

ANNIE LEAKE'S OCCUPATION: DEVELOPMENT OF A TEACHING CAREER, 1858-1886*

Marilyn Färdig Whiteley

In 1911, Annie Leake Tuttle wrote about a pivotal moment in her life, an incident that had occurred when she was seventeen:

Some time during the Spring of 1857 Miss Bessie Buckley our Preachers daughter, came running over to our home, asking, would I go with her down to the Presbyterian Church and hear Dr. Forrester of the Normal School Truro give a lecture....I secured mother's consent, and went to this lecture, and it proved a turning point in my life. I there heard, or had the way set before me, whereby I could secure the coveted education and self support, if I could only become a School teacher. Oh! how I listened and I daresay prayed for help.¹

Annie Leake was the fourth of thirteen children of Olevia Lockhart and Thomas Leake, who lived at Crossroads, two miles north of Parrsboro, Nova Scotia. Their farm and carpenter shop returned to them a meagre livelihood, and Annie at age ten had gone to live and work in the homes of first one uncle, and then a second. Her opportunities for schooling had been severely limited. Now, at seventeen, she was again living at home; she was a recent Methodist convert, hungry for more education, and anxious to be a contributor, rather than a burden, to the family economy.

Annie lived at a time of significant change in education in her native province: there was movement toward free graded schools employing trained teachers. John William Dawson, the first Superintendent of Education, had campaigned for the establishment of a normal school. The legislature agreed in 1854 to found a teacher-training institution that opened the following year in Truro. Meanwhile Dawson had resigned, and Alexander Forrester took over as Superintendent of Education in 1854, and as principal of the new Normal School.

Forrester worked untiringly to gain support for the professional education of teachers that would prepare them to work in a system of education intended to educate the child "as a whole: *i.e.* physically, intellectually, morally."² Patterned on the Training System of David Stow in Glasgow, it combined elements of the "Objective System" based on Pestalozzi with moral education grounded in the Bible. According to Forrester, training teachers for this work would raise the quality of education, increase the number of female teachers, and help to establish teaching as a permanent employment and indeed a profession.³ Annie was one

of the young women Forrester encouraged to enter teaching; unlike many, she became a “career” teacher.⁴ For her, this new educational movement offered a significant new opportunity.

Annie Leake began to write her life story in 1906, long after her twenty-seven years of teaching were over. Annie had observed many changes in her lifetime, and she knew that the next generation could not picture the old ways unless she described them in detail. Thus her autobiography allows us to see through her eyes a major transition in the history of Canadian education. It shows the inadequacies of the old system under which she was educated. It also demonstrates the possibilities of the new, formalized system that offered a permanent, professional career for an ambitious and dedicated young woman.⁵ It offers insight into the problems of one rural female teacher, and her strategies for coping with them, and, finally, it illustrates the career limitations faced by one woman at that time.

The life story of Annie Leake serves as a case study, illuminating many of the discussions concerning women who entered teaching, especially rural teaching, in the nineteenth century.⁶ Especially significant is the insight the autobiography offers concerning Annie’s motivation. In an article comparing the views of nineteenth-century male school reformers in New England with the private writings of female teachers from the same period and area, Jo Anne Preston identifies two common aspirations of these women: they wished to pursue their intellectual interests, and they desired good wages so that they might lead independent lives.⁷ Annie Leake showed clearly and directly in her autobiography that teaching attracted her for the same reasons. Yet another element runs through the text, that of spiritual purpose, of her belief in a divine plan for her life. Teaching provided Annie with “the coveted education and self support,” and “suited [her] temperament & ambition”; at the same time, it offered a deep satisfaction to an idealistic evangelical woman.

Annie’s first contact with schooling came when she went as a young visitor to the nearby school. Her autobiography describes the log schoolroom with its immense fireplace, desk running around three sides, slab seats, and chair for the master. She

was perched up, upon one of those slab seats, legs dangling in the air, & no support for my back. A boy stood not far away, with his back to the fire and a ruler in his hand. His duty was, to watch the scholars at their books, that they did not look off or raise their eyes from study. If one was so unfortunate to do so, the ruler was thrown at that one and they had to pick it up and carry it to the Master, to be slapped, and then take the place, to watch others. I was not a timid child but I had fears, that day, until I found out that I was not counted in. But I went no more while that old fashioned Master had rule.

Annie's own schooling began when she was eight; the school had a teacher "a little more modern." He was Edward Vickery, later a member of the provincial parliament. Annie reported that in six months she was able to read in the New Testament, one of their few schoolbooks.⁸ She studied for a year with Vickery, for six months with James Sproule who would later become her brother-in-law, and for a few weeks with a female teacher. This was Annie's primary period of schooling.

As Annie put it, her days of childhood ended when she was ten. Her uncle, Albert Lockhart, asked whether she could come and help in his home. She recognized her family's struggle to earn a livelihood, and went. Although she was living not far from her parents' home, she was far indeed from the life of her childhood as she worked nine months for her aunt and uncle, and did not attend school.

The next fall, another uncle, Christopher Lockhart, asked whether Annie could come help his wife. He was a Methodist minister stationed far away in Chatham, New Brunswick, but he promised "much better advantages...in getting an education" than Annie could have at the farm near Parrsboro. That was the bait she needed, and Annie replied, "If I can go to School all the time I will go." The promise was not kept. Christopher's wife found Annie too useful, and treated her as a servant. Annie calculated that she attended school six months of the sixteen that she was in Chatham. Yet that short time had value. Davice Howe, the teacher, used the "monitorial system," assigning even someone as untaught as Annie "classes in the Alphabet to teach." Howe told her that she had the "teaching Gift." The girl whose previous accomplishments had been picking wild strawberries and mixing buckwheat pancakes had now been recognized as possessing a skill that would later provide her with her occupation.⁹

After more than a year in Chatham, Annie returned to her parents for a few months. Then, when she was thirteen, she assisted her Uncle Christopher in Aylesford, Nova Scotia. There was no school nearby, so she got her education "in the care of children and domestic science." She spent the following year helping her parents. By now she was "old enough to be useful." She wrote, "it was a busy household and my education was going on in many lines, but not at School."

About the time of her fifteenth birthday, she returned with her uncle to Aylesford with little expectation of schooling. Briefly, however, Annie had an opportunity:

Quite early in the Spring there was a School opened near, taught by a young lady, whom I think had received some training at Normal School Truro if it was so it was during the winter 1855, the year of opening, of that Institution. At least, she knew how to teach, and I was ready & eager to learn. But alas I had only six weeks of the privilege, Uncle was removed from Aylesford to Barington at the coming Conference.

In Barrington, Annie's frustration was acute: the good school there was too far for her nephew to walk to, so he and Annie attended a private school in an upstairs bedroom. Years later she wrote bitterly, "I felt it an injustice then, I feel it so still. Miss McDonald who taught the school was a lady as also was her mother Mrs. Crowell. But it was sewing, fancy work, some reading and writing, but Oh dear where was my arithmetic & grammar & spelling & history etc."

Recognizing the unlikelihood of getting an education in her uncle's household, and no longer willing to work there as a servant, Annie returned to her parents in June of 1856. Anxious about what she "was going to do with herself" in her parents' "already overcrowded home," she helped with the household work, and educated herself as best she could.

My father was a reader, and as there was a very good school library in Town father brought home such books as "Dick Astronomy" "Life of Columbus" etc. etc. I can see myself seated at a table in the common living room of the family, which was heated at this time by a cooking stove. On the table was one tallow candle, and by that father & I was reading & mother sewing often darning or patching the children's clothing. In addition to the reading I was also knitting socks or mittens for the children. There were six brothers to knit for at this time and all at home, so mother could not spare me time to read without knitting also. It was no very great hardship to me as I had learned to knit before I could remember, and my mind was on Search for knowledge.

It was while she was seventeen, and living at home, that Annie was converted. She had been brought up among Methodist influences, with one uncle a minister, her brother-in-law, James Sproule, a local preacher, and her Grandfather Lockhart an exhorter "especially gifted in Prayer." Yet Annie did not experience conversion until February, 1857. This was the turning point in her personal life. It also led to the development of her talents: when her grandfather travelled to lead prayer services, sometimes she went along to give her testimony. Thus she became accustomed to speaking in public.

Then in May, 1857 she heard Dr. Forrester when he came to Parrsboro on one of the speaking tours he made at the close of each Normal School term. He travelled to promote the cause of education, and listening to him, Annie saw a new option: she could become a trained teacher! This would satisfy her yearning for education, her restlessness under the discipline of her mother, and her desire to be self-supporting. Annie's statement that she "prayed for help" is no mere conventional language; she had undergone her conversion experience only three months earlier. In her autobiography she originally described Forrester's lecture as "the turning point" in her life, and then changed it to "a turning point." Annie affirmed the pivotal nature of the earlier conversion experience, but it was the second event that provided her with a specific aim. A teaching career as Forrester described it no doubt appeared especially suitable to the zealous convert because

Forrester was a Presbyterian minister for whom religion played an important role in education. Now Annie knew what she wanted to do with herself.

But how? Annie had no money for Normal School. While Forrester had given her the dream, it was James Sproule who suggested the practical means. Annie could teach in order to send herself to Normal School. She failed in her first attempt to get a position, but a year later, in May, 1858, Sproule fitted up space in his home at West Brook for a schoolroom. Ten subscribers agreed to pay twenty shillings each for six months of education for their children, and Annie became a schoolteacher.¹⁰

Annie recognized how poorly trained she was. "But," she wrote, "I knew something of the 'Three R's.' So, in reading, spelling, multiplacation table, and the fundamental rules of arithmetic I drilled my fifteen or twenty pupils successfully. At the same time I studied the English Grammar, some Geography & Arithmetic with my Brother in law." In November, after her first teaching term had ended, Annie obtained a Second Class Certificate. This allowed her a share in the provincial support given to certified teachers.¹¹ She taught at Apple River from December until April. Here she was anxious about her ability to govern the young men who came out of the lumber camps and into her classroom at the end of winter but, she wrote, "my fears were groundless, they conducted themselves as young Gentlemen, and were a help in the government of the younger ones."¹²

Then, at last, Annie was able to go to Truro as a student. It was a two-day journey by stagecoach from Parrsboro to Truro.¹³ She arrived in May, 1859, three-and-a-half years after the opening of the Normal School. With the help of the Methodist minister, Annie found a boarding home, and began her studies. The school had a faculty of four. As its principal, Forrester gave instruction in education and in natural science. There was also a professor of English and classics, one of mathematics and natural philosophy, and one of music. The students observed and practised in the Model School that was a vital part of Stow's system of teacher training. Opened in 1857, it employed four teachers who supervised the education of about two hundred pupils.

Annie's autobiography acknowledges her deficiencies but also her determination:

They soon discovered that I had come to learn, and that I knew somewhat at least my ignorance. One difficulty I had then and have never been able to overcome, I was constitutionally a poor speller, a poor speller by inheritance, it belonged to the family. This hampered me a lot. I could do nothing scarcely taking notes, but I could comprehend, and my memory was good, so I could often give Dr. Forrester what he wanted from his yesterday's lecture when others with piles of notes were dumb. Then I had acquired the use of my voice, hearing it in Public without alarm, and truly I got through this first Term at Normal School wonderfully considering.

The plan of study was, in fact, arranged to accommodate those like Annie who arrived with gaps in their education: the first month of each term was devoted to a "thorough review of the work...with a considerable variety of preliminaries."¹⁴ At the end of the month, Forrester heard the students, and if necessary altered their classification before they began the regular session of nearly four months. Annie, at the end of her first term, was among those whose "deficiencies in scholarship when they entered" prevented them from reaching "the requisite attainments to entitle them to a Second Class Diploma."¹⁵ She had, however, studied at her "first really good Public School," and she was thoroughly dedicated to the Model School methods of education taught there.

Her brother-in-law suggested that she teach in the village of New Canaan, where the people had recently built a new schoolhouse, but there was a problem:

They had arranged their desks all around the sides of the room according to ancient custom. But how could I manage a School according to Model School patern [*sic*] without the children seated facing me, and I standing upon a platform before them? So I had James Sproule call a meeting of the supporters of the School and lay the matter before them....this School house was the only preaching place in this Section and the seats so arranged would be inconvenient for the congregation. But I pleaded my cause before these hardy sons of toil, and secured at least a compromise. The seats were arranged facing the teacher, but they were long seating, some six or more instead of only two.¹⁶

Thus Annie obtained some of the conditions necessary for teaching according to the new methods. She wrote, "So New Canaan had the advantage of my first putting into practice my instruction in 'The Normal School.'" However, she was not invited to continue beyond that one term. She explained, "I was too modern I imagine."

In the spring of 1860 she lived again in her sister's home, and taught nearby. Here, too, she attempted to teach as she had been taught: she closed the school with a public examination conducted as closely as possible "according to Normal Instruction." An elderly lady remarked to Annie at the close, "Oh! I suppose we could have done the same if we had 'Cheek enough.'"¹⁷ Not everyone was ready for Annie's modern methods.

For a year she taught in Parrsboro, with three of her brothers and two of her sisters among her students. Then in November, 1861, she returned to the Normal School. She was part of a class of thirteen working toward a First Class Diploma.¹⁸ In March of 1861, Annie proudly received the First Class Diploma which, unlike a local licence, entitled her to teach anywhere in Nova Scotia.

Annie taught until the following November at Athol in what she described as "a little old School house on the edge of a bank, where with what help I could secure I had knocked out the remains of the ceiling and had the inner roof white washed and the beams trimmed with spruce or fir boughs. [*sic*] This was another

attempt to carry out the principles received at Normal School." The building could not be used for a school in winter, so she spent that season living once more in the home of her Uncle Christopher, now in Annapolis, where she took the place of a teacher attending Normal School.

Annie returned to Athol, where a cookhouse had been prepared as a school. It "had been roughly but comfortably seated according to improved ideas and there was a rough platform and a desk of some kind." With her father's help, Annie mounted maps that she obtained from Provincial Supply. On his lathe her father turned a good-sized wooden ball that she painted as a globe, and he turned and she painted one hundred and forty-four smaller balls; these they strung on wires to make a "ball frame," or abacus. School inspector James Christie lamented the lack of modern teaching equipment in Cumberland County: there were only four or five globes, and a few ball frames. Annie Leake, however, ensured that her school was well-prepared for the new methods, with a globe and an abacus of her own devising, and with an unabridged dictionary purchased with a gold piece she received from an aunt.¹⁹

Model School methods also required singing; Forrester quoted with approval the view that "to attempt to conduct an infant or primary school without music, is as impossible as to govern a nation without laws."²⁰ He regarded vocal music and physical exercise to be simultaneously "intellectual stimulants and moral sedatives."²¹ Unfortunately Annie could not sing a note. At Athol, however, a friend came in to the school to teach songs. Another part of Forrester's method was "to give the Bible to the Children" in the form of Bible stories, precepts, and memory verses. This harmonized well with Annie's own beliefs, and she gave the lessons happily, hoping that they "left an impression at least they helped me to govern as far as I could by 'Moral Suasion.'" Thus in the equipment of the room and in her own teaching she was well prepared when Forrester himself paid a visit to her school. She wrote, "Everything was rough, but clean and brightened up as best we could. He was delighted, a perfect little Model School, was his Compliment and of course I was pleased."²²

This "perfect little Model School" could not be used in the winter, however, and again Annie moved. A man from "The Brook," near Amherst, fitted up a vacant house as a school, secured students, and offered Annie the exceptional salary of four hundred dollars a year. She taught there two years, from the fall of 1863 to that of 1865. These were "the days before we had a School System, the last days of the old law." The Free School Act of 1864 brought free public education to Nova Scotia, and the people in nearby Amherst were building a graded school to fulfil the requirements of the new law. Annie was ambitious to teach there. As a graduate of the Normal School, she was already among the better-qualified teachers in the province.²³ Annie felt, however, that if she wished to teach in the new school, she needed to prepare herself.

Thus Annie studied at the Branch Institution for Females of the Mount Allison Wesleyan Academy in Sackville, New Brunswick, from November, 1865 until the following May. The Academy offered a systematic course of "solid

studies” that would prepare young women “to exert a moral influence, the stronger always for being associated with intellectual vigor.”²⁴ Annie worked hard learning mathematics, French, and Latin. Although she could not attend for a second year in which she would have earned the Academy’s Mistress of Liberal Arts degree, Annie left Sackville confident that she had made an investment in her future.

However, opposition to the new school legislation had been strong, and the citizens found ways in which to express their unhappiness:²⁵

I returned to Amherst and taught in the old School during the Summer fully expecting to take the position, I had prepared myself for and made application. The people had been taxed to build the house, and when the time came to vote money for the teachers salaries the amount was not sufficient for the purpose. My application was received but the salary offered was so much less than I had been receiving...that I rejected it, and at once made up my mind that I would leave Amherst. I wrote this rejection to the School authorities, at once after receiving it. I wrote also at once to Dr. Forrester telling him what I had done and why, and then packed my few belongings, and secured a passage in the Stage, that would take me to Parrsboro the next day. I often wonder since, where the courage came from, to do it, to throw myself out of what was considered the best position in my native country. I had of course asked Dr. Forrester, Principal of Normal School for a position, in some other part of the Province.

Annie knew well the distress of unemployment: many times she had wondered anxiously what she would do next. Yet the girl who once decided that she would no longer work as a servant for her uncle’s wife had become a young woman who would not accept a position that offered an inadequate salary.²⁶

In turning down the post and letting Forrester know of her needs, Annie Leake once again overcame her problems in the same way she had done this throughout her years as a teacher in rural Nova Scotia. Independent by nature, Annie managed her own career under what were often difficult circumstances. Yet she worked in co-operation with others and welcomed their aid. Just as she improved the school house at Athol “with what help [she] could secure,” and worked the lathe with her foot while her father turned the one hundred and forty-four balls for the abacus, so she wrote letters and travelled and also accepted assistance from her brother-in-law, her uncle, and her mentor, in her search for teaching positions.²⁷

Forrester was no longer the Superintendent of Education; in the reorganization that accompanied the new legislation, he had lost that position to retain only the post of Principal of the Normal School. Yet quickly and in an unexpected way he came to Annie’s aid. He invited her to become head of the primary or infant department of the Model School in Truro. She told Forrester of her

inability to sing, but he promised her assistance, and she accepted a position that she described as "far above my highest dreams at the time." She went on to record that perhaps her "highest motive in writing all this down is to show the wonderful Providence of 'Our Father' in thus helping me on from Step to Step in the work, He *wished* me to do."

For ten years Annie taught her young students and supervised the pupil-teachers, and sometimes conducted for Forrester the model Bible lessons that formed part of the training of the young teachers. Annie herself became a role model for the pupil-teachers. Many years later, one of them gave testimony in a newspaper interview: "We younger teachers looked upon Miss Leake as superior; and her silent influence upon us was for good. In any doubtful situation that arose, we would question ourselves and each other as to what Miss Leake would say of the matter."²⁸ After Forrester's death in April, 1869, John B. Calkin became Principal, and Annie continued to teach in the Model School.

Two items in Annie's scrapbook hint at her professional involvement while she worked in Truro. One is a letter written early in 1869 by T.H. Rand, who had succeeded Forrester as provincial Superintendent of Education. Rand acknowledged receiving from Forrester the manuscript of a "Phonic Primer" prepared by Annie. With Forrester's strong support, the phonic method of instruction was gaining favour. The *Nova Scotia Series* readers were supplanting the imported books that had been used throughout the region, but the new readers were not without their critics.²⁹ Nevertheless, Rand gave Annie's manuscript a less than warm reception:

Will you be so good as to give me a statement of the *specific plan* of your primer—and wherein it differs from other phonic primers. Also a brief explanation of the lines on the flyleaf.

If you specify what you deem the *merits* of your book, I shall be in a better position to examine it with the conviction that I am not overlooking any of its merits.³⁰

There is no further record of Annie's attempt at textbook production, and no copy of her primer.

If Annie was discouraged in this attempt to establish herself as a professional, she must have found more pleasing a letter from J. Parsons sent later that year. He asked her to write a paper to be read at the Educational Association's annual convention. He explained:

We wish to bring more of the practical into our deliberations and must look to the Teachers to perform the work. *Order and Management in the Primary Department of a Graded School* is what we felt would be interesting and beneficial, and one with which you are familiar. We want a paper that will open the subject for discussion without necessarily settling every difficulty raised.³¹

The report of that meeting states that on 27 December, Parsons read an essay "written by a lady teacher....The essay was well written and instructive, and abounded in practical suggestions for the training of the little ones."³² Thus Annie Leake contributed anonymously and *in absentia* to the educational discussion of her day.

In 1873 she took a rest period of six months. During part of this time she visited a brother who had moved to Boston. She took with her a letter of introduction to the Superintendent of Public Schools so that "one of our most successful Primary School Teachers" might visit schools there.³³ In November, she returned to Truro with her salary increased fifty dollars to three hundred and fifty dollars a year. There she continued teaching until she received an unexpected visitor in December, 1876.

A new education act in Newfoundland for the first time gave money to the Methodists to be used for teacher training. The Methodist Church already ran an academy in St. John's, and it responded promptly to this opportunity. In October, George Milligan, the Superintendent of Methodist Schools, was authorized by the Board of Directors "to get a teacher (female) for the Normal School—at a Salary not exceeding \$400 per annum."³⁴ This turned out to be more difficult than they expected. At a special meeting in December, Milligan made a proposition

that he would altho at personal inconvenience—proceed to the neighboring provinces forthwith—(his expenses being paid) and endeavor by such special effort to secure the services of the needed Teacher...this proposition was agreed to by the Directors—as also discretionary powers if need be to advance \$100 on the sum before named as the Salary of such Teacher.³⁵

Thus, in December, Milligan arrived in Truro and called at the house where Annie was boarding. They talked for about half an hour, he offered the higher salary as he had been authorized to do, and Annie agreed to go to St. John's. In January she took charge of the new Model School.

According to Milligan's annual report, the school was in an "unpretending" but comfortable building, with the infant schoolroom on the ground floor, and the primary room on the second floor. "Both rooms," he wrote, "have American desks and chairs (to accommodate one hundred and twenty pupils), ample black-boards, maps, illustrated cards, a small globe, ball frames, a set of kindergarten toys, and other things suitable for an Infant or Primary school."³⁶ Annie's employer was supplying the type of equipment that Annie had once struggled to obtain.

To her dismay, however, she discovered about one hundred students waiting for her! An assistant was hired to help with the infant students, and Annie had charge of the primary class of at least seventy, and again supervised the pupil-teachers. At the end of the first year, Milligan reported, "The primary department

in both divisions is conducted much to my satisfaction; and it is not saying too much for it, that it is truly a model school, and as personal visitation of similar Institutions in several countries enables me to know, that in elementary work it will compare favourably with them."³⁷

Milligan's reports continued to wax enthusiastic, but the minutes of the Directors' meetings show that Annie was not always satisfied with the conditions. She complained about the uncleanly schoolrooms and the state of the water closets. She may not have complained formally about her salary although it remained the same, while members of the academy faculty and Annie's assistant received increases. In her autobiography, however, she lamented that the pay was much less generous than it had appeared because living expenses were so high in St. John's.³⁸ Yet she stayed ten years, working ten months each year, and sailing home to her family during the summer.

While she taught, Annie also continued her own education in a manner that had only recently become possible. She undertook the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle directed home-reading programme. Growing out of the summer assemblies that began in 1874 at Chautauqua Lake, New York, for the training of Sunday-school teachers, this four-year correspondence course offered instruction in such areas as literature, history, and science. It was first offered in 1878, and Annie probably began her work two years later, for she completed it in 1884. Once more her thirst for education caused Annie to study; working among well-educated colleagues, she may also have welcomed the prestige of the Chautauqua Diploma.

In the summer of 1886, Annie found that her father's health was failing. She, the available daughter, resolved to aid her parents. When she returned to work, she also tendered her resignation. A committee asked her to reconsider. Annie described the scene:

I do not forget the gentlemen of that Committee, the whole scene as I stood upon the platform and heard their plea. I replied I have stood upon this platform for ten years, and really am tired, although I may not look so, but I would remain, only I promised my father that I would come home and stay with him while he lived. I said my parents brought up twelve children, and I am the only one who can go home to them, in this their time of need. Nothing more was said, my resignation was accepted, and a pupil of my own training was appointed in my place.

Part of the official version differs. According to the minutes, Annie consented at one point to reconsider her resignation, but then declined "as the Board had not offered her any financial inducement."³⁹ Annie's account made no mention of this, although she had felt overworked and underpaid. Concerning her departure from Truro, she had written that "one gets tired of working year after year in the same groove or I suppose I did." More than a century later we cannot determine what blend of fatigue, family duty, and financial frustration caused

Annie's decision, but as the bells of St. John's rang in the new year of 1887, she waited aboard a steamer to sail for Nova Scotia. It had been almost thirty years since Forrester's lecture had suggested to Annie what she might do with herself. Annie had advanced in her career by working in a specialization which was seen as acceptable for women, teaching young children and training the teachers of young children.⁴⁰ Now, finally, she had left the classroom.

Annie's life was far from over. After her father's death, she spent five years in Victoria, British Columbia, as the first matron of a rescue home for Chinese prostitutes, an experience that called upon all of her skills in teaching and management. Then, two years after she left Victoria, she renewed acquaintance with Milledge Tuttle of Pugwash, Nova Scotia. They had talked of marriage when she was a young teacher, but his parents had interfered. Years later she observed philosophically, "I believe I was called to a mission much more suited to my temperament and ambition. That I had loved and could not 'put off the old love and put on the new' was a help to me in my occupation. I would have been a disappointed woman if I had not had my occupation which suited me exactly." Now Milledge was a widower. They married, and for seven years Annie occupied herself as wife and step-mother.

Then, in 1902, Milledge died. Annie considered returning to the classroom, but, she wrote, "was told and perhaps felt that I had better leave that work for those younger in years." For five years, she lived with friends and relatives. Then she entered the Old Ladies' Home in Halifax, not because she felt old, but because she needed a home.⁴¹ She remained active for many years in Missionary Society and WCTU work, and died twenty-seven years after moving to Halifax, at the age of ninety-five.

Annie Leake Tuttle was one of the pioneering professionals for whom the educational reforms of the nineteenth century made room. Growing up with limited prospects for education or earning a livelihood, she seized the opportunity offered by Normal School training and became one of the new professional female teachers. Motivated by a longing for education and by a desire for financial and personal independence, she found satisfaction in an occupation that also gave scope for her idealism and her sense that Annie's divine Father had plans for her. After years of moving from one rural school to another, Annie worked as part of the teacher-training system and served as a role-model to young women. Her career was limited to the instruction of the less advanced students and of their teachers: we recognize this as a constraint. Yet we must acknowledge that to Annie, her attainments seemed far beyond her highest dreams; the frustration that she recognized and expressed in her autobiography was the difficulty of gaining continuous employment at adequate pay in properly equipped schools. Despite these difficulties, however, Annie Leake Tuttle was grateful for her opportunity to have her "occupation which suited [her] exactly."

NOTES

- * An earlier version of this paper was presented at the meeting of the Canadian History of Education Association in October of 1990. I wish to thank Alison Prentice for encouraging me to look at the Annie Leake material from this perspective, and for giving the manuscript her remarkably thoughtful and helpful attention.
1. The autobiography of Annie Leake Tuttle and also her letters and scrapbooks are in the possession of the Reverend J. Ernest Nix of Mississauga, Ontario. I am grateful for the generous access which he and his family have given me to this remarkable collection, and for his gracious help and encouragement. Unless otherwise identified, all quotations are from the Annie Leake Tuttle autobiography. Spelling and style follow the original document.
 2. Alexander Forrester, *The Object, Benefits and History of Normal Schools with the Act of Legislature of Nova Scotia Anent Normal School etc.* (Halifax: James Barnes, 1855), 3. Forrester discussed the merits of these systems in *The Teacher's Text Book* (Halifax: A. and W. Mackinlay, 1867), esp. 316-19.
 3. Forrester, *The Object*, 4-5. Forrester favoured the employment of young women in primary schools because of their "natural fitness, both mental and moral," for that work. Later, in *The Teacher's Text Book*, he reported the general opinion "that the infant and primary departments are best fitted for the female, whilst the head masterships, and the more advanced sections, are for the male" because of the "position of subordination and of dependence assigned" to females by "the law of nature and revelation" (566). For the attitudes of Dawson, Forrester, and then later J.B. Calkin toward women teachers, see Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching," in *The Neglected Majority*, ed. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 53.
 4. Wayne Fuller has noted that rural teachers in the United States were not generally as "career-oriented" as most urban teachers: "The Teacher in the Country School," in *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work*, ed. Donald Warren (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 109. However, in their discussion of why work as teachers became available for women in rural Ontario and Quebec in the mid-nineteenth century, Danylewycz, Light, and Prentice note the presence of a few "career" teachers in rural Ontario during the period when Annie was teaching in Nova Scotia: Marta Danylewycz, Beth Light, and Alison Prentice, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching: Nineteenth Century Ontario and Quebec Case Study," in *Women and Education*, ed. Jane Gaskell and Arlene McLaren (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd, 1987), 43-44.
 5. On the relationship of formalized school systems to the feminization of teaching in the United States, see John L. Rury, "Who Became Teachers?" in *American Teachers*, 19.
 6. Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald provide an excellent summary of the current state of this discussion in "The Historiography of Women Teachers: A Retrospect," in their *Women Who Taught* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 3-33, and Prentice deals with many of the research questions in "Multiple Realities: The History of Women Teachers in Canada," in *Feminism and Education: A Canadian Perspective*, ed. Frieda Forman et al. (Toronto: Centre for Women's Studies in Education, 1990), 125-44.

7. Jo Anne Preston, "Female Aspiration and Male Ideology: School-teaching in Nineteenth-Century New England," in *Current Issues in Women's History*, ed. Arina Angerman et al. (London: Routledge, 1989), 177-78.
8. The use of the Bible for teaching reading and spelling was "all but entirely discontinued" by 1867 according to Alexander Forrester, who applauded the change. "To use it in this way, was fitted not only to despoil the Sacred volume of that sacredness and reverence with which its perusal should always be associated, but to awaken in the minds of the young positive dislike and abhorrence to its truths" (*Teacher's Text Book*, 188).
9. The monitorial system was one of the educational methods which Forrester criticized in his *Teacher's Text Book*, 313-14. He recognized, however, that "it is well fitted to discover those who possess an aptness to teach, whose gifts might be more beneficially employed in teaching than in any other pursuit or calling."
10. Annie first attempted to gain employment for a summer term, and first succeeded for the summer a year later; she does not say whether she attempted to obtain a school during the winter, but that could have been more difficult. On the seasonal pattern of women's teaching, see Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching," 53.
11. Her share for the work she had done was £4.10.0, as it was also for the next term of teaching. Public Archives of Nova Scotia [PANS], School Papers: Parrsboro (RG14 Vol. 74), 1858, 1859.
12. Seasonal "resource frontier" work by young men is one of the factors noted by Danylewycz, Light, and Prentice as making a greater place for female teachers in some areas ("The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching," 42).
13. School commissioners from the students' home districts were supposed to pay the travelling expenses of "every student duly recommended to the Normal School," but Annie Leake's petition to the Parrsboro board "was not allowed." Remarks by Forrester suggest that this was a matter of contention with other boards as well. PANS, School Papers: Parrsboro (RG14 Vol. 74), Nov. 1859; *Journal of Education and Agriculture for Nova Scotia* 1, 2 (Aug. 1858).
14. *Register and Circular with Brief History and Condition of the Normal School of Nova Scotia, 1862* (Halifax, 1862), 21.
15. *Journal of Education and Agriculture for Nova Scotia* 2, 4 (Oct. 1859).
16. In his *Teacher's Text Book*, Forrester described with approval the classroom arrangement required by Stow's Training System: "With the children all arranged in parallel rows and their eyes directed toward their teacher, the sympathy of numbers operates far more powerfully, and so blends all their thoughts and sentiments into one, rendering, thereby, the intellectual and moral development of one, or more, beneficial to the whole" (319).
17. While school examinations were, for Annie, part of Model School practice, she must have been aware of the approved way of conducting them: Forrester recognized the evil of examinations characterized by "external pomp," and called for examinations to be "fair representations of the actual condition of the school" (*Teacher's Text Book*, 522-24).
18. *The Register and Circular...of the Normal School* 24, listed requirements which differed in a few respects for male and female students. While the five men in the class would be required "to demonstrate any Proposition in the First Four Books of Euclid" and to show mastery of the rules of mensuration and the elements of land surveying and navigation, the eight women were held responsible only for the first book of Euclid and the elements of practical mathematics.

19. PANS, *Annual Report of the Common, Superior, Academic and Normal and Model Schools in Nova Scotia*, by the Superintendent of Education, 1865. The following year he complained that very few teachers possessed that "almost indispensable aid for procuring knowledge," an unabridged dictionary. The system adopted by Forrester required the use of visible objects in teaching the young; for the importance of the ball-frame, see *Teacher's Text Book*, 395.
20. *Ibid.*, 247.
21. *Register and Circular...of the Normal School*, 20.
22. A much later article in the *Halifax Chronicle* indicates that Forrester's tour was one which Annie herself arranged for him at his request because she knew the district. She scheduled lectures at West Brook, Maccan, Athol, Advocate Harbor, Spencers Island, Port Greville, and Parsboro, and he followed the strenuous plan, remarking to her, "You've worked me hard" (*Halifax Chronicle*, 29 Jan. 1927).
23. In 1865 the school inspector reported ninety licenced teachers in Cumberland county, of whom ten held a First Class rating; Annie was one of the two women in this select group. PANS, *Annual Report*, 1865.
24. *The Mount Allison Wesleyan Academy Catalogue and General Circular*, 1865, 33. Annie's report of her studies does not completely harmonize with the course of study listed in the circular. "Latin or French" is listed for study by the Junior Class, along with rhetoric and chemistry; algebra, geometry, and trigonometry are listed as Senior Class subjects. Yet Annie reported: "I finished what was then, their Course in Mathematics, and studied Latin and French." While the circular stated that "it is considered desirable, whether they remain long enough to finish the course or not, that the *order* of the studies prescribed should be followed as far as circumstances will permit," perhaps Annie's circumstances did not "permit." On the ideals and realities of this schooling, see John G. Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914," *Acadiensis* 12, 2 (Spring 1983): 3-33.
25. G.P. Hennessey studied the records of the Board of Trustees for the meeting held October 16, 1865, and wrote, "At this meeting it was resolved to raise land and erection of a building, furniture etc., for an Academy and Grade Schools, also that four hundred dollars, be raised by subscription for the support of schools for the year. This latter shows how averse the meeting was to taxation for educational purposes. An amendment to the first sum of six hundred dollars was voted down." Cumberland County Archives, Amherst—Education collection, G.P. Hennessey, "Education in Amherst."
26. According to the report of the trustees to the ratepayers' annual meeting of 1867 (quoted by Hennessey in "Education in Amherst"), three women served in the new building when it opened. The one teaching in the preparatory department received \$280, the one in the intermediate department received \$260, and the one in the primary department received \$140. Even this rate of pay was significantly above the "very lowest" pay scale specified by the 1864 act.
27. Annie had no formal support structure like that available later in rural British Columbia, described by J. Donald Wilson in "'I am ready to be of assistance when I can': Lottie Bowron and Rural Women Teachers in British Columbia," in *Women Who Taught*, 202-29.
28. *Halifax Chronicle*, 5 Feb. 1927.
29. Judith Ann Evans, "Too Many Cooks Spoil the Broth: School Readers from a Century Ago," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 2, 1 (1982): 69-70.
30. Scrapbook of Annie Leake Tuttle.

31. Ibid.
32. *Journal of Education* 29 (Feb. 1870): 451.
33. Scrapbook of Annie Leake Tuttle.
34. Newfoundland Conference of the United Church of Canada Archives, Minutes, Board of Directors, Wesleyan Academy, 18 Oct. 1876.
35. Ibid., 4 Dec. 1876.
36. *Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland for the Year Ended Dec. 31, 1876* (St. John's: Robert Winton, 1877), 12.
37. *Report of the Public Schools of Newfoundland under Methodist Boards for the year ended December 31, 1878* (St. John's: Morning Chronicle Office, 1879), 21.
38. Annie's time in Newfoundland is the one period for which there are records of her complaints other than in her autobiography. It is clear that during her career she was sometimes frustrated by the conditions under which she had to work, and by the inadequacy of her salary. In St. John's she also had difficulty finding a suitable place to board. Unlike the women whom Lottie Bowron attempted to assist in British Columbia (Wilson, "I am ready to be of assistance"), she did not complain of hostility or loneliness, and unlike the writers of those letters studied by Jo Anne Preston ("Female Aspiration and Male Ideology," 179), she spoke only with affection of her students. Of course she was writing many years after the events she described, yet the differences in attitude may not be attributable solely to the gap in time: perhaps her idealistic motivation and sense of providence coloured her experience, her memory, or both.
39. Newfoundland Conference Archives, Minutes, Board of Directors, Wesleyan Academy, 8, 9, and 15 Nov. 1886.
40. Geraldine Jonçich Clifford refers to college and university teaching and school administration in her discussion of gender patterns and the "career ladder" in education in the United States ("Man/Woman/Teacher: Gender, Family and Career in American Educational History," in *American Teachers*, 326-28). Annie Leake's move to Model School teaching and the supervision of pupil-teachers would appear to be an alternate form of career progress.
41. She was able to do this because she had saved enough from her earnings to purchase a government annuity which paid her two hundred dollars a year. The Home cost one hundred, leaving her one hundred "for Church and personal use."