition to the split-shift system in Campbellton. The Anglophones realized that with the introduction of Francophone junior high school students to the Complex, it would be the English-speaking students who would have to move to new facilities.¹⁴⁸

To analyze this opposition between the two groups, Lee and Lapointe used the following hypotheses

- 1) that disagreement, between the majority and the minority, over the final goals of their relationship constitutes a sufficient but not a necessary condition of manifest conflict,¹⁴⁹
- 2) that the cost implied for the majority will affect its position vis-a-vis the establishment of a French language secondary school,¹⁵⁰
- 3) that the degree of organizational capacity of the minority is (negatively) related to the degree of opposition of

¹⁴⁷ Lee and Lapointe, p. 165.

¹⁴⁸ The Campbellton Graphic, March 8, 1973.

¹⁴⁹ Lee and Lapointe, p. 164. This first hypothesis was taken from Weber's theory that "Manifest conflict implies the presence of actions which are intentionally oriented by carrying out the will of the collectivity against the resistance of the other party or parties," from The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, The Free Press, New York, 1964, p. 132.

¹⁵⁰ Lee and Lapointe, p. 165.

the majority.¹⁵¹

In the study by Lee and Lapointe, the Francophone people were a majority in Sturgeon Falls, but were designated the minority in the study¹⁵² because of their position in the province, in Canada, and in North America as a whole. This designation also applied to the Campbellton Francophones (as previously mentioned). In Sturgeon Falls, however, the goals of the Anglophone community, which appeared to be to retain the status quo,¹⁵³ differed from those of the Anglophones in Campbellton, many of whom wanted unilingual schools.¹⁵⁴ As previously noted, the School Board and the Department of Education appeared to be the only groups totally in

¹⁵¹ Lee and Lapointe, p. 165. The third hypothesis was taken from Neuwirth's theory "the inability of a group to effect closure (to monopolize economic, political and/or social advantages) facilitates attempts by others to prevent such community closure," from "A Weberian Outline of a Theory of Community: Its Application to the 'Dark Ghetto'", British Journal of Sociology XX (2), p. 154.

¹⁵² Lee and Lapointe, p. 161.

¹⁵³ Lee and Lapointe, p. 165.

¹⁵⁴ This has been mentioned earlier; however, it may be further supported by a brief presented by the English Association of Campbellton to the School Board in 1974, (School Board Minutes). This brief consisted of five recommendations, all of which wanted the stress to be put on the learning of English in elementary schools and that only unilingual English high schools should be allowed. It recommended the total withdrawal of French from all high schools as either a first or second language.

favour of a bilingual high school. Their refusal, in 1973, to change the status quo began the open conflict in Campbellton. This can be seen as being compatible with the second hypothesis, that the cost implied for the majority (the province) affected its position vis-a-vis the establishment of a French language secondary school.

This cost was also related to the fact that a gain for one group meant a loss for the other because, with the building of a new senior high school, there would be loss of facilities. In Sturgeon Falls, the same situation existed as in Campbellton, as the greater number of Francophone students would necessitate their keeping the larger and more fully equipped high school. The Anglophone students, because of their fewer numbers, would have to have a smaller school which would have fewer course options.

As Ontario school boards must operate on local budgets, unlike New Brunswick, the moneys available to build another high school with full vocational facilities was prohibitive for so few students. The Anglophones and the Department of Education were therefore against any change in the status quo.

This was similar to the Complex which had been equipped with the best equipment, labs, vocational areas,

etc. The new (English) high school (proposed at that time) was to have no vocational facilities and be merely "a block of classrooms" separate from the Complex. This would have cost the English-speaking students their equality of facilities and placed them in a reverse position from that which they had enjoyed previous to the building of the Complex. This fear of loss of facilities was what promoted the many editorials and letters to the editor¹⁵⁵ in the early summer of 1973. These letters, however, came "after the fact" as mentioned earlier. The policy for the division of schools had been made and the School Board could not reverse its decision because of reversal of the wishes of the English-speaking community. Both Anglophone and Franco-phone groups wanted to keep what they had without a loss to the opposing group and the building of another complex with complete facilities would have been too costly to the province.

Also, at this time, a change in premier and government from the Acadian who had tried to create a balance by allotting more funds to the poorer rural areas of the province, to an Anglophone, who developed a policy which designated funds on a per pupil basis, caused little money to be available to District Two.

¹⁵⁵ The Campbellton Graphic, June 28, and July 5, 1973, also The Campbellton Tribune, June 29, 1973.

Therefore, from this, it can be seen that the first two hypotheses could be applied to the situation in the North Shore. In the first, the goals must differ between the majority and the minority. Although both ultimately wanted unilingual schools, the circumstances with which they were faced gave them only one fully-equipped school from which to choose. Therefore, the majority decided that the status quo would be preferable to the change demanded by the minority. Secondly, "the cost applied to the majority will affect its position to the establishment of a French language secondary school."¹⁵⁶

The cost to the English-speaking people of District Two would have been the loss of the fully equipped Complex; and, therefore, they did reverse their position on unilingual schools, thus preferring the status quo. Both of these circumstances could be compared to the situation in Sturgeon Falls where the English community also feared the loss of a large comprehensive high school and the construction of a smaller and more poorly equipped high school.¹⁵⁷

The third hypothesis referred to the minorities' organizational capacity. In Sturgeon Falls, the cohesiveness exhibited by the Francophone group appeared

¹⁵⁶ Lee and Lapointe, p. 165.

¹⁵⁷ Lee and Lapointe, p. 165.

extremely strong. Not only did they lobby the government with petitions, go to the Minister of Education and create a "network" of communication in the town; but it was through their efforts that the Symons Commission was formed to study bilingual education in all of Ontario. They exhibited a much stronger combined political effort than the Francophone community in Campbellton; however, both Anglophone communities appeared to react, or not to react, in the same way. Both Anglophone groups seemed to have little cohesiveness or feeling of community and were, therefore, powerless in the face of a strong and well organized opposition.

This strong opposition may be seen in the articles which appeared in L'Aviron during the second and third years of operation of the Complex in Campbellton: the full page advertisement in the L'Aviron which stated that French students should have unilingual French schools and the listing of grievances against the existing bilingual school;¹⁵⁸ and the accompanying editorial restating these same grievances. These mainly had to do with lack of equality in classes offered and the use of English in social and extracurricular activities. By the end of the second school year, the number of edi-

¹⁵⁸ L'Aviron, November 17, 1971.

torials, letters and articles had risen to ten.¹⁵⁹

In the second year, inequalities were voiced, but also the fear that the Francophone students would lose their language attending schools where English was becoming the medium through which communication was made. (This has been thoroughly covered in the previous chapter.)

During this time, there also had been letters sent to the School Board by the Foyer-ecole and a meeting with the Regional Superintendent had taken place in 1970, during which the group requested unilingual schools and registered complaints against the principal of the Complex. Similar occurrences had taken place in Sturgeon Falls, during the first two years, as this was the time when La Cause¹⁶⁰ came to be published and the home and school group, Association Parents--Instituteurs, came to be established as the focal point for voicing the desires of the community.¹⁶¹

In Sturgeon Falls, there was one aspect which could not be found in Campbellton and that was the "chain system" in which telephone lists were made for rapid mobilization of the community, through which (it was

¹⁵⁹ L'Aviron: March 10, March 15, April 26, May 10, June 28, July 5, August 9. (There were often more than one article per paper.)

¹⁶⁰ Lee and Lapointe, p. 166.

¹⁶¹ Lee and Lapointe, p. 167.

claimed) that one thousand persons could be reached within a half hour.¹⁶² This was unnecessary in Campbellton as L'Aviron was regularly published and could inform and organize the community and the local radio station CKNB had allotted times for French-speaking news, information and related programming.

The second dimension of this hypothesis studied by Lee and Lapointe referred to the "structure of authority."¹⁶³ They found that there became one group consisting mainly of teachers, clergy, school principals and a small number of the social elite of the Francophone community (doctors and businessmen) which came to be regarded as leaders in this movement and were recognized as the voice of the community.¹⁶⁴ A corresponding situation developed in Campbellton, as covered in Chapter IV, where the members of A.E.F.N.B. (Association d'Educateurs Francophone de Nouveau Brunswick), members of the clergy, school administrators became organizers along with a small group of businessmen and their wives. These people were also members of La Societe des Acadiens many of whom were later to become leading voices of Le. Partie Acadien. As in Sturgeon Falls, this leading

¹⁶² Lee and Lapointe, p. 166.

¹⁶³ Lee and Lapointe, p. 167.

¹⁶⁴ Lee and Lapointe, p. 167.

group became very noticeable in the last year of the conflict. In Campbellton the editorials became more strongly worded in the third year. In September, two editorials entitled "Une situation qui a assez dure" and "Qui doit rougir de honte"¹⁶⁵ appeared, decrying the loss of French by the students and the lack of equal courses, facilities and treatment. In February, there were five articles¹⁶⁶ and editorials (letter to the editor are included); in March, eight; in April, three; in May, six.¹⁶⁷ These recounted injustices and demanded that parents work together to obtain unilingual schools which developed a consensus of opinion among the various segments of the Francophone community. The group which headed the change became unified in their efforts insisting the total community speak French, not only at meetings and socially, but in any business ventures, etc. This became noticeable in Campbellton where people who refused to conform were ostracized by former friends.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ L'Aviron, September 13, 1972.

¹⁶⁶ L'Aviron, Feb. 7, 14, 21. This smaller number may be attributed to the appointment of a new superintendent of schools, a Francophone and member of the clergy, who was later to be instrumental in the dividing of the schools. After his death, the Polyvalente was renamed in his honour.

¹⁶⁷ L'Aviron, May 2, 9, 16, 23, 30.

¹⁶⁸ Private information, citizen of the area.

This was also the situation in Sturgeon Falls; however, the researchers claim that it was so strong that households were torn apart and separations and divorces occurred because of this conflict.¹⁶⁹ This I cannot recall happening in Campbellton nor have I access to any such knowledge although there were difficulties caused in some families and among friends.

The situation became so severe in Sturgeon Falls that the Symons Commission was created by the Ontario provincial government. After an exhaustive study this body recommended the establishment of a unilingual French high school. This necessitated the building of new facilities for English-speaking students. This may be seen as a similar to the Campbellton situation as later, in September of 1977, the construction was completed of a new English high school called the Sugarloaf Senior High.

The Francophones in Campbellton, like those in Sturgeon Falls, became a more highly organized collectivity in the face of opposition of the majority (the provincial government) through the development of a means of communication and organization, and a recognized structure of authority within their group, and exerted political action to achieve their goals of

¹⁶⁹ Lee and Lapointe, p. 168.

unilingual French high schools.

The two situations (in Sturgeon Falls and in Campbellton) can be compared and the hypotheses used by Lee and Lapointe may be applied. However, the principles of Realistic Group Conflict Theory have more range for this thesis. Realistic Group Conflict Theory takes into account the history of the conflict and the feelings of threat by the ingroup. This puts the conflict into perspective by presenting it in a continuum of the past, through the present and into the future (which will be discussed in the final chapter of this thesis).

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the year 1977, a new high school was opened in Campbellton, the Sugarloaf Senior High School. This was built to service the English-speaking students of District Two, leaving the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Complex (renamed the Polyvalente Roland Pepin) as a unilingual French junior high and senior high school. The two schools shared Home Economics and Industrial facilities at the former Complex (a reversal of the situation which existed before the building of this school) until the fall term of 1980, when construction of Home Economics and Industrial facilities was completed at the Sugarloaf Senior High School. This meant that exactly ten years after the opening of the "Million Dollar Complex" as a bilingual school, the two language groups were completely divided in two separate unilingual high schools.

The first section of this thesis traced the history of this occurrence; that is, the Francophones' early claim to the territory, the Battle of the Restigouche and the subsequent expulsion of this Acadian population; the Scottish immigrants claim to the area, their establishment of churches, schools, a school board, along with many industries; the return of the Acadian population at the time of the building of the Intercolonial Railway and the rapid growth in their numbers, the establishing of a

separate Roman Catholic Francophone school; its destruction by fire along with all Anglophone public schools and other buildings of Campbellton; the rebuilding of the town with both public schools and another Francophone Church-affiliated school, which was again destroyed by fire; the rapid growth in the number of public English schools in Campbellton, along with one new Francophone school; the continued growth in the percentage of Acadians in the population; the inequalities in the rural schools; sweeping changes in education during the nineteen sixties--the building of the bilingual Complex, the difficulties in the administration of this school with its duplication of services, need for translations, and two groups vying with each other for their rights of language and job security; and finally the division of this school into unilingual schools.

In the second section of this thesis, I applied the principles of Realistic Group Conflict Theory, as advanced by Robert A. Levine and Donald T. Campbell in their book, Ethnocentrism: Theories of Conflict, Ethnic Attitudes, and Group Behavior, to the first section of the thesis and thus to the history of education in District Two.

These principles, listed below:

1. Real conflict of group-interests causes intergroup conflict.
2. Real conflict of interests, overt, active or past intergroup conflict, and/or pres-

ence of hostile, threatening, and competitive outgroup neighbours, which may be called real threat, cause perception of threat.

3. Real threat causes hostility to the source of the threat.
4. Real threat causes ingroup solidarity.
5. Real threat causes increased awareness of own ingroup identity.
6. Real threat increases the tightness of group boundaries.
7. Real threat reduces defection from the group.
8. Real threat increases punishment and rejection of defectors.
9. Real threat creates punishment and rejection of deviants.
10. Real threat increases ethnocentrism.¹⁷⁰

were used because they clarified the causes of the division of the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Complex into two unilingual high schools. These forces were placed in perspective. They showed the real causes of conflict as being rooted in the history of the area and developing into the present. From these projections may be made as to the future of bilingual and/or separate Anglophone and Francophone education in New Brunswick and perhaps in other areas of Canada.

The previous chapter showed that the situation in Northern New Brunswick was not unique as the study by

¹⁷⁰ Levine and Campbell, pp. 29-33.

Lee and Lapointe of the situation in Sturgeon Falls, Ontario, indicated. In this study, Conflict Theory was also used to show the conflict between a Francophone minority and an Anglophone majority over the division of a bilingual school. Their theory, however, in this case study did not elaborate on the history nor make projections for the future. This is why I preferred Realistic Group Conflict Theory.

Following the principles of this theory, one can see that through the strengthening of the ethnocentrism of the ingroup (Francophones), that the future of education in New Brunswick and Canada will be one in which French and English will be divided until the feelings of threat are reduced and/or eliminated. This has already been shown in School District Two of New Brunswick, where all the schools have been divided on linguistic lines and in 1981, the School Boards were divided into two new unilingual Boards and renamed District 37--Francophone and District 38--Anglophone. It has now become the policy of the New Brunswick Department of Education to divide all bilingual districts into separate unilingual districts, and there has come about a division of the New Brunswick School Trustees Association as well.

I have therefore drawn the following conclusions from this study:

- 1) That there were inequalities in educational

services and facilities available to the Francophone community, both within the town (now City) of Campbellton and within District Two, at the time of the building of the Complex. These inequalities had a long history in the area and developed a feeling of threat to the Francophones of the area.

2) These inequalities in educational services and facilities were somewhat alleviated by the new educational financial structure introduced in the sixties and with the building of the Complex to house all students of District Two.

3) That these previous inequalities led to many problems which plagued the Complex's existence as a bilingual school: a) The Francophone group feared that the old definition of a bilingual school would again apply and the students would lose their language. b) This fear of loss of language grew from a history of inequality and created hostility towards the perceived cause of threat; that is, the administrators of the Complex. c) That these feelings of threat strengthened the solidarity of the Francophone community, their group identity and boundaries. d) That this led to the rejection and punishment of defectors from the group and e) strengthened the ethnocentrism of the Francophone group.

4) That the Francophone community organized its

members in an effort for unity in this cause, the object of which was to isolate their children from the English influences on their language and thus preserve their language and culture.

5) That this problem was not unique to New Brunswick, but with the study of Lee and Lapointe it may be seen as occurring where both Francophones and Anglophones live in close proximity in an area.

6) That although this strengthening of each group's ethnocentrism will cause division, ultimately it will strengthen Canada and perhaps its unity. When both Francophones and Anglophones perceive that they are equal, that the past has developed and strengthened their own identities and culture, then they may work together as equals and partners. This may be happening in Campbellton as a new Anglophone high school has been built. It has basically the same facilities and services as the Complex, new Vocational and Home Economics facilities having been completed in 1980. In the community, French and English are heard equally in business establishments and most areas have services in both languages. There has been a movement in the province to divide all school boards, as well as schools, along unilingual lines. The last bilingual district was divided in 1980. The English-speaking parents have enrolled their children in total immersion French classes. These students are now entering

junior high school where their courses are being taught in English and French in a new "maintenance" program.¹⁷¹ Many French total immersion classes have begun all over New Brunswick and there are now rumours¹⁷² that the Francophone community see a growing need for English total immersion classes for their children. If these trends continue, then in about four years, there may be a new need for new bilingual high schools. Therefore, this study is important for the analysis of what to avoid and what to promote in the new bilingual high schools. Here are some recommendations for these new (projected) schools:

- 1) That all courses be offered in both languages,
- 2) That the teachers hired wish to teach in a bilingual school and have no fears as to job security and rights,
- 3) That the administrators be acceptable to all the staff (within reason),
- 4) The universities which will eventually be accepting these students be prepared for such an

¹⁷¹ This program is to be instituted in the fall of 1981 in the junior high school and in 1984 in the senior high school and now reverses the "bilingual" school concept established early in New Brunswick. Now it will mean Anglophone students who will be expected to become bilingual, not just the Francophone.

¹⁷² Interview with Lou Bursey (Appendix B).

eventuality by offering courses in both languages and/or by accepting credits in courses of either language as equal for entrance.

5). That there be planning, thought and time taken when creating a new concept and working model of a bilingual high school.

This study is important at this time because, as a nation, Canada must recognize the inequalities that have existed in the past and rectify them by making all Canadians equal so that they can work together as equal partners and friends.

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Private Information:

Gerald Blacquiere, former co-president of the student council at Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School,

Former student of L'Academie de l'Assomption, 1938-46.

Lucie Lubert, former student at the Hotel Dieu Convent School,

St. Thomas Aquinas parishioner,

Mrs. Jack Dawson, grand-daughter of William Crocket.

Report of Transcripts of Interviews:

J.D. Boucher, former Principal of Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School,

L. Bursey, Director of the New Brunswick Teachers Association,

M. Dion, former vice-principal of Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School,

Brother Bertrand Dumais, former vice-principal of Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School (Present principal).

APPENDIX A
TEACHERS' REPLY TO SCHOOL BOARD

Since the press seems to be the only medium through which the School Board will correspond or communicate with the members of the teaching profession, we are compelled to use this same medium to express our own views and opinions on the autocratic attitudes taken by the present School Board.

On February 17, all teachers in School District #2 were called by the School Board of said District to attend a meeting at the Lord Beaverbrook School at four o'clock in the afternoon. Present at this meeting, in addition to the teachers, were the Superintendent, the Chairman of the School Board and six trustees.

Mr. L. Bujold, after a few opening remarks, called upon Mr. H. M. LeBlanc to outline the policy regarding the placement of pupils from grades one to nine for the school year 1970-71. This policy had been adopted by the Board at a meeting held prior to this date. The Board policy at this meeting was that so called "integration" would greatly encourage and facilitate the spread of bilingualism throughout the district which could become "a model for all Canada."

This proposal was met with an immediate unfavourable reaction by both principals and teachers. Those who

spoke, both English and French teachers, stated that this was unrealistic; that bilingualism had not been achieved in any district school over the past twenty years, where students of both language groups were under the same roof. Rather, it served as a source of frustration, occasional conflicts and misunderstanding between the two ethnic groups. Many stated that they were surprised to hear of the "new plan" of the Board since they were of the belief that the Board policy was to have two unilingual junior high schools--one in Campbellton--one in Atholville, upon completion of the Complex. The plan of unilingual junior high schools had been discussed with officials of the Department of Education and had received their approval.

In face of the growing opposition to the new plan, Mr. Bujold stated the Board would welcome submissions from individuals but not from any groups or organizations. He stated another meeting would be called. Shortly after, the meeting ended abruptly leaving the teachers in a shocked and confused state of mind.

During the following weeks the District Principals' Association, the teachers of the A.E.F.N.B. and N.B.T.A. held meetings separately and jointly to study the School Board plan. All three groups rejected the plan as contrary to the welfare of the pupils of the district. The groups registered their opposition to the plan but only one group received an acknowledgement from the Board.

The Principals' Association, after careful study and planning, submitted an alternate plan of pupil placement for 1970-1971 to the School Board office. A committee of the Principals requested a meeting with the Board or committee of same, to discuss both proposals with the hopes of finding an amiable solution. This request was apparently ignored. The Principals, seeking every avenue to resolve the situation, invited the members of the School Board individually to attend an "Information Meeting" in an effort to reach some acceptable form of compromise. The meeting was held but very little was accomplished.

At a joint meeting of the N.B.T.A and A.E.F.N.B., held on March 25, with Provincial Association officers in attendance, the two groups reaffirmed their stand in opposition to the Board's policy. This was done by a standing vote.

The School Board gave to both groups the same reply as was released to the local press stating that they stand firm on their original so called "integration" policy.

We now wish to comment on the press release and the fallacies that are contained therein.

In this most recent reply and press release, the School Board is apparently moving away from its premise of February 17 of encouraging and facilitating the spread of bilingualism to one of bringing people together for

the mere sake of tolerance. The first paragraph of the press release contains this item: "Whereas, the new Complex will be integrated, by Provincial and Federal decree. . . ." What right has the Federal government in Provincial policy?

Article 93 of the British North America Act states that--"In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions. . . ." This is contrary to the Board's statement, "Whereas the new Complex will be integrated by Federal and Provincial decree." The Interim School Board which was in existence from January 1967 to June 1967 decided that the Complex would serve both ethnic groups. There was no pressure or decree from any Provincial agency to make this a school to serve both groups. It was a decision made at the local level by local people to serve local needs. At no time have we questioned the Complex.

According to School Board reasoning--"Whereas the Complex is 'integrated' it only stands to reason that feeder schools from grades one to nine likewise follow the same policy, where feasible." Does it not therefore follow (to use their reasoning) that we should have one Teachers' College, one Provincial University, one school of nursing, etc., to meet the diversified needs of a bilingual province, so as to serve as an example for

"all of Canada"?

Although the Board feels that the feeder schools from grades one to nine should be integrated wherever feasible, since the Complex is integrated, elementary teachers feel that this will be detrimental to the implementation of continuous progress. The School Board's policy will turn the clock back 25 years.

Former School Boards have, over the past years, undertaken a program of quiet placement of pupils in unilingual schools. The English classes at the grade 9 levels at Assumption Academy were phased out in 1968. Therefore, during the current year there are English students only at grades 11 and 12 level. Roseberry became completely unilingual in September 1969 as did the Andrew Street School.

Figures quoted for transportation purpose are not accurate. They have been inflated. At the meeting of February 17 the teachers were informed that the transportation was not considered a problem in regards to the establishment of unilingual junior high schools. Why has transportation at this stage become a seemingly insurmountable problem?

The press release of April 1, 1970, stated in part, "A second proposal suggested that continuous progress would be defeated by the Board's policy. The Board asked if it was ready to implement continuous progress and they

were advised that they were not." May we ask: Who was asked? How many were asked? Who provided the answer?

Ten employees of the School Board have made at least one observation visit to schools both inside and/or outside the province where continuous progress was in effect. Workshops have been held within the district over the past two years where all teachers of grades concerned were involved. Grouping has been carried on for a number of years in the elementary schools of the district.

Several elementary teachers have been asked by their principals if they feel ready to begin continuous progress. Several teachers do feel ready to take initial steps for the implementation of continuous progress in the school year 1970-1971, if a block of adjacent classrooms and other facilities are provided by the Board.

We are not stressing that continuous progress cannot work in an integrated school, but we know it will work much more efficiently where we have a maximum concentration of students of one language. In the "Non Graded Handbook" published by the Ontario Teacher's Federation in November 1968, one reads: "The School has to be arranged so that individual placement can be made at any time during the school year. Children are moved according to their needs, interests and abilities. A move usually occurs at any time when the teacher believes that the

child is not profiting from the program within her class." To fulfill this there must be sufficient numbers of students at the level to permit both horizontal and vertical movement.

Certainly no school has made a formal demand to the School Board for permission to implement this program. Under "normal" conditions, which exist elsewhere in the province of New Brunswick, school staffs would be prepared to make the necessary studies as required by the Department of Education within the next school year in regards to the new programs for the elementary and junior high schools. Teachers are aware of the fact that study is necessary before the new programs can be implemented. The educators are confident that, having children in unilingual schools, the task of study, organizing, and implementing the new programs will soon become a reality. Under the present proposed placement policy of the School Board, progress would be retarded and far less effective. Thus the child is the one who will suffer by receiving an inferior education.

The final paragraph of the press release stated, "Job security has been reaffirmed by the School Board regarding the teaching personnel of District #2." What does this mean? In the same issue of the paper, an advertisement appeared inviting applications for Department Heads for the Complex for positions presently held by competent personnel. What about the present two city

high school principals? What job security have they been assured? At the meeting held on February 17, the teachers were told that no person would suffer loss of position or loss of salary due to the implementation of the Board's policy.

Whenever recommendations of the Superintendent, the Supervisors, the Principals, and the teaching personnel are ignored in any school district, one must then wonder who is capable of formulating the school policies that will determine the future of education.

APPENDIX A

BRIEF

PRESENTED TO

DISTRICT NO. 2 BOARD OF SCHOOL TRUSTEES

ON BEHALF OF

THE NEW BRUNSWICK TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION

BRANCH NO. 2

To the Members of the School Board:

This brief is presented on behalf of the teachers of Branch #2 of the N.B.T.A.. As president of the Branch, it is my responsibility to present the views of the 120 English teachers whom I represent. Their main concern is that the quality of service and the welfare of the students be maintained in the district. Each member has tried to have a reasonable and proper respect for the authority of school administration and recognizes the DUTY to protest, through proper channels (which is the local N.B.T.A. branch), administrative policies and practices which he cannot in conscience accept.

We, the N.B.T.A., have been very concerned in the past year with the number of complaints we have received from the members and feel we must present them to you, the School Board, a body corporate, which has been entrusted by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council and the Minister of Education with the discharge of the duties of the office of School Trustees.

For the sake of brevity and clarity, we will dispense with the usual "whereas's" and "wherefore's" that serve only to clutter up a presentation of this kind.

In deference to the individual members of the School Board, we wish to acknowledge and sympathize with the very awkward position many of you found yourselves in after your

election or appointment to the Board. The School Act is a cumbersome thing at best, and we are now having admissions out of Fredericton that it is an unworkable document. The N.B.T.F. rules, regulations and agreements are also a maze to the uninitiated. The Department of Education's directives and regulations are, for the most part, unintelligible to a layman.

We now ask only that you forget the past in considering what we have to say, and forget the future too; for if we have one at all, it depends upon your ability to act according to the dictates of your conscience, as we are doing now.

One of the most important and serious problems that is presently concerning the membership is the widespread feeling of distrust of and lack of confidence in those who employ them. Teachers are now demanding consistency, regarding policy on teaching positions and are questioning the intentions of the Board's hired representative. For some time now, we teachers have tried to understand how the Board can be on all sides at once when we weren't even aware that there were any sides. The feeling of insecurity is being bred when some teachers are advised of the positions they will hold in the coming school year. They find out some time later, however, that these same positions have been promised to others. There are other teachers who have never heard so much as a word

about where they will teach next year, even though they are involved in departments where there are going to be staff reductions. It is definitely not in the interest of the community nor of the students, to have this feeling of general insecurity caused by this problem, or that of having to play second fiddle to those who apply from outside the district or province. Does the Board not feel that the foregoing policies constitute a very real problem among the membership in creating a chain reaction that is felt by the students and the community?

We feel we cannot use specific names in our presentation to the School Board, although many individuals have expressed their willingness to come before the Board, even though there is fear of repercussion in regard to job security. Until these fears of mistrust and lack of confidence are dealt with by the Board, there can be no possibility of open communication between the members and their employers.

Threats of disciplinary action against members have come to our attention on numerous occasions. In most cases, these affect teachers without tenure, who have no recourse to grieve under the agreement. These "letters of incompetence" (threats) are dependent on whether or not a teacher agrees to move to another area or is asked to resign if he does not want to. To use this type of disciplinary action is intimidation and directly against

any code of ethics. It seems that some teachers are judged incompetent if they do not move to a new position, although competency has been demonstrated in the present position.

The School Board, through the superintendent, has the right to ask any teacher if he is staying in the same position or if he is going to resign, but the teacher also has the right to delay his answer until April 30. Most teachers will give a definite "yes" or "no" if the circumstances allow, yet the teacher who wishes to wait should not be approached again by the superintendent until his mind is made up. Teachers have taken the viewpoint that the School Board is not following an ethical policy by forcing the superintendent to implement these directives.

Notices of intention coming out in January with a definite request of an answer that early seem to be totally unreasonable and illogical from the members' viewpoint. Another specific example is the fact that the Junior High teachers were "asked" last year to come three days before the actual opening date of the school term. The teachers definitely felt that they were told to come early, or apparently be labelled as "uncooperative." Is this the policy of the School Board?

Communication between the School Board and the teachers started at the beginning of the academic year

in a manner that tried to approach a direct line between the two groups that would be free and open to discussion on various problems that might have arisen or might arise in the district. This was done through the Liaison Committee and the Advisory Board. Yet the Liaison Committee was discontinued after Christmas and the Advisory Board met to discuss the Senior High School graduation and then was never called to meet again. It would appear that the Advisory Board was set up to receive the backing as an "official sounding board" and then forgotten once its purpose was achieved. Why have these potentially effective committees have discontinued?

The School Board cannot talk to the teachers nor even visit the schools without the superintendent's accompaniment. The teachers cannot talk to the Board without the superintendent's permission--cannot talk to Board members individually or as a group. Only one person in the superintendent's mind should have access to everyone, and that is himself. Only one person in the superintendent's mind should have authority over everyone, either assigned or usurped, and that is himself. Only one person should have access to all the information contained within the School Board, and that is the superintendent. WE DON'T MIND TELLING YOU, WE FIND THESE CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT INTOLERABLE.

The superintendent established a line of communication to be followed in the district, namely, the line staff. In short, the students must go to the teachers, the teachers to the principals, the principals to the superintendent, and the superintendent to the Board. Yet the line must be observed both ways in order for it to be effective. Every person in the line must know his responsibilities and recognize when this line is being broken. No individual may honour a deviation from this line.

Members definitely feel that the superintendent is not following this line that has been established by the district office. When a person enters a school without first notifying the principal of his purpose, then the line of communication is broken. Apparently, school board members are in the same position in that they must meet with the superintendent if they want to enter any particular school. The superintendent should then notify the principal to explain their purpose for doing so. If this is not done, then the line of communication is broken and the school board will be told so. Yet the teachers do not have any recourse when the line is broken against them.

Common courtesy and politeness should be the order of the day rather than the exception with respect to the dealings of the school board and the teachers. Does the school board consider it ethical to dismiss a teacher at the end of the year for incompetence without establishing

the fact throughout the year by a system of evaluation and appraisal? Does the School Board consider it ethical to use the administrators of the school as a means of execution of teachers yet does not give them the responsibility of hiring teachers? Does the School Board consider it ethical that teachers wishing to discuss common problems with them cannot go directly to them through their local N.B.T.A. Branch without first going through a barricade established by the School Board? Does the School Board consider it ethical to hide behind anonymity in its dealings with the teachers? Does the School Board consider it ethical that discretion should be the better part of valour with regards to meetings? Does the School Board consider it ethical to go outside the district to hire a Summer School Director when capable teachers are to be found within this district?

The superintendent wrings his hands over even the possibility of somebody's going over his hand. And yet he discusses the performance of teachers at one school with the teachers in another school, and with people outside the school system altogether.

It would be interesting to have the School Board review hiring policies--we mean actually going over records where you will find signed contracts with new teachers, before the teacher actually holding the position has resigned.

We feel that the School Board's lack of knowledge and understanding is unacceptable. The members feel that there is a considerable lack of public relations between the Board and teachers who are leaving. Instead of a cursory note of "your services are no longer required" type, it might be thoughtful and polite to at least say "thank you." There are some teachers who plan and hope to stay in the district next year. There have been meetings with department heads and the superintendent and hints about certain people being moved or required to teach other subjects. To date, these people do not know what they are teaching next year, or for that matter, even if they are teaching next year.

The members are also wondering why the resignation of Miss Boucher was not explained or investigated. It seems very strange that someone of her calibre, efficiency, and dedication should be allowed to leave with seemingly so little support and concern. Is it reasonable to think that the School Board will remain so apathetic in the future? Are they so unaware of affairs in the district to accept a statement like, "She offered her resignation and the Board accepted it. Nobody twisted her arm and I certainly had nothing to do with it."

Is the School Board aware of the type of harassment teachers must go through as a result of inefficiency at the district office? Some blatant examples of this

incompetency are loss of records, health certificates, and requisitions in the district office.

Is the School Board aware of the new 104 programme coming into the district? Does the Board know how adamant the teachers were in their recommendations that the 104 programme be postponed for another year at least? Do they know that the teachers felt that there was not enough study put into the programme, and probably, most important, the fact that other levels, particularly the 3 levels, are not yet properly in focus especially since so many new courses are just getting off the ground?

To quote the Board's policy printed in the local press on April 12, "At this time, it is felt necessary to reassure the population of the district that the School Board and the superintendent will continue to serve the total population of the school district in a most fair way and not refuse employment nor promotion to anyone because of the language he speaks or does not speak. . . for example, a department with 5 teachers, should have 2 teachers capable of teaching in English, 2 capable of teaching in French and one in both languages." Are the School Boardmembers aware of the glaring inconsistencies in these two statements of policy? How can we expect a competent unilingual teacher to be promoted to department head where the implication of the policy stated above is that the bilingual teacher must of necessity hold that

position?

Is the School Board aware of the provincial policy of implementing new courses at the Senior High School level? In order to offer a pilot programme in a school, the school administration must first determine the number of students who would be interested in following such a course. Once the statistics are available, the school may then apply for such a programme.

In order to graduate, a student needs only 15 credits. This gives him the opportunity to carry subjects in his final year or to follow courses, approved or otherwise, which will be of some interest and benefit to him, rather than just using the time for a study period.

We as a group feel and have always felt, as we believe the community as a whole feels, as the B and B Commission and the Task Force recommended, that a child is entitled to an education in the language of his choice. You notice neither we nor anyone else meant anything but that a French-speaking child should be taught by a person fully qualified in the French language and an English-speaking child taught by a person fully qualified in the English language. It is evident from everything the superintendent has said and done that he agrees with the first proposition, but believes the second should read, "An English child can be taught by a person not only not fully qualified in the English language but by persons

obviously incompetent in the English language." The superintendent's glaring inconsistencies allow him with a straight face to demand that each department must have a bilingual person in it, while he is well aware that the English students cannot understand some school librarians or the advice from a guidance counsellor.

At a conference of English teachers held at the Restigouche Senior High School on March 3, the superintendent stated that a gap existed between English and French students, caused, he stated, by the fact that all of the French students can speak English while none of the English students can speak French, necessitating the use of English as the language of communication between the two ethnic groups. If there is anything that is obvious in this community it is that our children must be made bilingual at the earliest possible moment. We cannot, we dare not put this off any farther. There is absolutely no excuse for allowing the children of this community to be separated by a language barrier with all the future heartache that separation entails. We are in a sorry state indeed if this community cannot come up with the necessary resources to keep its children together.

The teachers and the taxpayers are greatly disturbed by this existing "gap" and wish to know what the superintendent and the School Board, who are in charge of

education in this district, propose to do to bridge this gap, which by the superintendent's own admission presently exists. The teachers question if the removal of French as a second language in the primary English grades (which removal took place this year) is a step toward bridging this gap or is it in fact a step toward widening it? We want to know where the Board and its employee really stand. The superintendent has been eminently successful to date in raising apprehension in the minds of both the French and the English teachers and students. He has managed to have every segment of the scholastic community suspicious of every other segment. He even manages to give personnel the impression they are doing something very wrong when they are doing something exactly right. In an office of one of the schools one day, out of the blue, he shot a question angrily at the school secretary, who is French bilingual: "Why did you just answer the phone in English first?" The secretary was understandably perplexed since both languages are equal, but it is impossible to speak them both at exactly the same moment.

We request that the School Board obtain from the superintendent the names of the teachers who have been hired to date for the 1972-73 school year. We request too that the School Board take cognizance of the very delicate language balance in the schools and rescind any authority given the superintendent, so that all

matters of hiring and firing of personnel are directly under a committee of the Board.

Finally, we want the Board to understand that teachers and principals in this district have nothing whatsoever to hide, and welcome and encourage visits from School Board members at any time. We would appreciate that the Board determine a way in which the teachers' association and the School Board might work in closer harmony. It is our feeling that we have been apart too long.

On the basis of this brief we wish to recommend the following.

1. That a hiring and firing committee be formed with administrators and School Board members, that a bi-yearly evaluation of each teacher be carried out by this committee on the recommendations of the administrators, and that the teacher concerned be aware of the evaluation.
2. That common courtesy dictates the already established line of communication in this district, that is, if the teachers must follow it, the superintendent must do the same.
3. That there be at least another teacher as witness in order to clarify any misunderstandings which might occur between the superintendent and the teacher concerned, and that he

notify the principal that he is coming into the school and the purpose of his visit, in order to prevent any teacher from appearing at the Board office during class time.

4. That if teachers are to be called back before the opening of the school term, no coercion or reprisals be applied and that such will be stated in letters to the teachers.
5. That all Board policies be given to teachers in September, and that the implementation of these policies be kept under strict supervision.
6. That the School Board investigate and explain the reasons underlying the resignation of the Principal of the Complex, and make their findings known to us.
7. That better planning and organization be implemented for major changes in curriculum or in the district that involves student teacher ratio, and that such planning and organization be taken to the various schools in the district.
8. That the superintendent not be allowed to undermine the confidence of teachers by speaking about other teachers or administrators, within the same school or from one school to another.
9. That no teacher be allowed to sign a contract for a position until that position is available.

10. That the English-French teacher ratio coincide with the English-French student ratio.
11. That a district policy be established that assures equal treatment for the French and English teachers and students in the district, and that the term "most fair way" used by the superintendent and the School Board become a matter of policy rather than rumour, and that the term be clarified.
12. That English-speaking students at the primary and junior high levels be given the full benefit of courses of study in their second language (French) while the Indian students be given that same time to study further in English which is their second language.
13. That the School Board, as a whole, meet to find the solutions to the problems presented in our brief and meet with us again within five (5) days to discuss their written report on the brief.

APPENDIX B

Interview of Miss Jackie Boucher
Former Principal of Restigouche Senior High School

Q. Why and how was the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School Complex organized?

A. It was a matter of logistics. It was the only building available with the shop and Home Ec. facilities for both groups.

Q. So it was not a bilingual high school as such?

A. The concept of bilingualism is simply a name it wasn't, just a misnomer on the part of some board members.

Q. Could you name some of the board members.

A. Jimmy Adams, Barclay, Mrs. Murray, Kilby McPherson, Gabby Arseneault, Pauline Rice.

Q. Did these people believe it was a bilingual school or were they--was it a misconception with them or was it--

A. It was a misconception really. We were told that it was bilingual. Their concept of bilingual schools is not a true concept.

Q. What is the true concept?

A. Where students will be taught in French in the morning and in English in the afternoon, and both groups, French and English, are involved in the school.

Q. Now how was this organized?

A. The school was under one administration but each group had its own teachers. There was some crossing over by some of the French teachers teaching English programmes, but it was to the French. They were the only ones that were bilingual.

Q. Were there many bilingual English teachers? Were there any? What kind of English were those who started teaching English?

A. I can't think of any. Really I can't. The first year John was. Well I remember that because he had with Sister Turcotte.

Q. Why did they become two groups from one school; like they became one school, why did they separate?

A. Pressure. Different radical groups, both English and French. Separatism actually taught in some classrooms.

Q. Do you have any proof of that?

A. No proof at all.

Q. Were you accepted by both sides?

A. Not by the French.

Q. Why? I mean your last name is French.

A. I am French, but I am also a protestant.

Q. So religion meant a great deal?

A. Very much.

Q. That's very important. Did the kids get along?

A. Yes. There were perhaps a couple of exceptions, but on the whole they got along.

Q. And there were about 1,000 students?

A. Roughly.

Q. Were there any administration problems?

A. Not really. The superintendent was a separatist, he wanted to see the school divided. The school board was not knowledgeable of what was going on because they were not allowed to be--not allowed to be at the school for example, couldn't talk to them.

Q. You did it through Michaud?

A. Yes.

Q. Where is the superintendent now?

A. In Rimouski.

Q. Were there any other problems?

A. No.

Q. How did it work? Were the years all the same, or one year better than the other or what?

A. The first year was better, even though the building was not finished. Teachers seemed to have common goals and worked well through their group committees. The second year I think probably from pressure, separation started.

Q. Could you say if the pressure started in the school, or from outside?

A. Community first.

Q. Which groups in the community? Were there special groups?

A. Richilieu
Cultural

Q. La Societe Culturalle?

A. Yes. The English Association
French Home and School

Q. Was there a high turnover of staff?

A. The first year, no. The second year, yes.

Q. About what percentage?

A. Between 40 and 50%.

Q. And the administrations?

A. Two-thirds.

Q. Could you name some of the English staff or French staff. . . that left?

A. Sandy Dimock, Home Ec. Department Head; Mr. Sullivan, Vice-Principal; Stan Connors, English Department Head.

Q. Now from outside the school, you say the pressure groups were the Richilieu group. Can you remember any of the people who were in these groups? Did they do anything or put any kind of publicity out?

A. Mrs. Guerette, L'Aviron; Mrs. Gorayeb, who was a teacher; Tom Belliveau, who was a separatist; there was a group from the French Home and School possibly, put a large advertisement in local papers trying to prove the French were being shortchanged in this type

of system, and it was all the fault of the administration.

Q. Do you know what date they were? Would it be the first or second year?

A. Second year.

Q. Was there any outside pressure put directly on you?

A. Outside of the groups that we have already mentioned?

Q. Yes, or any pressure brought to bear by or on one person?

A. No.

Q. How about the English groups, you said the English Association? Do you remember any of the people?

A. Dr. Budgell was the president. Their public aims were for bilingual schools, but their private aims were for separation.

Q. How did they work? Did they use the newspaper or letters?

A. Letters. Meetings.

Q. Did you get any pressure from the Department of Education?

A. No.

Q. Anything from the students, for or against?

A. No. We had one from the department as a new school we had to be assessed for the year. The assessment was very good.

Q. Did the student council report?

A. Yes. It was one council for both groups. They really did well together.

Q. Is there anything you would like to add about how it worked as a bilingual school, but was it bilingual in the main sense of the word?

A. There was some crossing over of some French students to the English programmes, otherwise no.

Q. There was no crossover by the English?

A. No, they couldn't speak French.

Q. Is there any way you could see to build a school where the bilingual school system would work, and how it would work?

A. I don't see it, except under the concepts they have started in Quebec, where you have a group of English students only who will be taught both languages for a minimum numbers of years, or you could do the same with the French. Putting them together in one school, no.

Q. Maybe even
or do they bring the prejudice of their parents in?

A. I believe so.

Q. Were you, at the time, for bilingual schools?

A. Yes.

Q. Are you now?

A. I was very idealistic, and I was wrong.

Q. Is there anything you would like to add?

A. Not at this stage I think.

APPENDIX B

Interview with Brother Bertram (Louis) Dumais

Q. What was your position in relation to education in Restigouche County?

A. I was transferred from Bathurst to Campbellton in 1952 to teach at the Academy, Assumption Academy. In 1952 Assumption Academy became part of the public system of New Brunswick, before that it was a private school. So I was named as a teacher. At that time, there were both French and English, Francophones and Anglophones, in the Academy. Then I went back to Bathurst and came back in 1956 as principal of Assumption Academy and I have remained in Campbellton since that time. In 1970 Assumption Academy was declared a fire hazard so the School Board decided to close the Academy and the Polyvalente, the senior high school, was being built so in January we moved in this building, 1970. So from January to June we occupied one wing of this building. In the month of June the School Board named Miss Jacqueline Boucher to be principal of the whole school because starting in September, both Assumption Academy and Campbellton High School would be housed in the same building known as Restigouche Senior High School. Miss Boucher was named principal, I was named vice-principal and

stayed here for one year and then they decided to open up a junior high school for the Francophones and they placed it in the old Andrew Street School. I was there for two years. In 1973 I came back to the Polyvalente Restigouche as principal. This time the School Board decided to form two unilingual schools in the Restigouche Senior High School. I was named principal for the Francophones and Mr. Nicholas Baldwin named principal for the Anglophones and that lasted three years and then they built up the Sugarloaf High School where Mr. Baldwin moved with all the Anglophones and I remained at the Polyvalente here with all the Francophones.

Q. In the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School when it was first built, was it considered to be bilingual or to house both groups?

A. The way that it was named, it was supposed to be a bilingual high school but in fact it was a school where both the Francophones and the Anglophones were housed. The curriculum for the province of New Brunswick is made in such a way that the Francophones of that program were from grade 1 to grade 12 and therefore they must have their own classrooms and the Anglophones have their own curriculum and therefore, have their own classrooms from grade 1 to grade 12. So, in fact, what happened is that it

was never a bilingual school but a school where both Francophones and Anglophones were housed.

Q. What is your definition of a bilingual school?

A. A bilingual school would be a school where the students could speak and understand English. And I don't think that this is possible here.

Q. Why?

A. The experience I have and I think I'm not the only one with this experience, is the Francophones would be able to speak English at one time but they don't want to consider themselves as biligual, and the Anglophones, some of the Anglophones learned French but I don't think they want to be classed as bilingual also. And in fact, the Francophones would remain Francophones and the Anglophones would remain Anglophones. Some of them would be able to speak both languages. Individuals can become bilingual but a school itself cannot become bilingual.

Q. How was the school run, the administration of the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School?

A. The school opened in September 1970 and Miss Jacqueline Boucher was named principal. She was bilingual. I was named vice-principal, being of Francophones and they named Mr. Ben Sullivan as vice-principal. He was an Anglophone and couldn't speak French. I must say that for the year I was

here, 1970-71, things went pretty smoothly. There were two groups in the building. Everything seemed to go pretty well the first year.

Q. Do you know what happened in the second year?

A. The second and third year, I think the tension began to be built. Francophones were feeling they were not being treated justly, the Anglophones felt the Francophones were having too much and I think there was a kind of tension being built, not so much among the teachers but much more among the students.

Q. Do you think it has anything to do with the parents?

A. Well it's possible that the parents would do a little but I think not too much by the parents. I think it was mostly students themselves in the schools. As you know in every group you will find some students who are a little more radical than others and these are really the ones that started to push a little more to have groups separated.

Q. Were there any pressure groups outside the school system itself?

A. I think that the parents organizing the Home and School, the French have a very strong Home and School, and I think these are the ones that really pushed to have the schools unilingual. The Francophones would have their own school, their own administration, and the Anglophones would have

their own school, their own administration. I think the Home and School really put a lot of pressure.

Q. Also, was there a high staff turnover? What did this affect have?

A. Yep. I think that was one of the reasons that motivated the School Board to try to get a change in the school system because of the large turnover of teachers. I don't know any figures in my mind right now but if I look back at all the teachers that were in the school the first year it was opened there are not many of them that have remained back here and stayed in the District.

Q. Was there any pressure applied to you personally?

A. No. I wouldn't say there was pressure placed on me. I might have been the one guilty of putting a bit of pressure on the Home and School because I have been a principal of a school where you have both the Francophones and the Anglophones. I must say frankly that I never had any problems with the two ethnic groups. I must say that everybody felt that the spirit in the school was real nice. It was a nice place to be. Personally, I thought it was a much harder job to be an administrator of a school where you have the two groups and that's one of the reasons, for the fairness and the benefit of everyone I felt that it would be much easier to have a school where you would have

only one ethnic group to administer.

Q. This isn't in the questions, but I wonder do you think anything could be with religion there?

A. No I don't think religion would have anything to do with it because even among the Francophones you have some people who don't practice. No I don't think anybody mentioned about religion.

Q. I just wondered because the other school was one religion while the other was a mixture.

Q. Was there any pressure from the Department of Education or did they take any part in this?

A. Well I was not here. But last year, the year Miss Boucher was here, was Miss Boucher here or Mr. Mersereau? Anyhow, there was an evaluating committee that came here and I think they realized that everything was not the best in the building. I don't think they would have wanted to ask for a change, for a change of a school of two ethnic groups. They realized that everything was not running very smoothly in this program.

Q. Do you know what the feelings of the student council and the student body were?

A. I was not here the year that the student council put a lot of pressure but I've read and I've heard that the student council the last year before the school became unilingual, the student council was really

upset and put a lot of pressure on the principal at that time for a change. They wanted more economy and they wanted the student council to have more to say in the administration of the school and that's what made it a little bit difficult.

Q. During the first year did the students show any desire to be two schools or one school or did this come in after you left?

A. The first year I was here in 1970-71 I don't think the students ever mentioned that they wanted to have a separate school. One of the reasons is that they have been accustomed because all the years the Academy existed the two groups were always in the same building and they always lived together. It's only second and third year really that their troubles started.

Q. Do you think it had anything to do with pressures outside the school? Like changing attitudes in the community?

A. Well, I cannot say now because it's possible some of the groups might have put some pressure but personally I don't know of any groups that might have pushed the students.

Q. Do you have anything to add to this section of the questions?

A. No. The only thing I could add maybe I think the

School Board made a good move when they decided to make it unilingual. I think everybody is more satisfied, the students and teachers seem to be more satisfied with their work.

Q. Do you know exactly why the schools were changed to unilingual? Were there specific reasons given or was it just vague reasons?

A. I think the main reason was the change in the Department of Education. If you go back twenty years ago, twenty-five years ago, the curriculum for the Francophone was about the same as the curriculum for the Anglophones and therefore it was easy to have in the same building the two groups because the programs were the same for both groups. And then there was some kind of movement in the province starting with the teachers that started the movement and the parents and they began to press a little bit more for French volume, French textbooks for the Francophone so that today as I said before from grade 1 right to grade 12 the student would be able to study his own language and this is one of the reasons, I think we have to have unilingual schools now because the program is so different. Anyone that would be willing to take the administration with the two groups, he would have to work real hard to be able to be familiar with the curriculum for the English and all the curriculum for

the French. I think it's asking too much for one person.

Q. Is there anything left to add, do you think?

A. Yes. I think that my work in a unilingual school is much simpler to be principal. It's not an easy job but it's easier if you have only one group and you can get organized. Any memos or anything you would like to say to the students well you can say it in one language. Much easier for better relations between the two groups. I'm still very friendly with all the Anglophones, with the principals from the other schools. I don't have any grudges and I think I am well received by them and I receive them well.

Q. Do you know of any reasons why there was such a high turnover in the administration?

A. That would be difficult for me to answer because that would be putting judgement on the choice the School Board had made. It is certainly not a usual thing to see in one school, to see four principals in the space of about five years. I know that the first principal found it very difficult and maybe she had a bit of trouble with the higher administration, and the second one found that he had a lot of pressure from the students and the administration.

Q. In other words, it's more personality?

A. I think possibly.

APPENDIX B

Interview with Lou Bursey, Principal
of Campbellton Junior High School

- Q. What was your position in relation to education in Restigouche County?
- A. When, now?
- Q. From the beginning.
- A. I came to this area in teaching in '55 as Principal of Tide Head School, then in '56 I came and taught at Campbellton Senior High School, Campbellton Composite School. The year after that, I became Principal of the Roseberry School. I remained Principal of the Roseberry School until the Beaverbrook was built and I went there as Principal, and I remained there as Principal until about 1967 I think when I became Principal of the Campbellton Composite High School. When the new complex was built, I remained in the same building and became Principal of the Campbellton Junior High. For the first year, the Campbellton Junior High was what they termed "a bilingual school," that is two languages under one roof. The following year, Campbellton Junior High became a unilingual school. I'm still here.
- Q. Do you know why the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High came into existence and how did it come into existence?

A. Well as I understand it, there were problems housing students, the number of students at the old Academy and the Campbellton Composite High School, pressure being placed on the government to build a new facility, because this seemed to be the answer of the day, to build complexes throughout various areas in New Brunswick. Now, as I understand it, originally when the administration of the school was to be as we have it now in District 3, there was to be two administrations, an English administration and a French administration. Somehow this was changed by the Department people, and I'm going on information I gathered from people who were on the board at that time. Information was forwarded from the Department of Education saying this was to be what the Department called a "bilingual" school. Once it was built, then the student body from this building were sent out. When it was partially constructed, I think the students from the Academy, the French-speaking students were there prior to complete construction, and there was an overall bilingual Principal of the School, and this person was entrusted with the operation of the school as they termed it a "bilingual" school.

Q. Was it to be considered really a bilingual school, and how, or was it just two groups housed under one roof?

A. The school board of the day thought to be in their

terms again a "bilingual school," but then this word "bilingual" has several connotations, I think depending where you are, what your experience has been in this district. Historically bilingual has meant two language groups under one roof, nothing more.

Q. What is the definition of a really bilingual school?

A. A bilingual school is a school in which instruction is given in both languages from which all students may benefit--that is to say, a student who is French-speaking may elect or select courses in English, and an English student may elect or select courses in French, and the school is also able to function in both languages, that is activities may be provided for opportunities whereby the students may communicate in one or the other language, for example in athletics, or communications within the building, or as I understand in some places in the Province instruction in the classroom in the morning is English, in the afternoon, French. That to me is a bilingual school. No facility in District Two is operated as far as I can say in a bilingual atmosphere.

Q. You are a Director of the N.B.T.A., and you were also Principal of the English High School. Did you have any input into the plans for the Polyvalente?

A. I was one I would say of two or three who were involved in the initial planning. I don't know whether

I was involved as the Principal of the High School, or as Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Education Committee. During the planning stage, representatives from the City Council, Chairman of the School Board, at that time, Mr. Arseneau; representatives of the Chamber of Commerce or the Board of Trade, depending upon which side of the fence you were on, we visited the Foyer Patreau that would have been now in Quebec, and we came back thoroughly impressed with the auditorium facilities, and by and large, the auditorium we now have in the Complex was a result of that trip. I was involved in the early plans as was Brother Louis or Brother Dumais, as you now know him. Then as plans became more advanced, we became a little more critical of what some of the things should be, and whether it was by design or accident, from then on, we were not invited back.

Q. Do you know how the school was run, like the administration?

A. Well now I would stand to be corrected on this one. I understand that basically Miss Boucher was to be the principal of the school and she would have complete operation of the school, and under her, vice-principals, one in charge of the French, and one in charge of the English instruction. I think that is the way it was.

Q. Was this arrangement suitable, and why or why not do you think?

A. Well I have to be honest I think in going back again, I felt and I still do that the Junior High is to do its job if bilingualism means anything at all, but opportunities in the present junior high school for us to have a definite upgrading in the second language. Then I felt if the Complex were to operate as it should, students in the 10th, 11th, and 12th year, should have had the opportunity to elect a course given in the second language other than French or English. In other words, a student going from Junior to Senior High School should have had the option of taking Mathematics or Social Studies in the second language.

Q. So this is how it could have been improved. Do you know anything of the staff turnover that took place, because of your concern with the N.B.T.A.?

A. Well it came to mind on one or more occasions year after year because of the internal trials and tribulations and it seemed that many of the problems; certainly I think one year they had the school late in opening, and they had someone in from the University of Moncton or somewhere to talk about how to get along, and I think this did more harm than good. I can't say too much about what many of the internal problems were. I can only surmise. Certainly they

were brought to the fore at different N.B.T.A. meetings, but I feel it would be much more reliable from someone who was on the staff at that time, rather than someone who is principal of another school.

Q. Do you know if there were any pressure groups or otherwise who changed the systems since you were in the Chamber of Commerce and so on?

A. Well I think to me, one of the biggest pressure groups we've had would be the Assumption Home and School Association. I don't know if that's the correct name, but by and by the Home and School Association of parents of children attending French-speaking schools. This had been the biggest pressure group. The Chamber of Commerce in itself was not so much a pressure group, but rather at the time of building the complex, there was to be city money involved, or civic money involved in the construction of the auditorium, we were going along to see that the type of auditorium would best suit the needs, not only of the school but also of the community and that's why we presently have an 800 seat auditorium instead of a 200 or 300 seat auditorium. I think one pressure group perhaps that never really got off the floor would be the N.B.T.A. The A.E.F.N.B. itself became a very strong political influence. Political, not in the sense of, you know,

well known politics, but certainly in pressing their viewpoint, much more than did the N.B.T.A. I can't think, maybe if I stopped for a moment, but presently I can't think of any pressure groups as such that existed on the Anglophone side.

Q. Why did they want to change? Do you know why the pressure groups wanted a change?

A. Well I think its basically the same reasons why eventually we now have the unilingual schools. It seems to be that again from what I have observed, it seems to be that the Francophones felt that they could best serve their needs in an entirely Franco-phone atmosphere, and that would involve removing the Anglophones, so as to have unilingual schools that would be operated entirely in English or French; and by having so-called bilingual schools, two languages under one roof, this was not fulfilling the needs of the Francophones; but they would in conversation in the playground, the staffroom, and so on, would be speaking English rather than French. This was not in the best interests of the Franco-phone education.

Q. Do you know if there was any pressure applied to the school board?

A. Well I can't say I know there was pressure applied to the school board. I can only surmise from what

one has observed at public meetings. The pressure from the Francophone Home and School Association, and we have seen in the last year or so, pressure from the Acadians to have this district declared a unilingual district to get away from having French and English on the board as we presently have, to split Districts 2, 3 and 4 similarly along the lines that now presently exist in Moncton to have unilingual boards, and the Francophones and Anglophones each would be free to pursue education as he sees fit without being tied up with the other. That is the way they see it.

Q. How do you see it?

A. Well, I am beginning to wonder. It seems that there has been this constant infighting and one pushing the other. The way I see it, and the situation the way it is now, as far as I am concerned, the way I feel about second language, I think we can perhaps better serve ourselves now if we do have unilingual districts. Then we don't have any more of this infighting, we can set out priorities, and being rather undisturbed by or not worried about other people getting their points of view across, we can get along with education, and I've noticed since we have had unilingual schools, there seems to be a tendency now for our youngsters to become more

bilingual, although I understand that at the high school, there are not that many completing in the Anglophone section, completing their French instruction to the grade 12 level. I don't know, but certainly in the junior high we seem to have better results now with second language than we had before.

Q. Do you know if there is any pressure from or on the Department of Education?

A. What from this District you mean?

Q. Yes, and from the N.B.T.A.?

A. Well, I think there's--you mean in regard to unilingual districts? It seems to me that surely the Department of Education I have a feeling at least the Department has plans that the boards in 2, 3 and 4, or if any two of the three decide that they want unilingual districts, that the Department will pull it out of the drawer and say, here is the plan. The A.E.F.N.B. are in favour, that's the organization of French-speaking teachers are in favour of unilingual districts. The N.B.T.A. has just completed a study and we are not saying whether we are in favour of unilingual districts, because we feel in some cases with area circumstances, and situations, the interests of education might better be served by having a continuation of bilingual districts, that is when I say bilingual districts where educational services are

offered to both language groups.

Q. Don't you think with two unilingual there would be duplication of services?

A. Well this may be true, but this is one of the things we are now saying about bilingual districts, the duplication of services. If, let us say, two and three were to split, and I suppose they would become one district, as this would tie in with the establishment of boundaries of school board districts in the Province. I understand this is something the Department has looked into. So it could well be that there could be District 2 the Anglophone district encompassing those presently within, the English speaking, the borders of the Dalhousie/Campbellton area, and District 3 could be the Francophone district within the Dalhousie/Campbellton area. One might well have a school board office in Dalhousie and Campbellton, with representatives in both, I don't know.

Q. \ Quite a ways for some of the kids to drive on a bus.

A. In regards to driving on a bus, right now, perhaps there wouldn't be that need, because there are structures within both, unless there were a couple of courses in the industrial area, because in Dalhousie, they may try to get along with the building they have. Certainly there will be no addition of

of buildings in this area, with the exception of Home Ec. and shop, which is so necessary in Sugarloaf Senior High.

Q. Do you know why the schools were changed from bilingual to a unilingual system? Why the Sugarloaf was built? And why they were put on the split shift?

A. Well I think it goes back to what we were talking about earlier, the complex as we called it, and that was the inability of the Anglophones and Francophones to get along for the cause of education; and I think by and large down through the history of this, there may have been Anglophones or English who may have been in favour of having separate schools, receive the push key from the Francophone side, and with the tearing down of the Andrew St. School, it made it necessary to build another junior high, it was worked that the Junior High French students from the city went to the complex. Then there was talk I understand that soon the complex would be, would not be sufficiently large to encompass the junior and senior French-speaking students and the English-speaking students of the senior high school. That, along with the desire to have all French-speaking students together, and hopefully, English-speaking students together in a separate building created a need for the Sugarloaf Senior High.

Q. Do you think a bilingual school could work and how?

A. Well I think, yeah, I think all things are possible, but knowing for example, in this, I would very much like to see some kind of a start made towards bilingualism. I think out of that maybe what I reagrd to be a truly bilingual school may evolve, and that is what I would very much like to see--
No. 1 an upgrading of the second language programme. That's on the Francophone side and the Anglophone side. Secondly, in the eighth year of schooling, if a youngster in this school, Anglophone junior high wishes to receive all of his instruction in French, we should have an exchange. Students in French who would like to take all of their eighth year in English, we could exchange because they'd simply have to go over the hill. There would be no exchange of staff. Then they would take all the courses in their eighth year in the second language, return to the school in the ninth year. The Anglophones would return to this school, then in addition to having French as a second language, they would take, let us say, social studies or another subject in the second language, and they would continue this through their high school education. I think if we started with this, then eventually the other may come, but as it is right now, I can't see, with the feeling that exists on both sides that

what I consider to be a truly bilingual school could exist unless you want to call an immersion school a bilingual school, but then again these are basically on the Anglophone side.

Q. Are there any immersion schools for the French that take English?

A. Not to my knowledge, not in this district. I was rather surprised to hear at the last May meeting of the District 2 School Board, member of the A.E.F.N.B. got up and raised the possibility of perhaps the time has come that they should have second language English for the Francophone students, and also that the Anglophone immersion, those English students taking French immersion should not be located in the French-speaking school. You know these two things sort of bother me. No. 1, the fact that the Francophones are electing to have English second language, I think is great. I think they should be entitled to the same number English second language as we have French second language, but what perturbed me was the second part, and that was this person couldn't see why students taking French immersion were in French-speaking schools, because we have an advantage, where they have to by the nature of being in a French environment, and a French school, would naturally relate to the language much better than if they were placed in an English-

speaking school for French immersion.

Q. Is there anything you would like to add to this about the problems in District 2?

A. Well I think that the problem we are facing here is not only unique, I don't know how much more effective the programme is, the educational programme is in Moncton where they have gone on to unilingual boards, but it is rather strange, I heard a principal mention just lately, in Moncton, he has French immersion in his school, and he now has French-speaking students, students of French-speaking parents, attend his French immersion class because No. 1 the school is closer, the parents are sending him to this immersion school, hoping that later on he will become bilingual, that is as other French immersion classes go on to English, and the parents felt that these children would receive better education. I thought this was sort of an odd slant on French immersion. District 4, the Bathurst area, right now seems to be rather unsettled, the board wants one thing, a goodly number of parents want continuation of bilingual schools as they now have it. I don't know how truly bilingual these schools are in Bathurst, where if they do operate under the terms of what I call bilingual, or if they operate under the system that we had in Campbellton, which certainly does not promote bilingualism. The

same as in District 3, I think by and large the residents of District 3 want a continuation of the system, although I think basically they do have unilingual schools in District 3 with the exception of one. It's pretty hard to dictate, I think by and large the situation we now have has been arrived at from pressure basically from one side of the fence, and I know that in the long run if it's all that bad, because maybe it might have awakened the both sides to the need of having a second language and we may get back mutually to what we may have had if we hadn't had all this push originally, if you know what I mean.

Q. Yes, I think so. Do you think any of this could be political, outside of the school?

A. I don't know what you mean by political, I think certainly there have been the efforts of certain societies, and I don't know of, certainly I don't think it's been political as far as the Liberal, Progressive Conservative, NDP, and so on. I think it has been political, and from my knowledge, basically on the Francophone side, because I don't know of any English-speaking organization within this area that took an active stand for or against bilingualism or unilingualism. That the situation that we presently have by and large I think, were pressure

groups such as the Acadian Association, and the Home and School Association for the French-speaking students, and, no doubt, there are other organizations.

Q. A couple of people have mentioned that it was a poorly chosen staff that helped change the schools from bilingual to unilingual. Do you think this is true?

A. Well this is the age old story. The high school blames the junior high for not preparing the youngsters, and the junior high blames the elementary for not preparing the youngsters, and the elementary blames the kindergarten, and the kindergarten blames the nursery school, and the nursery school blames the parents for having kids. I think this is absolutely ridiculous that the fact that it did not work why? Because the teachers were incompetent?

Q. Because they were teaching in a bilingual school?

A. Well of course the situations I saw, the function of the school was not a bilingual school to begin with. It was a school under one roof that involved two languages, and as I saw them, two completely separate administrations, so therefore to me, I can't see how they can blame the teachers for the fact it didn't work, although there may have been some people who because they were members of other organizations, happened to be teachers, and they may have used the fact they were in organizations, that were against

the status quo and wanted changes made, but I can't see how they could blame the teaching staff, certainly not from what I was able to observe.

Q. It's just that it has been mentioned so I thought I would ask; I didn't think so either. Do you have anything to add at all?

A. No. What bothers me when we go to other parts of New Brunswick, basically parts that have not been involved in an English/French problem, it seems that with the students, there are pressures that we have here, that are unknown to them, and I often wonder, what would our students now be like, or be like to those who graduated in the past six or seven years from the high school; what would they have been like if they had not been exposed to the pressures. I'm certain they were subjected to from the community, from these outside groups, that certainly had their influence on the school programme, on the school day, and on their outlook on education, the matter of English, French, and so on, and in talking with principals from other parts of the province, they wonder how there was anything done at all with what they were reading in the paper and what they were hearing about and so on, with regards to "The North Shore." It would be interesting to perhaps have a follow-up of some of the students who left and went on to

University, to see how they felt they rated with those from other areas of New Brunswick, not to get into those from another province, but from the Andover area, those from the Saint John area, St. Stephen area, from the Newcastle area. Just to see how they rate, what they had with what they've been able to compare with other students. I think a lot has been lost. I would like to see if we, looking back, what could have been done differently. No. 1, there are times when poor planning was done, I think there are times when people reacted very quickly, of course, I guess that's normal; but when one is accused of things that hit close to the heart, like your language, and I suppose by and large some of this may have involved too, the preservation not only of language, but maybe some people were hitting at religion, but basically by and large, this has been a linguistic problem, but then again it had many side affects; and I would like to again see, looking back to have comparison, to see how our students did at university and see how they themselves rate their high school career. I know some students after they finished school said "Thank God, I graduated," and I don't think, I'm certain, it was not a reflection on the teachers they had. It wasn't that, but just the whole feeling, the matter of French/English,

because many of them saw it in a different light from what the adults saw it.

Q. There's one last thing that occurred to me. You talked about religion. People seem quite reticent to say anything about religion in this context. Would you clarify that for me?

A. Well I think it goes back, I don't know just what I was thinking at the time I said that, but by and large we have, see at one time in the schools here we had, there were classes in school who had catechism from 8:30 to 9:00. At five to nine we had Bible reading, the Lord's Prayer, and I can even remember back in the days of Roseberry, some of us even had flag salutation. Now flag salutation, I was asking the Grade 7's the other day how many of them can remember having flag salutation, and other than some of the students who went to Robinsonville, some of the boys, said I think we had it once. The others would have been those who came in from other provinces. We have done away with this, but getting back to the context of the complex. What I meant in a sense there was the tie-in basically with the Francophones feeling that religion by and large was associated with the language. That one and the other they were inseparable, but which is not necessarily the truth. I think down through the history of this

district when he had, for example at the Beaverbrook we had what we called the English Catholic as called by the Irish. We had the bilingual class; the French-speaking classes and then we had the English or the EP, the English Protestant, and there was never to my knowledge, any conflict between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants with regard to religion, but the only way I've seen it tied in was for the preservation of the French culture, and that religion has been an integral part of the culture, which is the situation in Quebec today though it seems that this isn't necessarily so anymore.

Q. That's how it came in then was that religion and culture and language were all tied in?

A. Yes.

Q. I wondered because of the choice of Miss Boucher. Could this have worked against her?

A. Well to tell you the truth, I never thought of that. It might well have, it might well have. Honestly, I hadn't thought of that, Mary. See I don't know what better choice could have been made under the circumstances; and Miss Boucher was an extremely competent person, you know who was a natural to me for the position at the time. But I have not thought about that particular thing at that time or since.

Q. It just occurred to me because. . .

A. It could have been.

Q. I think it was mentioned once in one of the interviews that there might have been a slight conflict because of the cultural grouping of religion and language, where she had the language, the name and the culture, but not the religion.

A. Yes, she didn't have the religion normally associated with that culture, but then again, I'm of that background and culture and I'm not bilingual. But I can see how that would come in, but I'm not of that religion, apparently that's why we were put out of France, you know way back when.

Q. Do you have anything else to say?

A. No, but I would be interested in hearing some of the results of your surveys.

APPENDIX B

Interview with Maurice Dion, Vice-Principal
of the Sugarloaf Senior High School

Q. What was your position in relation to education in Restigouche County? Could you give me a brief history please?

A. I have been with the Restigouche County or District 2 School Board since 1969 at which year plans were in the making, I shouldn't say plans, as plans were completed. Construction was in the making of the Restigouche Senior High School. This came about from the concept of equal opportunity in 1967 and Campbellton having two separate unilingual schools at the time, English high school and French high school were combined in this complex, to form a school of approximately 1,000 kids, supposedly a bilingual school.

Q. Was it really bilingual?

A. In my concept of bilingualism in education I can't really say it was. I would rather use a term duality of existence where there were two separate groupings, English/French where we had respectively their own staff, a French personnel, an English personnel. The only area of bilingualism would be the school administration, where there was one administrator, and two vice-principals of which all of us were.

bilingual at the time.

Q. In the first year was there one unilingual vice-principal?

A. Yeah, now that's something too. I'll have to go back. I wasn't in administration the first three years of that school, the first two years. The third year of that school, I was. Now the first year, there was one principal unilingual, Ben Sullivan.

Q. And the second year, was he still vice-principal?

A. Right. He was vice-principal for the two years. There were three vice-principals the second year.

Q. Who was the third?

A. Paul Aube.

Q. How did the Polyvalente come into existence? Now you said equal opportunity and why did it become bilingual or why was everyone housed in the same thing?

A. Well, everyone knows the concept of equal opportunity was designed to give comprehensive opportunity, education where there would be a crossover of education levels, from vocational to academic programming. In our area, I think by the nature of the make-up of our area being roughly maybe 45 to 55 percent, 55 percent Anglophone, 45 percent Francophone at the time, is approaching a close 50/50 margin now. To house a

comprehensive education, you needed numbers and they say that with all educational theory to do this particular concept of education, the individual programming time you need the numbers. So you need roughly 1,000 kids to make it viable. In our area, therefore, you had to draw upon the English and French. Plus, at the time, the existing high school for the French-speaking students was rather an old school, the facilities weren't that good, some of the commercial students had to travel from the French school to the existing Campbellton Composite High School at the time because of the commercial program; they didn't have the facilities. So because of it, it was logical, I suppose, to put them all in the same building, plus we had to house, at the time, an increasing population of junior high school students and to make that situation viable they had to be housed, English at least had to be housed in one building also, so the Campbellton Composite High had to be turned over and had to be made a junior high school. So it ended up with the English-speaking population and the French-speaking high school population joined together in the Polyvalente Restigouche Senior High School.

Q. So it wasn't really bilingual, it was just housed under the same roof?

A. Right. It was just labelled bilingual by the community

and by the people involved because it had two groups of people in the school. They had the French people and English people in the school. It wasn't bilingual.

Q. What is your definition of a bilingual school?

A. Well, I've mentioned before that a bilingual school has not yet been defined, and if so, it has been defined so many different ways. I don't know if I have a definition, but I'm trying. First of all, I think that a bilingual school, as far as the staffing is concerned would have to be totally bilingual, regardless of what position you hold on that staff, from the teaching level up, clean up. Let's put it this way, from the janitors to the secretaries to the teachers to the vice-principal to the top administrator--everybody has to be bilingual.

Q. Is that functionally or totally?

A. I think functionally bilingual. Students would have to have in the school the curriculum should be designed that students could choose and select courses in either language and be able to perform to a degree of success that they would achieve in their own mother tongue, whether it's one or the other. Because you wouldn't want to hamper their progress with a language problem. So, in other words, at the high school level, you make the assumption that before the kids even get

there, if they want to take Chemistry and French they take Chemistry and French from a French teacher and if they want to take Mathematics in English, they take Mathematics in English from a Math teacher. Now that teacher I required a while ago be bilingual because in terms of the teaching role, he will at times have classes, let's say Mathematics, some of them will be French classes, some of them will be English classes taught in English mind you, but there could be French kids in there and English kids and any other. That's one of the things. So, therefore, if I'm making the assumption that they would have to be bilingual at the high school level, therefore, bilingualism has to start long before high school. And I suppose it would have to be a progressive thing right through the public school. It would have to start well with grade one or kindergarten; now a days we're looking at kindergarten, even pre-school, so they should have that bilingualism concept all the way through. So once you're at the high school level, I can't see though an instructor giving a course in one classroom going back and forth from French to English, from English to French. You'd have to give it either in one language or the other. And the kids taking it would comprehend that particular language, period. If they were French and you happened to give

it in English, that was your choice.

Q. Then the Polyvalente did not fit your definition?

A. Oh, by no means. Far from it, far from it. You know this is kind of a general description of it. Now I think back of what I said and there are little things that would be inherent into problems. But I think if you started off with that.

Q. How is the school run, the administration of the Polyvalente?

A. It was run, well, it was run differently. I think the administration every year happened to change their approach on how to handle the administration of the school. Even the same principals, we've had I think we've had three, two or three principals; two principals under the bilingual system. Miss Boucher and Mr. Mersereau. Miss Boucher I think changed her mode of operating from year to year. And Mr. Mersereau, who was only there for one year, changed his from month to month practically. At first administration tried to treat it as one school. We were one staff. She held staff meetings with everyone together, discussion took place, everyone felt free to speak supposedly their mother tongue, English or French. If difficulties were encountered a few of us that were functionally bilingual translated and that type of thing. But that didn't work

at all because it was time consuming. The written work in administration was always done in both languages from day one I think, just by common respect for each other's tongue I guess more than anything else. That didn't work because too much time was wasted repeating the same discussions over again, a lot of misinterpretation of what was said by one side or the other caused conflict. Then the following year, we couldn't do this so the principal at the time gave Miss Boucher, kind of assigned, unspokenly assigned one vice-principal to the English staff and the other vice-principal to the French staff. The French staff meetings were conducted separately so that it would ease the communications, mind you always on the same issues, always on the same agenda, but the agenda changed the minute the meeting started. That didn't work out well either, because what was discussed on one side, the other side was ignorant of it, you know what was going on on one side and vice versa. When the meetings were all over, questions like, "What happened at your meeting?" "Well, what happened at yours?" And back and forth and, "Oh, we didn't discuss this." Anyway one side would make certain demands and the other side would make other demands. This is where I began to see that the

mentality or the cultural background of the two ethnic groups began to show. We didn't have the same approach to education at all. We didn't have the same educational philosophy, we didn't have the same educational ideas, really we weren't aiming at the same thing. So this tended to make it even worse because these things started to come out that we were not just going the same way. So then, after Miss Boucher, Mr. Mersereau came around and he tried to get back to the mode of operation that Miss Boucher had in the first year. He soon realized, like I said he changed every month, he soon realized that wouldn't work. So he went to separate staff meetings. He soon realized that wouldn't work so he went to some kind of committee set up. Committees were set up, supposedly bilingual. In other words, there would be French staff members, English staff members on it. They would look after certain policy decisions like to look after policies concerning absentees in school. What would they like to see? They'd study that situation and bring it to the administration. Another little committee would be set up to study maybe the promotional policy. They would bring that to the administration and make a decision. Supposedly, these committees being made up of both ethnic groups were reflecting the desires and ideas of both but they weren't. They were reflecting

the ideas of the committee and once that got to the whole, the whole just threw it all out. So that didn't work. I think that's a long answer to a question.

Q. The next question was--was that arrangement suitable?

I think you've answered that question already.

A. I think none of them were actually suitable. One thing that was terrible about this was the amount of translation that had to be done so that communication would be done. I was involved as a vice-principal. Then when Miss Boucher, Mr. Mersereau came on the scene and practically 70 percent, well three quarters of my time really was spent translating, which actually I wasn't trained for, actually I couldn't do properly, I didn't have the master of both languages to be able to do that properly. Every time I did there were some corrections to be made. And if I used the wrong terminology on one side or the other, I was slighted for it. So that didn't work. They could have hired some Joe Doe who has been translating for the past twenty years to do that kind of work. That's not a vice-principal's duties. That was ridiculous and time consuming, well duplicating all of the services which was a waste of money, period.

Q. Dare I ask how it could have been improved?

A. Well, in our particular situation here I don't think

it could have been improved, period. It had gone so far, well it appeared that everything had been tried to the point now that it was just at an emotional buildup. No one wanted it to succeed so there's no way, no way, I think the only way out was to do what we did.

Q. What was the staff turnover like?

A. Needless to say, with that kind of confusion and that kind of system, the staff turnover was fantastic. There were years when we had 60, two thirds of our staff, turnover. I don't think there was any in the first three to four years of operation, three years of bilingualism, I would dare say, now I could look it up, but I dare say the lowest was about twenty-five percent turnover and the highest was about sixty-six percent turnover. That was from the first to the third year. It kept increasing. The second year was worse and the third was quite bad.

Q. I have the question, why, what I would like to say is was it both groups or was it more predominant in one group?

A. I think it was in both groups. The only ones that were stable in staffing in those years were probably local people like myself who were born and brought up in this area and thought maybe if we stuck it out long enough, we may be able to do something with it and we

are more sympathetic to our problems because we're native and we stick it out. The rest were outsiders mostly on the staff turnover, a few local people, but not natives--people who had been residing in our area for the past 5 or 6 years but then decided they're going back home or somewhere else. So most of the turnover were outsiders and when they came and saw the system and saw what they had to deal with they just didn't want part of it.

Q. Do you think it could have worked if all the staff had been native?

A. It would have helped. It would have helped. Let's say from square one it might have had a chance, but I don't think in the long run that either would have helped. It may not have been critical because you see with the local people all of a sudden when things weren't going good, it became an emotional issue. It became a cultural thing, so that even natives of the area, we set ourselves one against the other and there was no way; you had to be on one side or the other. . . . was on the fence for so many years that I was picked a little had, so I have to fall on one side or the other. So I think ultimately you would have conceded to this emotional/cultural thing and dispute would have occurred. But with most of the local people we would have had a better chance but to

be honest I don't think we would have got such critical times as we did live through, really.

Q. Were there any pressure groups inside or outside to change the system?

A. Pressure groups, pressure groups. I think the whole thing dealt with pressure groups. But it's hard to label which pressure group, I could say, Home and School were pressure groups. Even our Teachers' Associations were pressure groups at the time. There are other more undefined groups in the area that held one stand or another. At one there was an uprising of a group of concerned parents. They seemed to favour bilingual schools and they kept praising that it should work, has to work and we're going to make it work. Then on the other hand, I think the Teachers' Association looked at first from I think an educational standpoint in terms of programming, the curriculum and that kind of insight that they had into the system and they felt it wasn't working well; so they became pressured to get fair changes and they wanted it so that each side would have an equal opportunity to a proper education. They exerted an awful lot of pressure also. Then, I don't know, I felt there was kind of a social elite, I suppose or an upper crust of society that felt it was noble or prestigious or whatever you want to call it to be able to speak both

languages in Canada of today. They were very active opponents of bilingual schools, thinking if you go into this and then when you come out you're not only functioning bilingually, but you're totally bilingual. I think their ideas and their goals were far beyond what most people could reach anyway. Yes, there were a good number of pressure groups. Some of the teachers used by the pressure groups weren't always very nice. There were some underground currents, backbiting, some cut-throating, as a matter of fact, some threatening. You know, certain positions, if you don't go along with us, and go see that such and such is done, There was a lot of that done. In the back scenes, behind the rooms and so forth.

Q. But there's no proof of these things happening? I mean I know that they happened, it's hard to say, to prove it?

A. No, it's very hard to prove it because a lot of them were wrapped up in emotions and that kind of thing, and some of these statements, like I mentioned a while ago, these actual threats, were done in the heat of argument, in the heat of discussions, and a lot of power plays involved by little people and sometimes bigger people. You know, you can prove these things but you can't prove.

Q. Was there any pressure applied directly to you?

A. No. I must say there was no pressure applied directly to me. There could be a good reason for that though. Because I wasn't necessarily outspoken in terms of a strong proponent of one or the other. I was kind of like an original on the fence sitter relatively well accepted from both elements. A lot of people looked at me kind as the level headed one another kind of thing and they didn't dare. They had too much respect to even push or put the pressure on me because I've had people ask me maybe the same kind of questions you're asking me now at the time and didn't pressurize a response to what I gave them. I can't say I've been under pressure. No, really. Let's put it this way, indirectly my particular position, my circumstances were threatened many times but not directed to me. It was always second hand information. One time I was labelled to be an Englishman and the Frenchman didn't want me and the Frenchman would see that I wasn't going to be there, which was vice versa the Englishman would look at me as a Frenchman and we don't want anything to do with him so we're going to see that he's not there next time around. But that was never ever said directly to me. I don't think anybody dared to.

Q. Do you know if there's any pressure put on the Board?

A. Yes, oh yes much pressure. The same pressure that

I mentioned a while ago.

Q. Would you name them again please?

A. Home and School Associations, concerned parents, the Teachers' Association, the A.E.F.N.B. and then I would suspect again that kind of back room type of planning or organization. I suppose that reached the Board too by phone calls and that kind of thing, complaints, disapprovals. The Board during those years dealt with every monthly Board meeting a series of letters specifically relating to bilingual incidents of the school of the day at the time, either by the Home and School, like I say the N.B.T.A., A.E.F.N.B. wrote letters of complaint that our children weren't getting a fair deal and that kind of thing. Yes, the Board was tremendously pressured to do something about it.

Q. Do you know if there's any pressure from the Department of Education?

A. Yes, I think there is too. We felt at the school level considerably because we've always demanded assistance and help from the Department because of the duality of our situation was not double but cost was higher than it would be in a unilingual system, curriculum development wasn't going that quickly in the French area. There was a time in our Province of New Brunswick that all high school programs were

completely English and it's only since the sixties, in the late sixties, that some of the French curriculum is being put forth, and I think that's where the French became aware of the fact that they were entitled to an education in their own language. In that respect, the Department made an effort to develop French curriculum all of a sudden. Canada, federal involvement in terms of Canada being a bilingual country, officially recognizing it asking provinces to go along with this and recognizing advantage to their own provinces and going officially bilingual. New Brunswick was the first province to recognize in the legislative house that we are a bilingual province. Therefore, if we are a bilingual province, we have to have some kind of an educational system which reflects this bilingualism. So without looking honestly too far ahead, the Department was trying to reflect this bilingualism. So without studying it too far they kind of forced it upon the people and they insisted that we in the field in this district make it work. But at the same time did not give the financial support to make this thing actually work, plus they didn't define what they wanted by a bilingual school. They didn't give you any guidelines on how to go about it and how to make it work. So you were left trying to swing and trying to find the light

at the other end that was going to make the school a bilingual school but that was yet not found and not found anywhere in the province, and it's going to be a long time before it's found too. So in that sense, there was pressure put on the Department. Make it work--that was the pressure. Then they'd say well we want some help; we can't, we don't know where to go to help you. We don't know what a bilingual school is supposed to be. Discover it. That's what we were doing.

Q. What were the feelings of the student council?

A. Well, it's hard to say because with students, my interpretation of them. The students at the beginning felt that they could get along or whatever, I think. Like the way the staff reacted, they found the same problems. The communication problem was bad enough, the demands for equal time and equal rights and that kind of thing became quite a heated issue. Then all of a sudden they just didn't get along. Administratively, when they're all, let's say, I'm talking of student council affairs when I'm talking administrative, they just weren't working like the school administration wasn't working. Though I think if the kids had been without the pressure groups, the teachers, all the pressure groups I mentioned a while ago, including this time,

the teachers on the students, I think there it would work and probably would have been the greatest element of success in the bilingual school than anything else, because since I've often heard our own students say that really, we can get along between ourselves but I think the kids are looking at it on a social context. I don't think they were looking at it as an educational context. Then it was all social. You know, I can get along with the little French girl and I can get along with the little English fellow. One fellow can get along with another fellow playing basketball together, buddy, buddy. That kind of thing. As a matter of fact, they do it. As I mentioned a while ago, the composition of our area is bilingual. The City Council is bilingual, Atholville is bilingual. We have little pockets of French/English population, like Tide Head and Flatlands is kind of English population. Other areas are of French concentration. But in minor hockey and these kind of things they are together like in a big melting pot. The neighbour may be French on one side and the other English. The kids saw it on a social context and they thought they could get along. They could live together. But with all the problems encountered in the actual area of education, they came to realize that even though we can get along, we're getting short changed on this

thing. We could get a heck of a lot better, and if we start looking at education, we're not getting what we should be getting. So all of a sudden they kind of came to the realization that it's not going to work either. ~~But I think there~~ were less ills created by the students than anything else. I think the students were the last to realize that this is just not going to work. Maybe we brainwashed them to believe they were getting shortchanged. I don't know.

Q. Did you find that the academic standards of the students were lower during those three years? Were there less students accepted into college? Were there more drop-outs? Were there more flunking?

A. I can say yes to those questions but at the same time you can't generalize. There's many reasons why drop-outs, why school standards can go down. Even at that time, our school had a system where there was no particular system of formal examinations. Even the Department had a system of exterior testing, we used to call the old matric, was in question and they came in with different substitutes for matriculation and then to be able to establish new standards was very difficult. I honestly feel that we had probably fewer people in those days than we have now going. I think they're better prepared now than they were to

go on. So if you reflect that maybe the standards were lower in that particular system. I think that they can't help to be lower because there's nobody that felt comfortable, nobody felt that they were doing what they ought to be doing.

Q. Do you know why the schools, were there any specific reasons that you can give why they became unilingual?

A. No, I don't think I can give you any specific reasons. I think it's an accumulation of all that we've been discussing. I think the ultimate was obvious that you know that the system, "bilingual" so called just wasn't working, and it had gone too far to be able to patch up, to cure, and we had to go to a unilingual system. I think in doing so, nobody has shut off the possibility of ever creating a bilingual system, I think it was meant to give us the opportunity to have a good look at it, and make a good study of it to prepare yourself to operate a system of that nature. You just can't be thrown into it like we discussed in the beginning of the interview. It is just that you are in an ocean, and all of a sudden they say swim. They put us into a school, two different people, two different cultures, two different languages; you're a bilingual school, make it work. I mean it just wasn't possible. As a result, I think maybe the most specific one you can give is that

people felt that as a result of the conflicts in the system, proper education wasn't being provided, and if we were going to provide the proper kind of education, we would have to go to a unilingual school.

I mean if you wanted something practical, something specific, maybe that's the best thing I can think of.

Q. Do you have anything to add to this?

A. There is something there that I haven't mentioned too much. I made allusions to all the way through, but I have been taking a kind of practical and administrative look at the thing. There is, this cultural undercurrent that really played an important role in the splitting of the school, or in effect the downfall of the bilingual system. The French people have a different cultural background, as do the English also, and they are so diverse in their thinking in their approach to education that there could never seem to be a compromise between the two. I felt personally, as far as the French were concerned, they were more, you know, more liberal, more open minded; I felt that way about them anyway. They were more prone to change than did the English counterpart, in that I thought they were more traditionalists in terms of schooling. They insisted on school standards, and these kinds of things, and I did mention somewhere back, in the split staff meetings, that this was what

I had discovered as a result of split staff meetings; that the thinking process just wasn't the same, and the thinking process was affected by their cultural upbringing. And as long as we couldn't meet halfway, and we couldn't make some kind of deal, compromise, that this wouldn't work, and I think that this came to a point where it just . . . compromises just wouldn't come. We wanted to--one side would say we wanted to educate our children in this particular fashion, the other side would say, we want to educate our children in our own way. This is how we feel it should be done, and it was so diverse that we had ultimately to go one side to the other but this cultural undertone was there right from square one. We just didn't think the same way, that's all.

Q. Were the French teachers more permissive with the students than the English? Who were more hard, not hard, but disciplined?

A. You would suspect that after what I mentioned, but I can't really say they were, because at times now you had certain staff members on the French side, who were permissive, and certain on the English side who were permissive, and then you had also the other side too. You know on the English side, you had a number that were traditionalists and were disciplined, and more hard, and you had a few on the French side.

Perhaps the French were a little bit more, perhaps a little bit more permissive in terms of the controlling elements of the school in that respect. There were more on their side than there were on our side--you see obviously now that I've been taking my time, and put on one side or the other. When I'm referring to I, I am referring to English now.

Q. Could you see a bilingual school working?

A. Right now, no.

Q. And if you could?

A. Well I've made some statements to that effect in the interview. Okay, it could work with all the stipulations I presented a while ago. Maybe it could work if there is a proper kind of study done on it. Okay, you want a bilingual system, okay, you investigate those that were attempted, their failures, and see what and why things went wrong, and try to cure them. You have to set up certain amounts, certain guidelines under which this system is to operate, and how it is to operate, and then you have to start this I think at a very very early stage, because at the high school level there is no way you are going to get a bilingual school, my concept of a bilingual school at least, by throwing an English and French person together. By that time, after all, the kids are in their late teens, sixteen, eighteen, obviously. The

staff has to be bilingual, they will be bilingual by that time, and then it will work. Possibly, it could work if a proper study was done, the proper kinds of staffing, the right kind of preparation; I think anything can be done if, I mean if, you really have a close look at it, and you get the people willing to work at it, and willing to make it work, and anybody who doesn't go along with your particular way of thinking, you just kick them out, because there is no use having them around. That is another big problem too that I should have mentioned back there. That there were on the staff a number of teachers perhaps that did not go along with the basic principle of a bilingual school, and these particular staff members should never have been in that school in the first place. As the principal, if I had been principal, interviewing for positions, on staff for that particular school, I would have made it very very clear to the applicant at least. Ask them what was their stand on a bilingual school. Did they feel it was possible? Could they help make it work? What could they give to the situation to make it work? And if they were negative to it, I would have said fine. baby you just don't have a job, you know, go somewhere else. Because why ask for trouble? And I think a lot of it could have been done that way, and saved a heck

of a lot of problems too. I mean you can't operate a ship with so many personnel with so many divergent philosophies or ideas. I mean you have to have some kind of consistency, at least the ultimate goal that everyone is aiming for has to be the same thing or else you're going one way and I'm going the next, there is no way we are going to go together; that's for sure, so I think that would be one principle-- make sure that the selection of people to be involved do believe in what they are doing, and it might just work. But anyone who does not believe, or does not go along with your belief, it sounds cruel, but just don't use them, put them out.

Q. Do you have anything else to add?

A. We could go on with this all day, Mary, I mean we lived this together. I don't know, I think I said all I can say, but I think in all of it, a lot of people are trying to say that, you know, a lot of maliciousness, a lot of hate, and a lot of backbiting and stuff like that was done, you know, deliberately. I don't think this was a predominant thing on the whole. It's not that one wanted this and the other didn't, it's just by the very nature, by the very difference of the people, created the necessity of the failing of the bilingual school, and the necessity of a unilingual system.

Q. Do you think also that a lot of people were afraid of losing their jobs through the previous reasons you just mentioned? They were acting out of fear, more than out of . . .

A. Oh, yes. Oh, yes. That did occur, but like I said some of the small little pressure groups were the backbiting. Like I said a while ago, my job was threatened many times, but indirectly, not to me. Oh sure, that affected me. I have to sit back, and say, well gee whiz, who is going to kick me out of my job, or what is going on. Am I not doing my job properly, or do they just not like me, oh that had some kind of psychological effect on me, and I would imagine all other members of the staff. If any type of fear was created, I imagine they reacted the same way, so obviously, yes they would fear, they would kind of have to go along with the game, so they wouldn't be fired or you know, I was looking for a term there stronger than fired you know.



