THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF EDUCATION
IN ONTARIO IN THE 1860'S

by

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ABSTRACT

The study hypothesizes that even as the 1860's were years of significant political, social, and economic change, they can also be identified as the beginning of modern education in Ontario.

Primary sources utilized included textbooks for teachers and pupils, letters, family papers, diaries, minutes of the meetings of teachers' associations and school boards, journal articles, books, annual reports, and various other documents.

The study is divided into three parts: society and education; theory of education; and practice in education. The first discusses the social environment, the educational level of Ontarians, political-religious issues that affected education, and the extent and quality of public participation in school management. The second investigates concepts of education and of child nature. The third deals with common and grammar schools, teacher-training and certification, teaching techniques, and the Ontario teacher.

The 1860's were years of transition as Ontario was changing from a pioneer to a modern society. Educators strove to keep pace with the forward thrust of Ontario life. New concepts and practices co-existed with traditional ones to a degree that the decade is unique as a turning point
in Ontario education.

Specific examples indicating the pivotal position of the 1860's in education are: the resolution of the separate school question by the Scott Act of 1863 and the British North America Act of 1867; the increasing humanitarian concern for children in and out of school; the growing desire for a more scientific approach to teaching; the changing concepts of pupil discipline and motivation; the extension of free schooling to include over 90% of the province's elementary schools; the broadening of the aims of education and the expansion of the common school curriculum; the change from a predominantly religious to a more secular and nationalistic emphasis in pupil textbooks; the widespread adoption of grading in elementary schools; the revision of the form and function of secondary schools; the large influx of girls into secondary schools as they were granted the legal right to enroll; the popularity of object and oral teaching; the dramatic rise in the number of women teachers; and the organization of a provincial teachers' association which gave the teachers a united voice and contributed to greater professionalism. The Chief Superintendent of Education, the Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson, played a prominent role in nearly every area.

New theories and practices in education were being
tested and accepted to such an extent that the 1860's mark the beginning of modern education in Ontario.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The objective of the study. The objective of this study is to ascertain what people thought and did about public education in Ontario in the 1860's. This decade was chosen for study on the assumption that it was an important turning point in education as a transitional link between pioneer and modern education. The hypothesis is that even as the 1860's were years of significant political, social and economic change, they can also be identified as the beginning of modern education in Ontario. The term "modern" refers to theories and practices in education which have been generally accepted and are followed today.

Because important developments affecting all of Ontario life were occurring in the 1860's and because schools are an extension and reflection of the social order, the social milieu was investigated for its effect on concepts of education and teaching practices. The study is divided into three parts: society and education, theory of education, and practice in education.

The first part discusses the social environment, the educational level of Ontarians, political-religious issues, and the extent and quality of public participation in the educational process. The second part investigates concepts of child nature and the nature of education. The third part deals with common and grammar schools, teacher-training and
certification, teaching techniques, and the status of Ontario teachers in the decade.

Educators in the 1860's emphasized distinctions between theory and practice and delighted in analyses and categorizations, for such delineations were regarded as signs that education was coming of age and assuming a scientific outlook. The terms "theory and practice" were often used in books and articles. "The Science and Art of Teaching" was a phrase commonly employed by educational writers to describe theory and practice. John Herbert Sangster, mathematical master and headmaster of the Toronto Normal School and the author of numerous textbooks, defined the two terms in this way:\(^1\)

1. Science is a collection of the general principles or leading truths relating to any branch of knowledge, arranged in systematic order so as to be readily remembered, referred to, and applied.

2. Art is a collection of rules serving to facilitate the performance of certain operations. The rules of Art are based upon the principles of Science.

3. Arithmetic is both a Science and an Art.

4. As a Science, Arithmetic treats of the nature and properties of numbers; as an Art, it teaches the mode of applying this knowledge to practical purposes. The former may be called Theoretical, and the latter Practical Arithmetic. To Practical Arithmetic belong

all the operations we perform upon numbers, as addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, the extraction of roots, &c. The discussion of the principles upon which these operations are founded, constitutes the theory of Arithmetic.

Science, or theory, meant concept or principle; art, or practice, meant rules and their application, the execution of the principles in the practical situation. In this study not only rules for practice as laid down by experts will be considered, but also the actual teaching practices in the schools, which often deviated widely from what was suggested as good practice.

Scope and limitations. The theory and practice of education in Ontario in the 1860's is not a narrow and "provincial" topic which ignores educational developments elsewhere. Quite the contrary. Any study of Ontario education during the superintendency of the Reverend Doctor Egerton Ryerson becomes deeply involved in comparative education. Ryerson went to Europe four times during his administration and often travelled to other Canadian provinces and to the United States. During these trips he consulted leading educationists and visited many schools, ever alert to ideas that could benefit Ontario. He also read widely and was a genius at adopting and adapting ideas and practices from many lands, and so Ontario reflects world-wide educational developments.
The quotations and presentations of theories and the examples of teaching practice in the thesis are nearly always taken from Ontario sources. Sometimes they are endorsements by Ontarians of views and practices from elsewhere, and examples from outside Ontario are occasionally included when they clearly reflect the position or experience of educators in Ontario.

The province was known by three names during the 1860's. The Constitutional Act of 1791 officially designated the area Upper Canada. The Act of Union in 1840 united Upper Canada and Lower Canada (Quebec) and the former became Canada West and the latter Canada East. However, the new names never became popular, and both areas continued to be known as Upper Canada and Lower Canada. At Confederation in 1867 the Canadas again became separate provinces and were named Ontario and Quebec. In this study Ontario is used when referring to the decade in general and to specific events after July 1, 1867. Following common usage in the decade, Upper Canada rather than Canada West will be used for pre-Confederation references.

The thesis gives little explicit attention to private schools, not because they are unimportant, but because they

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were comparatively few in number and can be more appropriately investigated in a separate study to show their contributions as alternatives to public education. Attention has been given to Roman Catholic separate schools since they are in the context of the public education system in Ontario. All but one (the University of Toronto) of Ontario's sixteen colleges and universities in 1870 were private, church-related institutions, and in that year only 1,960 were enrolled in all. Universities will be treated only incidentally to illustrate certain aspects of theory and practice, as, for example, their effect on the grammar school curriculum.

A study of this nature which takes a comprehensive look at many factors and facets of educational thought and practice in a ten-year period cannot describe and analyze

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3 J. George Hodgins, *The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910* (3 vols.; Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1910), I, 126 citing the Hon. Mr. Justice John Wilson, local superintendent of public schools in London, Upper Canada, who reported that the ascendancy of public schools had caused the closure of many private schools with about 500 pupils from 1855-1863 so that no notable private schools were left in 1863.

Ryerson's annual report for 1870 recorded 284 academies and private schools which enrolled but 6,562 pupils out of a provincial total of 459,161, or less than 2% of the total, cited in J. George Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* (28 vols.; Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, I-VI, L. K. Cameron, VII-XXVIII, 1894-1910), XXII, 260, 264.

4 Hodgins, *Documentary History*, XXII, 260.
individual topics in the same depth as specialized studies. The student interested in the development of the theory and practice of teaching arithmetic, English, or reading, or the training of teachers, or grammar schools, or other topics treated in this thesis will not get as complete a picture here as in studies of specific areas covering longer periods of time, but he will get a fairly complete description of their status in the 1860's. Likewise, social history is not presented in depth here, but it is related to education and even a slight treatment should give some feeling for the life and times of Ontarians in the years under review.

**Significance.** There are a number of studies in the history of Canadian education which trace the development of aspects of education through a century or more: studies of school readers; of subjects in the curricula of elementary and secondary schools; of Ryerson's influence on certain educational developments— but this thesis is a new departure in that it takes a broader look at many trends in education as they manifested themselves in the comparatively short period of ten years. It presents a cross-section of education as a whole during a short span of time. Yet within the decade progress can be traced, and in order to place developments in context, aspects of education prior to 1860 and subsequent to 1870 are included.
to keep the study from being artificially isolated from the flow of larger educational trends.

There were a number of events in the 1860's that affected all Ontarians and give special significance to the decade. Foremost among them was the enactment of the British North America Act which united four provinces into the Dominion of Canada on July 1, 1867. The accelerating development of natural resources, the effects of the railway building boom of the 1850's, the development of commerce and industry, political crises and international tensions, chiefly the American War between the States, all made the 1860's pivotal in Ontario and Canadian history. Developments in communication and transportation were shrinking the world and thoughtful people were trying to relate these changes to the field of education.

In the 1860's Ontario's size and prosperity enabled it to do more than other provinces, and its school system was the most admired in Canada. Ontario enrolled more than half of all children in school in British North America: of the 600,000 in school in 1861, 344,000 were in Ontario; of 800,000 in 1871, 463,000 were Ontarians.5

By 1860 Ontario was the leading Canadian province in educational thought and practice. The Ontario school system

was already attracting the notice of other countries. Prominent persons from the United States and Europe visited and usually praised what they saw. Ontario influenced educational thought and practice throughout Canada and was especially influential in the new provinces in the West. As Ontarians moved westward to settle in Manitoba, the North West Territory (later to become Saskatchewan and Alberta), and British Columbia, they took their educational system with them. The curriculum and organization of the schools from Ontario to the Pacific were all based largely on the Ontario prototype, which also affected the older provinces to the East.6

The architect and builder of the Ontario system of public education was Egerton Ryerson, the Chief Superintendent of Education from 1844-1876. Before his appointment to head the Education Department, he had distinguished himself as a Methodist minister, as a champion of equal

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rights for all religious denominations, and as the president of Victoria College. He succeeded in erecting an enduring system of public education from primitive beginnings. He was influential in the highest echelons of government in both province and nation, and was well-received in high places abroad. His ability to develop structures suitable to Upper Canada and his administrative ability, which included a grasp of the smallest details as well as larger concepts, were remarkable. In 1860 he was at the mid-point of his career in the Education Department, in which he was to do more for Ontario education than any other person, and he was already the outstanding figure in public education in Canada.

In the 1860's educators were coming to grips with fundamental questions: the purposes of education, the organization of elementary and secondary schools, the place of girls and women in schools, the development and application of more appropriate and effective methodology in teaching, financial support for schools, compulsory education, the place of religion in schools and the validity of separate schools for Roman Catholics, the adequacy of existing textbooks, in short, a whole gamut of problems in theory and practice. The schools had grown to a point where these problems had to be dealt with—and the answers had not yet been fully provided or accepted. The
whole system of public education was under review and beginning to take a firm form that was to influence Ontario thought and practice down to this day.

Acknowledgements. The writer is grateful to the members of the thesis committee for their gracious and valuable assistance: Dr. F. Henry Johnson, chairman; Dr. Kenneth F. Argue; Dr. Charles W. Humphries; Dr. Clarence E. Smith; and Dr. George S. Tomkins. Appreciation is also extended to The University of British Columbia for providing funds for two extended stays in Ontario which made possible the utilization of many primary sources. Notes on the bibliography will comment on them at greater length.
PART I. SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

This chapter will summarize some of the events and forces that were giving momentum to the rate of change in Ontario in the 1860's. Fundamental changes were occurring in both the cities and the country areas, brought about by developments in politics, transportation, economic and social conditions. Many Canadian historians have asserted that the 1860's mark an important turning point in Canadian history. People involved in education, administrators, teachers, and pupils, cannot be isolated from the social milieu, and the winds of change were felt also in the schools. A review of Ontario society in the 1860's will help put the decade into perspective, and will provide a background for a clearer understanding of educational developments.

The rural society. From its earliest settlement, Upper Canada had offered a vast expanse of fertile farm land, free for the settling. Hundreds of thousands of immigrants had come, cleared land, endured many privations, and established farms. Ontario's society and economy were agrarian; in the sixties ninety per cent of the people
lived on farms or in communities with fewer than 5,000 inhabitants.¹

However, on closer scrutiny, an important change is evident during the sixties. Twenty years earlier, in the 1840's, there had been a great influx of immigrants to Upper Canada, which continued into the fifties. As a result, by the end of the 1850's the supply of crown lands in the fertile peninsula of Upper Canada was exhausted. At this critical juncture, the great American West was beckoning with its open fertile prairies, free to homesteaders. With the great Canadian Shield blocking access to the Canadian prairies, the American propaganda for immigrants, plus the building of railways that connected Upper Canada with the Mississippi River and beyond, lured large numbers of Canadians southward and westward. By 1860, then, the frontier of Upper Canada had moved to the United States.²

Already by the late 1850's the practical question was not so much the promotion of immigration to Upper Canada but rather the prevention of emigration to the United States. Upper Canada's population had grown by 32% in the decade


from 1851-61 (from 952,004 to 1,396,091); but during the next census period, 1861-71, the increase in population was only 14% (from 1,396,091 to 1,620,851).

The decline of immigrants and the large scale emigration caused the government much concern, for a steady influx of pioneers was considered essential to colonial prosperity. The government took action to counteract the trends. Immigration pamphlets were published for distribution in Europe. Immigration officers posted in Great Britain and Canadian ports of entry were to do everything in their power to assist and welcome newcomers. Special immigration commissioners exhorted Canadians to welcome the new settlers. But despite official zeal the efforts met with little success. The appeal of the American West and the disappearance of good land for homesteading in Upper Canada were potent deterrents to a successful immigration campaign. The new areas that were opened for settlers were of poor quality and provided only the barest existence for homesteaders.

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3Census of Canada, 1870-1871, V, 2, 4, 6. The figures for all of Canada from 1861-71 show 187,000 immigrants and 379,000 emigrants, a net loss of 192,000 in population movement for the decade. These figures given in Urquhart, M. C. and Buckley, K. A., eds., Historical Statistics of Canada (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1965), p. 44.

4Jones, op. cit., p. 294.
The government was as yet unaware that it was becoming necessary to industrialize in order to attract and keep a larger population. With limited farm land, greater diversification in the economy was necessary, and the handwriting was on the wall already in the fifties. For the first time the proportion of farmers to the general population began to decrease, a trend that has continued ever since. The trickle to the cities beginning then was eventually to become a torrent in the twentieth century.

The decade of the 1850's had been revolutionary in Upper Canadian rural life. Farmers began to turn from the overseas market to those of New York and New England. They began to shift from their "everlasting wheating" to other branches of agriculture. They acquired new kinds of implements. They had better tools, better and a greater variety of products, and greater markets, all made possible by mass production of farm machinery and the coming of the railways.\(^5\)

The more prosperous farmers were applying the principles of scientific farming. During and after the American Civil War more farmers than ever before began using labor-saving devices. The period from 1854 to 1866 saw the first large scale introduction of labor-saving

\(^5\)Ibid., p. 215.
machinery into Upper Canada, especially the mower and reaper. Livestock were improved, factory cheese-making developed, and the expansion and consolidation of agricultural organization also took place in that period. In 1866 the demand for farm equipment was so great that the manufacturers had difficulty satisfying it. By 1870 there were 36,874 reapers and mowers in use in Ontario. After 1866 farmers began to adjust to changes brought about by the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States and the intensification of worldwide competition in the European market.6

These changes meant that the quality of rural life was improving noticeably in the 1860's. The crude pioneer life of privation and subsistence farming was becoming the exception rather than the rule. By 1860 many farms were being tilled by the second and third generation of the same families. Farmers built better houses and larger barns and abandoned the candle and the fireplace for the coal-oil lamp and the cooking stove.7

Rural life was considered the good life. The wholesome country air was analogous to the purity and moral uprightness fostered by country living. Even city-dwellers extolled it as they decried the decadence of

6Ibid., pp. 309-10, 358.

7Ibid., p. 215. Stoves were usually bought from peddlers who were willing to give almost unlimited credit if the purchaser held title to his land.
the "morally sunken and depraved" cities. The Toronto Globe published an article which decried parents' indifference to the education of their children in rural areas, and concluded: "And if well-to-do farmers are acting in this way what is to be expected from many of the ignorant and vicious inhabitants of towns and villages?"^8

So extensive were the changes among progressive farmers that for the first time in Upper Canadian history the agricultural economy was essentially modern in its characteristics. Rural standards of living continued to rise steadily in the 1860's. When the Canada Farmer compared Upper Canada of the 1840's with Ontario of the early 1870's it burst into a paean:^10

Privation has given place to comfort and abundance. The Canadian farmer wheels it to market and church in a modern and handsome vehicle drawn by a fine team of horses, instead of jumbling slowly along in an ox-cart. The mower and reaper do the work of the back-breaking scythe and cradle. Sewing machines and pianos have crept into the house and girls disport themselves in the latest fashions. The railroad whistle, whose shrill sound means near markets, can be heard in almost every rural homestead.

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^9Jones, op. cit., p. 215.

^10Canada Farmer, August 15, 1873, cited by Jones, op. cit., pp. 305-07.
In the rural community the Puritan ethic of hard work ruled supreme, though there were "ne'er-do-wells" who fell far short of the ideal. Family life was stable; recreation was family and church-centered, and involved participation. Relationships were primary and personal, not secondary and formal. When people went to lectures or lantern slide exhibitions, it was not only to see the program, but also to see and visit with friends and neighbors.

Certain seasons afforded special opportunities for social life. Christmas was a time of visiting back and forth between neighbors, playing games, cards, sports, having sleigh-rides, and dances, complete with old-time fiddlers. In February, when most of the winter indoor work was done and the weather permitted little outside work, protracted church meetings, temperance and phrenological lectures were often scheduled. Many of these were held in the schoolhouse, with the permission of good-natured trustees, although the teacher was not always pleased with the state of affairs the next morning. Churches held tea-meetings, at which

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12 W. F. Munro, *The Backwoods Life* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, & Co., 1869), pp. 58-59. Phrenology was then regarded as a valid science. Many educated persons, including Horace Mann, believed in the validity of its principles.
pies, cakes, and other sweets were served with entertainment for a modest admission price. Various types of work bees provided opportunities to complete major projects, and to socialize and drink as well.

Sports and games were simple and home-made. Shooting matches, swimming, skating, and primitive versions of baseball and hockey were played. Shinty, or "shinny" as it was commonly called, was an importation from Scotland and a great favorite of the boys. It was usually played on hard-beaten snow in the schoolyard with a rubber ball and home-made sticks. Good elm or hickory cudgels with a natural crook were cut from the bush. It was a savage game, akin to field hockey, with few rules and frequent fights. No such frills as referees were indulged in. Other games played around the schoolyard were leap frog, pump-pump-pullaway, bull-in-the-ring, rounders, tag, and big ring. The seasons were identified by games popular at certain times, like "marble-time, top-time, or kite-time."

The great majority of the people could trace their

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13 Green, op. cit., pp. 100-01.


origin to the British Isles. In 1871 there were 559,442 of Irish origin, 439,429 English, and 328,889 Scottish in Ontario, the three groups combined making up more than 82% of the population. Of the total population of 1,620,851, about 70% (1,131,334) had been born in Ontario. But whether a man was a relative newcomer to Ontario or of ten generations on the continent, he followed the same way of life, for newcomers rapidly fitted themselves into the prevailing pattern.

Family size was shrinking in the sixties. In 1861 the average Ontario family numbered 6.4 persons. In 1871 the figure was 5.5. In 1861 the ratio of males to females per thousand population was 520-430; in 1871 it was 511-489. Both the reduction of family size and the narrowing of the imbalance in numbers between the sexes are indications of movement away from a pioneer society.

The birth rate was declining, while the death rate was about the same as in the preceding decade. The annual average birth rate per thousand population from 1851-61 for all Canada was 45.2; from 1861-71 the annual average was 39.6. This compares with the 1956-61 Canadian average

16 Census of Canada, 1870-1871, I, 280-81, 364.


18 Census of Canada, 1870-1871, V, 4-7.
of 27.5 and a 1966 figure of less than 20. The death rate for the 1851-61 period averaged 21.6 per thousand; for 1861-71 it decreased very slightly to 20.8; in 1956-61 it was 8.0. In 1871 there were 2,792 physicians in Canada, or one per 1,249 people; in 1959 Canada had 19,000, or one per 918 of the population.\(^19\)

It was a young country: the average age of the Ontarian of 1871 was 22.68 years (male-23.09; female-22.25). 895,285 or 55% of the population of Ontario in that year was under twenty-one years of age.\(^20\) The lack of medical knowledge and medicines meant a lower life expectancy; many diseases which are controlled today were fatal then.

**The urban society.** While Ontario in the sixties was essentially a rural society, an urban trend was becoming more evident. Between 1861 and 1871 the five largest cities in Ontario (Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, Kingston, and London) grew by 28%, exactly double the percentage increase of the province as a whole.\(^21\) While the total number of city-dwellers was not yet imposing, the importance of cities in the economic life of the province was growing. Spelt wrote

\(^19\)Urquhart and Buckley, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

\(^20\)Census of Canada, 1870-1871, V, 36, 70; II, 58-60.

\(^21\)Ibid., V, 32-33.
that the period between 1851 and 1881 in Ontario was characterized by a vigorous growth of urban settlement, and the sixties lay right in the heart of that period. Clark repeatedly points specifically to 1860 as the turning point in the growth of cities and towns, the increasing mobility of urban life, and the development of new economic, political, and cultural forces in Canadian society.

Industrialization was a major cause of the rise of Ontario cities. A number of factors contributed to it. Technological advances after 1850 made the conditions for manufacturing much different than before: water power was replaced by steam, coal took the place of wood as fuel, and railways provided cheaper transportation of materials and goods unhampered by seasonal interruptions.

Scientific farming and the opening of markets called for better farm machinery and greater production. The rising affluence of the rural population called for more consumer goods as the farmer became less self-reliant and looked for finer goods than he could make at home.

In response to the need, Massey had begun manufacturing

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23S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), chapter VI.

24Spelt, op. cit., p. 114.
mowers and reapers in Canada in 1852 and combined mowers and reapers in 1856. The self-rake reaper was developed in 1863. In the 1850's most of the machines used in Upper Canada were imported from the United States, but in 1860 it was said that "so great has the supply become from our home manufactures that an American-made machine is now as great a rarity as a Canadian one was a few years ago." In 1864 a factory at Oshawa manufactured 700 mowers, plus a number of reapers, "horsepowers," threshing machines, and plows. Every town and important village had one or more small factories producing farm machinery, indicating the importance of farming in the creation of a home market for industrial production.

The opening of small and large factories in the sixties caused a decline of individual craftsmen. By 1870 factories were producing woollens and cottons, boots and shoes, furniture, stoves, doors and sashes, agricultural implements, and a host of other products in Ontario. The number of factories increased steadily, though most were relatively small in size.

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27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., p. 308. The chief items of manufacture in Ontario in 1869 were listed as cloth, linen, furniture, sawn timber, flax, iron and hardware, paper, soap, cotton and
The discovery of petroleum in Upper Canada in 1858 provided a new industry. Three hundred wells were drilled there in 1866, and nearly a million barrels of oil were produced from 1864-69. Refined petroleum, called mineral oil, rock oil, but most commonly coal oil, provided a new and efficient type of lighting and revolutionized home illumination. Previous to this innovation gas manufactured from coal was available in cities, but it was expensive. The new coal oil lamps gave light equal to four candles at a cost of half a cent for two hours light. Lamps cost as little as thirty cents. It became more convenient to stay up later in the evening as lighting homes became more efficient and economical.29

The reduction of available land for growing sons to farm, the development of industry, and the concomitant growth of towns and cities meant an increasing number of options for young men unable or unwilling to remain on the farm. The cities offered more scope, money, and prestige woollen goods, steam engines, locomotives, wooden ware, and agricultural implements. The main exports were agricultural products, timber, and livestock. Minerals found in Ontario were iron, copper, lead, plumbago (graphite), antimony (white metal used in alloys), arsenic, manganese, heavy spar (a type of crystalline mineral), calc-spar, gypsum or plaster of Paris, marble, gold, silver, mica, petroleum, salt, and peat beds. This information is given in Emigration to the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Province of Ontario, 1869), pp. 13-14.

29Emigration to the Province of Ontario, p. 20.
to the able and ambitious in trades, professions, and businesses, and these gravitated to where money and opportunities were more plentiful.

The cities also provided a greater variety of cultural and recreational options than the country did. For example, the intellectuals looked forward to the meetings of the Literary and Scientific Society of Toronto five or six times a year at University College. The programs featured essays on poetry and literature, declamations of poetry and prose, speeches ("Does the Present System of Schools and University Education Give Undue Prominence to the Study of Antiquity?"), and debates ("Has the Mind of Man Exerted a More Beneficial Influence on Humanity than that of Woman?").

Toronto was moving into its proud, self-claimed position as "Queen City of the West." It was also "Toronto the Good" and that because so many of its inhabitants were zealous Protestants and had so many churches which they zealously attended. Its population was about 45,000 and its principal constituents (as in Montreal) were Irish.

Metropolitanism was becoming a more dominant force in economic, political, and religious organizations alike. The

30 Printed programs in the C. R. W. Biggar Papers (Public Archives of Canada).

31 Lower, op. cit., p. 265.
end of the frontier, the development of manufacturing, the rise of railways, and better communication were all combining to shrink Ontario's distances and were contributing to the rise of her cities and towns.  

Transportation. Waterways and rough overland roads were the chief routes of travel in pioneer days, but in the 1850's the railway boom exploded in Upper Canada with a vigor that was to change the face of the land and the pace of life. In 1852 not a single railway was to be found in the United Province of Canada, yet by 1860 1,876 miles of track were in use. The Grand Trunk had 870 miles, the Great Western 357, the Buffalo and Lake Huron 159, and thirteen others each had less than a hundred miles of track.  

Clark points to the completion of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1859 as marking the passing of the backwoods community in Canada and the rise of the industrial town. Almost every part of Upper Canada was then within reasonable distance of a railway. Districts which had been considered out of the way because they were thirty or forty miles from

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32 Clark, op. cit., p. 345.
34 Clark, op. cit., p. 364.
navigable water found their isolation at an end. Inland villages now got their merchandise from Montreal or Toronto in a few days instead of having to wait weeks or even months for it.35

Glazebrook emphasizes the revolution in transportation that the coming of the railway brought to Canada. It drew aside a curtain from between people in previously isolated districts and the outside world. To the farming areas and backwoods towns it gave a link with the main centers of population. To the larger towns it brought easier communication with the United States and Europe. To the isolated pioneer districts of Upper Canada the railway brought mail and newspapers, and carried passengers in comfort and ease in summer or winter over long or short distances which before had meant laborious and expensive journeys. The products of the farms could now be transported to market many miles away; and to the farms came the manufactured products of the Canadian and English factories. The railways "brought a revolution in the life of all the provinces—socially, economically, and politically."36

35Jones, op. cit., p. 212.

Newspapers, mail, and goods flowed much more freely between city and country areas after the railways came. They extended the influence of cities in rural areas. The availability of city markets for farm goods brought prosperity to farmers. The railway was the most important factor in the development of new urban centers. Even villages and small towns soon recognized this fact, and desperately tried to excel each other in granting bonuses to attract railways. The coming of railways meant that urban development was no longer restricted to waterfront sites, for inland locations saw their potential markets considerably expanded.37

Glazebrook points also to the profound impact of the railways on the political as well as the economic life during the strategic years of the 1860's:38

The decade of the sixties marks a turning point in the history of Canadian railways, as, indeed, it does in

37Spelt, op. cit., pp. 107-08. The railways also added adventure and glamor to the Canadian countryside. The Fred W. Grant Scrapbooks (on microfilm in the Public Archives of Canada) give evidence that the trains in the sixties could attain speeds of sixty miles per hour. Such a sight would have a profound effect on the farm boy used to driving teams of horses or even oxen. In one of the scrapbooks there is a picture of the steam locomotive that made the first run on the first railway operated in Upper Canada, the Toronto, Simcoe and Huron, which ran all the way from Toronto to what is now Aurora. It was built by James Good in Toronto and made its first run in May, 1853.

38Glazebrook, op. cit., II, 1.
the whole political and economic position of the provinces. The evident failure of the Canadian trunk lines to secure such a portion of American business as would repay their generous expenditure led to a major change of policy; and the circumstances and atmosphere of the day suggested as an alternative the exploitation of national territory. . . . Thus the movement toward a single British country in North America, as approached from the political point of view, coincided in time with the recognition, from the economic point of view, of the end of the continental projects.

Economic conditions. The growth of industry and its extension by railways did not mean uninterrupted prosperity, however, for the early sixties were troubled and anxious years. The business boom caused by the Crimean War and the Grand Trunk Railway construction collapsed in the crash in the autumn of 1857. By 1860 Canada was beginning to come out of the commercial and financial depression and the sun of prosperity was again beginning to shine shyly on Upper Canada. The American Civil War, which began in 1861, did not immediately bring Canada the revival of trade that was expected as a result of the conflict. On the contrary, the shock caused by the Trent Affair at the end of 1861 disturbed the business situation. There was widespread apprehension that Canada would be drawn into war with the Americans. Added to this external factor was the turbulence of internal politics as frequent elections and changes of government unsettled business and trade. 39 But the overall

picture in the sixties showed progress in commercial and economic growth in the province.

The expansion of industry and markets did not result in a marked escalation of either prices or wages in the 1860’s. Both varied from locality to locality in response to supply and demand. In 1862 farm labor was paid from $8 to $12 per month with board and lodging. A shortage of farm labor caused this to rise to 75¢ to $1.25 per day in 1869, according to immigration pamphlets. Tradesmen’s wages were from $1 to $3 per day, depending on the trade.40

The immigration pamphlets said the cost of living in Canada was lower than in England. In 1869 cottages and small houses rented from $4 to $8 per month in cities and

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40Canada, 1862. For the Information of Immigrants (Quebec: Government Emigration Office, 1862), p. 4. This pamphlet gives this scale of wages: Farm labor, per month, from $8 to $12 with board and lodging. Female servants, per month, from $2 to $5 with board and lodging. Boys, over 13 years, per month, from $2 to $8 with board and lodging. Girls, over 13 years, per month, from $1 to $3 with board and lodging. Mechanics, per day, $1 to $1.50 without board. In 1869 Emigration to the Province of Ontario (Toronto: John Carling, Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works for the Province of Ontario, 1869), pp. 20-21, gave this scale: Farm indoor servants from $10 to $14 per month by the year; female farm servants, $4 to $6 per month by the year; labourers, 75¢ to $1.25 per day with board, harvest time, $1.50 to $2.25 per day. Boys of 12 and up could get work. In the three or four months of winter wages went down. Mechanics: carpenters, $1.50 to $2.25 per day; Bricklayers, Plasterers, and Stone Masons from $1.75 to $3.00 per day. Painters and Plumbers, $1.50 to $2.25; Tinsmiths, $1.25 to $1.50; Blacksmiths, $1.25 to $2.00; Wheelwrights, $1.00 to $1.75; Tailors, $1.50 to $2.00, Shoemakers nearly the same.
towns, and were even less in the country. Flour cost about $5 or $6 per two hundred pound barrel. Meat was available at $5 to $7 per hundred pounds at the butcher's. Other prices, per pound, were: cheese, 12 to 16 cents; butter, 15 to 20 cents; tea, 60 cents to a dollar; coffee, 25 to 40 cents; sugar, 8 to 13 cents. Poultry was plentiful and cheap: geese, 30 to 50 cents apiece, turkeys 50 to 75 cents, ducks and chickens "in proportion" to other poultry prices. Potatoes "moderate," apples, pears, plums, et al, "available," grapes and sometimes peaches also.\textsuperscript{41}

\textbf{Politics}. Politically the most significant event of the 1860's was the Confederation of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia; and New Brunswick. The American Civil War played an important part in the eventual enactment of that legislation. The initial sympathy which most Canadians felt for the North because of their opposition to slavery was eroded by the militant statements of Americans like Seward and Sumner who spoke freely of the possibility of annexing Canada to the United States. The Trent Affair in 1861, various border incidents, and the Fenian raids were all disruptive of Upper Canada's stability. They caused Canadians to think seriously of uniting the provinces to

\footnote{Emigration to the Province of Ontario, p. 21.}
provide a more effective defense against potential American aggression. Great Britain encouraged the provinces to unite as a means of discouraging possible American designs on British North America. While some Canadian leaders did not actually expect a Northern invasion, they were willing to use the fear entertained by their colleagues to promote the union.42

Politics within the province were also unstable. Maintaining a government to the satisfaction of both Upper and Lower Canada after the Act of Union in 1840 had always been difficult. Until Confederation governments in the sixties fell with appalling regularity. Upper Canadian politicians looked to a separation of the United Province and a federal union of all the provinces as a solution to their dilemma. Another motivating factor for Confederation was the growing productivity of Upper Canada's farms and the rise of industry, which sought new markets for crops and goods; it was believed that a federal union would facilitate trade between the provinces.

Thomas D'Arcy McGee spoke of the "three warnings" the British North American provinces had been given: the warning shown in the attitude of the "Little Englanders"

(who believed colonies were a drain on the homeland) in Britain; the warning of the Civil War; and the warning of deteriorating politics, deadlock, and "double-majority" problems in the Canadas. All of these, plus a rising tide of nationalism, contributed to the union ultimately effected by Confederation.

Lower comments, "The spirit of the years to come was moving in the eighteen-sixties and the result was to be the Dominion of Canada." He speaks of the psychological roots of Confederation that were evident long before the event in the effects of growth and development which bring a larger sense of community with them. Accounts of how things were "in the youth of the author," which abound in the publications of the eighteen-sixties, invariably remark on the amazing rate of advance in Canada.

As Upper Canada stood at the threshold of the sixties the age of the pioneer was passing and the industrial revolution was at hand. The railway and steamship symbolized a new era of speedy communication, busy speculation, and material progress. The growing cities and towns, though

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43 Ibid., p. 349.
44 Lower, op. cit., p. 286.
still outranked by rural areas, imparted a new air of sophistication to provincial society and epitomized the increasing complexity of its needs and aspirations.46

The implications of the progress noted in this chapter for education were not lost on those who were giving serious thought to the role of education in a changing society. They, too, were looking in new directions and attempting to make schools relevant to the society which nurtured them.

CHAPTER III

THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE PEOPLE

Literacy and level of education. The Hope Commission reported that for those who went to school in Upper Canada before the middle of the nineteenth century formal education consisted of about four months each year for three to four years, or an average of from nine to fifteen months. During this time the scholar would learn to read haltingly, to write simply, and to do some ciphering.¹

Precise information on the literacy of Upper Canadians at mid-century is not available. The proliferation of newspapers and later of magazines, and the large number of libraries, indicate that printed material found a ready market among Upper Canadians. Lower writes that at mid-century illiteracy was becoming the exception rather than the rule.² Little appears to be recorded about inability to read, save for dire warnings against allowing young delinquents who did not attend school to grow up illiterate. Perhaps an estimate of a literacy rate of 65% to 75% at about 1860 will


serve, with the percentage improving yearly as more schooling became normal in the sixties, and became compulsory in 1871.

The Census of 1871 included information on literacy, and shows what may be an unduly high literacy rate. Of those above twenty years of age, 57,379 of a total population of 1,620,851 of whom 45% were above twenty, were unable to read, and 93,220 (above twenty) were unable to write, which suggests that some 36,000 could read but not write. These statistics indicate that 87% of the people twenty-one and over could read and write, though doubtless many could read very little, and perhaps write little more than their own names.3

Books and libraries. While those interested in reading could obtain books, the public attitude toward the practice of reading was limiting and inhibiting. There was still a strong feeling that reading was dangerous if the wrong books were read. A persistent feature of nineteenth century thinking was the belief in the value of a book as a source of moral benefit as well as intellectual gain. This may have been the result of the eighteenth century doctrine

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3Census of Canada, 1870-1871 (5 vols.; Ottawa: I. B. Taylor, I-IV, Maclean, Roger, & Co., V, 1873-1878), II, 211. This apparently was the first census to include information on literacy, and no doubt people hesitated to admit inability to read or write and would use the barest competency to avoid the stigma of illiteracy.
of the perfectibility of man. Reading good literature was one of the methods by which mankind could raise his spiritual level and attain greater happiness. Not only would the virtuous be made better, but evil-doers would be redeemed. Therefore, libraries were placed in prisons so the inmates might develop "a purer and nobler ambition." "As you educate the people," said Ryerson, "you proportionately diminish crime." The concept of knowledge giving virtue, and the wise being the happiest and best, harks back to Socrates.

In the 1860's, when strict Victorian ideas were in vogue, reading, like nearly everything, was judged on moral grounds. The best books were those which contributed not simply to the reader's knowledge, but also to his morality. Books which contributed to his knowledge without harming his morals were acceptable, and bad books were those which could subvert his morals. There was widespread prejudice against reading books which were simply entertaining, for even though they contained no objectionable materials, they contributed little to one's knowledge and could insidiously undermine character by developing habits of wasting time and thus jading the intellect. Besides, one could be both entertained and instructed by reading more solid tomes.

4Journal of Education for Upper Canada, III (October, 1850), 147.
This principle of reading is illustrated by a dictation exercise written by Sir George Parkin, afterward principal of Upper Canada College, when he was at Normal School in New Brunswick in 1863:

We should employ our minds, as little as possible, in those occupations which require no effort of attention. He who spends much of his time in reading that which he does not wish to remember, will find his power of acquisition rapidly to diminish. Light reading is entitled to its place, and need not be proscribed altogether. But light reading need not be useless reading. Facts of all kinds, to him who is able to make a proper use of them, are always of inestimable value. But much that is called light reading, tends to no result whatever, except present amusement, and nothing is more destructive of every manly energy than amusement pursued as a business. Nor let it be supposed that the vigorous employment of our own faculties, is destitute of its appropriate enjoyment. Here, as everywhere else, happiness is found, not when we seek for it directly, but when, thoughtless of ourselves, we are honestly doing our duty. The weariness caused by labour, is either relieved [sic] by rest, or by a change of pursuits, and the mind returns, with renewed relish, to its appointed labours. But what change can relieve an intellect, jaded and worn down by excessive excitement, and vexed with incessant cravings of unsatisfied desires.

As the idea of "light" reading was developed, it sounded more and more like the approved reading educators loved to recommend. The emphasis was ever on knowledge, duty, and utility, while avoiding the dangers of intellectual deterioration through too much levity. The concept of good stewardship, getting the most for the time

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5George W. Parkin Papers, Normal School notebook, p. 28 (Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa).
spent, is implicit in the advantages stated for learning facts, improving one's morals, and being entertained all at the same time. The Bible, religious books, histories, biographies, and books with general and scientific information were among those that best suited the standards of reading.

Novels generally were denounced as morally debasing, for example:

Evils of Novel Reading

It sows the seeds of vice; it taints the imagination and undermines the foundation of virtue and morality. It corrupts the heart, obscures the reason, paralyzes the conscience, depraves the intellect, and perverts the judgement. The foul principles imbibed and the images gathered will abide in the memory and extend their pernicious influence to the close of life.

It instils into the mind a habit of reading merely for amusement instead of instruction.

Our insane asylums [sic] could furnish us with many a blighted intellect, many a dark picture of insanity, caused by the direful effects of novel-reading.

Case histories were cited to prove the charges against the novel. The Peterborough Review ran an article headlined "Effects of Novel Reading in Belmont." It recorded that a farmer got all "fired up" by reading a trashy American novel entitled The Scalp Hunter, and that night, while dreaming, started to choke his wife. During the scuffle the baby awoke and its cries woke the farmer and saved his wife from

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6 Journal of Education for Upper Canada, XV (October, 1862), 146.
the dire consequences. The next night the same thing happened. Whereupon the wife brought her mother into their bedroom to keep watch over the husband. The moral was plainly drawn: beware of trashy stories and sensational novels.7

Hodgins recorded that in 1863 reading bad books led a boy to commit crimes and that some grown boys in a common school bought some pernicious books without the teacher's knowledge. When discovered, the books were publicly burned, and a large Public School Library of excellent books was procured to guide youth on the proper path.8

The vehemence with which fiction was being denounced in the 1860's indicates its wider circulation and the consequent wider public acceptance of light reading. In the pioneer era there was little reading save for the Bible and an occasional newspaper. After mid-century, when more reading material (and more time and better lighting for evening reading) became available, only the purposeful reading of factual books was regarded as reasonably respectable. But with the coming of Confederation, fiction and poetry were more readily available in response to a

7Ibid., XVIII (November, 1865), 163.
national consciousness of the need for culture. In the 1870's the prejudice against reading as a pastime was to disappear almost entirely.9

Before 1850 circulating libraries had appeared spasmodically, and were regarded with some suspicion. But as Ryerson's school system began to take hold and flourish, he argued that with schools teaching nearly all Canadians to read it became necessary to direct this ability into wholesome and useful channels.10 He inaugurated a scheme of public and common school libraries that met with phenomenal initial success.

The Education Act of 1850 provided for the establishment of common school libraries which were free public libraries operated by school trustees, housed in school buildings, and which were available to pupils, teachers, and to the inhabitants of the school district. A "public library" could also be established in some other building than a school, and was operated and financed by the council of a municipality.11


11The material on libraries is based largely on Gordon T. Stubbs, "The Role of Egerton Ryerson in the Development of Public Library Service in Ontario" (Master of Arts thesis, University of British Columbia, 1965); and J. W. Emery, The
The policy for selection of library books set by the Council of Public Instruction in 1850 made plain that this promotion of reading would in no way violate the moral sensitivities of Upper Canadians:

(1) No consideration would be given to works of a licentious, vicious or immoral tendency, or hostile to the Christian religion.

(2) No controversial works on theology or on denominational disputation would be admitted.

(3) On historical subjects, an effort should be made to include works presenting a variety of different viewpoints.

(4) For the rest, the books selected should cover as wide a range as possible of all major departments of human knowledge.

In 1853 a catalogue of somewhat less than 2,000 books was published, in 1857 it was expanded to nearly 3,000 titles, and the revised catalogue of 1860 made 4,000 books available. The selections were notable for their depth and solidity. Only books listed in the catalogue could be included in the libraries. Ryerson believed that the right books for the libraries of Upper Canada were those that imparted information and conveyed good moral lessons. Consequently only a very few works of fiction were on the list and they were scattered under other headings. The heading "Fiction" did not appear in the catalogue until

Library, the School, and the Child (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, Limited, 1917).
1868 and even in 1871 it was represented by less than 1/16 of the volumes listed.\textsuperscript{12}

Ryerson resisted public pressure against limiting book selections to the catalogue; he believed that a limitation of freedom was necessary to guard against books of "a vicious or immoral tendency." While this practice prevented one evil—the circulation of immoral books, it created another—an inflexible, paternalistic control that eventually had a stifling effect on library development.

Books ordered from the catalogue of the Book Depository of the Education Department received a grant of 100\% of the value of the order. In effect this meant that books were purchased at half price—for to every order of $5.00 or more the trustees could add books of equal value at no extra cost. Often they would leave it to Ryerson to select books for their libraries. In explaining the subsidy, Ryerson almost always stated that a 100\% bonus would be added to the order, rather than saying that books could be had for half-price. He was conditioning trustees to order all the books they felt they needed, and then to get again as many free, thus increasing the books available in the libraries.

The regulations for borrowing books provided that

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{12}Phillips, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 187.}
a book was to be returned within as many weeks as it contained hundreds of pages, i.e., a four-hundred page book could be kept four weeks. A book could be renewed if no one else had spoken for it. One penny a day was the fine for overdue books.

The libraries experienced a rapid initial growth as much of the money the municipalities realized from the sale of Clergy Reserve Lands was devoted to the establishment and extension of local public and common school libraries.¹³ When some objected to the expenditure of Clergy Reserve funds for books and the giving of subsidies to libraries, Ryerson forthrightly asserted that Upper Canada was ready to leave behind the "bush mentality" of pioneer days. The province could no longer afford to neglect the development of its intellectual resources, he said, which in future "would tell powerfully upon the advancement of the country in knowledge, wealth and happiness."¹⁴

When the Clergy Reserve funds began to dwindle, around 1858, interest in libraries began to lag. Energetic and imaginative measures were needed to challenge public

¹³Ryerson widely publicized the fact that Clergy Reserve Funds would double their value if invested in library books because of the 100% bonus on book orders. This and his argument that libraries would benefit all citizens caused many municipalities to use the Clergy Reserve Funds at their disposal for libraries.

¹⁴Hodgins, op. cit., XIV, 73.
apathy, and Ryerson was ready to undertake them. The effectiveness of his campaigning was demonstrated by the remarkable growth in the number of libraries between 1860 and 1870. In that period common school libraries grew from 411 to 1146, and public libraries from 347 to 389. The total number doubled, from 758 to 1535; the total number of volumes increased from 344,463 to 413,503.

Books were also available at the same low cost from the Depository for Sunday School libraries and Mechanics Institutes, but these agencies did not receive the 100% bonus. Sunday School libraries in 1860 numbered 1756 with 278,648 volumes; in 1870 there were 2433 libraries with 345,855 books.

The development of libraries under Ryerson was a hothouse growth rather than a natural development. After 1870, local superintendents of schools in areas that previously had shown a sincere interest in acquiring and circulating books began to report "little used, long neglected, most discouraging" in reference to the libraries. A mood of disillusionment began to replace the bright promise of the fifties and sixties.

Although Ryerson always stressed the importance of local initiative, he was in fact inclined to force his wishes on the public. He could not refrain from giving the public what was good for them, whether they wanted it or not.
As the students began to demand interesting story books, the serious books in the libraries were voted dry and neglected.

The following books are representative, and present-day pupils and adults would perhaps be inclined to agree with those who avoided them a century ago: "A Book of Worthies; Thrift; Great Triumphs of Great Men; Whiston's Josephus; City of Saints; Notable Shipwrecks; The History of Ireland (two volumes); Johnson's Works; Byron's Poems; History of France; Macaulay's History of England; Creasy's English Constitution; Gibbon's Rome (three volumes); Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations; Memoirs of Sydney Smith; History of the Jews; and Geological Cosmogony."

Though heavy, these books offered one of the few sources of information and self-help available to enterprising young people in most localities. Many prominent persons in later years testified to the benefits received from their local libraries.

When Ryerson retired in 1876, the libraries lost their greatest supporter, and the decline accelerated. By the end of the century nearly everyone had disappeared through neglect. This was tragic, for had they been kept up and augmented by books more compatible with popular taste, they would have given Ontario the foundation of a public library system at a very early date. Ryerson was ahead of his time, but he was unable to bring the public where he
wished it to be. Had he set his sights lower and tolerated books of greater popular interest he would have done better by the libraries. But he would not bend his principles, and ultimately most of the impetus he provided for libraries was lost.

**Newspapers.** In the 1860's every town and hamlet had its newspaper, which was avidly read and discussed. In 1869 about 180 newspapers were published in the province; Fifteen were dailies and the others weeklies or bi-weeklies. Thomas D'Arcy McGee wrote in 1867 that newspapers had a circulation of fourteen million copies in Canada at Confederation: eight million were Canadian and six million were from the United States and Europe.

The "yellow press" had not yet made an appearance in Upper Canada. Editors were extremely conscious of their roles as educators and newspapers were more literary in style than today. They were sharply divided along political and sometimes religious lines, and controversies often spawned new newspapers. People took religion and politics seriously, and expected editors to be forthright and candid.

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16 *Journal of Education for Ontario*, XX (November, 1867), 177.
Differences of opinion were generally sharply defined with little room for compromise.¹⁷

Much news from other countries, especially Britain, was published. Many articles and editorials were re-printed from other papers. Local news was prominent in all, and poetry, extracts from moral novels, and letters to editors were featured. Education was prominent in the news when legislation on controversial issues like separate schools for Roman Catholics, grammar school reform, and free and compulsory education were before the legislature. School examinations held for the public were usually well-covered by the press, with the names of dignitaries and prize-winning scholars fully reported. Stories of crime, scandal, and human foibles were printed, their ostensible purpose being to point out evils to be avoided, but the editors also realized there was much interest in such accounts.

Advertisements were stereotyped and generally ran unchanged for weeks. Lack of payment for subscriptions led to frequent failures and changes in ownership. Struggling editors would be reduced to accepting eggs, pork, produce, or even firewood as payment in lieu of cash.¹⁸

The growth of Toronto's newspapers in the 1860's


reflected the expansion of the economy in the province. The large circulation newspapers there had three editions, a daily for the city, a tri-weekly for the neighborhood, and a weekly for mailing across the province, to other provinces, and even to Great Britain. The railways and cheap postal rates made this wide distribution possible. From the late 1850's financial papers reflected the growth of business and industry. From 1793 to 1867 Toronto alone had a total of eighty-two newspapers. By 1860, two of them, the Conservative Leader and the Liberal Globe dominated Toronto and the province.19

In a discussion of Upper Canadian Newspapers in general and the Globe and the Leader in particular, Careless writes that mid-Victorian Liberalism seems the best term to describe their pattern of thought and opinion.20 There was constant reference to British ideas, not only in politics and economics, but also in the fields of social welfare, sabbatarian morality, and intellectual standards. Newspapers felt a strong sense of belonging to a physical British Empire and of being in the mainstream of ideas emanating

19Firth, loc. cit.

20The following paragraphs are based on J. M. S. Careless, "Mid-Victorian Liberalism in Central Canadian Newspapers, 1850-1867." Canadian Historical Review, XXXI (September, 1950), 221-36.
from Britain at the height of her power and prestige.

As the radical and Tory newspapers declined and were absorbed, the press generally transferred its main opinions from Liberal Victorian Britain. The main reason for this attitude was the great numbers of British immigrants to Canada during the first half of the nineteenth century. This steady stream from Britain had inundated the earlier English-speaking people who had deeper North American roots, many having come from the United States. By mid-century the newcomers had established themselves so well that many Canadian leaders, including many of the Fathers of Confederation, had been born in Great Britain. This was especially true in the newspaper world, and the Globe boasted in 1861 that its entire staff was from the old country.

Canada was also effectively tied to the British imperial system. Nationalism had not yet fully developed (1850-67), and the British tie meant liberty and security against the still-threatening United States. Steamships and telegraphs had cut down the barrier of distance from Britain, and transcontinentalism had not yet begun to turn Canada's eyes inward and toward the West to any considerable degree. Central Canada was still essentially a long, narrow settlement along the St. Lawrence system that pointed to Britain and channelled every impulse from the imperial center deep
into the Great Lakes country.

British ideas were exported to Canada along with her goods and news. By steamship came newspapers, periodicals, books, and immigrants, who influenced their communities to look to Britain. As a result, newspapers and English-speaking Canadians accepted the bulk of their ideas from Britain. In this crucial period, then, in which the modern Canadian nation was being founded, opinion in Ontario was tending away from the exciting extremes of both radicalism and Toryism and moving toward a moderate cast of mind, Careless concludes.

Given this powerful British influence which reinforced the tradition of the United Empire Loyalists, it is not surprising to find strong anti-American sentiments among Upper Canadians. The strong belief in the power of the printed word and the malleability of young minds caused great objections especially against American textbooks for children. Many complaints were lodged against the pernicious influence of these books, even after the province adopted authorized, non-American books. Schools which persisted in using unauthorized books were threatened with having their school grants withheld.

The chief complaint against the books was their rampant republicanism and anti-British sentiment. Histories were scored for being inaccurate. In 1865 Ryerson again
threatened to withhold grants from any schools using American
texts and ascribed great powers to them when he wrote:21

I believe such books are one element of powerful
influences against the established Government of the
Country. From facts which have come to my knowledge,
I believe it will be found, on inquiring, that in
precisely these parts of Upper Canada where United
States School Books had been used most extensively,
there the spirit of insurrection, in 1837 and 1838,
was most prevalent.

The British naturally supported Canadians in their
resistance to American influence. A British journal in
decrying the anti-British propaganda in the United States
said: "You may dot a land with School-houses to any extent
you please, but Society is the great free School, after all.
The plant lives from the atmosphere."22

If the atmosphere in the United States was anti-
British, it was strongly pro-British in Upper Canada. So
strong were these sentiments that the Common School Acts of
1841 and 1843 had excluded teachers from the United States.23
This attitude pervaded society and was reinforced in school

21Egerton Ryerson to Chas. P. Coburn, State Superinten
tendent of Schools, Pennsylvania (who had written to Ryerson
protesting the proscribing of American textbooks in Upper
Canada on October 5, 1865), October 11, 1865, cited in
Hodgins, op. cit., XIX, 68.

22The Rev. Dr. Vaughan in British Quarterly Review,
cited in Hodgins, op. cit., XIX, 69.

23J. George Hodgins, The Legislation and History of
Separate Schools in Upper Canada, 1841-1876 (Toronto:
William Briggs, 1897), p. 34.
and by the newspapers and other periodicals. The effect was to strengthen Canadian loyalty to British institutions and to inculcate a feeling of superiority among Canadians with respect to their institutions, the quality of their lives, and their morality, as compared with Americans.

Magazines. Students of literature have found in the advent of literary magazines after the mid-nineteenth century the beginnings of a post-pioneer period in Upper Canadian life. There was an especially auspicious flurry of magazines beginning at Confederation.

Bissell notes that between 1851 and 1870 a number of periodicals made brief, apologetic appearances and then speedily and quietly withdrew, but in the seventies the periodical emerged as one of the dominant expressions of the time. This was the result of a growth of national consciousness and pride, and the recognition of a need to establish a Canadian culture. National unity required a broader basis than "the niceties of political compromise." The literary men sought to sink political divergence in a disinterested concern for the cultural life of the new nation.24 Most of the periodicals published in the late eighteen-sixties reflect a good deal of conscious

24 Claude T. Bissell, "Literary Taste in Central Canada during the Late Nineteenth Century." Canadian Historical Review, XXXI (September, 1950), 237-51.
nationalism.  

The journals of the sixties do not impress as being sophisticated or intellectual in content. They had to struggle for survival and tried to appeal to as many people as possible. Typical fare for the literary magazine reader in the sixties is illustrated by the contents of the New Dominion Monthly which made its first appearance in October, 1867 with its front cover featuring the Union Jack in full color. It offered horror stories, anecdotes of great men, hymns, recipes, household hints, plus poetry, editorials, and correspondence. Titles of some of the articles were "Blind Robert" (a story about a good blind boy), "The Horrors of Nuremberg Castle," a poem entitled "The Maniac," "A Horrible Story," and a children's department which included a story of a boy who was ashamed to pray (he missed church to go swimming and drowned).  

The editor of Stewart's Literary Quarterly, which appeared in April, 1867, said he was motivated by concern for the youth of the country, who were being seduced by "the cheap novels, the trashy weeklies and immoral

25 Lower, op. cit., p. 293.

26 New Dominion Monthly, I (October, 1867). The writer reviewed all the magazines circulating in Ontario (including British ones) in the 1860's available in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. The content of the New Dominion is typical.
monthlies" from the United States that led the unwary into lives of crime.27

The magazines reinforced the mores and values of the people. No innovators, the editors tried to get more people to read and to become informed on what was happening in the country and the world, and to improve literary taste. Patriotism, sugary sentimentality, and moralizing were standard fare.

Adult education. The Education Department encouraged education for adults. Its most obvious effort was the promotion of public libraries, indicated earlier in this chapter. An Educational Museum was opened in the Education Department building in Toronto in 1857 which exhibited school apparatus, models of agricultural and other implements, specimens of natural history, busts of antique and modern statues, architectural sculpture, copies of busts selected from leading European museums, plus typical copies of works by masters of the Dutch, Flemish, French, German, Spanish, and Italian schools of painting. It was a means of educational improvement, to create and develop a taste for art among Canadian people.28

27Stewart's Literary Quarterly Magazine, I (April, 1867).
28Hodgins, Documentary History, XVIII, 102.
It was open from nine to five daily except Sundays and holidays, and admission was free.\textsuperscript{29} It was the closest thing to an art gallery and museum the province had. It was designed for the people at large, as well as for teachers and pupils, to be entertaining and instructive.\textsuperscript{30} The purpose was officially described in these words: "The object of a National Gallery is to improve the public taste, and afford a more refined description of enjoyment to the mass of people."\textsuperscript{31}

An early attempt to provide education more formally for adults was the organization of mechanics institutes in England in the 1820's. One of the first in Upper Canada was formed in York in 1830. The purpose of these institutions was the provision of libraries and lectures for the benefit of "mechanics," which meant tradesmen, clerks, and workingmen in general. Their employers were commonly the officers of the institutes.\textsuperscript{32}

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\textsuperscript{31}Hodgins, \textit{Documentary History}, XXV, 266.

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Although institutes were a good idea, paternalism stifled their healthy growth from the start. Upper class people were uneasy about the prospect of workingmen getting too much education for their own good, so that they might aspire to a class beyond their reach. There was much apprehension about upsetting the social strata. So long as the upper classes could condescend to offer education and culture to the masses and have them dutifully and humbly received, there would be no problem—but there were ever those who feared such opportunities would cause the lower classes to become discontented with their lot.

Members of the mechanics institutes were expected to take the advice of their superiors, who tolerated no free discussion of social, economic, and political problems, but rather provided lectures which did not upset the status quo. Lecture subjects and books (all serious and solid) were selected without consulting the members. Such institutes provided the ambitious workingman with an opportunity to better himself, but the classes for formal learning were never numerous or particularly successful in attracting students, and the teaching function of the institutes was eventually abandoned in 1895. Soon their reading rooms and libraries became public libraries.33

At least two city school boards, Toronto and Kingston, instituted evening classes for young workers who were unable to attend school during the day. These flourished for a time, but were unable to continue to attract sufficient numbers to warrant their continuance. While neither venture thrived at first, they demonstrated a willingness to accommodate school programs to local needs and were prophetic of later programs of academic and vocational opportunities for working youth and adults.

The chapter on public participation in education will discuss the extent of adult interest in child education. There was apparently little interest by the average adult in his own continuing education. Libraries, mechanics institutes, public lectures and programs, the Educational Museum, newspapers, magazines, the growth of the book trade, all indicate some growth in opportunities and awareness of the need for adult education, but most material offered to adults bored them, and they left it alone. Adults needed strong motivation and appeals to their interests; instead

they were offered what was considered good for them. Most adults confined themselves to reading newspapers. Effective adult education would become possible on a wide scale only when a more open attitude to the betterment of lower classes developed, and when shorter working hours and a rising standard of living made participation possible for the average man.
CHAPTER IV

THE POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS INVOLVEMENT

The primacy of religion in everyday life. Ontario in the 1860's was no secular society—religion was a fundamental part of life. The existence of God and His direct concern with the activity of men were not open to question. Since God's existence and His nature were hardly debatable, the expression of man's relationship to Him and the divergence of theological doctrines were important considerations. These differences had deep historical roots in Europe. Because society was religious, the differences between denominations were magnified. Hostility was especially evident between Roman Catholics and Protestants, though the sixties saw a waning of the intensity of intolerance both among Protestants and between Protestants and Roman Catholics.¹

Ontario was predominantly Protestant. Roman Catholics represented only 18% of the population by 1861 and in 1871 comprised 17% of the total. The three largest church bodies were the Methodist, the Church of England, and the Presbyterian, which together numbered about 70% of the population in the sixties.² A striking measure of religious

¹John S. Moir, Church and State in Canada West (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), p. 22.
feeling is that fewer than 3% of the respondents in the census of 1861 acknowledged no church affiliation; and in the census of 1871 it was less than 2%.  

For the Protestant majority the Bible was the source of authority for religion and life, and clergymen were the backbone of the educated and influential class in most communities. Applications for Normal School and University entrance and for many jobs required a statement of good moral character and strictly temperate habits from a clergyman. The religion of every school teacher was dutifully reported and recorded on official reports. Public and intellectual opinion was closely aligned with a conservative Protestant ethic, and non-religious attitudes were still decades away.

A remarkable demonstration of the interest and loyalty of the populace to their churches was the boom in church building in the sixties. From 1861 to 1871 the number of churches in Ontario increased from 844 to 4,093. Besides underlining the interest of members in their churches, this phenomenal growth indicates the rapidity and


extent of Ontario's development from a frontier economy to a more settled community life in the 1860's.

There was considerable certainty about religion and conduct in those days. People knew the tenets of their church and held them firmly. Although there was denominational diversity, disagreements among Protestants in religion and politics rested on the solid underpinnings of universal belief in God and the British system. One did not need to explain what a Christian citizen was. People knew what moral training was and believed it was impossible apart from the principles of religion. The meanings of words were seldom questioned—most people spoke the same language.

Clergymen were highly placed in the academic and scientific world. They were the presidents of the universities, they were active in the learned societies, and their views were sought and respected. As Ontario's frontiers became settled areas, more communities obtained resident pastors instead of being served by itinerant circuit riders. Church attendance in Ontario was on an upswing that was to reach an all-time high in Canada in the 1880's.

Ontario was a bastion of respectability and virtue (cf. "Toronto the Good"). It had a heritage of piety and virtue, as the earliest white settlers were the loyal and
devout United Empire Loyalists, who were quite unlike many immigrants to other areas of the world who sought escape or adventure.

Behind many conflicts in political life lay a strong Calvinistic heritage which was evident in a popular tendency to judge all public issues on moral grounds rather than by political expediency.\textsuperscript{5} Church bodies would not ordinarily endorse a particular party, but would support those individual candidates who pledged themselves on certain issues important to that denomination. Churchmen were the backbone of the temperance movement, which brought pressure to bear on the government to enact legislation limiting or prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.\textsuperscript{6} The Protestant denominations were militant, dogmatic, and vocal on political issues with religious implications.\textsuperscript{7}

Public assemblies would regularly be called when important issues were before the province, and clergymen took active and leading roles in these meetings. Religious considerations were often included in resolutions and public

\textsuperscript{5}Moir, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 26.

\textsuperscript{6}The definitive work on the temperance movement in Ontario is Ruth Elizabeth Spence, \textit{Prohibition in Canada} (Toronto: The Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, 1919).

\textsuperscript{7}Moir, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11.
statements. A public meeting in Colborne resolved that, in a Christian Community, no System of Education can be considered sound, or conducive to the higher interests of man, unless it be conducted under a safe moral supervision, based on Christian principles. This resolution expressed the opposition of most churches to the preferred financial status of the secular University of Toronto, which enabled it to attract some students who would otherwise have matriculated at denominational colleges. These students, educated away from the influence of home and church, would suffer spiritual harm and ultimately the whole country would be the loser. The Rev. Dr. Green, a prominent Methodist, said in 1860:

We wish to throw around our College the fostering arms of a Christian Church, and to keep upon it the watchful eye of a Christian people. And we are not alone in our preferences, but a large portion of our fellow countrymen join with us in these views.

There was a community of outlook on problems of religion and morality which embraced practically all Protestants in Upper Canada in the sixties. Generally, attitudes toward temperance and Sabbath labor transcended denominational lines, although there was a closer connection between religious reform and political reform than between religious reform and political conservatism. The end of the

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9 Ibid., XVI, 161.
clergy reserves antagonism with the settlement in 1854 had removed the last major barrier to a Protestant unity of outlook, paving the way for a sort of Protestant omnibus denomination which was not an organization but an attitude. The process of union among the Protestant churches of Ontario began soon after Confederation.\textsuperscript{10}

The separate school problem. Two Acts that have had a permanent effect on public and separate schools in Ontario were enacted in the 1860's: The Scott Act (1863) and the British North America Act (1867). To better appreciate their impact it will be useful to review the history of separate school legislation in Upper Canada.

The principle of separate schools for religious minorities was established by Solicitor-General Day's Common School Act of 1841.\textsuperscript{11} It provided for dissentient schools on the request of any number of people of different faith from the majority, and was mainly the result of Anglican petitions. It was repealed two years later because its provisions were so sweeping that any local group could

\textsuperscript{10}Moir, \textit{op. cit.}, p. xv.

\textsuperscript{11}For information on earlier Roman Catholic activity in seeking financial support for religious schools, chiefly by Bishop Alexander Macdonell, see Franklin A. Walker, \textit{Catholic Education and Politics in Upper Canada} (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons (Canada) Limited, 1955), pp. 17-35.
set up a school, which could have resulted in educational chaos.\textsuperscript{12}

Francis Hincks' Bill of 1843 limited separate schools to either Roman Catholic or Protestant ones, which could be established by petition of ten or more householders who differed in faith from the common school teacher. Initially and throughout the 1840's separate schools were conceived of as safeguards against tyranny or insult by the majority in a community, and consequently the numbers of separate schools would be and remain insignificant, as in most areas all children would attend the same school peacefully. The only objection raised to Hincks' Bill was registered by Anglican Bishop John Strachan, who, characteristically, wanted the moneys for common schools to be distributed to the religious denominations according to their number—which would have probably meant the end of the public school system.\textsuperscript{13}

At first few separate schools were established. In 1850 there were only forty-six, twenty-five of which were Protestant while only twenty-one were Roman Catholic.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12}Moir, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 132-33.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid., p. 134.

\textsuperscript{14}J. George Hodgins, \textit{The Legislation and History of Separate Schools in Upper Canada, 1841-1876} (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897), p. 57. However, in 1851 Protestant separate schools dwindled to only four and Roman Catholic schools declined to sixteen.
Bishop Power chaired the Board of Education until his untimely death in 1847, and Catholics did not make an issue of the right to establish their own schools. Ryerson and others hoped that eventually the separate schools would die out as Catholics would fully accept the public system. For about the first decade it appeared that this would be the outcome.

But early in the 1850's the climate changed, and separate schools became a controversial issue. Ryerson wrote that until 1850 the leading men and the newspapers of all types acquiesced in the separate school legislation. He recalled no objection to the idea. Until 1852, he said, Roman Catholics had never advocated the establishment of separate schools as a doctrine or an article of faith. The change in attitude is illustrated by an official circular issued by Toronto Bishop Charbonnel in 1856 which included these words:

Catholic electors in this country, who do not use their electoral power in behalf of Separate Schools are guilty of mortal sin. Likewise parents who do not make the sacrifices necessary to secure such Schools, or send their children to Mixed Schools.


Hodgins, Documentary History, XXVII, 255; XIII, 269.

Bishop Charbonnel, who succeeded Power as Bishop of Toronto and served from 1848-1860, was the leader of Roman Catholic demands for the extension of separate school rights. At first he cooperated well with the other members of the provincial Board of Education (which was called the Council of Public Instruction after 1850), but early in 1852 his attitude changed abruptly. On March 24, 1852, he defected in spirit from the Council in a letter attacking Ryerson and the school system. In a letter to Ryerson written May 1, 1852, he hints at pressure exerted upon him by his church:

All my previous intercourse with you and the Council of Public Instruction has been polite and Christian, and sometimes tolerant to an extent that I have been required to justify.

What caused this change in attitude? There were two main factors. First, the number of Roman Catholics in Upper Canada was rapidly increasing, largely the result of the potato famines in Ireland in the late forties. From 65,203 in 1842, the Roman Catholic population in Upper Canada grew

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18Charbonnel to Ryerson, May 1, 1852, cited in C. B. Sissons, Church & State in Canadian Education (Toronto: the Ryerson Press, 1959), p. 27. To the Chairman of the Council of Public Instruction, Hon. S. B. Harrison, Charbonnel wrote of "a tolerance for which my church made me responsible." Cited in Hodgins, Documentary History, XXVII, 255. See also Egerton Ryerson, Dr. Ryerson's Letters in Reply to the Attacks of Foreign Ecclesiastics Against the Schools and Municipalities of Upper Canada, Including the Letters of Bishop Charbonnel, Mr. Bruyere, and Bishop Pinsoneault (Toronto: Lovell & Gibson, 1857), 104 pp.
to 167,695 in 1851, an increase of 157% in nine years.  

Second, and even more significant, was the changing temper of Roman Catholicism throughout the world. On April 12, 1850, Pope Pius returned to Rome from exile, hostile to political liberalism or national sentiment, no longer liberal. 

This change of heart had its effect on Roman Catholic policy everywhere, and largely explains Charbonnel's demands for completely separate schools for Catholic children.

In the 1850's there was continual pressure from the hierarchy of the Church for more rights and more public money for the support of separate schools. The Act of 1853 allowed the separate schools to share in the common school fund and the Tache Act in 1855 (the first bill solely concerned with separate schools--others included them in general school legislation), gave further rights to Roman Catholics, including the reduction of the number of householders necessary to establish a school to five, and the provision that the common school teacher no longer had to be Protestant before a Roman Catholic school could be established.

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19 Moir, op. cit., p. 148.

20 Sissons, op. cit., p. 28.

21 For a more complete discussion of the issues, see also Walker, op. cit., pp. 114-39; 312-17.

22 Moir, op. cit., pp. 150-61.
The broader provisions of the Tache Act and the emphasis the Roman clergy placed on sending children to separate schools resulted in exceptional growth between 1855 and 1860. In that period the number of separate schools increased from 41 to 115, and the number of pupils from 4,886 to 14,708. In 1860 there were 162 Roman Catholic teachers in separate schools, but 300 were teaching in common schools.23

At the beginning of the sixties, it looked as though the separate school issue was settled. The number and quality of separate schools showed constant improvement—but still over three times as many Roman Catholic children were in common schools as in separate schools.24

After each bill extending Roman Catholics rights was passed there followed what became almost a ritual: first the Catholics would express their great satisfaction at the law, generally saying it met their needs, and then after some weeks or months they began to feel the bill did not in fact do all they had hoped, and that further remedies were required. And so the agitation began anew as Richard Scott, a Roman Catholic, introduced a Separate School Act

24Moir, op. cit., p. 170.
in the Legislature in 1860, 1861, 1862, and again in 1863 when it passed, receiving royal assent on May 5. The Scott Act was given permanent tenure by Section 93 of the British North America Act of 1867 which retained the status quo for minority schools.

Although a great deal of controversy surrounded Scott's attempts to get his bill passed, Ryerson supported it in its final form (he, as always, had a hand in revising the bill before it passed) saying that it did not extend the principle of separate schools but clarified the earlier legislation and reconciled some inconsistencies.25

Some of the main points of the bill were the following: five heads of families could establish a separate school anywhere in the province (incorporated villages had been excluded); separate school sections could unite, with three trustees over the united section; trustees were to have identical powers to the common school trustees; Roman Catholic children from other school sections were permitted to attend; separate school teachers were required to meet the same certification standards as common school teachers; separate schools would share in the municipal grants as well as the provincial grants (according to monthly average attendance for the preceding twelve months, in proportion

to the numbers in the common schools in that section); Roman Catholics no longer had to declare their tax exemption from common schools annually; a one-time declaration was sufficient; trustees no longer had to take an oath when reporting the average attendance at separate schools; and the separate schools were made subject to inspection by local superintendents of common schools.26

Regardless of which party was in power, Ryerson was regularly consulted on educational bills before the House. In 1862, when Scott introduced his bill for the third time, John A. Macdonald wrote Ryerson that he wanted him to come to Quebec City to see the bill and advise the government of his wishes regarding it. He wrote in part:27

Dick Scott who is a very good fellow although no Solon introduced the present Bill without showing it to me. Notwithstanding this I thought it well to support the principle of his Bill on an understanding that it should be sent to a special Committee and made to suit me.

Scott was regarded as the spokesman for the Roman Catholics and his bill would be accepted by them as their bill. Ryerson recounted that the Roman Catholic Prime Minister when the Act was passed, John Sandfield Macdonald, the Very Reverend Cazeau, the Very Reverend Macdonnell,

26Ibid., XVII, 275-79.

Scott, and he had agreed that this was a final settlement of the separate school issue. This was later disputed by the Roman Catholics, but further controversy was inhibited by the British North America Act.

At the Quebec Conference in 1864 the initial draft on education stated simply "That it shall be competent for the local legislatures to make laws respecting: 1. Agriculture [this was struck out] 2. Education." Then Thomas D'Arcy McGee's amendment was substituted: "Education; saving the rights and privileges which Protestant or Catholic minority in both Canadas may possess as to their Denominational Schools, at the time when the Union goes into operation."  

In Section 93 of the British North America Act this was worded to the effect that no law relating to schools "shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union."  

When the provision for freezing the status quo of schools at Confederation became known, there was a resurgence of activity both among Protestants in Lower Canada and Roman Catholics in Upper Canada to improve their

28Hodgins, Documentary History, XVIII, 310.
29Sir John A. Macdonald Papers, Public Archives of Canada.
30Sissons, Church & State in Canadian Education, p. 57.
situation before the Union was effected. But both sides thwarted each other in each province, and the public was weary of the issue; in the last session of the United Legislature in 1866 new and sweeping school legislation that had been introduced was withdrawn. It seemed at long last that a plateau of agreement had been reached that all sides could live with.\(^{31}\)

Thus the compromise of 1863 became Ontario's educational legacy from the United Province of Canada. It was a legacy embittered and jeopardized by the memory of harsh words, fanatical opinions, and shattered dreams, both of unity and of separation.\(^{32}\)

Scott's Separate School Act established a pattern for elementary education which remains practically unaltered. It represented a balance of opposing forces. The Roman Catholics gained their goal of religious schools, but the schools remained within a single unified system and under one general control, rather than creating an educational dualism.\(^{33}\)

Moir summarizes:\(^{34}\)

\(^{31}\)Moir, op. cit., pp. 177-79.
\(^{32}\)Ibid., p. 179.
\(^{33}\)Ibid., p. 180.
\(^{34}\)Ibid., p. 181.
The moderation of the majority in Canada West enabled politicians to strike with fair success a compromise in the relations of church and state—that type of compromise so typical of Canada, which has robbed her of superficial colour while marking her with inherent stability.

During the sixties the separate schools continued to grow, from 115 schools in 1860 to 163 in 1870; pupils increased from 14,708 to 20,652. In 1865 Ryerson wrote that separate schools . . . are . . . attended by hardly one fourth of the R. Catholic children—the parents of more than three fourths of them still preferring and insisting upon sending their children to Common Schools.

In 1870 592 Roman Catholics taught in elementary schools, 356 in public schools and 236 in separate schools. Ryerson estimated that in 1870 still only about one-third of the Roman Catholic children were in separate schools.

At the start of the sixties Ryerson could still hope that separate schools would wither away with universal acceptance of unified common schools; but while at the end of the sixties he could still comfort himself with the knowledge that the majority of Roman Catholic children were in the public schools, it was evident that separate schools

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37Hodgins, *Documentary History*, XXII, 251, 256.
were to stay and grow in strength, numbers, and percentages of Catholic children enrolled. In the 1860's, the number of separate schools increased by 42%, the number of pupils by 43%, and the number of teachers by 46%, and their future existence was guaranteed by the Confederation Act.

When Ryerson became Superintendent of Education in 1844 the separate school provision was already enacted. Throughout his career he endeavored to administer the provisions fairly. He wanted nothing to endanger the school system he was building, and he vehemently opposed any attempts to establish a dual system like Quebec's. He accepted the compromise between national and separatist educational interests effected by the Tache Act. His aim was to maintain the limited educational dualism against secularists who were for total repeal and against ecclesiastics who wanted to extend separate school provisions unduly.33

In resisting attempts to separate Roman Catholic schools from the public system, Ryerson pointed out that in Lower Canada the majority of schools were Roman Catholic, and the Protestant separate schools were actually public schools, open to all. In Upper Canada, the majority schools were non-denominational and therefore truly public while the

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38 Moir, op. cit., p. 167.
minority were denominational. This distinction made specious the parallels between the two provinces that separate school supporters tried to draw.39

Reforming secularists like George Brown of the Globe castigated him for supporting the "papist schools," and Roman Catholics attacked him for refusing to accede to their demands for further benefits. Throughout the years of pressure for two separate school systems, Ryerson insisted on maintaining three principles: (1) the freedom of the individual Catholic to support public schools, (2) department of education control over textbooks and curriculum, and (3) fairly apportioned public grants and common inspection.40

In principle he did not agree with the Roman Catholic view, but held it as his duty to do right by them according to law, hoping they would be persuaded to accept the one public system and by their own volition abandon their own schools. He defended their right to maintain their own, and approved legislation enabling them to do so more efficiently, for he could not stand inefficiency anywhere. Throughout all the controversies, Ryerson steadfastly maintained a middle way, because, while the others on both sides had axes to grind,

39 Ibid., p. 166.
40 Sissons, My Dearest Sophie, p. xxiii.
he had a school system to preserve. That was his chief goal.

At the heart of the whole problem lay differing concepts of what religious education was. In a homogeneous Protestant society, Bible reading and prayer in the school, fortified by Scripture selections and moral lessons in the readers, was regarded as natural, beneficial, and essential. Sectarian religion would not be taught, but schools would have a religion-in-general, reinforced by the example of Christian teachers. To have schools without this religious atmosphere would have been to deny a great value of Christian Ontario.

However, this type of self-confident assertion of how to supply religion in school was a threat to those Catholics who took their religion seriously, and particularly to the Catholic clergy, who were concerned with the welfare of their people. For the Bible in the schools was a Protestant Bible, a forbidden book to Catholics, and the non-sectarian religion-in-general was nevertheless a Protestant, not a Catholic religion. The nature of the Catholic religion was not such as would easily tolerate a smoothing over of religious differences. Catholics believed their church taught the truth and this is what their children should learn. Catholic clergymen worried about losing their members through Protestant influence in the public schools. They believed that religion was an essential part of
education and should be integrated with it. They believed this could not be done satisfactorily in Protestant public schools--while the Protestants believed this could be done without hurting anyone.41

If the public schools had been completely secular right from the start, Roman Catholics might not have insisted on separate schools to the extent that they did. But secular schools would have been a denial of what Protestant Ontario stood for. As it was, Ryerson was regularly called to task, particularly by Anglicans, for promoting godless and secular public schools.

Another factor was the distrust which Protestants had toward Roman Catholics, who reciprocated. Public statements like that of Rev. John Nelles, president of Victoria College, in an address to the Ontario Teachers' Association in 1870 doubtless caused Catholics to be glad they had their own schools. He spoke of undesirable immigrants as "violent mobs," and of the "evil traditions . . . this foreign element and its medieval superstitions that has come [to be] the chief danger to our Common Schools." "When our

41Hodgins, The Legislation and History of Separate Schools, p. 37, cites the letter of Bishop Charbonnel of May 1, 1852, which quoted the Canons of the Roman Catholic Council of Baltimore, sanctioned by the Pope: "To take especial pains lest such youth use the Protestant version of the Scriptures, or recite hymns or prayers of Sectaries. It must be carefully provided, that no books or exercises of this kind be introduced in the Public Schools, to the danger of faith and piety."
Educational Institutions are well-established in the hearts of the people," he continued, "and the country is pervaded by the leaven of a Protestant Christianity, we shall less fear 'the blind hysterics of the comers.'

Ultimately, the Protestants' desire to have religion in the schools led to the practically complete secularization of public schools because it was impossible to please all; whereas Roman Catholic insistence on religion in education led to the development and growth of Catholic religious schools.

**Religious education in the schools.** In separate schools the issue of religion was clear-cut and straightforward—the teachers and pupils were Roman Catholic and the religion taught was the same. These schools had been established so that the Church could teach its doctrines freely in a thoroughly Catholic environment. They used the regular textbooks prescribed for the various subjects by the province, and also had their catechisms and other religious books.

However, the teaching of religion in the regular common schools was not so simple, though there was no lack of intent. Ryerson, a Wesleyan Methodist minister, remained active in the ministry throughout his life,

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42Hodgins, *Documentary History*, XXII, 134.
preaching and even holding office in his denomination. Sissons wrote that "religion was the deepest and most constant interest in Ryerson's life." He sincerely believed that the Christianity of the Bible must be the basis of a system of public instruction and that it was absolutely necessary to make Christianity "the basis and cement of all the structure of Public Education."44

His viewpoint reflected the feelings of most Protestant people and clergymen. In the sixties, speeches and printed media abound with references to the fundamental position of religion in education. It was said that no one was properly educated who had no religious instruction and that the moral instruction given in Canadian Schools was the primary factor in their superiority over schools of other nations.45 Belief in the value of religion extended to the university level, as President Daniel Wilson of the University of Toronto said: "Moral and religious training must go hand in hand with intellectual culture in the education of our youth, if they are to be fitted for the

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44 Hodgins, Documentary History, VI, 151.

citizenship of a free country."\textsuperscript{46}

It was agreed: religion is necessary. But how was it to be taught? Again there was no lack of theory about how to proceed. Ryerson said broadly that "the principles of Christianity have been, and may be carried into effect, without any compromise of principle in any party concerned, or any essential deficiency in any subject taught."\textsuperscript{47} He asserted that for education to be universal and practical, it must be based on religion and morality, and continued: \textsuperscript{48}

By Religion and Morality I do not mean sectarianism in any form, but the general system of truth and morals taught in the Holy Scriptures. Sectarianism is not morality... Such sectarian teaching may, as it has done, raise up an army of pugilists and persecutors, but it is not the way to create a community of Christians.

I am persuaded that all that is essential to the moral interests of youth may be taught in what are termed Mixed Schools.

Theoretically, Ryerson supported religious education from elementary to university level, but he knew that Christianity could not be taught explicitly in the public schools. From a practical standpoint he believed that the

\textsuperscript{46}Pritam S. Dhillon, "An Historical Study of Aims of Education in Ontario, 1800-1900" (Master of Education thesis, University of Toronto, 1961), p. 53. Prayers were offered daily even in the "secular" University of Toronto.

\textsuperscript{47}Hodgins, \textit{Documentary History}, VI, 147.

\textsuperscript{48}\textit{Ibid.}, VI, 147, 158.
state was not bound to give religious education on the elementary level, no matter how desirable it might be. Religious training was primarily the responsibility of the parents and the pastors, and since children lived at home, there was no need for denominational schools. A religious atmosphere, the extension of a Christian society in the classroom was what he looked for. He felt it was most important to preserve the universal system of schools, rather than to jeopardize this by unduly stressing religious teachings of a specific nature.\(^{49}\)

In a circular he issued to all church bodies in 1859, Ryerson reviewed and recounted the principles of religious instruction obtaining in Upper Canada. He reminded all that the rights of Roman Catholics and Protestants were protected from compulsion, and of the inviolable right of each parent in respect of the religious instruction of his child, and the right of clergymen to visit and use the common schools for one hour a week, from four to five p.m. after school, for the religious instruction of adherents of their denominations.\(^{50}\)

He quoted from the School Law which stated that the


\(^{50}\)Hodgins, Documentary History, XIV, 265-66.
teacher in a "Mixed School" is bound by 51

what is held in common by the Religious Persuasions of the Parents supporting the School,—chiefly to the Ten Commandments and Our Savior's summary of them,—embracing indeed 'the whole duty of Man;' but that the teaching of the Catechism or any Religious Persuasion, (if taught at all,) must be a matter of private agreement between the parents of each child and the Teacher, and cannot be a part of the official teaching in a school supported by public grants and taxes for all classes of Citizens in common, but not for any Religious Persuasion in particular.

No child was required to read or study any religious book, or to take part in any devotion to which his parents or guardian objected. The Council of Public Instruction did recommend, however, that daily exercises of each common school open and close with Scripture reading and prayer, the Lord's Prayer to open, and the Ten Commandments be taught to all and repeated at least once a week. This was at the option of the local trustees. No pupil could be compelled to be present for these exercises and a note in writing from parent or guardian would excuse him. The Bible could be used as a textbook if local trustees allowed it. 52

In theory, religion had a central place in education, and public men extolled the great good that would result. Dr. Nelles told teachers they should teach the love of God and neighbor, the belief in the sacredness of justice, of

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., XIV, 267, 269.
veracity, of kindness, and of the manifold integrities and charities of life. The relation of these to the Gospel may be more fully explained in the Sunday School, the family, and the pulpit. Their paramount importance should be inculcated, and their habit of exercise fostered everywhere.53

His reference to teachers using deference in applying the Gospel is indicative of the nature of the religion inculcated in schools—it was concerned exclusively with precepts and injunctions regarding behavior, rather than with the Christian Gospel of love. The Law, the Ten Commandments and other standards of behavior were adduced from the Bible, with dire threats of punishment for misbehavior. By thus staying on the safe side, as all religions agreed on the necessity of moral behavior, the "thou shalts and thou shalt nots" were stressed and gave a rather barren and dreary view of the Christian faith.

Nelles again referred to the necessity of teachers carefully delineating between what was general enough to apply to all and what was too specific for classroom consumption, as he spoke of54

53Ibid., XXII, 138.

54Ibid., XXII, 139. At the other end of the continent, Governor Seymour of British Columbia was less sanguine in his estimate of teachers' abilities to teach religion in public schools. He is quoted in Charles E. Phillips, The Development of Education in Canada (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company Limited, 1957), pp. 161-62:
A wide vocation open to them in giving to the young the purest and best moral conceptions . . . high-toned morality is as necessary as dogmatic theology . . . he will know where to draw the line between what fairly belongs to his province as a teacher and what must be left to other hands.

Probably few teachers attempted to do any serious teaching of religion. The school readers were heavily laced with stories with religious and moral themes, and many selections were taken directly from the Bible. Specific religious teaching could be done by clergymen once a week after school, but there is little evidence of clerical activity in this, indeed, the evidence is to the contrary. For example, in the sixties the Toronto School Board year after year reported with chagrin that only two clergymen made use of the time provided for religious instruction, in spite of the fact that the Board encouraged ministers to do so, and even passed a resolution admonishing them:

"Religious teaching ought not to be allowed. . . . It is vain to say that there are certain elementary matters in which all Christians, leaving out the Jews, must agree. It is merely calling upon a man picked up at random, allured by a trifling salary, to do what the whole religious wisdom, feeling, and affection of the world has not yet done. The paring down of all excresences, which a man on a hundred and fifty pounds a year may think disfigure the several religions, and the reducing them to a common standard, becomes a sort of Methodism which may locally be named after the School master who performs it."

55James Porter, Ninth Annual Report of the Local Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Toronto, 1867 (H. Rowsell, 1868), citing the minutes of the School Board meeting of May 16, 1867.
That this Board views with regret, that so few of the Clergymen in this city have availed themselves of the opportunity by law afforded them to visit the Public Schools, and administer religious instruction to the children.

The ministers of the Church of England, still vainly hoping for denomination schools when the Scott Act was passed in 1863, said it was impossible to teach religion in the public schools, for

How could it be expected that any good could be accomplished in case the Ministers attended the Schools after four o'clock, for the very reason that the children could not be prevailed upon to remain to listen to Religious instruction; and this was the only means open to them to impart the teaching of religion.

Ryerson encouraged teachers to have "Friday Afternoon Talks of a Master with his Pupils" which were to be pleasant informal talks to inculcate Christian morals, but not doctrine. J. George Hodgins, Ryerson's deputy, drew up a list of suitable topics which included: Love and Hatred; Obedience; Truth, Falsehood, and Dissimulation; Selfishness and Self-Denial; Gentleness; Kindness and Cruelty; Cleanliness and Tidiness; Loyalty and Love of Country; Generosity and Covetousness; Order; Punctuality and the Reverse; Perseverance; Patience; Justice; Self-Control; Destructiveness; Tale-Telling, when right and when wrong; Forbearance and Sympathy; Tendency of One Fault to give

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56Hodgins, Documentary History, XVII, 289.
Rise to Another; Principles of Honesty and Dishonesty; Respect for Superiors; Obedience to Persons Placed in Authority.57

Noting the diminishing of religion in the schools, Ryerson wrote a textbook titled "First Lessons in Christian Morals" which was issued in 1871 for use in the common schools. It was to be a non-sectarian exposition of Christian teaching and morality. Already on March 14, 1872, fifty ministers of various denominations sent a protest to Premier Mowat against it as being "too sectarian;" nor was this the only protest lodged against it.58 In 1874 the text was withdrawn from the schools, and the episode became an object lesson to Ryerson in the difficulty of teaching "non-sectarian" religion in the public school.

Despite all the talk of religion, little was actually taught in school. Matthews' study of religious factors in Ontario education shows a diminishing of religious emphasis in schools in the 1860's. He identifies a number of reasons. One was the growth of churches and the consequent multiplication of the numbers of Sunday Schools for religious instruction and their improving quality. No longer did

57 Ibid., XIX, 100.

parents have the same concern for religion in school as in the pioneer period where this might be the only place they could get it. He believes this is why Ryerson and the teachers' association paid relatively little attention to the teaching of religion in schools in the decade of the sixties.59

He also relates the rise of patriotism and nationalism in the sixties to the decline in religious emphases, which was reflected in dissatisfaction with the authorized readers with their heavy religious orientation. The new readers of 1867 had far fewer Biblical and religious selections than the old series, and the new books were decidedly more nationalistic.60

Matthews suggests that the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, in effect from 1854-1866, brought not only prosperity, but also a stronger emphasis on secular interests to Canadian society. Other pertinent factors were the public acceptance of non-sectarian public schools and the decreasing homogeneity of religious faith.61

The many public statements on the necessity of


60Ibid., p. 117.

61Ibid., p. 127.
religion in public education made in the sixties seem to be a kind of mass self-assurance that if they said schools were religious often enough, they would indeed be so. This illusion could be kept alive as long as society itself was religious, for the lack of specific instruction in school was compensated for by religious instruction in the churches. The concerns of clergymen that no other church's doctrine be taught effectively kept any real instruction in religion from taking place.

A perceptive minister from Britain who visited Upper Canada made these comments on the dilemma posed by the place of religion in Upper Canada's public system of education: 62

This System does not secure by itself the religious and scriptural education of the Scholars, but in its present superintendency the practice is better in this respect than the profession. Doctor Ryerson, as a Methodist Minister, is evidently watching over this part of education, and by his own arrangements and superintendency, to a great and admirable extent secures it. But we could not help inquiring with solicitude: "How shall this be secured in perpetuity, when it is not provided for in the System."

He could see that while clergymen held the responsible positions in public education, the religious emphasis was implicit. But what would happen when that leadership had disappeared from the scene? The writing

was on the wall in the 1860's, but it could not easily be read, for clergymen still dominated public education.

To demonstrate the influence of the church in public schools, in the year 1868 eight of the ten members of the Provincial Council of Public Instruction were clergymen. The inspector of grammar schools, ten headmasters of grammar schools, and many chairmen of the County Boards of Public Instruction were ministers. In addition, 140 of the 268 local superintendents of education were ministers, as well as Ryerson himself, who was the head of the entire structure of public education in the province.63

The new legislation of 1871 which required that inspectors of schools be experienced teachers and the consequent development of greater professionalism among teachers caused control of education to slip from the clergy. If Ryerson had known to what extent the secularization of society and consequently also of the schools was to progress, he would doubtless have tried much harder to give religion a permanent place in the curriculum.64

63Hodgins, Documentary History, XXI, 43.

64One can easily imagine the vehement rebuttal Ryerson would have made to the views expressed by Ontarians in this report in the Vancouver Sun, March 3, 1966:

"Religion has no place in the school but sex education and politics have, three members of the Ontario legislature from three parties agreed.

"At a panel discussion, Education Minister William
In 1870 about 70% of the common schools opened and closed with prayer and used the Bible for readings, a somewhat higher average than in 1860. Thus as the sixties ended, the formal use of religion had not declined, but the religious orientation of the classroom activities was less in evidence. The school system was increasingly able to stand on its own merits. The strong and spirited support of the clergy, so important in the early years, was no longer essential, as public acceptance of the concept of public education was more widely and deeply accepted.

With the diminution of the role of clergymen in public education and the multiplication of external forces—nationalism, economic development, the rise of cities—the religious emphasis in school waned. While any tampering with the legality of reading the Bible and having prayer would have raised an outcry of protest, few expected the schools to become seriously involved in religious instruction, nor did the churches desire or expect them to do so.

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Davis shared the platform with Donald MacDonald, leader of the New Democratic Party and Vernon Singer, Liberal."

65 Ryerson, Annual Report, 1860, pp. 7-9; Hodgins, Documentary History, XXII, 255.
CHAPTER V

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION

Provincial administration and control of education. Chief Superintendent of Education Egerton Ryerson was dedicated to the proposition that an enlightened and interested public was vital to the cause of education. He encouraged the public to bring its weight to bear in passing legislation to improve the schools. By giving each locality a voice in operating the schools he sought to avoid any feeling that the central authority formally and coldly imposed the system from above. His motto was that the government should do nothing that the people could more effectively do for themselves.¹

Three principles which Ryerson considered essential to the progress of education and which involved the public were: (1) the machinery of education should be managed by the people themselves; (2) the aid of government should only be given where it would most effectively stimulate and assist local effort; and (3) all property should be taxed to supply funds for the education of the entire youth of

the country. Complementary to this he advocated compulsory education, properly enforced.²

In considering the machinery established by the central authority for local participation in operating schools, however, two important facts must be noted: first, the lack of local experience and ability in educational matters, particularly in the early years of Ryerson's administration; secondly, Ryerson's confidence in his own ability to decide what was best for Ontario and to achieve his implied goals.

These two factors suggest that local autonomy was not as free and flexible as regulations and public statements indicate, for Ryerson used his enormous energy, ability, and grasp of the educational issues to blanket the province with his view of what should be done. He had tremendous influence, not the least of which was power to withhold provincial grants of money from any area that did not follow departmental regulations. He had the highest motives in seeking to influence the public and what he suggested and prescribed was consistently in their best interests, but the freedom of local areas was restricted by their educational and psychological disadvantages when confronted by the imposing Ryerson.

Putman comments on this trait in Ryerson as follows:

"Conscious of purity of purpose and personal integrity, he was ever more desirous of giving the people what he thought they needed than of giving them what they wanted."3

An American, after studying Upper Canada's school system, said:4

So complete indeed is the system, so carefully is every contingency provided for, that the observer, accustomed to the greater freedom and opportunity for local and individual initiative, prevalent in most states of the Union, is apt to feel that its Completeness is perhaps its greatest defect.

There is no question about Ryerson's genius as a school organizer and administrator—he combined a sense of the vital principles of education with a passion for administration, so that in him good theory and good practice were consistently applied to Ontario schools. It is due to his passion for statistics that many comparisons can be made and trends identified. He devised forms for nearly everything.5


5The Ontario Provincial Archives in Toronto has many of these forms: superintendents' reports, based on trustees' reports; applications for Normal School entrance; applications for license for keepers of Boarding Houses for Normal School students; et. al.
The School Act of 1841 provided for one Superintendent of Education for both Canadas with two assistants, one in charge of Upper Canada and the other responsible for Lower Canada. This arrangement proved to be impractical, and a policy of one superintendent over each province was soon adopted, so that when Ryerson was appointed in 1844 he was in charge of common schools in Upper Canada.

Immediately upon his appointment, Ryerson arranged a tour of Europe and the United States, to study the school systems of the various countries. He said that since Upper Canada had no system and he had no experience, the wisest course was to see what was being done elsewhere and to learn. Upon his return, he published his Report of 1846, which contained the results of his studies and a blueprint for a system of education in Upper Canada, much of which was enacted in 1846. In 1850 another education act was passed which greatly improved earlier legislation and has been called the "Magna Carta" of Ontario education.

Ryerson was not an original thinker, nor did he ever claim originality for the component parts of the system he created. But he was a genius at taking ideas and institutions from many places, selecting those that fitted the needs of Ontario, and placing them into a structure he envisioned as filling those needs. He had an open mind, yet he knew what he was looking for, for he knew the mind
and character of Upper Canadians, and he wisely built the necessary components into the evolving system.

John Millar, deputy minister of education at the end of the nineteenth century, spoke of Ontario's system as combining the best features of many lands. From the Old World it acquired its stability, uniformity, and centralization, from the New World its popular nature, its flexibility, and its democratic principles. From New York was borrowed the machinery of the schools, from Massachusetts, the principle of local taxation, from Ireland the first series of school books, from Scotland the cooperation of parents with the teacher in upholding his authority, from Germany the system of Normal schools, and from the United States generally the undenominational character of elementary and secondary education.  

Ryerson's judicious blending of these components into an effective system of education was recognized by educators in other countries. By the 1860's, commissioners and visitors came to learn what Ontario was doing. Two typical examples of foreign interest are the English Commissioner who inspected Ontario schools in 1863 and commented both on the administration's pride in the system and its superiority

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over England's:7

A System, in the eyes of its Administrators, who regard it with justifiable self-complacency, not perfect, but yet far in advance, as a System of National Education, of anything that we can show at home.

In 1863 the Colony of Victoria, Australia, obtained documents and school reports from the Education Department of Upper Canada and made changes in its school system following the Upper Canadian pattern.8

The Provincial Department of Education was technically not a part of the Government, for its head was neither a cabinet minister nor a member of Parliament. The Chief Superintendent of Education reported to the Government and the Legislature through the Provincial Secretary, a cabinet member. The Superintendent was the executive officer of the Provincial Council of Public Instruction (called Board of Education before 1850), a body of no more than nine members (plus Ryerson), appointed by the Crown to advise the Superintendent and the Government on educational policy. It approved regulations to expedite the organization, government, and discipline of the common schools, it examined and recommended or disapproved of textbooks, and supervised the Normal School. Appointments to the Council

7Hodgins, Documentary History, XVIII, 99.
8Ibid., XVII, 291.
were on Ryerson's recommendation to the Government, and as he tended to dominate any organization with which he was connected, the Council was like an advisory council or cabinet to him, and never took any independent action.⁹

As chief educational officer Ryerson both administered and proposed policy. He advised the Government on all legislation affecting education. He published annual reports, he edited the Journal of Education monthly from 1848 to the end of his administration, and he sent numerous circulars to local officials. He apportioned the School Fund, prepared regulations, supervised the Normal School, common schools, and grammar schools (after 1853), and was in general the promoter of education and a diffuser of useful knowledge. The Education Department maintained a Depository with all kinds of educational supplies which were sold to schools at cost. It contained about 1,000 different kinds of maps; charts; and apparatus for natural history, chemistry, natural philosophy, and geometry. Over 4,000 volumes of books were available for school, public, and other libraries to purchase, and an educational museum and library were also maintained in the Education Building in Toronto.¹⁰


Local administration and control of education.
Upper Canada was divided into forty-two counties, each county into ten townships, about ten miles square, and the townships were divided for school purposes into school sections of from two to four miles square. The respective authorities, all elective, were the County Council, the Township Council, and the Trustees of the School Section.\(^{11}\)

Each county had a Board of Public Instruction, made up of the local superintendents of common schools and the trustees of the grammar schools in the county. Their function was to examine teachers applying for county school teaching certificates, to select textbooks for schools, and to ascertain and recommend the best facilities for providing schools. But since the provincial Council of Public Instruction authorized uniform textbooks for all the schools and the local trustees provided school facilities, in practice the County Board became an examining body, meeting about twice a year to test aspiring teachers and to issue certificates to successful candidates which permitted them to teach in that county only.\(^{12}\)

\(^{11}\)Ibid., XX, 87.

Each local Board of School Trustees had the direct responsibility of operating the school in its section. Already in 1816 the Common School Act had provided for the election of school trustees to administer common schools in Upper Canada. The Act of 1846 and subsequent legislation carefully defined their duties and powers.

Each school section had three trustees, elected by the freeholders and householders of the section for a three-year term; one trustee was elected and one retired each year. Trustees had power to provide a school and to furnish it, to hire and dismiss teachers, and to see that the school was conducted according to law. They made full annual reports to the local superintendent which were read at the annual meetings of the school section and which were the basis of the local superintendents' reports to Ryerson.¹³

Until 1847 cities were also divided into school sections, but in that year boards were appointed to administer all the schools in a city, and from 1850 onwards trustees were elected by wards. Secondary school boards remained separate from common school boards until the end of the century.¹⁴


Trustees were entitled to visit the school at any time, and parents were also officially encouraged to visit. Certain prominent citizens, clergymen, judges, members of the Legislature, magistrates, members of County Councils, and aldermen were designated by law as "school visitors." Trustees were to provide schools with visitors' books so they could record their visits and write remarks about the school.15

The trustees were to determine the amount of money needed to operate the school, but the people of each school section had the responsibility of deciding the manner of financing. The law provided that money could be raised by voluntary contributions, by rate-bills, or by taxing the property of all. A rate-bill or school rate was not a tax but a levy on parents per child in school. The law did not permit rate-bills (sometimes called fees) to exceed twenty-five cents a month per child. If tax was levied on property, then the schools would be free to the pupils. In cities, towns, and incorporated villages the boards of trustees were empowered to decide how the money should be raised.16

The annual school meetings were held on the second Wednesday in January. The school reports were given, school business was discussed, and a trustee elected. Three notices

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16Hodgins, Documentary History, XX, 129.
of the meeting were required, to alert all to its coming.\textsuperscript{17} The annual meeting brought the concerns of the school to public notice in a formal way at least once a year. The cooperation of neighbors in the organization and management of their school was an educational influence in itself. It was an open forum, and by engendering interest, promoted a feeling of proprietorship in the humblest of citizens.\textsuperscript{18}

Ryerson sent all trustees copies of the \textit{Journal of Education} every month, as well as many bulletins and circulars to keep them informed of the latest developments in school laws and regulations. They were given precedence at school functions and county educational conventions.

The passing of the frontier and the movement of many able people to the cities meant that a different type of trustee served in the urban centers. There was a greater concentration of business and professional men in the cities, and consequently the electors not only had a greater number of potential trustees because of the larger population, but also a higher percentage of qualified men.

Reading the minutes of rural boards of trustees in various parts of Ontario reveals that they were almost

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{17}Journal of Education for Ontario, XXI (December, 1868), 177-78.}

wholly pre-occupied with financial factors in the operation of their schools. Many references are found to teachers' salaries, costs of land, buildings, maintenance, and wood for stoves, with discussions of how to keep costs low. Seldom did rural boards rise above the mundane and financial aspects of their responsibilities.19

City boards were by no means uninterested in the financial problems of school operations, but because they had more than one school to administer, had more than three members, and usually had a full-time superintendent to inject professional educational concerns as well as business matters into the meetings, they were drawn into considering the purposes and functions of the schools in greater depth.

In Toronto, for example, two men from each of the seven wards were elected to the board, a total of fourteen. They sub-divided into three standing committees, I. On Finance, Assessment, and Salaries (four men), II. On School Management (five men), III. On Sites and Buildings (four men). The Chairman was ex-officio a member of all the standing committees. The Board had two full-time officers, the

19Minutes of the Board of School Trustees, School Section Number 16, Township of Mathilda, Ontario, Minutes of the Board of School Trustees, School Section Number 2, Township of Lochiel, Ontario, both in Upper Canada Village, Morrisburg, Ontario; and George Klinck, The Development and Progress of Education in Elmira and Vicinity (Elmira, Ontario: The Elmira Signet, 1938), pp. 19-20; et al.
Rev. James Porter, Local Superintendent at a salary of $1,200 per year and Mr. G. A. Barber, Esq., Secretary, at $600 a year.  

The Committee on School Management visited all the schools annually and gave a rather complete report on classroom atmosphere, teaching methods, and general efficiency or lack of it in the individual schools.  

In 1865 the Board appointed a Select Committee to study whether attendance at Toronto common schools had kept pace with the population growth since their establishment in 1844, whether the character of attendance had or had not deteriorated, to determine the cost per child according to school divisions, and to see "whether in view of the depressed state of finances of the city some change cannot be made in the administration of schools to effect considerable savings consistent with efficiency."  

In a rural school the trustees most likely would have attempted to hire a teacher at a lower salary to effect the desired savings. The Toronto committee did in fact recommend a number of ways to save money, but Superintendent Porter  

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20 James Porter, Ninth Annual Report of the Local Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Toronto, For the Year Ending December 31st, 1867 (Toronto: H. Rowsell, 1868), p. 3.  

21 Porter, Annual Report, 1865, p. 52.
challenged their findings, pointing out that some of their statements were "without documentary evidence" and were therefore "unsustained opinions." In the face of the documented rebuttal Porter presented, the full Board, after hearing all the evidence, sustained the views of the superintendent. The incident provides evidence that the full-time superintendent in the city was a stimulus to trustees and provided a check to letting financial considerations run roughshod over educational needs.

However, the professional superintendent, who was coming into prominence in the 1860's, was not responsible directly to the electors. He provided continuity for the Board and his experience gave him considerable influence and power. His advice was sought and generally accepted by the Board. The development of professional superintendents reduced the involvement of the general public and diminished the democratic functioning of the community in the operation of the schools. The rural areas were more chaotic and miserly, but the will of the public was felt more readily for it exerted pressure more directly. It took much more public effort to effect changes in the more highly structured city systems.

City boards of trustees had more people to please,

\(^{22}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ pp. 58-69.}\)
and their relationships were more on an impersonal level rather than on the person-to-person basis which was possible in a school section two miles square in which the trustees knew everyone. Therefore city boards needed more sophisticated means of moving information to their constituents. For example, when the grammar school trustees in Hamilton bought some chemical apparatus for the school in 1869, they issued a pamphlet to parents and ratepayers which explained the educational value of the purchase. This type of public relations fostered better understanding of the policies and goals of school boards.  

The problem of conflict of interests was more likely to affect city boards than rural boards. The Board at Kingston decided that no board member should do any work or furnish any materials or goods to the schools in his private capacity. They were also concerned that newspapers send reporters if they wished to print school board news, and not rely on hearsay. In cities the problems of bigness were becoming apparent, and accurate reporting became necessary because it was no longer true that everyone knew what was happening in the schools.

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24 Minutes, Board of Trustees of Common Schools, Kingston, Ontario, February 24, 1860; June 12, 1865. Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario.
The need for school supervision was recognized immediately when Ryerson took office and the School Act of 1846 provided for the appointment of District Superintendents of Common Schools, who were superseded by Local Superintendents by the Act of 1850 in order to provide more personnel. Part-time local superintendents were appointed by the county councils for each township or union of townships for a one year period. In cities and towns large enough to have their own education officer, the superintendent was appointed by the Board of School Trustees. In the larger centers these men were full-time employees.25

During this period up to 1871, school supervision was more a public than a professional function. Superintendents were chosen from the local community and most were laymen in education. The superintendent was required to visit each school under his jurisdiction twice a year, and to provide some public education himself in the form of an annual public lecture on a topic relevant to education in each school section in his area.26


26 James Porter's annual lecture in 1867 was titled: "On What Does a Child's Future, in this Life, Depend?" He reported that the attendance, with one or two exceptions, was by no means large. He gave the lecture in seven of Toronto's nine common schools.
Superintendents were responsible for distributing the provincial grants among the schools and were to submit annual reports to the Chief Superintendent. Detailed information was required by the report forms: an accounting of school moneys; teachers' salaries; the population of the area; the school-age population; the number of children attending school; the number in each branch of instruction (arithmetic, grammar, etc.); books used; names and certification status of teachers; the construction of the schools, whether brick, stone, frame, or log; and whether freehold, leased, or rented; the number of school visits made; the maps and apparatus in each school; the size of school libraries; the number of private schools and academies in the area; the post office of each section; and other information. The reports for the preceding year were generally received at the Education Department office in February, and formed the basis of Ryerson's extensive annual reports.27

In the letters that accompanied the reports, the superintendents candidly related the state of the schools and of public opinion in their areas. Often they deplored conditions in certain school sections in their care. Many advocated free and compulsory education and the need for

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27Superintendents' reports are in the Ontario Provincial Archives, Toronto.
religious instruction in the schools. Some exhibited their frustration over trustees' inability to keep accurate records and to submit them properly and promptly. Many commended Ryerson for the way he was doing his job, and emphasized the desirability of having full-time superintendents throughout the province. The superintendent at Galt expressed this view in his letter of 1860:28

At present, local superintendents, are too often bones of contentions among sects, or sops to one here and there, without much regard to fitness in the individual, a public pulpit.

The system of local superintendency on a part-time basis worked indifferently, at best, especially in the back townships, due to the lack of qualified men. The great obstacle was the meager remuneration. The Act of 1850 set the salary at £1 per school visited; with the change to decimal currency in 1859, this amount became $4.00. There were not enough schools to support a local superintendent full-time (save in cities where full-time men were employed on a salary). Very few men had more than twenty-five schools. In 1863 the 314 superintendents had an average of thirteen schools per man. If he was able to visit each school twice annually, he earned only $104.29

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28A. Conitshsutin (?) to Egerton Ryerson, March 3, 1860. Superintendents' letters are kept with the annual reports in the Ontario Provincial Archives.

29J. G. Althouse, "The Ontario Teacher, An Historical Account of Progress, 1800-1910" (Doctor of Pedagogy thesis,
Therefore, only a person with an independent income or another means of livelihood that would not interfere with the duties of the superintendency could accept the position. For this reason, and also because of their devotion to the welfare of society, clergymen accounted for the largest proportion of superintendents. There were also a number of physicians who served. Because clergymen had the respect and confidence of the public and were best fitted by education and temperament for the job, they were generally first considered for the position. However, educational functions were not their chief calling. As a class they were more interested in secondary education, and they seldom had any teaching experience in the schools.\textsuperscript{30}

The lack of experience was the chief complaint against the superintendents, especially by the teachers. With the formation of a provincial teachers' association in 1861, teachers became more outspoken in regard to matters that directly affected them. In the convention of 1865, one teacher said:\textsuperscript{31}

\begin{flushleft}
University of Toronto, 1929), pp. 139, 78; Hodgins, \textit{Documentary History}, XVI, 208.
\end{flushleft}

\textsuperscript{30}Althouse, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 140, 75-76.

No inspector, however fine his report, can adequately inspect teachers without first having been a teacher himself. The logical persons to be inspectors are the most eminent teachers. At present inspectors are usually chosen from clergymen with no other qualification.

Superintendents were amateurs. Teachers complained that it was humiliating and galling to be supervised by part-time incompetents drawn from other professions or occupations. The professional man who took the job did not lack education but often lacked interest; the better he was in his own profession, the busier he was and the less time he had for inspection.32

Lacking insight into teachers' problems, the superintendents tended to be external inspectors rather than insightful supervisors. Their visits consisted of watching the teacher and then putting questions to the pupils. They could criticize what they observed and offer their evaluation of the teacher, but were not able to give teachers much help in the performance of their tasks. The superintendent's report that instruction in the individual subjects was good, fair, or indifferent, and that order was or was not adequately maintained, may have reflected the situation fairly, but did little to help the teacher improve.

As amateurs may tend to hide incompetency behind formality, some superintendents attempted to conceal their

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32 Hodgins, *Documentary History*, XXIII, 153.
inability by a show of pomp and authority. Although it was a time of great faith in the value of prizes as incentives to learning, one superintendent (in Canada East) pushed this principle to ridiculous lengths by allegedly allotting prizes by having youngsters stick pins into the Bible and rewarding those who punctured the letter "a". Others spent hours ranking pupils in the various subjects to arrive at prize-winners.33

However, again a difference in quality between the urban and rural school systems is observable. With the emphasis on progress and efficiency more sharply enunciated in the metropolitan milieu, the ablest supervision was given by the full-time superintendents appointed by city school boards. Clergymen still dominated but were those who had shown an interest and aptitude for education. These more professional administrators compiled extensive annual reports in the sixties that not only offered statistics but commented on the trends in society and education. City superintendents required a measure of finesse in their work, for they had to cope with a more demanding society. Whereas rural children would take their classroom whippings manfully and hope that their parents would not find out lest they get

another at home, city pupils appeared to be far more willing to report punishments at home and their parents would complain to the school of unfairness or undue severity.

Superintendent Porter's diaries of his work in Toronto in the sixties are a mine of information about the daily duties of a city superintendent, and underscore the need that existed for sensitivity to public relations in his work. The scope of his activities, which he undertook with patience and devotion, included: placating numerous parents who complained of undue severity in the punishment of their children; investigating a report that someone had broken into a school and burned the general register and the visitors' book; admonishing pupils who had been disobedient, smoked, or used profane language; following up school dropouts to ascertain the reasons; investigating a mother's complaint only to find her intoxicated; calling at the homes of teachers who were ill to learn when they might return; dealing with a woman teacher who was found to be intoxicated in school; consulting trustees; answering requests to transfer children to other schools; and attending to a myriad of details.34

34Porter's diaries are in the Records Room, Toronto Education Centre. Two instances of his need for and use of tact: One over-zealous woman teacher indiscreetly told a parent "If children had not brains, it was not possible to give them to them"—"Which statement was offensive" to the mother, Porter adds wryly.—May 8, 1862.

On the morning of July 8, 1861 Porter went "To Louisa..."
The need for competent and regular supervision throughout the province, particularly in rural areas, was becoming painfully evident in the sixties. The School Act of 1871, which corrected many problems that had been identified with increasing clarity in the sixties, provided for full-time county school inspectors who replaced the part-time local superintendents throughout the province. All inspectors were to have teaching experience and first class teaching certificates. This was a giant step forward in the evolution of responsible superintendency. Althouse wrote that the years 1860-1880 saw the greatest advance in the history of Ontario school supervision.35

Ryerson and public relations. For one who lived in an authoritarian era, Ryerson had a remarkable appreciation of the need to cultivate the public to support his educational goals. He saw very clearly that in order to develop an efficient educational program for children, the adults had to appreciate its value. Therefore, he assiduously cultivated public interest in schools and extolled the benefits of education for their children and for the country. He gave Street School, to make arrangements about the more moderate ringing of the bells, on account of the sickness of a person in the neighbourhood of the School House."

35Althouse, op. cit., p. 138.
the public a large share of the responsibility for operating the local school so they could learn about education by participating in it. He was in this sense a forerunner of Dewey's emphasis of "learning by doing" on the adult level. He observed with considerable satisfaction the progress made and the methods employed in an article in the *Journal of Education* in 1869:

> No power has been employed but that of persuasion; and no attempt has been made to advance faster than the felt necessities and convictions of the country would justify. To educate the people through themselves is the fundamental principle of the school system; and to assist them to advance their own best interests and manage their own affairs, has been the spirit and sole object of its administration.

Ryerson worked toward a happy combination of an efficient central authority (the Education Department) and enlightened local responsibility. He believed that joint efforts to build good schools would result in morally upright and intelligent individuals and a progressive and prosperous nation. In the 1960's some Canadians advocate free university education as necessary for progress and prosperity in Canada; Ryerson used this argument to promote free and universal elementary education a century ago.

To accomplish his ends, Ryerson travelled up and down...

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36 *Journal of Education*, XXII (February, 1869), 21.
down the province on execrable roads, explaining school law, winning approval for it, and encouraging progress wherever he found it. He wrote interminable letters, he spoke, preached, and argued; he kept cool most of the time and never lost sight of his goal: free schooling, in secondary as well as primary schools. He had enemies in all quarters, but he knew his friends outnumbered them and was not greatly concerned. His Methodist zeal and his abiding faith that he was an instrument of God sustained him in every adversity.

The Hope Commission observed that Ryerson's success was due not only to his unquestioned genius, but also to his singleness of purpose, vigor in action, and unusual facility for propaganda. He won acceptance for his ideas not only because they were convincingly presented, but because they were so often repeated. For over thirty years an unending stream of words issued from Ryerson's pen—annual reports, pamphlets, newspaper controversies, and innumerable meetings addressed in city and country.

Ryerson identified himself so closely with the school system that he regarded any personal attack as a threat to

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the schools. He was sensitive to criticism, sometimes hypersensitive. Discussing his attitude to attacks in the press, he wrote:39

I remembered, as I still do, Lord Macaulay's advice, given as early as January, 1827, in the Edinburgh Review, in respect to replying to attacks. He says:--

"No misrepresentations should be suffered to pass unrefuted. When a silly letter makes its appearance in the corner of a provincial newspaper, it will not do to say, 'What stuff!' We must remember that such statements constantly reiterated, and seldom answered, will assuredly be believed."

He had a passion for his cause, and appeared to emerge victorious in any controversy. He suffered the attacks of many bitter and powerful enemies, yet each of these attacks served to offer another opportunity to explain his case and sway the public mind.40

He would castigate teachers and trustees for not doing their duty and point out many shortcomings in the schools to those involved in them directly, but nevertheless tempered criticism with praise for what the schools were doing. To the public he always emphasized the benefits for the province. In his annual reports he included excerpts from letters of superintendents which showed progress, and other statements that advocated reforms close to his own

39Hodgins, Documentary History, XVIII, 309.

40Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, loc. cit.
heart. He systematically fostered a positive image of the school system. In his annual reports he regularly compared Ontario's school system with those of other countries and states and the statistics quoted generally showed Ontario's superiority, except when he wished to use their example to spur Ontarians on. When educationists from other countries alluded favorably to Ontario, Ryerson proudly quoted them in his speeches, reports, and the *Journal of Education*.

Ryerson was both wise and patient in spreading his educational ideas. He would talk about major innovations for years, recommend legislation repeatedly, and eventually win the public and the lawmakers over to his point of view. One of his chief means of promoting legislation was the county educational convention in which he met with the people of Ontario in each county. When he assumed office in 1844, he planned to make the trip through Ontario every five years, and he succeeded in doing so five times, in 1847, 1853, 1860, 1866, and 1869.41

The county conventions were held in the county towns from January to March. It was a cold time to travel, but it ensured better attendance as the farmers had more time then; travel was easier, as the muddy Ontario roads were frozen

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into their best condition of the year. The purpose of the conventions was to hold free consultations as to the progress and defects of our own System of Public Instruction, and the means of improving and adapting it to the Institutions and wants of our Country.

These meetings were open to everyone in the county, and were well-publicized and well-attended. School superintendents, trustees, clergymen, teachers, judges, and elected officials were prominently represented. When possible, Ryerson would meet privately with trustees, teachers, and superintendents, in addition to the large public meeting. A local dignitary would preside over the gathering. Ryerson would deliver a lecture on a topic relevant to the educational needs of the province and propose ways of improving the schools through new legislation. Issues considered were questions on school law, suggestions for improvement, teacher-training in the Normal School, libraries, free schools, county inspectors, teacher examinations, prize books, and compulsory education. Resolutions were passed favoring changes and improvements in the schools.

Ryerson’s views regularly carried the day in these resolutions. For example, in his tour of 1866, he reported

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42 Hodgins, *Documentary History*, XVI, 77.
that thirty-seven of the forty meetings passed resolutions recommending that parents whose children were not in school should be punished.\textsuperscript{44} In a parting circular to municipal councils on his retirement, Ryerson wrote that "Not a single important feature of our School Laws have been adopted without previous consultations with the people of the Province, during the five visits which I have made to the several Counties."\textsuperscript{45} He said further that he did not recommend legislation on any subject without the concurrence of at least two-thirds of the conventions.\textsuperscript{46} When Ryerson went to the legislature with a new school bill he was armed with supporting resolutions from all over the province—powerful incentives to politicians to consider his ideas very carefully.

The county school conventions were eminently successful. They stimulated interest, disarmed hostility, and provided suggestions to remedy existing difficulties. They demonstrated that the Education Department in the person of its Chief was interested in the schools in every corner of the province. The large attendances, full press coverage, and participation by leading citizens all served

\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., XIX, 181.
\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., XXVII, 238.
\textsuperscript{46}Ibid.
to create and nourish interest in the schools, and kept Ryerson close to the public mind. He reported to Hodgins during his tour in 1860: "My visit to the Counties seems to give much satisfaction, and the best feeling appears to exist in regard to myself and the School System."47

Another means of public involvement in the local school was the public school examination. Teachers were required to have public examinations of their pupils to give parents the opportunity to judge the effectiveness of instruction. Although the law called for four examinations each year, it was common practice, even in the Provincial Model School attached to the Toronto Normal School, to hold two, one at the end of each school term. The Christmas examination was held on the Friday before Christmas, and the summer examination was held at the close of term in July.

Examination day was the greatest school event and the chief social function of the school section as well. Pupils wore their best clothes and put on their best manners. The school room was "a bower of evergreen; the teacher's desk was a solid mass of roses and lilies."48 Parents were

47Ibid., XVI, 95.

present in large numbers, with women predominating.\textsuperscript{49} Trustees had the places of honor and many visitors sat on chairs and benches but the majority had to stand. Most brought lunches and stayed for the day, to hear the questions and answers, the singing and recitations.

Green recalled that the trustees of old dressed in their Sabbath blacks or homespun, and with hair and whiskers oiled and trimmed, marched up the aisle to their seats on the platform with all the dignity and solemnity of Judges of the Supreme Court. The classes were examined by the teacher, with the local superintendent, trustees, clergymen, and even guests occasionally putting questions to the pupils. Prizes of books were given, and sometimes trustees passed out treats of candies, nuts, and apples.\textsuperscript{50}

Some local superintendents organized larger examinations, bringing together the best pupils from all the schools under their jurisdiction. These events could last from nine or ten in the morning until seven, eight, or even nine o'clock in the evening and would draw as many as five hundred or even a thousand people. The Court House or a

\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Perth Courier}, December 27, 1867.

large hall would be used to accommodate the crowds. Grammar schools also held public examinations at which pupils and ex-pupils recited poetry and sang, pupils were questioned, and the headmaster read his report. The newspapers announced the examinations in advance and gave full reports of them afterward.

Ryerson attached great importance to these examinations. He was a firm believer in the wholesome effects of competition, and also believed they were an excellent means of promoting public interest in the schools and of spurring teachers on to do their best. In his report for 1869 he observed with chagrin that the number of public examinations had fallen off by five hundred from 1868, and he threatened to withhold the provincial apportionment to those schools which did not conduct examinations as required by law.

However, despite their widespread popularity and official sanction, there was dissent to the concept and practice of public examinations. It was argued that often the performance of the pupils determined whether the teacher

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51Journal of Education, XVIII (February, 1865), 28-30; XX (January, 1867), 9; Perth Courier, May 22, 1868; Porter's Diary, July 22, 1861.

52Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools, I, 193.

would be re-hired for the next term, causing him to display prominently only his best scholars; the school had to prepare for weeks just to put on a good show for the public; the indolent and superficial scholars were often the most showy and fluent and received laurels over more deserving pupils. Many claimed that the time would be better spent doing proper lessons.  

Whatever its shortcomings, the public examination did keep schools in the public eye and promoted parental interest in them. They provided gifted teachers opportunities to demonstrate progressive educational techniques, and inferior teachers were motivated to do better, knowing they had to face the tribunal of public opinion twice a year.

Ryerson's control of the provincial grants of money to schools was a potent weapon in his campaign to gain the cooperation of local areas in promoting good education. He made it plain that the Ontario school system was a voluntary one. No city or municipality was forced to become a part of the provincial system. An area was free to develop its own system, but in that case would receive no provincial grants. If it adopted the provincial system it received grants, and was also obligated to obey school law and observe the rules and regulations laid down by the Council of Public Instruction.

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All Ontario, with but one exception, opted to join the provincial system.  

The Legislature annually voted a fixed sum for schools. Each municipality was required to raise by assessment an amount at least equal to the government grant. The sum raised by local taxes and the government grant became the Common School Fund, applicable only to teachers' salaries. Further expenses were the responsibility of each school section. The voters determined how to raise the money at their annual meetings. The provincial grant was apportioned to the municipalities on the basis of the most recent decennial census of the total population, and was then divided among the individual school sections in the municipality by the local superintendent on the basis of average attendance at the school and the length of time the school was open. In cities, towns, and incorporated villages, the boards of trustees determined the apportionment of the government grant to the several schools without being bound to the provisions regarding average attendance and length of time open.

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55Hodgins, Documentary History, XX, 88; XVII, 290. The sole exception was the Town of Richmond, which originally opted to be independent, but joined the provincial system in 1865.

56Hodgins, Documentary History, XVIII, 97; XX, 87; XXI, 302.
For 1863 the total budget for common schools was:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Legislative Grant</td>
<td>$159,927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal, or County Assessment</td>
<td>287,768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trustees' Assessment</td>
<td>631,755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rate-Bills</td>
<td>72,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clergy-Reserve and other</td>
<td>108,467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance over from last year</td>
<td>167,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$1,432,885 [sic]</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It appears that Ryerson never actually withheld the government grants because of failure to abide by regulations—but he used his power to do so regularly as a threat against deviating from the norm. He warned trustees severely about the possibility of losing the government grant, particularly if they disregarded regulations on using school books not approved by the Council of Public Instruction (this was aimed at American textbooks), failed to conduct public examinations, and did not observe the required length of the school year. He wrote that awarding money on the basis of average attendance and length of time schools were open has been found to have had a salutary influence not only upon the attendance of children at the Schools, but also upon the character of the instruction given, and the length of time in the year during which Schools have been kept open.

In the various ways detailed in this chapter, Ryerson and his associates, by writing, speaking, meeting with the

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public, encouraging them to visit the schools, providing the structure for discussion and decision on local schools, by encouraging people to support their schools intelligently and finance them adequately, caused the public to become involved in the school system and to accept it as a necessary and important part of community life.

Althouse, in assessing public feeling during the sixties and seventies, stated that a large part of the population believed in the excellence of the Ontario school system, regarded their schools as a national asset, and assumed an air of proprietary pride in them. In the sixties public opinion was consolidating behind the schools, and with the growth of the public system, private schools decreased in importance.59

59 Althouse, op. cit., p. 36.
PART II. THEORY OF EDUCATION

CHAPTER VI

CONCEPTS OF CHILD NATURE

Growing humanitarianism. With the growth of cities and the attendant problems of slums, vice, and crime, the 1860's saw a heightened awareness of the social ills spawned by city life and some attempts to cure them. Many public meetings were held in Toronto in the decade on social issues, petitions were sent to the Legislature, church bodies and teachers' associations discussed problems of juvenile crime, vagrant children, and defects in the prison system to reform criminals.¹

There were private agencies dedicated to welfare work, closely tied to religious groups, like the Young Men's Christian Association and its distaff counterpart; the St. George's Society, founded by Englishmen; and the St. Andrew's Society, for Scotsmen; the John Howard Society; and others; which visited homes, jails, and ships to do mission work and to relieve distress.² Private organizations operated hospitals, orphanages, an institution for the deaf, girls'  


²Annual Reports of these societies are in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.
homes, nurseries, houses of industry, and asylums, many of which were aided by government grants.

Cities, municipalities, and the provincial government were becoming increasingly aware of the necessity for broader public participation in the welfare field. The provincial government's concern is evident in that twenty-four per cent of its total expenditures in 1868 was for social welfare.  

The appointment of a Board of Inspectors of Prisons, Asylums and Public Charities in 1859 was a significant step in the evolution of public responsibility for welfare. This group of five was the first in Canada charged with the general direction of public institutions. In 1868, a single inspector, John W. Langmuir, was appointed to replace the Board of Inspectors. He served with distinction until his retirement in 1882.  

However, the emphasis was placed on custodial and corrective institutions rather than on preventive measures. Mental asylums, gaols, prisons, and reformatories received most of the government funds. The government relied almost entirely on the apprenticeship system to care for children lacking parents or adequate homes, although it gave some

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4 Ibid., pp. 36; 44-46.
financial assistance to private orphanages.\textsuperscript{5}

A striking example of growing concern for child welfare was the inauguration in 1868 of a private project to place destitute British children into Canadian homes. From 1868-93 nearly 23,000 children were brought from the British Isles to Ontario through this program.\textsuperscript{6}

People were particularly concerned over the vagrant and delinquent children in cities. In 1868 Superintendent Porter of Toronto wrote:\textsuperscript{7}

I am almost weary of writing and speaking, from year to year, respecting the many neglected idle children whom we meet with on the streets, who are mutually educating each other, and, I fear, are in many instances being educated by their parents and others in uncleanness, profanity, and dishonesty. It is now generally acknowledged that special public legislative provisions are required on their behalf.

In 1866 Porter delivered his annual lecture on the topic "Child Neglect."\textsuperscript{8} At the public distribution of scholarships and prizes for children in Toronto on July 27, 1866, Police Magistrate Alex McNabb told children to stay away from liquor, and he urged compulsory education so that

\textsuperscript{5}Ibid., p. 221.
\textsuperscript{6}Ibid., p. 260.
\textsuperscript{8}Porter, Annual Report, 1866, p. 25.
children of drunken parents might have better opportunities in life.\textsuperscript{9} There was optimism that education could redeem the individual and elevate society. Dr. Nelles, president of Victoria College, said in 1869: "The time will come when we shall hear no more of irreclaimable children, or even of irreclaimable men."\textsuperscript{10}

Dr. Daniel Wilson, professor and later president of the University of Toronto expressed concern for children not attending any school and said something must be done for them. He was the prime mover of an abortive attempt to establish voluntary or separate denominational schools for vagrants that would provide two good meals daily and clothing in addition to the regular benefits of schooling. The Teachers' Association favored compulsory education at industrial boarding schools where inmates would be trained and kept separated from their erstwhile companions and evil influences.\textsuperscript{11}

In 1868 it was estimated that 1,600 children were receiving no instruction at school or home. There was an annual average of 120 youths of both sexes under sixteen convicted of crime and "subjected to the ruinous influences

\textsuperscript{9} Ibid., pp. 41-42.
\textsuperscript{10} Hodgins, \textit{op. cit.}, XXI, 294.
\textsuperscript{11} Hodgins, \textit{op. cit.}, XX, 269, 271.
of associating with hardened criminals of mature age" in the city gaol.\(^\text{12}\) Using this information, a group of citizens attempted to persuade the Toronto School Board to establish a residential school. The Board turned down the request on the grounds that such a school would require compulsory education, not yet enacted in Ontario, and that the combination of both voluntary and tax support which was envisioned would be too complex to administer.\(^\text{13}\)

In addition to concern for the vagrants who stayed out of school, there was also some worry over the health of the children who were in school. In fact, the Provincial Teachers' Association in 1863 suggested that conditions in the schools contributed to "the pernicious and baneful influence of truancy" when it declared that\(^\text{14}\)

> Among the means best calculated to lessen the evil of truancy this Association recommend the construction of comfortable, commodious and well-furnished School Rooms thereby rendering the attendance of the pupils as pleasant as possible in the external surroundings.

In Toronto, Porter regularly advocated the early dismissal of the younger pupils during the summer months, when they were in school only two hours in the morning and two in the afternoon in hot weather. He felt this would

\(^{12}\text{Porter, Annual Report, 1868, p. 64.}\)

\(^{13}\text{Ibid., p. 74; Hodgins, op. cit., XX, 279.}\)

\(^{14}\text{Hodgins, op. cit., XVIII, 88.}\)
be good practice year round so that the hours would be "not unnaturally and perhaps injuriously extended, as it is at present." He also advocated more space per pupil, more teachers, more songs and manual exercises, and suggested that because of the heat the summer holiday should commence on the first Monday of July instead of the first Monday in August, for attendance fell off in July in any case.

Concern for overworking children's brains was expressed at the Teachers' Convention in 1869. J. S. King said:

The brain is a wonderfully complex organ, extremely delicate, very liable to disease, and easily injured. This is true in regard to the fully developed brain; much more delicate, and liable to injury and disease, is the brain of a growing child. The brain, in addition to the function of thought, supplies nervous energy to the various organs engaged in the process of digestion, assimilation, and nutrition. With injury of the brain, not only do the physical functions suffer, but likewise the nervous system itself. Thousands of young minds are stunted, and permanently dwarfed, by too early application to study. Task the mind during the earlier years, and you will not expose the child to a greater risk of a disordered brain, not only it may lay the foundation for a morbid excitability of brain, that may one day end in insanity, but you debilitate its bodily powers, and by so doing, to all intents and purposes, the mind will, eventually be a loser in its powers and capacity.

Teachers were warned against overloading the brains of pupils with too much memory work. The brain was likened

15Porter, Annual Report, 1868, p. 15.
16Journal of Education, XXII (September, 1869), 132.
to a pack-horse. If a pack-horse is overloaded suddenly it may break down. Therefore, the child's memory must assume only small loads at one time, neatly arranged, lest it too break down.17 Such advice, gratuitously and ponderously proffered to teachers and replete with garbled concepts of the workings of the brain and body, was evidence of concern for the physical and psychological welfare of the child.

Physical exercises were enjoined to keep pupils from getting restless and to provide relief from unremitting study. Frequent changes of subject matter and type of work were advocated, and recesses and diversions like marching around to music were suggested. The importance of good ventilation, proper temperature and lighting in classrooms was stressed, lest irreparable harm be done to children. Lack of proper lighting, for example, was said to result in a dwarfing of the perceptive faculty, with injury also extending to the abstractive and reasoning faculties.18

While singing and declamation were adduced as good physical exercises, grave warnings against overdoing were always in order, to avoid pupil injury. The author of a book of dramatic readings advised the pupil to19

17Frederick C. Emberson, The Art of Teaching (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1877), p. 34.


Read the whole in a loud whisper. The ... exercise is a very valuable one. The reader, to be heard, is obliged to pause frequently in order to recruit his lungs with extra air which is necessary, and the larynx, the primary organ of speech, being inactive, he is compelled to exert the other organs to their fullest extent. It is proper to caution the learner against overdoing this exercise, as it is fatiguing and might be injurious to persons of weak lungs.

Encouraging as the many expressions of concern for the welfare of children in the sixties may be, they must be regarded as reflecting theory rather than practice. Physicians, professors, and teachers were advocating better treatment of children, but the lack of proper facilities in schools and the generally harsh treatment the majority of children still received indicate that most admonitions were disregarded. Trustees did not scare easily; nor were all teachers impressed by gratuitous advice offered by outsiders.

Society still accepted harsh treatment, but was not happy about it. The application of humanitarian concerns in the area of child care and schools was part of a larger awakening of a social conscience. Metropolitanism brought with it many social problems. Many ad hoc groups of citizens banded together to meet needs for prison reform, schools for the blind and the deaf, help for youth and other social purposes. "Not only the scope but the humanity of public education has expanded," and this expansion began to find expression around 1860, wrote Phillips.20

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How children learn. "Boys are miniature men." 21 The child was believed to be a little adult, differing only in size and development. He was regarded more as an object of instruction than as an entity in his own right. He was a recipient of instruction rather than a participant in the learning process. The way a child and his brain were regarded was almost scientific in its detachment. Everything was carefully departmentalized and labelled by the categories of faculty psychology, which held sway in the sixties. The mind was more analogous to a machine than to a muscle. Too much use will not strengthen it but rather wear it out. The machine must be kept functioning through use, change of work, ventilation, and other devices mentioned earlier.

Yet this did not preclude romantic notions of the child's mind. Dr. Daniel Wilson exemplifies this approach and endorsed the tabula rasa (blank tablet) theory of learning in an address to teachers: 22

With the young and impressionable mind spread out before us, as a pure tablet on which we may write what we will; to us especially must the Divine maxim come home with peculiar force, that "for every idle word we must give account. . . ."

The young mind may be compared to a calm, pellucid stream which reflects alike the sunshine and the

21 Emberson, op. cit., p. 57.

22 Hodgins, op. cit., XIX, 53.
shadow, and derives all its colour from the objects that surround it. How much then does it become the Teacher to guard that pure mirror from being clouded by the storms of passion, or defaced with the soil of impurity.

Even this lends itself to the concept of a machine: it must be kept clean and free from dirt, and only given work to do which will not harm it but cause it to function well, and it must be well cared-for. The emphasis in learning was regularly placed on the teacher. He was to insert, apply, and write the correct information onto the receptive minds of the children, which was to be dutifully stored away in their "memory banks."

These beginnings of a scientific approach to learning did not consider the nature of the child as an object of study, but educators instead assumed certain things about a child's mind, and concentrated on the selection of proper material and its best arrangement so that the child could absorb it. It was like present-day programming of computers. Faculty psychology posited that the mind was sub-divided into numerous individual powers, or faculties, to wit: presentative, the faculty of sense-perception; representative, the faculty for memory, conception, and imagination; reflective, the faculty for abstraction or generalization and reasoning; intuitive, the faculty for developing original suggestion; and conscience, the moral faculty, and still others.23 Thus, if teachers could "program" the information

23Forrester, op. cit., p. 94.
corresponding to the proper faculties, the child would be equipped with the necessary information to function as a proper adult in due time.

The various classes or powers of intellect and their faculties were analyzed, expanded, and expounded in great detail. The logic was meticulously arranged, but the foundation of the whole was a body of assumptions later largely abandoned.

The mental equipment with which a person is born was believed to be jeopardized through a retardation of development by lack of a proper environment, for instance:24

We believe it will be found, as a general rule, that all who spend much of their time in pits or cellars are dwarfish in their intellectual powers, and unusually dull and stupid in their apprehensive capacity. And the reason of this is obvious. The food intended to supply, and exercise, and strengthen the perceptive faculty, is all but entirely cut off; and as this is one of the grand inlets of knowledge, not only does the power itself remain in a great measure inactive, but it operates injuriously upon all the other faculties—the abstractive, the reasoning, &c.

Again, if one part of the machine is out of order, it will adversely affect all other parts and functions. Educators, in the spirit of faculty psychology, became almost compulsive in dividing material to be learned into small units. The elements of a subject of study were analyzed relentlessly, beyond the limits of rationality and out of all

24Ibid., p. 69.
proportion to reality, often in violation of both common sense and utility.

The rationale was that humans are rational creatures, and therefore understanding would be enhanced if material were broken down into small bits of information in sequence for children to learn. A child could build his store of information piece by piece, each in proper sequence and order. If the content were correctly presented by an able teacher, it was not necessary to be overly concerned about the child. He could be induced or forced to sit quietly and have the material applied to him and learning would result. This primitive attempt at programmed instruction was prophetic of tremendous developments in computerized education a century later.

However, present day programmed instruction is based on research in the psychology of learning; it begins with the nature of the learner and moves from that to preparation of material most suitable to him. In the 1860's educators started with the material and were pre-occupied with arranging it logically— but overlooked the fact that children are not so much logical as psychological beings. Thus in developing their lessons in subjects like reading, spelling, grammar, and writing, textbook authors made learning unduly tedious and arduous. The result was that learning was inhibited rather than enhanced because of the circuitous routes
pupils were forced to follow as, theoretically, they slowly but surely built a solid structure of learning. Educators had an abhorrence of taking short-cuts, convinced that this meant shoddy learning was taking place.

The dangers of not arranging material nor feeding it properly to the child were described graphically by an author of a textbook for teachers in this analogy:25

Our memory is like a pack horse which should accompany us through life carrying what we want in such a shape that we can get it at a moment's notice. But this pack-horse when suddenly overweighted has a peculiar habit of slipping off its whole load. If by an unnatural force of attention we prevent its doing this and it once breaks down under its burden, then we may have no chance of getting another such pack-horse all our lives.

It is true we must strengthen our memory by making it constantly carry that it can bear with ease. But we must put on small loads at a time, neatly arranged, and at first keep continually looking to see if they are being retained in good condition.

But if the brain were particularly able to absorb and store new material—if a child were precocious—this too was a danger sign. A strong brain would sap strength from the rest of the body and so a precocious child was believed to be disease-prone and short-lived. Nature demanded a balance: strong mind, weak body, and vice-versa. Parents of bright children were therefore exhorted not to push them to intellectual attainments, for this could ruin them. The

25Emberson, op. cit., p. 34.
"brain machine" would then draw too much fuel and energy from the rest of the body and destroy it. This is exactly the opposite of present day thought on bright children, which stresses fuller use of potential and enriched curricula so that the gifted child will work to his full capacity.

A journal article pointed out that Andrew Fuller, Sir Walter Scott, and Daniel Webster were all dull scholars as children, and that parents ought not worry if their children appeared to be dull. This was more promising than if the child had a superior intellect, which was often accompanied by physical delicacy and premature death.26 Cyrus Thomas wrote sadly of his own daughter, Dora, whose precocious words and actions caused him to fear for her health. She died in early childhood of "brain disease," and her exceptional mental ability was accepted as the cause of death.27

Although much was written about education, the question of how children learn was not seriously asked in the sixties. The question was rather which kind of textbooks, which methods of instruction, which techniques and devices worked best. There was little analysis of what happened in the child, but much concern about how to put the

26 Journal of Education, XV (September, 1862), 139.
material to him. The process of teaching had started farthest from the learner, for traditionally the greatest problem was what the child should learn, since content was all-important. After mid-nineteenth century, the question began to change to how the content should be presented, and educators were preoccupied with methods of all kinds. The next step, child study, first began to become a significant factor in Canadian education around 1884 when F. W. Parker addressed the Ontario Teachers' Association.28

Motivation for learning. The problem of motivation which has received so much attention by educators in recent years was comparatively unimportant in the 1860's. The child was not central to the learning situation. Teachers did not strive to understand the individual in order to determine how each one might best be interested in a subject. Teachers did not seek what was good, appropriate, or interesting to a child—these decisions had already been made—but simply tried to teach what was written by the experts in pupils' textbooks.

The emphasis of experts was not on individual differences among children but rather on discovering and

formulating principles of learning which would apply universally. In keeping with a rising tide of scientific studies in the physical and applied sciences, it was hoped that universally applicable laws of learning could be found, just as laws of physics applied in all of nature. Textbooks for teaching presented various theoretical concepts and applications to studious teachers. Certain theories and their corresponding practice were widely accepted in the sixties, and these will be presented here, together with other newer and more "progressive" ideas which were not yet widely practised.

It was necessary that a child received what was good for him; it was not necessary that he like it. This fundamental fact of education militated strongly against effective theories of motivation. Early textbooks had been uniformly unattractive, with small type, bound in dull covers, and with few if any pictures and illustrations. The typical classroom was uninviting and uncomfortable. Whatever zeal for learning children brought to school disappeared very soon. In the classroom, teachers were faced with the timeless problem of getting children to learn something.

Certain conditions were necessary to get children to learn. To begin with, there had to be a certain amount of order and quiet in the classroom, so discipline was fundamental. Without it, a teacher was doomed to frustration
and the class to chaos. Discipline in the 1860's was still imposed by force in the great majority of Ontario common schools. Physical punishment was regarded as the surest way to instill obedience, and also to facilitate learning.

If pupils came late to school, broke rules, whispered, were insolent, engaged in fights, drew unauthorized pictures on slates or books, they were liable for a whipping both as punishment and as a deterrent to repetition of the behavior in the future. But the rod was applied with equal vigor when lessons were not learned to the satisfaction of the master. The axiom "no larnin' without lickin'" was a rule of thumb. Knowledge could be whipped into hands or backbones. Green lamented: "I did not like Mr. Munro; he would whip me for not knowing my lessons. I could not learn to spell correctly." He added the simple but insightful observation, "I got most of my whippings for poor spelling, but they never cured me."29 Another writer reminisced:30

And when Jim Towns, a poor weak-minded boy, could not spell "laugh," he had to stand on one leg on the desk and be strapped on his bare ankle to improve his intellectual powers. Those were the Dark Ages. That strap was ever in sight.

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Corporal punishment was supported principally on the ground of its traditional place in school and home. Other reasons were the crudity of society, the tedium, drabness and discomfort of the schools which induced restlessness, and the poor qualifications, both mental and personal, of many teachers. It has often been claimed that corporal punishment was originally based on the theological doctrine of the sinfulness of the child and the necessity to correct him. However, while occasional allusions in the literature of the sixties were found to the Scripture-based proverb "spare the rod and spoil the child" and that children need training, nowhere did the writer find any justification of corporal punishment on the grounds of the doctrine of original sin.

Poor teachers, with few resources to control pupils by more enlightened means, had the example of highly respected teachers, including Bishop John Strachan and William Tassie, who used corporal punishment. Tassie was a strict disciplinarian, and what he did as a matter of course would be condemned today. He acted without giving reasons, and claimed to have a kind of intuition about boys. He once thrashed a boy who wore a constant smile, on the general principle that a smile was the mask of mischievous intent.

His punishment was always the strap, applied with different
degrees of severity.32

With the "best" grammar school master in Upper Canada
using such tactics, it was natural for common school teachers
to follow suit. Severity was still regarded as an important
virtue in a teacher. Many parents were uneasy if a teacher
was backward in applying the rod, and inferred that the
children could not be learning much.33

The instruments of punishment were various. The
tawse (also tawze, taws) was a Scottish name for a leather
strap cut into strings at one end, resembling a cat-o'-nine
tails. The rod or gad was a switch cut from birch or more
often from a blue beech tree (very common in Ontario),
about four feet long. To punish boys for fighting, a
teacher might command them to "cut jackets." Both boys
were required to lash one another with blue beech gads
(which they often cut themselves), and if one or the other
mercifully lightened his blows the teacher would apply his
own whip to ensure that both boys applied their rods with
gusto.34

32W. S. McVittie, manuscript history of Galt Collegiate
Institute, Galt, Ontario.

33Clifton Johnson, Old Time Schools and School Books

34Henry Johnson, op. cit., pp. 31-32.
The rawhide was a species of whip, a slender cane neatly wound with leather, from the half-inch butt to the slender, cord-like extremity. One writer said that only a small minority were whipped, the more merciful plain strap being invoked more often. A round ruler, or ferule, was usually used on the offender's hands, though also applied indiscriminately at the teacher's whim. A refinement of cruelty was one teacher's practice of gathering in his fist the four fingers of an unhappy victim and applying the ferule or a pointer vigorously to the protruding finger tips.

Differences in attitude toward corporal punishment were evident between city and country. In rural areas physical punishments were more common, and children were likely to get a second dose at home from their parents, who were closer in time and in attitude to their pioneer legacy. But it was different among the minority of Ontarians who lived in cities. City dwellers were much more sensitive about having their children caned, so while corporal punishment was practised in the city, it was with more restraint and care. The diary of Superintendent Porter of

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Toronto has many entries recording complaints of parents against "undue severity" or unfair punishment of their children. City parents seemed to feel that harsh treatment was associated with country life, and not as appropriate in the city.

Another reason for the different attitudes was the nature of the community. In the country everyone knew the teacher; even a stranger would soon become known and accepted in the small community, and the children were under the care of someone parents knew. But in cities this was not the case, and parents did not like the idea of a stranger whipping their children for real or imagined misdemeanors.

The uneasiness and resentment of some city people about corporal punishment was shared by many teachers. Many essays and discussions at both provincial and local teachers' association meetings in the sixties indicate dissatisfaction and opposition to the prevailing practices of discipline. The unimaginative and exclusive use of the strap was denounced, though apparently no one was prepared to say that the use of physical punishment should be abandoned. The majority of teachers still held it to be a necessary part of good school management, but many wished to minimize its use.37

37Edwin C. Guillet, In the Cause of Education. Centennial History of the Ontario Educational Association,
It was said that the teacher himself should be able to command respect without recourse to the constant threat of violent means of control. The conception of the teacher's personality being the fountain head of discipline was an old one. Horace Mann wrote in 1846: \(^{38}\)

Order must be maintained but it must be maintained from reverence and regard for the teacher and not through fear. \ldots\ The superiority of the heart; the superiority of the head; the superiority of the arm—this is the order of means to secure it.

The School Act embodied the same sentiment in defining the duties of teachers:

To evince a regard for the improvement and general conduct of their pupils, to treat them with kindness, combined with firmness; and to aim at governing them by their affections and reason, rather than by harshness and severity.

Ryerson believed that the rod should be used sparingly. He advocated love of children as a much more effective approach. His *Journal of Education* did not urge the abolition of corporal punishment, but urged that teachers obtain good order without it. Ryerson opposed the proscription of corporal punishment but urged sparing and judicious use of it: \(^{39}\)


Those who object to corporal punishment by the teacher should on the same ground object to it by a parent, an objection contrary to Scripture and common sense.

The best teacher, like the best parent, will seldom resort to the rod; but there are occasions when it cannot be wisely avoided.

The analogy of teachers to parents was incorporated in the general instructions to the teachers of Toronto:40

The teachers are required to practise such discipline in the schools as would be exercised by a kind and judicious parent; and shall avoid corporal punishment in all cases where good order can be preserved by milder measures. The teacher will be held responsible for the due exercise of his or her discretionary power.

Dr. Nelles' presidential address to the Ontario Teachers' Convention included the exhortation that41

the Teacher should appeal as much as possible to the higher motives. Fear, as an instrument of discipline, is not to be disregarded. I would not have a Teacher say to his School, "I never flog." Philosophers tell us of what they call "latent consciousness." There should be in every school a latent consciousness of the Rod, and this will need occasionally to be developed and as it were brought to the surface by a vigorous application of the Rod to some dozing offender who may be taken as a kind of "representative man." But the best teacher is one who secures good order and progress without much flogging. Let the formula be the maximum of progress with the minimum of whipping.

This view represents the prevailing theory on the subject. One should seldom need to resort to strapping, but when necessary, one should not hesitate to do so. Less "realistic" and flowery idealistic pleas to replace corporal

40 Porter, Annual Report, 1869, p. 94.
41 Hodgins, op. cit., XXI, 293.
punishment with morally superior techniques drew this sarcastic barb from a contributor to the *Journal of Education*: 42

A school is pictured by some as a troop of little angels, eager to learn, more eager to imbibe goodness, all hanging on the lips of their still more angelic preceptors. If these celestials ever do need rebuke, shame is at once sufficient; and shame is produced by a gentle but piercing glance.

The problem facing theorists of discipline in the sixties was that teachers with high intellectual and moral qualities were necessary to implement the advanced ideas of motivation and classroom control, but the schools were not attracting quality people (for reasons to be more fully discussed in Part III). Theory of discipline was in advance of practice. During the sixties, discipline was based on punishment, and in practice punishment was regarded as an effective motivator both for good behavior and for learning.

But there was another important factor operating in the 1860's to modify the traditional harshness of school discipline: a significant growth in the number of women teachers. They were more sympathetic to pupils, more inclined to less violent means of securing and maintaining classroom control, and more sympathetic to the sensitivities

42*Journal of Education*, XXII (May, 1869), 68.
of the children in their care than men were.

The end of the decade found increasing application of more modern practice in discipline in Ontario schools. The feeling that corporal punishment ought to be used in moderation or as a last resort grew more common. Opposition continued to mount, and during the last two decades of the century its practice declined further as "moral suasion" superseded "corporal persuasion" as a sounder ideological and practical basis of classroom management.43

When humanitarian educators encouraged teachers to lay aside the rod and seek more positive and precautionary incentives to learning and good behavior, the first alternative to punishment which appealed to these individuals were the powerful incentives of rivalry and rewards.44

Teachers learned early that pupils like to compete, and can be induced to learn by contests, so competition came to be an important motivator in the classroom. In the 1860's competition was an integral part of Ontario education. It was officially and persistently promoted by the Education

43Henry Johnson, op. cit., pp. 333, 42. Canadians are still reluctant to abandon corporal punishment entirely. In Vancouver a child psychologist said strapping should be eliminated in schools. The superintendent of schools and several principals were quick to respond that strapping is still necessary as a "last resort." Vancouver Sun, May 1, 1967.

44Henry Johnson, op. cit., p. 88.
Department, firmly established as a cardinal principle of school management, and practised in all the schools.

Charles Gordon recalled that the whole spirit of his school in the sixties was permeated by the fighting motif. Every recitation was a contest. Winners marched joyously to the top, while failures remained ignominiously at the foot. Medals of various sorts were often provided. A pupil who held the head of the class for a day could wear it to his home, and keep it the next day until he lost his place. A pupil who kept the head position for a week would be eligible to keep the medal permanently. Classes were frequently dismissed to their seats by a series of questions in mental arithmetic. The first to shout the correct answer marched proudly to his seat.45

Competition was regarded as a necessary and natural part of life. The world was a place of struggle—and school should prepare children for the race of life—so competition was entirely appropriate to a classroom. The "Committee on Giving Prizes in Schools" reporting to the Ontario Teachers' Association Convention in 1869 brought in a report favoring the prize system which included these words:46

The "Prize System" was a fundamental principle of everyday life, and if it was correct in the case of men,

45Gordon, op. cit., p. 17.

46Hodgins, op. cit., XXI, 301.
it must be correct in the case of children. All Universities had their Scholarships and their Honours, and these undoubtedly stirred to active labour.

A teacher added this to the discussion:47

The Prize system if judiciously carried out, was in consonance with the laws of nature, and was fitted to assist their boys in the race of life. It was as powerful a stimulus as could be administered, either to children, or children of larger growth.

As children were regarded as minature adults, structured competition in schools was thought to be not only proper and permissible, but healthy and desirable. This concept fitted well in the context of 19th century Victorian laissez-faire economic and social theory. Competition in childhood would prepare the "minature adults" for later struggles in the world. Competition would get the most out of a child, and would also aid discipline, as children concentrating on their tasks would not misbehave. There was little stress on individual differences then as compared with the present, nor were the effects of failure on children appreciated then as they are today.

Henry Johnson has detailed the many facets of competition in the schools of that era, including spelling bees, the challenge problem (a pupil would challenge another, and sometimes a whole school would challenge another), monthly examinations and place-taking, pupils standing in a

47Ibid.
row and going to the foot of the line when they missed a question or a word, and the arrangement of pupils on the basis of conduct and record of work in order of merit.\textsuperscript{48}

Ryerson diligently and strongly supported the use of competition as a means of motivating pupils to do their best. In 1853 he created a "Library and Prize Book Branch" in the Education Department. Prize books were supplied to trustees for distribution at one half of cost price. At first they were awarded at the teacher's discretion, but complaints of partiality led to the introduction of merit cards in 1865. These small lithographed cards with pictures on them represented credits of one, ten, fifty, and one hundred merits and were given to pupils daily for perfect recitations, good conduct, punctuality, and diligence. Children would turn in cards of lower denominations for higher ones when they had enough. Pupils with the highest number of merits at the end of term were given prize books. The plan appealed to children's proclivity for collecting cards, and is probably the earliest example of trading stamps in Canada.\textsuperscript{49}

Cards awarded for perfect recitation had the Bible passage "Be thou perfect" printed on them. The cards for punctuality had the Bible text "Not slothful in business."

\textsuperscript{48}Henry Johnson, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 90-91.  
\textsuperscript{49}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 91-93.
Ryerson maintained that the principle on which the prize system was established was the same as that "on which the Divine Government itself is based—rewarding everyone according to his works." The criteria, Ryerson wrote, gave each pupil a "fourfold motive to exertion and emulation in everything that constitutes a good pupil and a good school." He further pointed out that even slow learners could compete on equal terms on three of the four standards, and that the competition was on one's own merits, irrespective of another pupil. This recognition of individual differences and the concept of competing against one's self anticipated more recent emphases of educators. To object to giving prizes, he wrote in the Annual Report for 1863, "is to object to the principles of Holy Scripture, and the rule of Providence, and the universal paractice of civilized mankind in all matters of common life." Few in the 1860's would venture to argue against such imposing arguments.

In explaining the merit card system in his report of 1865 Ryerson stressed three points: (1) The system did not depend on single end-of-term examinations, but on the pupil's daily conduct and diligence; (2) the standard of merit was

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52 Hodgins, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 117.
founded on the Holy Scriptures, as the mottoes were taken from the Bible and the illustrations based on it; and (3) the system had a most salutary effect on school discipline, and on both teachers and pupils. 53

A demerit system, the reverse of the merit system, in which demerit marks for minor breaches of discipline were charged against pupils, was advocated in 1857, but the positive merit card system supplanted this entirely in 1865. The demerit system was revived after 1880 and was used until the 1930's and as late as the 1940's. 54

The popularity of the merit card system continued until the late seventies. The daily record-keeping was time-consuming, but appealed to the efficiency-complex of some teachers. By tallying and averaging one could find exactly where each pupil stood in relation to his peers. It was almost like a scientific system of marking, and the concrete figures arrived at were especially helpful in those schools that began issuing report cards to parents in the sixties.

Some teachers were concerned about undue emphasis on rivalry in the schools, and questioned the value of so much competition. At the Provincial Teachers' Convention in 1869


54 Henry Johnson, op. cit., p. 98.
which re-affirmed its faith in the prize system, there was some dissent. Objectors said that the prize system compelled all children to participate in the competition, created an unnatural stimulus among children, and created an appetite for rewards which required continual renewal. But the objectors were still a small minority and the convention passed a resolution supporting the giving of prizes according to merit.55

Punishment and competition were the ruling concepts of motivation in the 1860's, but it is unrealistic to assume that other means of inducing pupils to learn were unknown. There were those who recognized the importance of interesting a child in what he was to learn. This concept is commonplace a hundred years later, but the 1860's were not the 1960's—life was stern, frivolity was frowned upon, and even reading a book solely because it was interesting was suspect.

There have been three stages in educational thought in regard to interest: (1) the old idea that children must learn to do things whether they want to or not, and the more disagreeable the task the more benefit the child receives from it; (2) the realization that it was important to invoke the child's interest as an aid to learning subject matter based on adult needs but not immediately interesting

55Hodgins, op. cit., XXI, 301.
to the child. This type of interest was thought to depend on the personal inspiration of a gifted teacher and was therefore teacher-centered, not pupil-centered; and (3) the new doctrine of a pupil-centered interest, the contribution of progressive education.56

According to this classification, educational practice in the sixties was in stage one, but as no such divisions are discrete, there was a not insignificant amount of writing and also some practice which was characteristic of stage two, and hints of developments of stage three. The emphasis of Pestalozzi on mutual affection between pupil and teacher, Rousseau's insistence that the teacher study and know the child, and Mme. Necker de Saussure's advocacy of freedom all stressed the nature of education as organic growth and the motivational importance of interest on the part of the learner. Froebel's recognition of the educative value of play and social participation, and the rising acceptance of object teaching in Ontario added emphasis to the doctrine of appealing to children's interests.57

Evidence of these influences on teachers can be found in the 1860's. At the Teachers' Convention in 1867 a teacher read a paper on the importance of interest in the

56 Henry Johnson, _op. cit._, p. 220.
57 _Ibid._, pp. 190-91.
attainment of knowledge. 58 Voices promoting praise rather than blame as a motivator could also be heard: the teachers in convention in 1869 were told "How much better to praise a child for his merits than to scold him for his faults!" 59

Although textbooks were not designed primarily to appeal to the interests of the pupil, the element of interest was not disregarded altogether. In the Third Reader in the Irish National Series (authorized for use until 1867) the introduction has this reference to pupil interest: 60

It will be observed, that the first few Sections of the Third Book consist of a series of Lessons on animal subjects; but should Teachers consider the arrangement not sufficiently varied to keep up the interest of the Pupils, they can cause Lessons to be read in such order as they may deem best fitted for that purpose.

A reader published in 1867 offered these comments on the practice of having beginning pupils memorize letters and syllables: 61

Such a method transforms the lesson into a wearisome task, and is apt to engender a dislike in the young mind against reading or learning to read, which it is

58 Guillet, op. cit., p. 47.
59 Hodgins, op. cit., XXI, 294.
61 British-American Series of School Books, First Book of Reading Lessons (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1867), p. 3.
difficult in after years to eradicate. Everyone knows from experience how much easier it is to master anything that is studied with pleasure, than to retain what is merely learnt as a task; and when that pleasure is heightened by obvious progress, which may be noted, as it were, day by day or lesson by lesson, both the labour of the teacher and the child is made lighter, and each day's lesson becomes a subject of interest to both.

The successor of the Irish National Series, the Canadian Series, authorized in 1867, also referred to interest:

A child cannot read with expression that which he does not readily understand, or does not readily engage his attention; while, on the other hand--provided his eye is familiar with the word-signs--he can scarcely fail to read naturally, and, consequently, with propriety, a rhyme or a story that enlists his sympathy and awakens his interest.

The teacher's preface in another book in the series also alluded to interest:

At first easy stories and anecdotes are given, each teaching a valuable lesson, but presented in such an attractive form that the pupil cannot fail to be interested. Then anecdotes of Natural History follow, opening up to the youthful mind a new field of interest and delight, and all tending to induce the reader to pursue the subject, and to gain a more extended knowledge of that most delightful study—the animal kingdom. . . . The Third Part of the book is devoted to incidents of travel, of adventure, and of history, almost the whole of which relate to our own country, and which, it is hoped, will awaken an interest that will not be content to be restricted to the narrow limits

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62 Canadian Series of Reading Books, Second Book of Reading Lessons (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1869), p. iii.

63 Ibid., Third Book of Reading Lessons, p. iii.
within which this book is necessarily confined, but
will extend itself to the broad fields of knowledge
that are here merely pointed out.

Enlightened as this sounds, it must be remembered
that the adults who prepared the readers believed that good
solid information was interesting *per se* to pupils, and even
tales of adventure were laced with moral precepts and factual
information. Furthermore, teachers in the sixties still
depended on the textbook to create pupil interest, or on
competitive devices like spelldowns and place-taking. Most
would agree that interest could help a child to learn, but
was not *essential*. As long as the child mastered the
material, the motivation was unimportant. In fact, if
learning became so interesting as to be easy, there was the
suspicion that this was bad for moral fibre, for hard work
was of the essence of life.

Even the eminent Dr. Tassie of Galt made no effort to
infuse the element of interest into his teaching, according
to his former students. Thomas denied that school could be
made so interesting that children would always be attracted
to it. Putman, in referring to the schools of the 1880's,
said he could not believe that school life was very
interesting for the children. The only device to vary the
daily monotony of reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic,
geography, grammar, history, and bookkeeping was a Friday
A great deterrent to pupil interest was educators' insistence on complete mastery of a lesson before a pupil could move on to new material. Pupils moved slowly through their textbooks. Conditioning for success was virtually unknown, as, for the sake of thoroughness, pupils' progress was retarded rather than encouraged.

Interest in the child was developing slowly. Value judgements were imposed on the child by adults who arbitrarily decided what children should study and the textbooks and procedures to be followed. Adults believed it was possible for a strong teacher to maintain order without the strap, but held that it should always be kept in reserve. Most teachers had neither the character nor the experience to maintain discipline by force of personality, and the force and fear psychology of the rod held sway.

Contests appeared a logical and normal way to create interest in pupils, reinforced by Biblical and theoretical arguments and an elaborate system of merits and awards. Yet the child as an individual of worth and importance in his own right was strangely ignored. He was a recipient of instruction more than a willing participant in it, and the instruction was to make him a worthy adult. It mattered

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little whether this could be done pleasantly, but it must be done—so motivation was imposed rather than induced, it was from without, not from within.

But the energetic, dedicated, and alert teacher, by getting Normal School training, reading the *Journal of Education* and teachers' textbooks, and participating in teachers' meetings, could by the sixties find enough material on teaching theory and practice to break out of the established pattern. The general acceptance of newer methods used by Normal School graduates indicates that forward-looking teachers were successfully challenging the status quo.
CHAPTER VII

THE NATURE OF EDUCATION

Aristotle wrote:¹

There is no agreement as to what the young should learn, whether with a view to the production of goodness, or the best life, nor is it settled whether we ought to keep the intellect or the character chiefly in view.

But Aristotle's dilemma was no problem to Ontarians in the 1860's. They were certain that the production of goodness and the development of character were of first importance. They believed further that the pursuit of good would result in the good life, for not only was virtue its own reward, but in a moral universe goodness was tangibly recompensed. The pursuit of knowledge aided the development of character and was morally right. So by developing character in the pursuit of goodness, Ontarians believed they would attain the good life and develop the intellect in the process. It may be questioned whether all Ontarians practised this idealism, but it was taught their children and was the rationale of their educational system. Therefore, underlying all other stated aims of education in the sixties that recognized the progress of science, technology, and the expanding knowledge of the world was the fundamental belief

¹Aristotle, Politics, VIII, 2.
that building solid Christian character came first.

Teaching journals. Educational journals reflect concepts of the nature of education in the sixties. Ryerson recognized that teachers and officials needed practical helps and also ideas to broaden their perspectives. In January, 1843 he founded the Journal of Education for Upper Canada which was published monthly by the Education Department until 1877. It was for teachers, superintendents, school trustees, local officials, and anyone connected with or interested in schools. At first it was free but after 1857 a charge of $1.00 per year was made to those who were not officials. At December, 1869, 5,000 copies were being distributed each month. Ryerson was the editor until his retirement in 1876. He was assisted by his faithful deputy, John George Hodgins.

Ryerson was ever the pedagogue. In the Journal he returned again and again to his favorite themes: free and compulsory education, the necessity of Christian moral training, the need for an enlightened public and well-trained teachers, and the contribution education could make to the progress of the province and the country. The Journal printed

school laws and explained regulations and policies to assist in the implementation of departmental educational theory. Ryerson believed teachers and trustees should be alert to world affairs, especially in education, and printed a potpourri of articles from everywhere, most of them reprinted from educational magazines from the United States and Great Britain. Church news, temperance stories, and moral advice were regular features. The tone of the Journal was strongly moralistic, consonant with the strict Victorian taste which often had an underlying strain of sweet sorrow. It was more a general and inspirational education magazine than a professional teachers' journal.

The Journal was the first of its kind in Canada, but others, similar in content and style, were printed elsewhere, for the problem of ignorant and untrained teachers was common to much of North America. These journals also provided some specific teaching helps as well as general factual information on many subjects. It was only when teaching became a bona fide profession with greatly raised standards of entry that teachers' journals could also become professional.

The only other teachers' journal published in Ontario in the sixties was the Educational Advocate, established in 1860 and soon changed to the Educationalist, published from 1860-62 by H. Spencer in Brighton, Ontario. It was to give
teachers a vehicle for greater self-expression than was possible in the department-controlled *Journal*. But it did not differ markedly from the other, containing mostly reprints from other sources.³

Lower Canada had two separate teachers' journals, one in French for Roman Catholic teachers, the other in English for Protestants. The English *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, inaugurated in 1857, was similar to Ryerson's *Journal*.

After the demise of the *Educationalist*, the *Journal* again had a monopoly in Ontario until the *Ontario Teacher* appeared from 1873-75. The *Canada School Journal* (1877-87) and the *Educational Monthly of Canada* (1879-1905) came on the scene after the *Journal* was discontinued in 1877.

One of the early Canadian textbooks for teachers was *The Teacher's Text-book* by the Rev. Alexander Forrester, principal of the Normal School in Nova Scotia, which was highly recommended by Ryerson.⁴ Many textbooks for teachers were published in the last quarter of the century as Normal

³Some copies of the *Educationalist* are available in the Ontario Legislative Library in the Legislative Building, Toronto. Some typical articles are: "Teachers Should Study; Agricultural Facts; Frightening Children; Interesting Egyptian Discoveries; Thoughts for Young Men; Why American Women are Delicate; Insect Life; The Blessings of Poverty; Patience; and The Value of Accuracy."

⁴*Journal of Education*, XXI (August, 1868), 117.
Schools enrolled better-prepared students and developed more
thorough courses in the theory and practice of education.\textsuperscript{5}
Textbooks for teachers meticulously analyzed the learning
process, usually under the main headings of "Science of
Education" (theory) and "Art of Teaching" (practice).

\textbf{School textbooks.} The analysis of textbooks used in
the past gives a truer history of what was taught in schools
than does a study of past educational theories alone. Early
teachers were so meagerly trained that they depended heavily
on the textbooks for what and how to teach. The textbooks
used in schools largely constituted the course of study, and
reflect the nature of education of their day.\textsuperscript{6} For this
reason, and also because children had few if any other
printed resources, school-books of the nineteenth century
were more influential than they are in the twentieth.
However, the occasional controversies that still develop
over textbooks indicate that people still believe they are

\textsuperscript{5}Alexander Forrester, \textit{The Teacher's Text-book} (Halifax:
A. & W. Mackinley, 1867). A highly regarded American text
was James Pyle Wickersham, \textit{Methods of Instruction} (Philadelphia:
J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1865). Wickersham was principal of the Pennsylvania State Normal School in
Millersville, Pennsylvania, and also wrote \textit{School Economy}. Most teachers' textbooks were written by Normal School
principals, many of whom were clergymen.

\textsuperscript{6}John A. Nietz, \textit{Old Textbooks} (Pittsburgh: University
important in developing attitudes. A study of textbooks is therefore a study of the attitudes which make up the lowest common denominator of intellectual history.\(^7\)

The textbook is also a barometer of national character. In 1837 Francis J. Grund made this thoughtful observation:\(^8\)

There is probably no better place than a schoolroom to judge the character of a people, or to find an explanation of their national peculiarities. Whatever faults or weaknesses may be entailed upon them, will show themselves there without the hypocrisy of advanced age, and whatever virtue they may possess is reflected without admixture of vice and corruption. In so humble a place as a schoolroom may be read the commentaries on the past, and the history of the future development of a nation.

The important problem for the nineteenth century educator in North America was to develop virtue rather than learning. He was more concerned about the child's moral development than with the development of his mind. Schoolbooks offered both information and standards of behavior and beliefs that the adult world expected the child to make his own.\(^9\)

Theological orientation and explanations of everything were implicit. It was axiomatic that God designed nature for man's physical needs and spiritual training. Increased


\(^8\)Cited in Miller, *op. cit.*, p. ii.

\(^9\)Ibid., pp. ix, 11.
scientific understanding of nature would reveal the greater glory of God, and the practical application of such knowledge was to be encouraged as part of the use God meant man to make of nature. Although religious emphasis changed during the nineteenth century, none of the textbooks is secular, for a sense of God permeates them all.10

Throughout the century, values and actions approved by the textbooks writers are assumed to be blessed by God; conversely, disapproved values and actions are cursed by God. Death, ever present, is a punishment to the guilty but a release to the innocent. To the twentieth-century reader such constant concern with death may seem morbid, but the nineteenth-century child witnessed death far more frequently than does his twentieth-century counterpart. Although the descriptions of death are sentimental, they realistically reflect the high rates of child mortality.11

Nature was presented as against those who break moral laws: the bad boy is bitten by the dog, retribution follows disobedience. On the other hand, exhortation to virtue is frequently backed by the certainty of material reward. The bad child will end up a miserable poverty-stricken adult, but the good child will be a happy and prosperous one.

10 Ibid., pp. 39, 41.
11 Ibid., pp. 42, 43.
Every individual can regulate his life by virtue or vice; in this sense all men are self-made. God allows affluence only to the virtuous man, and it is not only a reward but also a sign of virtue. The Social Darwinism of the late nineteenth century that saw morality in league with riches was simply re-affirming a Puritan lesson taught steadily throughout the nineteenth century, with its origins in the theology and practice of John Calvin.¹²

Riches, then, are virtue's reward, and the self-made man is to be admired. Since progressing economically by honest means is a moral duty, the virtues most helpful to that end are stressed: industry, thrift, frugality, perseverance, and self-denial. They were Puritan values and the end was a Puritan end, but they were virtues in the nineteenth century, necessary for survival on a frontier and equally useful to the expanding industrial economy. But the enjoyment of luxury is not extolled, and self-indulgence, idleness, frivolity and other vices are condemned.¹³

The assumption of the moral character of the universe was fundamental in the textbooks. Religion itself was a matter of morals rather than of theology. Animals and plants follow moral laws: ants store food as moral

¹²Ibid., pp. 213-15.
¹³Ibid., p. 217.
responsibility more than just instinct; and the grasshopper's carelessness is his own fault.¹⁴

The books made no pretense of neutrality. They evaded issues seriously debated in their day and did not advocate social reforms, but took a firm and unanimous stand on matters of basic belief. The value judgement was their stock in trade: love of country; love of God; duty to parents; the necessity to develop habits of thrift, honesty and hard work in order to accumulate property; and the certainty of progress were not to be questioned. Ethics did not evolve, nor were they to be developed by individuals or groups, but were regarded as absolute, unchanging, and coming from God. The child was to learn ethics as he learned information about his world, unquestioning and by rote. His behavior was directed by authority and passively accepted. It was his character that was to be trained, not his powers of critical thought.¹⁵

Boyce sees three forces determining the nature and content of Canadian readers: (1) religion, including morality and a sense of social justice; (2) a widespread spirit of thrift brought in by immigration and a by-product of the struggle for existence; and (3) a growing spirit of

¹⁴Ibid., p. 337.
¹⁵Ibid., pp. 338-39.
Canadian nationhood. The weighting of these three factors was shifting noticeably in the 1860's.

The Irish National Series of readers, authorized in 1846 (all the textbooks authorized for use in Ontario in the 1860's are given in Figure 1), were typical of mid-century reading texts, replete with Bible selections and moral precepts which show the importance of religion in the lives of the people and their concern for the spiritual welfare of their children. From time to time some revisions were made, and in 1866 the number of geography lessons doubled, twice as much poetry was included, there was less moral emphasis, a little patriotism, and a spot of humor. It was a sign of the times—something new and more fitting for Canada was demanded by teachers. They complained that the grading was poor and the material uninteresting, that the science selections were out-dated, that children's interests and needs were largely ignored, and that the selections and make-up of the books were uninviting and even forbidding.


17 Ibid., pp. 71-76.

18 Ibid., pp. 111-113. However, for a highly favorable assessment of the Irish National Readers, see William Sherwood Fox, "School Readers as an Educational Force (A Study of a Century of Upper Canada)," Queen's Quarterly, XXXIX (November, 1934), No. 4.
LIST OF NATIONAL AND OTHER SCHOOL BOOKS FORMERLY SANCTIONED
BY THE COUNCIL OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION FOR USE IN THE COMMON
SCHOOLS OF UPPER CANADA.

The italics indicate those Books which have been superseded by the new series. The Books marked by an asterisk are still used (temporarily) by Teachers in preparing themselves for examination.

NAME OF BOOK, AND WHEN SANCTIONED.

First Book of Lessons.
Second Book of Lessons.
Third Book of Lessons.
Fourth Book of Lessons.
Fifth Book of Lessons for Boys.
Sixth, or Reading Book, for Girls' School.
Introduction to the Art of Reading.
Spelling Book Superseded, (Sullivan's).
English Grammar.
Key to English Grammar.
Robertson's Principles of Grammar, (for Teachers.)
Lennie's English Grammar.
Kirkham's English Grammar.
National Epitome of Geographical Knowledge.
National Compendium of Geographical Knowledge.
Sangster's National Arithmetic in the Decimal Currency. 1850.
Sangster's National Arithmetic in Theory and Practice. 1850.
Sangster's Natural Philosophy.
*National Book-Keeping. 1846.
*Key to Book-Keeping.
*Colenso's Algebra, Part I.
National Elements of Geometry.
National Mensuration.
Appendix to Mensuration.
National Sacred Poetry.
National Lessons on the Truth of Christianity.
Hullih's Vocal Music.
National set of Table Lessons—Arithmetic.
National set of Table Lessons—Spelling and Reading.
National set of Table Lessons—Copy Lines.
Also the National Maps, Maps of Canada and of British America, etcetera. 1846-1853.

Subjoined is a complete list of the Books at present authorized for Public Schools, from which will readily be perceived all the changes that have been made. The dates at which the Books at present in use were severally introduced appended.


LIST OF TEXT BOOKS AUTHORIZED FOR USE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Note.—In the following list, some Books are prescribed, and others are recommended. The use of the Books recommended is discretionary with the respective Public School Boards.

I. ENGLISH.

TEXT BOOKS PRESCRIBED:

Miller's Analytical and Practical English Grammar. (Authorized edition) 1868. National, Kirkham's, Lennie's, Bullions', (for High Schools), and Robertson's, (for Teachers.)

FIGURE 1
II. ARITHMETIC AND MATHEMATICS.

**Text Books Prescribed:**
- Elements of Algebra. Todhunter's, or Sangster's
- Euclid's Elements of Geometry. Pott's, or Todhunter's.

**Text Books Recommended:**
- National and Sangster's.
- National and Sangster's.
- National and Sangster's.
- National.

III. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

**Text Books Prescribed:**
- Varieties in General Geography. By the same. (Authorized edition).
- A School History of the British Empire. By William Francis Collier, LL.D.

**Text Book Recommended:**
- The Great Events of History. By William Francis Collier, LL.D.

**Text Books Recommended:**
- National, Sullivan's and Morse's. (The latter only permitted for a time.)
- White's (for High School.)
- Hodgins' Geography and History of British America.

IV. PHYSICAL SCIENCE.

**Text Books Prescribed:**
- Portions relative to the Mechanical Powers.
- The Animal Kingdom. By Ellis A. Davidson.
- How Plants Grow: A Simple Introduction to Botany, with Popular Flora. By Asa Gray, M.D.

**Text Books Recommended:**
- Sangster's Natural Philosophy, and in the old National Readers.
- White's (for High School.)

V. MISCELLANEOUS.

**Text Books Prescribed:**
- Our Bodies.† By Ellis A. Davidson.
- Easy Lessons on Reasoning. By Archbishop Whetley.
- The Dominion Accountant. By W. R. Orr.

**Text Books Recommended:**
- National Reader, in part.

"The Honorable David Christian, Minister of Agriculture, at the late Provincial Exhibition, thus referred to Doctor Eyreson's "First Lessons in Agriculture":—Doctor Eyreson has published a valuable little work on Agriculture, in which I hope to see made a Text Book in all rural Schools. He has done good service in the Country by compiling the Manual to which I have referred; and I hope he will see to it that the benefit which it may bring to the Country is extended to the Country. It is a good thing for the cause which we desire to promote that we have so able a coadjutor as the Chief Superintendent of Education. I feel convinced that he will soon make Agriculture and Mechanical Instruction a leading feature in our Grammar School teaching.""


National Memorization. .......... 1869 No change.

Scripture Lessons—Old and New Testaments. .......... 1869 No change.

Lessons on the Truth of Christianity. .......... 1869 No change.

Right Lines in their Right Places. By Ellis A. Davidson. .......... 1871 None before.


William Hermes' Drawing Instructor. For advanced Students. .......... 1871 None before.


VI. FRENCH AND GERMAN SCHOOLS.

The following Books approved by the whole Committee of the Council of Public Instruction for Quebec, are also sanctioned for use by French Pupils in Public Schools of this Province in which there are both Protestant and Roman Catholic Pupils.

Cours d'Arithmetique Commerciale. Scacal, Montreal. .......... 1868 None before.

Abridge de la Geographie Moderne. Societé de Education, de Quebec. .......... 1868 None before.


Traité Elementaire d'Arithmetique. (Par F. X. Toussaint). .......... 1868 None before.


For German Schools, Klotz's German Grammar is sanctioned. .......... 1868

BOOKS PRESCRIBED, AND THOSE RECOMMENDED.

It will be seen by the foregoing lists, that some Books are "prescribed" for use in the Public Schools, whilst others are only "recommended." The use of the Books "recommended" is entirely discretionary with the respective Public Schools Corporations. Among the latter class are the "First Lessons in Christian Morals," and some other Books. (See lists.)

AUTHORIZED EDITIONS OF BOOKS, THE PROPERTY OF THE COUNCIL.

The copyright of all the Books in the foregoing lists, marked "Authorized Edition," is vested in the Council of Public Instruction, in the name of the Chief Superintendent.) These Books may be reprinted by any Publisher upon complying with the Regulations of the Council on the subject.
In the pioneer forties, an Irish series was acceptable, but in the sixties Canadians felt they should have a national series, and the occasional references to Canada in less than a favorable light rankled more in a decade of rising nationalism. For example, the Third Book of Reading Lessons, page 38, reported that Greenland, Kamschatka, Holland, and Canada were countries in which the mode of conveying travellers was by sledges, drawn by dogs—an impression to which strong exception was taken when railway locomotives were whistling their way throughout the province.19

The development of religious education programs in the churches and the production of more church literature alleviated the need for religious material in school readers. Biblical material could be de-emphasized in school as religious teaching was shifting more to home, Church, and Sunday School. Aesthetic values were replacing in some degree the religious accent.20

The result of these factors working for change was

19 Memorial for new reading texts submitted to the Education Department by the Board of Public Instruction of the City of Waterloo, 26th June, 1865, cited in J. George Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada (28 vols.; Toronto: Warwick Bros & Rutter, I-VI, L. K. Cameron, VII-XXVIII, 1894-1910), XVIII, 301-02.

the preparation of more suitable readers, the Canadian Series, published in 1867 and authorized for use by the Council of Public Instruction on January 4, 1868.21 The name itself testifies to the nationalistic emphasis, and the selections were much more secular in content, with a large reduction of excerpts from the Bible. It was to counteract this diminished religious emphasis that Ryerson wrote First Lessons in Christian Morals, which was introduced in 1871.22

The new readers were still based on the concept that the impact of the printed word was direct and lasting. Criteria for inclusion of material was23

... the best English authors as are examples of correct style and pure taste. ... At the same time ... attention was given both to the extent and character of the information that they supplied, and

21Alexander Marling, A Brief History of Public and High School Text-Books Authorized for the Province of Ontario, 1846-1889 (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1890), p. 7. The Education Department had a monopoly over the sale and distribution of all school textbooks. Ryerson maintained that the costs of education should be kept low and that the Department could facilitate this goal by placing large orders with publishers willing to produce textbooks at prices specified by the Department, which then sold the books at cost to pupils. Naturally, publishers regarded this as detrimental to them and an impediment to free enterprise. Ryerson was regularly embroiled in controversy with them over the issue, and the debate became particularly acrimonious just prior to the appearance of the new series of readers in 1867. The chief spokesmen for the publishers were George Brown and James Campbell. Cf. Egerton Ryerson, The School Book Question: Letters in Reply to the Brown-Campbell Crusade Against the Educational Department of Upper Canada (Montreal: John Lovell and Sons, 1866), 67 pp.

22Matthews, op. cit., pp. 293-95.

to the influence which they might exert on the young scholar in engaging his interest, stimulating his desire for knowledge, and forming his character.

The series contained more narrative and lyric poetry, and the motive of interesting children in good literature which later became the ascendant consideration had at least a modest beginning here. 24

Although the selections on morality were reduced, they remained similar in content to the earlier series: 25

If we are bad, God will not love us; and we can not go to Him when we die.
God is love, let us seek to do His will.
Let us not walk in the paths of sin.
Let us try to be good and pure, and to do good.

Morality lead to happiness: 26

George and Charles were good boys, and so they were happy. Indeed, it is only the good who, at any time, are really happy. . . .

I think he kept his word, for he had now been taught the lesson we all learn some time or other: that the surest way to be happy is always to "Do Right."

While reading was particularly well-suited to building character, other subjects also emphasized morality. Carpenter wrote in the preface of his speller: 27

24Boyce, op. cit., pp. 85-86.


26Ibid., The First Book of Reading Lessons, Part II, pp. 55, 59.

And to render it more unexceptional to the youth of both sexes, the greatest care has been taken to omit words of an impure and immoral tendency; as the minds of youth cannot be too circumspectly guarded against the admission of improper ideas.

Handwriting offered a double opportunity for moral growth, for the pupil both read the copy which the teacher set down, and then wrote it himself on slate or foolscap. The copy consisted of moral precepts intended to influence the child for good. The duty of being on guard against evil and making the most of life by everyday diligence was constantly inculcated, for example:

Avoid bad company or you will learn their ways.
Be careful in the choice of Companions.
Choose your friends from among the wise and good.
Do not tell a lie to hide a Fault.
Emulate the Good and Virtuous.
Fame may be dearly bought.
Honour your Father and Mother.
Let all your amusement be innocent.
Omit no Opportunity of acquiring Knowledge.
Perseverance overcomes difficulties.
Truth is Mighty and will prevail.
Wisdom is more to be desired than Riches.

Imbibing this spirit, pupils would scribble various rhymes like the following in their books:

Steal not this Book, for fear of shame,
For here you see the owner's name,
And God will say on that great day
This is the Book you stole away.


29Ibid.
Steal not this book, my honest friend,  
For fear the Gallows will be your end.  

Work while you work, play while you play,  
That is the way to be happy and gay.  

There was no sectarian bias in the textbooks, nothing  
to irritate Methodist, Anglican, or Roman Catholic in the  
moral teachings presented. They reflected the philosophy of  
a people and not of a single group.\textsuperscript{30} The dominant impression  
is of bleak and austere religion. Children would conceive of  
God as a judge more than as a friend. God was not pictured  
as one who sought to help, befriend, forgive, and love the  
child, but rather as an authority who weighed the scales of  
justice and meted out rewards or retribution according to the  
child's behavior. It was a theology of works: do good and  
be rewarded; do evil and be punished. God was pictured as  
forbidding and forbidding as the typically stern teacher who  
punished sloth, insubordination, or inability to read or  
spell. Even as the child learned to submit to the onerous  
and unpleasant demands of the classroom, so he was  
conditioned to submit before a God who inexorably demanded  
good behavior. This legalistic approach to religion was a  
distorted application of the teachings of Christ and the  
spirit of the New Testament.  

The characteristics of textbooks were similar  

\textsuperscript{30}Boyce, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 78.
throughout North America. The changes taking place around the sixties were affected also by the fact that teachers and professional educators were beginning to take textbook writing away from the clerics and college Latin professors who had heretofore largely dominated the scene. The most characteristic thing about the new professional slant was the underplaying of religious themes and a reduction of pointed moralizing.31

The McGuffey Readers so widely used in the United States were much more intensely nationalistic than the more cosmopolitan Irish National Series. The new Canadian Series imitated the thrust of McGuffey in response to the intensification of national feeling attendant upon Confederation.32 This enthusiasm for nationalism was felt in other books. One containing orations and recitations published in 1868 sought to promote "the growth of a patriotic spirit among the youth of our country," and strove for good moral tone, instructive and healthy in influence on the mind of the pupil, and which breathed "a spirit of love and loyalty to the institutions of Canada."33

32 Fox, op. cit.
33 Edward Hartley Dewart (ed.), The Canadian Speaker & Elocutionary Reader (Toronto: Adam Miller, 1868), pp. 3-4.
Commonly expressed concepts of education. Character-building through moral training was not the only objective of education in Ontario in the 1860's. New aims were being enunciated in response to social change. These were compatible with the main aim, but developed because education was becoming more ambitious.

The educational aims of pioneer Upper Canada from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the 1840's reflected the comparatively static nature of society, divided into the several social classes. The aristocracy believed education should maintain social stability. The leaders of church and state, with the support of the upper class, were mainly concerned with secondary education for those who would assist and succeed them. They were interested in educating the poor so they could serve better and would know their duties towards their superiors. Private societies and liberal philanthropies were mainly concerned with the moral and religious development of the poor. The gentlemen provided a classical education for their sons, and the schools of the people trained pupils in the three R's for practical purposes of everyday life. The ordinary people remained rather indifferent to educational aims.34

New energy and new directions for education came in

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34 Dhillon, op. cit., pp. 41-42.
the wake of Ryerson's appointment in 1844. While never for a moment questioning the primacy of character-building through religion, he widened the scope of education and fought mightily against any distinctions of class as applicable to educational purposes and processes. He wrote:35

By education I mean not the mere acquisition of certain arts, or of certain branches of knowledge, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects of it for their appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business, and also as members of the civil community in which they live.

In that statement, Ryerson identifies the acquisition of knowledge, vocational training, moral development, and good citizenship as aims of education. He consistently said that education was good for everyone: it made better persons, better citizens, added to the appreciation of life, and enabled people to contribute more to life and to society. He had definite ideas about the political aims of education: it had value in developing an enlightened citizenry who would be able to make intelligent choices in elections and on public issues, and could create a society in which not birth, but equality of educational opportunity determined a person's place in life.36

36Dhillon, op. cit., p. 46.
Public men believed it was in the nature of education to regenerate society. One of the main selling-points of Ryerson and his like-minded Upper Canadian allies was to point to the negative effects of a lack of education. In his Report of 1846 he wrote:37

Pauperism and crime prevail in proportion to the absence of education amongst the labour class and that in proportion to the existence and prevalence of education amongst those classes, is the absence of pauperism and its legitimate offspring [crime].

The link between religion and citizenship was underlined by President Daniel Wilson of the University of Toronto when he said "Moral and religious training must go hand in hand with intellectual culture in the education of our youth, if they are to be fitted for the citizenship of a free country."38

The potential utility of education was beginning to dawn on a larger segment of the population. Phillips quotes a series of statements made in the sixties which illustrate that re-definitions were taking place as new aims in education were enunciated.39 The statements included one by a school inspector who said Canadians "must be prepared to

37 Ryerson, Report on a System, p. 11.
38 Cited in Dhillon, op. cit., p. 53.
act in concert with other nations to regenerate and raise the sunken millions of our species . . . by education of all our classes of people." Ryerson described education as the parent of material riches—"not only the most honest and honorable, but the surest means of amassing property," and he urged parents
to give their children such an education as would enable them to take care and make a proper use of property that might be left to them, or what they might make themselves by their own industry.

A grammar school inspector said:  

That boys and girls should hate what is mean . . . should feel a sympathetic admiration for instances of generous self-sacrifice, is of unspeakably more consequence than that they should be able to demonstrate the propositions of Euclid or to construe Cicero or Homer.

A local superintendent wrote:  "I hope the dawn of better days is approaching when the rising generations, educated in the same schools, are taught to love and practice charity towards each other."

The 1860's were also marked by extensive interest in useful knowledge. Knowledge had been admired for its own sake, but the scientific discoveries put a premium on that knowledge which had practical use in the world. Ryerson encouraged this, for already in his first report he spoke of universality, practicality, and the development of all the faculties as aims of education. By universality, he meant he wanted all children in schools; by practicality, he
meant the importance of useful knowledge and he provided textbooks heavy with content, particularly readers and geographies. The development of the faculties gave grammar an important place, for it and arithmetic were regarded as eminently suited to train the mind.  

He emphasized the utility of schooling:

Our aim should, therefore, be to make that System commensurate with the wants of our people, in harmony with the progressive spirit of the times, and comprehensive enough to embrace the various branches of human knowledge which are now continually being called into requisition in the daily life of the Farmer, the Artizan, and the Man of Business.

It must be noted that statements of aims came from educated men who were involved either in the educational system or in public life, and were therefore in the vanguard of public opinion. That the general public was not yet entirely convinced of the lofty purposes of education is evident in the opposition to compulsory education and the sporadic attendance of children at school. The masses were not as sanguine about the benefits of education as were the educators.

This was demonstrated when the Toronto School Board adopted half-day classes for the Junior (lowest) Divisions

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41 Hodgins, op. cit., XXII, 268.
as a temporary expedient to relieve overcrowding in the summer of 1869. Half the children came in the morning, half in the afternoon. The superintendent and the teachers regarded the arrangement as beneficial to the children, but many parents strongly objected, and their reasons are interesting comments on public sentiment, indicating concepts of education eminently practical and here-and-now oriented.42 Some said they sent their children to school "to keep them out of the way." Some said that "They care not what they learn, if they are kept off the street." Others were quoted as saying

that they could not take the trouble to make their children tidy more than once a day, and that if their youngest child, whose attendance is required under the system only in the afternoon, could not attend both forenoon and afternoon, they should not go to school at all.

Charles Gordon wrote of the no-nonsense view of education prevalent in his youth:43

The ideal of the school was to fit the children for the struggles into which their lives would thrust them, so that the boy who could spell and read and cipher was

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42James Porter, Eleventh Annual Report of the Local Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Toronto, For the Year Ending December 31st, 1869 (Toronto: The Guardian Office, 1870), pp. 8-9. Some, at least, objected on the more rational grounds "that it is impossible that children can learn as much in half a day as they can in a whole day" and therefore the half-day system must be inferior to having school all day.

supposed to be ready for his life work. Those whose ambition led them into the subtleties of Euclid's problems and theorems were supposed to be in preparation for somewhat higher spheres of life.

The common school was to provide the minimum needed for good citizenship and to function practically in life; the grammar school was to prepare leaders and to offer prestige education for the upper class; and the university was reserved for the select few destined to be the political and professional leaders of society.

The concept of the mind as a tool to be sharpened, honed, and polished by the application of certain kinds of subjects to it was widely believed. This was why grammar became more important and why classics continued to be defended as central in the grammar school in the face of popular demands for more science and English. Even Ryerson, who believed in scientific education and in the utility of learning, upheld the theory of mental discipline. In an address to the parliamentary committee investigating the controversial university question in 1860 on the question of whether Oxford training fits men by its mental discipline for the practical duties of statemanship, he quoted from a report of commissioners on Civil Service Examinations in India which said:

\[\text{Hodgins, op. cit., XV, 271-72.}\]
Skill in Greek and Latin versification has, indeed, no direct tendency to form a Judge, a Financier, or a Diplomatist. But the youth who does best, what all the ablest and most ambitious youths about him are trying to do well, will generally prove a superior man. Nor can we doubt that an accomplishment by which Fox and Canning, Grenville, and Wellesley, Mansfield and Tenterden first distinguished themselves above their fellows, indicates powers of mind which, properly trained and directed, may do great service to the State.

**Free and compulsory education.** Two critical and fundamental questions relating to the nature of education were: for whom was it intended and how was it to be financed? The questions were related, for if education was only for the few, the few should pay for it. But if it was meant for all, then there must be some general revenues since lack of money would be a barrier to enlisting all to participate. Finally, if education was for all, how was this ideal of having all in school to be achieved?

At the beginning of Ryerson's superintendency in 1844, the English idea of schools for the poor, supported by subscriptions and voluntary offerings, was still strong in Upper Canada. Bishop John Strachan had strongly advocated an educational system controlled by the Church of England, later modified to separate schools for any denomination that wished them, and he continued to favor church-controlled education throughout his long life.

Already as a young Methodist circuit rider, Ryerson had successfully fought against the concept of special
privileges for any church. He was opposed to fragmenting the public system which was open to all on equal terms. He did not want schools for the privileged class, nor only for those able to pay fees, but believed schools should be free for all so the poor could attend.

Ryerson's background as a Methodist minister who had served the common man and his reading and travels in Europe and the United States brought him to this point of view, which was consonant with continental European liberalism. Ryerson admired particularly the Prussian model of universal education. His view was that of Herr Dinter, whom he quoted in his Report of 1846:

I promised God that I would look upon every Prussian peasant child as a being who could complain of me before God, if I did not provide him the best education, as a man and a Christian, which it was possible for me to provide.

Ryerson believed that if Canadians had a means by which they could regularly educate themselves to the idea of free schools, they would gradually accept them. In his very first proposal to the Legislature in 1846 he advocated giving local authorities the power to introduce taxation in support of free schools. In discussing the progress of the bill in a letter to Attorney-General Draper, Ryerson

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indicated some of the difficulties ahead.\textsuperscript{46}

I anticipate some objection on the \textit{rate bill} clause. I look upon that above all others to be the poor man's clause, & at the very foundation of a system of public education, & I hope you will not give it up. It is objected to by precisely the class of persons—or rather by the individuals that I expected. I have heard of one rich man objecting to it—a Methodist—a magistrate—a man who educates his own children at College & in Ladies' Seminaries—but who looks not beyond his own family. He says, I am told, "he does not wish to be compelled to educate all the brats in the neighbourhood." Now to educate "all the brats" in every neighbourhood is the very object of this clause of the bill; & in order to do so, it is proposed to compel selfish rich men to do what they ought to do, but what they will not do voluntarily.

This provision was not enacted in 1846, but was included in the School Act of 1850. Every school section was required to discuss school financing at the annual school

\begin{quotation}
\textsuperscript{46}Egerton Ryerson to W. H. Draper, April 20, 1846, cited in C. B. Sissons, \textit{Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters} (2 vols.; Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, & Company Limited, 1937, 1947), II, 101. In the sixties, when free schools were in the majority, some parents blamed them for developing insolence in their children. Hodgins reported that people said that since the schools are free, children are not obligated to their parents for their education and so in the United States and Canada the spirit of disrespect and disobedience to parents is fostered. But Hodgins, like Ryerson, never one to allow blame to fall on the schools unchallenged, argued that it was the parents who made the schools free, and so children should feel obligation still! As the parents had blamed the school for delinquency, Hodgins turned the charge around and said: "The sin of disobedience and disrespect could not, therefore, be laid at the door of the Public Schools. It lay deeper. It was a social and domestic evil, originating in want of firmness and authority on the part of the parent, not in the Schools or School System of the Country." Hodgins, \textit{op. cit.}, XVII, 291.
\end{quotation}
meeting and to decide whether or not to have a general tax and to make the schools free. Ryerson was right, for with each passing year more schools became free by local option, until by 1871 more than ninety per cent were free.

But opponents of free education had many ideological and practical reasons to oppose it. The main reasons marshalled against it were: (1) those who chose to send their children to school should pay extra for the privilege; (2) the principle of general property tax for school purposes was "communistic" and an "outrageous robbery"; (3) people would not value highly an education that cost them little or nothing. However, the underlying reason for many was that the plan touched their pockets in the form of taxes.

Ryerson knew it was necessary to have compulsory education together with free education, and his opponents objected to this with equal vehemence. Reasons offered against the enforced attendance of children at school included: (1) compulsory education was of the essence of Prussian despotism, "an impertinent and unjustifiable interference with the rights of British subjects"; (2) the plan was entirely impractical and too comprehensive for a young country like Canada; (3) it would break down class

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distinctions among the young, for the task of the schools "should be the preservation of the natural and normal relations of society"; and (4) the fear that a general ability to read and write would greatly increase the crime of forgery, undoubtedly the most pessimistic reason of all. The concept of making all pay, whether or not they had children in school, and of compelling every child to attend was distasteful to many Upper Canadians. The Reverend John Roaf called upon the citizens of Toronto "to spurn the unrighteous counsel which is introducing communism in education to the undermining of property and society." He pointed to the French Revolution as the sort of abyss to which "this plausible socialism" would lead. The renowned lawyer and liberal, Edward Blake, directed a vigorous campaign against the passage of the bill to provide compulsory education in free schools. Doctrinaire liberalism insisted on the rights of the individual; compulsory education trampled on these rights, liberals asserted. Exclusive conservatism wished to retain the privileges of the upper classes; free and compulsory education would have a

48Dhillon, op. cit., p. 49.


50Toronto Globe, January 31, 1852.
levelling effect, they maintained. Thus both sides had ideological and emotional grounds on which to oppose the plan.51

The bases for the arguments lay overseas. After 1789, state-controlled education, universal, obligatory, and free became one of the leading conceptions of European continental liberalism. But English liberal thinkers denounced state education and zealously insisted on the right of individual freedom in education no less than in religion. The continental liberals regarded education as a legitimate public service, like military defense or the administration of justice, a service whose cost and advantages were shared by all citizens; but the majority of responsible Englishmen down to 1870 thought of public education as a gift conferred by the well-to-do and by the country upon the laboring poor.52

Ryerson was clearly with the continental liberals. His annual report for 1864 included this exposition of the rights of a child in society:53

It is now generally admitted that each child has as much right to the growth of its mind as its body. The

nakedness and starvation of a child's mind, is, therefore, more criminal than the nakedness and starvation of his body; and thus the obligation to educate a child is more imperative than to clothe and feed him. This is clear, whether we reason from the claims of the individual, or from the obligations of parents and of society, or from the will of God as indicated by His Providence and His Word.

The obligations of parents and society are co-extensive with the rights of the individual. To provide for universal education, therefore, is to recognize the highest rights of individual humanity; and to promote the best interests of society; as education is a most potent instrument to prevent crime and develop the original and essential elements of the wealth and civilization of people; for there is no instance of a people being wealthy and civilized, much less free and great, in the absence of education. The fact that education is a public interest is the ground on which public provision is made for its support. Education—Universal Education—is a public necessity, as well as a public interest.

Ryerson and his supporters maintained that free and compulsory education was the source of a nation's safety, morality, and intelligence. It benefitted the whole community and therefore should be paid for by all. The many vagrant children, often called "Street Arabs," were a powerful visual stimulus for compulsory education, for city schools in the sixties were free but children could not be compelled to enroll.

Early in 1869 Ryerson presented proposed new school legislation to each Ontario County Educational Convention and received overwhelming support. In December, 1869 the comprehensive bill was brought to the Legislature but was withdrawn in the face of strong opposition. It was introduced
again a year later, and in spite of spirited opposition led by Edward Blake and attacks in the press, the bill passed its third reading on February 14, 1871, and received royal assent the next day. Despite agitation and opposition, there is no doubt that the Act met with general public approval.\textsuperscript{54}

Three important provisions were these: (1) all public elementary schools were to be free, financed by taxes on all taxable property; (2) attendance was compulsory for children from seven to twelve years old for a minimum of four months per year; and (3) standard qualifications were established for both inspectors and teachers.\textsuperscript{55}

Ryerson had built carefully. In 1850 only 8% of common schools were free, in 1860 68%, and in 1870, the year before free schools were enacted, 93% of the common schools were free schools.\textsuperscript{56} The School Act of 1871 was the last major legislation Ryerson introduced before his retirement in 1876. It was the crowning achievement of his work, and the foundation of the modern Ontario school system.

Ontario's free school legislation was not the first in Canada. Quebec passed free school legislation in 1846, Prince Edward Island in 1852, Nova Scotia in 1865, Vancouver Island in 1865 (repealed in 1869 and re-enacted in 1872 for

\textsuperscript{54}Hodgins, \textit{Documentary History}, XXII, 222; Sissons, \textit{Egerton Ryerson}, II, 584.

\textsuperscript{55}Hodgins, \textit{Documentary History}, XXII, 213-14.

\textsuperscript{56}Ryerson, \textit{Annual Report}, 1870, pp. 86-88.
the then united province of British Columbia), Ontario in 1871, New Brunswick in 1872, Manitoba in 1873, and the Northwest Territories in 1884.57

However, in Ontario the legislation was the acknowledgement of an achievement, as nearly all schools were voluntarily free when the law was passed. In the rest of Canada, legislation was passed before the people were ready for it, and years elapsed before local taxation was enforced and the laws made operative. Ontario was far ahead in getting her children into the schools. Because of the careful fostering of public participation in education, Ontario's school laws were actually a ratification of public sentiment rather than a means of influencing public attitudes.

The nature of education in Ontario was defined and shaped largely by Ryerson. He wrote the blueprint for Ontario education in his Report of 1846 and went to work with singular devotion, tenacity, and vigor to develop it. He told the people what he wanted and why, and proceeded to convince them he was right. He stated the two cardinal principles of his administration as early as 1846:58

A universal and compulsory system of primary and industrial education is justified by considerations of


economy as well as humanity; and that religion and morality, though not sectarian, must have a central place in any system of education.

His appeal to the centrality of Christianity in teaching morality, his emphasis on basic religious principles rather than denominational doctrines in the schools, his insistence that schooling should be made available for all, rich and poor, struck responsive chords in the hearts of the majority of Ontarians. Sissons has summed up his contribution with these words:59

He had played a part, as great as that of any Canadian, in striking off the fetters of privilege that were cramping the province of his birth. Then he had led its people into a larger view of their duty in respect of education. True it was socialism, continental rather than English, and as such resisted both by unselfish conservatives and doctrinaire liberals. But in his creed, it was necessary and good. Gradually as he was able to secure public support, and pegging down each advance by careful legislation, he improved his system till its excellence was recognized and acclaimed even beyond Canada. But as liberty and law ever walk hand in hand, so he saw his later work as the complement of his earlier.

PART III. PRACTICE IN EDUCATION

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMMON SCHOOLS

The extent of free and compulsory education. Between 1845 and 1871 enrollment in the common schools in Ontario increased at a rate approximately twice the population growth, from 96,000 to 446,000 children. In 1844 the school year was less than eight months; in 1871 it was over eleven months. In 1871 the ordinary period of schooling was probably about five years for a child, or nearly twice the amount compared with pioneer days.\(^1\)

From 1860 to 1870 the number of pupils in common schools grew from 315,812 to 442,518, the percentage of schools that were free jumped from 66% to 93%, and the number of schools from 3969 to 4566.\(^2\) Ryerson's annual reports from 1860 to 1870 reveal that the percentage of children from five


\(^2\)Egerton Ryerson, Annual Report of the Normal, Model, Grammar, and Common Schools, in Ontario, 1870 (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1871), pp. 86-88. These figures include Roman Catholic Separate Schools, which were a part of the common school system, but do not include grammar schools, academies, private schools, or universities. In the annual reports and elsewhere common and grammar school children were uniformly referred to as "pupils." The more substantial term "students" was reserved for youth at colleges, universities, and the Normal School.
to sixteen years of age enrolled increased from approximately 80% in 1860 to 90% in 1870.\(^3\)

With these impressive achievements, one may wonder why Ryerson continued to press so mightily for free and compulsory education, to extol the benefits of education for the individual and for humanity, to write, speak, cajole, and fight for further extensions of the benefits of the school system. The reason is to be found not only in his idealism, but very practically in the attendance records of the pupils enrolled. The average daily attendance of pupils enrolled was well below the 50% level during the sixties. In 1863, for example, it was 38% of the total enrollment, in 1867 it was but 41%.\(^4\)

\(^3\)The school age population included only children from five to sixteen years of age, but children up to age twenty-one were eligible to attend common schools. The separate categories in Ryerson's annual reports can result in misinterpretations. Varying calculations are sometimes found in the reports when reproduced in Hodgins' Documentary History.

\(^4\)J. George Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada (28 vols.; Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, I-VI, L. K. Cameron, VII-XXVIII, 1894-1910), XX, 88; George W. Ross, The School System of Ontario: Its History and Distinctive Features (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), p. 189. Ross, the Minister of Education when he wrote this book (and later Premier of Ontario), also reported that by 1894 the average attendance had risen to only 56%. He explained this was partly due to Ontario's keeping record not of the days a school is open, but by the official number of teaching days in a year, and some schools closed early and so lowered their average attendance. For an analysis of average attendance for the year 1871 in Ontario, see
In Toronto in 1860 there were 4,911 pupils enrolled in the city common school system, but the average monthly register, that is, the average number of pupils registered each month was 2,846 7/11 and the average monthly attendance was 2,284 4/11. While an impressive majority of little Ontarians were enrolled in school at some time during the year, they came less than half the time. This is why those associated with the schools desired compulsory education.

The Toronto Board and its superintendent tried to ascertain why children were not more regular. In 1863 when an estimated one in six was not enrolled at all, the Board made a special investigation. The results of their survey showed that 453 children were employed, 263 were needed at home, 128 were sick, 217 were regarded as too young by their parents or lived too far from the schools, 39 had lately

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Inspector David Fotheringham's presentation to the Ontario Teachers' Association Convention in 1873, cited in Hodgins, op. cit., XXV, 224-25. Truant officers to enforce the provisions for compulsory attendance were not appointed until 1891.

5 James Porter, Second Annual Report of the Local Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Toronto, for the Year Ending December 31st, 1860 (Toronto: Maclear & Co., 1861), pp. 7-8. Porter was meticulous and fractions are regularly employed in his reports.

6 M. C. Urquhart and K. A. Buckley (eds.), Historical Statistics of Canada (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1965) give average attendance figures for pupils enrolled in elementary and secondary schools from 1867 and these range from 41% to 45% from 1867-1870, p. 589.
come to the city, 216 stayed home for want of clothes, and there was no return from 316.⁷

When attendance dipped in 1866, Superintendent Porter asked his teachers for information on the problem.⁸ One lady teacher believed the unhealthy locality of the school and the "want of proper School accommodation" were the causes. Another reported:

That in June and July, 1865, the average attendance in her room was over 90, and that, during those two hot months, she was frequently obliged to close the back door and windows, on account of the offensive smell from the playground, while it was impossible to keep the front door or windows open, because of the annoyance of rude boys from the street. From that time the attendance rapidly diminished.

The same teacher said if there were two or three pupils from one family in the school and one was promoted to a higher division in another school, the parents were unwilling to separate them and so two or three might be lost by one promotion. Trustees wanted to have large numbers of pupils before hiring more teachers, but the over-crowded classrooms were a factor in keeping children from school.

Another woman teacher reported a variety of catastrophes as causative factors: sickness caused by overcrowding in the room and the unhealthy condition of the

⁷Hodgins, op. cit., XVIII, 93.

⁸The following material is from Porter, Annual Report, 1866, pp. 6, 48-54.
building; the Fenian raid; and the less gloomy reason of numerous Sunday School "pic-nics" in July. In one school the teachers visited the parents and this boosted attendance again. A man teacher said that boys from twelve years old and upwards were finding employment in stores, factories, or any other jobs they could find.

The headmasters summed up the reasons. One reported that children left to find work at an earlier age, citing thirteen girls from ten to fourteen years old who had left school, six to go into domestic service and seven to various trades. The high price of provisions was offered as a reason for seeking jobs, and the need of parents for children's earnings. Some mothers worked and children stayed home to look after younger siblings. At one school the average age of boys leaving for work was twelve.

But underlying most of the reasons was the greatest obstacle of all: parental apathy. Too many parents still did not feel the necessity of insisting on regular attendance. Perhaps some felt it was too fast a change from their generation, when schooling was so very meager, to expect their children to attend regularly and faithfully; and children were a decided economic asset, whether working at home on the farm or bringing home wages in the city.

School buildings. Parents were not yet 100% for regular school attendance, and the children were less so.
One of the drawbacks has been indicated: the uncomfortable and drab facilities that were characteristic of Ontario schools. But as in so many areas of education in the sixties, improvement was in process. Descriptions of primitive log schoolhouses and pretentious castle-like brick structures are both characteristic of the sixties. Some of the best schools were in the cities, as well as some very bad ones, but by and large cities made the greatest advances in the sixties because their population growth was pushing them into new school construction, and often civic pride dictated the erection of showplaces. While many city and town schools were forced to expand, rural school sections were able to function with older buildings for a longer period as population in country townships grew slowly.

In 1860, 1,662 of a total of 3,996 schoolhouses were made of logs, 1,511 were frame, and the rest stone or brick.\(^9\)

There were many complaints about log schools, but the census of 1861 reported 103,565 of the total of 200,854 houses in Upper Canada were log, 81,901 frame, and the rest stone or brick.\(^10\) So the people were doing better by their schools than by themselves, at least in type, if not quality, of

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construction. In 1870, 1,406 of 4,590 schools were of log, the percentage having decreased from 42% in 1860 to 31% in 1870.11

Schools were often built on poor sites, especially in the early days. Often the lots were low-lying or in the woods. The exterior of the buildings was often rough and unpainted and seldom was a proper playground provided. Sometimes there was no well, and pupils took turns hiking to a nearby farm to get a pail of drinking water.

There are many descriptions of the one room school. Generally they were about eighteen to twenty-four feet square, and about seven or eight feet high to the eaves. The roof was shingled, the spaces between the logs chinked with clay, and the inside floored, sometimes simply with loose planks. Early schools had long benches without backs, rough-hewn, usually of pine, eighteen to twenty-four inches high. Younger pupils sat uncomfortably with legs dangling in the air. Some children tried to sit cross-legged, like tailors. Many excuses would be employed to get up and walk around, and as six or eight pupils might sit on one bench, "let me in; let me out" were often heard.12

Older scholars sat at writing desks that were long,

11Hodgins, op. cit., XXII, 252.

12J. George Hodgins, Ryerson Memorial Volume (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1889), pp. 109-10.
sloping shelves attached around the walls where small windows provided some light. The large box stove in the middle of the room roasted those close by on cold winter days, but children near drafty doors, windows, and walls shivered with cold.

Such schools are more typical of the pioneer days, but were by no means uncommon in the sixties. Even in 1870 93% of Ontario's schools had but one room and one teacher. The number of log schools decreased both in number and proportion in the sixties, because new schools were usually of frame construction. Desks for only two pupils each placed in rows replaced both the backless benches and the slanting window desks. Some fine stone and brick one room schools were also built in rural areas (see Figures 2 and 3).

Ryerson encouraged the building of commodious and well-equipped schools. He used Henry Barnard's treatise on "School Architecture" and other publications to good advantage in urging trustees to build proper buildings. He regularly printed blueprints in the Journal of Education (see Figure 4) and circulated suggestions to encourage and assist trustees in replacing log buildings with something better. He wrote: "It was requisite that the interior of

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FIGURE 2
STONE SCHOOL, JORDAN, ONTARIO, BUILT IN 1859

FIGURE 3
DICKSON'S HILL BRICK SCHOOL, PIONEER VILLAGE, ONTARIO, BUILT IN 1861
(Color photographs by F. Henry Johnson)
FIG. III.—PLAN IX. FIRST FLOOR.

A—Front entrance for Maters, etc.
B—Girls' entrance, with mats, scrapers, hooks for clothes, a sink, pump, basin, etc.
C—Boys' entrance, with do. do.
D—Reception rooms, connected by sliding doors.
E—Platforms for recreation, with blackboard in the rear.
F—Teacher's platform.
H—Library and apparatus.
I—Windows, with inside Venetian blinds.
J—Flues for ventilation in the outer wall.
K—Flue for ventilation, lined with smooth, well seasoned boards.
L—Bell-rings, accessible to the teacher by an opening in the wall.
M—Hot air registers.

FIG. IV.—PLAN IX. SECOND FLOOR.

FIG. V.—PLAN X. FIRST FLOOR.

A—Front entrance.
B—Girls' entrance.
C—Boys' entrance.
D—Centre aisle, eight feet.
E—Aisle between each range of seats and desks, two feet four inches.
F—Side aisle, four feet four inches.
G—Space five feet wide.
H—Teachers' platforms and desks.
the School-house should be rendered as clean and comfortable as possible. There was much true philosophy in the erection of a good School-house." In 1871, the first legislation on schoolhouse accommodation was passed and regulations were adopted establishing minimum standards for schools.

In cities many large brick or stone multi-storied and ornate schools were built, of which the city fathers were justly proud. These large edifices served as central schools as a rule, serving older children from a wide area of the city. These schools had two kinds of classrooms: the conventional with fixed desks in rows on the level; and the gallery which had seats that rose one above another to a height of six or seven feet to bring the heads of the children in the rear above those in front, so all could be in full view of the teacher.

Almost without exception the schools of the sixties had blackboards. In 1869 one-quarter also had globes, and over three-quarters had maps, an over-all average of about six maps per school. The Educational Depository established by the Education Department in 1853 provided

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14Hodgins, Documentary History, XVI, 81.

15Ibid., XXIII, 221.


17Ryerson, Annual Report, 1869, p. 9.
library books, maps, globes, and school apparatus to schools at one-half cost, and this was a good incentive for trustees to equip schools with at least a minimum of teaching aids.

The curriculum. The three "R's," reading, 'riting, and 'rithmetic, were fundamental in the common schools. Spelling and reading were the first order of business for beginners. The traditional way was to begin by learning the alphabet, then to form words by spelling, and then to read. Spelling and reading were intertwined in this process.¹⁸ Later the child learned to print and to write. When the pupil could write, he was introduced to ciphers and so could begin arithmetic. In this way, writing and arithmetic were linked together somewhat as spelling and reading were. These four subjects formed the basic curriculum of the common school, and a great many pupils studied little else in their school days.

However, by the beginning of the sixties two new subjects, grammar and geography, had found their way into the common school curriculum. These were not drastic innovations, as grammar had long been taught in academies and grammar schools, and pupils had been introduced to geography via their readers. But since more children were

¹⁸But in the sixties all the basic modern approaches to teaching reading were known, and will be discussed in chapter XI, "Techniques of Teaching."
staying in school longer than the pioneer-day average of nine to fifteen months altogether, children could study additional subjects.¹⁹

Both new subjects reflected educators' concern for preparing children to become effective adults, particularly as future citizens of a democracy, for responsible government required responsible citizens. Geography would impart a knowledge of the world and grammar was necessary to develop powers of thought and speech. Grammar was a good "mental discipline" subject and regarded as an excellent preparation for the study of foreign languages. It was then regarded as normative of language rather than merely descriptive of it.²⁰

Geography became more important as Confederation became an issue, as a union required an intelligent and informed electorate. The importance of science, or natural philosophy, was recognized, but was restricted to reading selections in the readers. In an essay delivered at a teachers' meeting, the local superintendent, Rev. R. Hay, declared:²¹


²⁰Ibid.; Hodgins' Documentary History, V, 273-74, offers a sample of the type of exercise textbook writers in the nineteenth century delighted in: "The lady said in speaking of the word that, that that that, that that gentleman parsed was not that that, that she had requested him to analyze."

²¹Minutes, York Township Teachers' Association, 1869 (Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario).
A knowledge of the Natural Sciences were [sic] of more importance than a knowledge of the Classics. Living in a fast age where time is considered valuable, we must drift with the age in improvement.

History was well-represented in the readers, and some Canadian history books were appearing in the sixties, but during this period history remained secondary to geography in importance.

Phillips points out that before 1850 local communities had substantial control over the curriculum offered in their schools, but after 1850 had almost none as the uniform curriculum was more carefully imposed. But the main concern was not to restrict local development as much as to induce fuller application of the curriculum suggested. A hundred years later the trend is reversing, as local communities are re-acquiring a larger voice in their curricula.22

**Segregation of the sexes.** The differences between the sexes was taken extremely seriously in the Victorian 1860's. Coeducation, or "the promiscuous commingling of the sexes" as it was called by its opponents, was regarded with mistrust or even alarm, particularly for adolescents. Since above 93% of Ontario schools were of the one-room variety, coeducation was a necessity in the great majority of common schools. When the enrollment became too large for one

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teacher, another one-room school was established nearby. But in cities and towns, and sometimes in rural schools, when the number of pupils reached the dividing point and it was more feasible to add another room, the division was regularly made on the basis of sex rather than age or ability, and a male and a female department was established. When further expansion became necessary, these departments were sub-divided into divisions based on age and achievement. Boys and girls entered the school buildings by separate entrances and stairways and had separate playgrounds. In Toronto, each school had separate bookcases marked "Male" and "Female."^24

The attitude of the Provincial Department of Education was evident in the practice of segregating the sexes in the Toronto Normal and Model Schools which were under its direct supervision. Ryerson was particularly sensitive about the mixing of the sexes in the grammar schools, and the male and female students at the Normal School were forbidden even to speak with one another at any time.

The written examinations given at the Provincial Model School, a common school attached to the Toronto Normal

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School, had separate papers for male and female pupils. There was male and female arithmetic, algebra, history, grammar, and other subjects. This was not an effort to humanize the subject matter, but an applications of the belief that boys and girls had different sorts of minds. Therefore, examinations were prepared appropriate to the capacities of each sex.25

Belief in the innate differences between the sexes was the basic reason for the practice of segregation. Women were regarded as intellectually inferior but morally superior to men, and both beliefs reinforced the tradition of separating the sexes.26 It was believed that coeducation would corrupt the morals of the youth of the land; it would offend the delicate sensibilities of a Victorian society. In 1865 when the Toronto trustees' Committee on School Management proposed that boys and girls in the Primary Divisions be united so that all pupils in the First Book class could be separated from those in the Second Book class for greater efficiency, Superintendent Porter strongly objected and won the day. This would be a step backward, not forward, he asserted. It would shock parental common sense and instinctive feelings, and injure the schools.

25 Provincial Model School Final Examination Papers are in the Ontario Provincial Archives, Toronto.

His abhorrence of commingling the sexes, even when the children involved ranged in age from five to eight, was sufficiently strong to cause him to oppose a more efficient organization of the schools.27

George Paxton Young, Inspector of Grammar Schools from 1864-68, was firmly opposed to coeducation in the grammar schools:28

Girls who may have enjoyed no domestic advantages and who do not understand the beauty of a "meek and quiet spirit" are in danger of being drawn, by the feelings that they are playing their part in the presence of boys, into an unfeminine rudeness of behaviour towards their teacher. A girl who is destitute of refinement of nature, more readily becomes insolent or sullen at having her self-love wounded in the presence of boys, than she would if surrounded by companions of her own sex. At any rate, the important practical point remains that when a girl does so far forget herself as to be disrespectful to a teacher, there is a vastly greater evil in its permanent effects on her character when the fault is committed before boys.

Thus coeducation would disrupt discipline, while segregation would improve the quality of pupils' work as they could apply themselves more diligently to their studies undisturbed by close association with the opposite sex. This view was a carryover from Europe, where the sexes had long been segregated in school.

However, coeducation was not without its advocates,

27 Porter, Annual Report, 1865, pp. 77-78.

28 Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty (eds.), Canada and Its Provinces (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Company, 1914), XVIII, 381.
who defended it on the practical basis of its economy, for it was less expensive to have one room for each division than separate rooms with multiple divisions. But they also defended coeducation on the very grounds on which it was attacked. They maintained that integration would actually enhance discipline and morality—instead of the boys corrupting the girls morally and the girls corrupting the boys intellectually, the opposite would take place, for girls would inspire boys and boys would improve girls according to their respective strengths. Champions of the cause could wax eloquent in extolling coeducation:

All admit the benign, the hallowing and ennobling influence of the female character, when she holds the position in society to which she is entitled. Not only does her presence restrain rudeness and impropriety of every sort—it spreads around the fireside, the social circle, and the public place of meeting, a grace and a charm all their own. Deprive men of the refining power of female society, and he soon approaches to, if not actually sinks into, barbarism; exclude the female, and prevent her from association with the male, and equal, if not more disastrous, will be the results. She will fall, both intellectually and morally. . .

. . . The girls morally elevate the boys, and the boys intellectually elevate the girls. But more than this, the girls themselves are morally elevated by the presence of boys, and the boys are intellectually elevated by the presence of girls.

Despite their prestige and doggedness, the opponents of coeducation were fighting a holding action in the sixties,

and in the seventies they were in full retreat as coeducation became almost universal in the public system. Even Toronto, a bastion of segregation throughout the sixties and early seventies, acceded to the demands of progress and pre-occupation with dangers of coeducation diminished.

Coeducation was one area in which the rural areas showed the way to the cities. It was never practical in the country, and no esoteric theories were brought to bear on the topic there. The application of the theories of grading and school organization when applied in force in city schools finally forced segregation out, although the separate entrances and vestibules remain a characteristic of Canadian school architecture.

**Grading.** Early schools in Upper Canada used the "individual method" of instruction, in which each pupil progressed through the textbook at his own speed. Enlightened as this may at first seem to twentieth century teachers, attuned to individual needs in the classroom—it was in fact devoid of personalized instruction, for the pupil simply memorized his way through the book, learning sections indicated by the teacher and then reciting them. Reading and spelling were taught collectively to some extent as groups gathered around the teacher to read and spell aloud.

The fifties and sixties saw more educators criticizing this method and extolling the "simultaneous method" in which
children were grouped by ability and taught together. Grading provided many answers to the problems posed by having many children in one school. Teachers were able to adapt subject matter to the interest and ability levels of pupils more effectively. Grading aided discipline for children could be more easily managed if taught together, and it decreased the long periods of seatwork necessary under the old method. It appealed to teachers' sense of efficiency, for all children were compartmentalized and standards of achievement were established for each level. This appealed to the Victorian educator's fondness for competition by providing an examination hurdle for every grade. Some city schools were sending reports home to parents indicating their children's progress in the various subjects. All this made education more "scientific," as categories of achievement were prescribed and applied.30

Grading also appealed to trustees as a way to save money, for they reasoned that it would enable teachers to

30W. H. Wells, The Graded School, (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1867), p. 7 offered this definition: "A Graded School is a school in which the pupils are divided into classes according to their attainments, and in which all the pupils of each class attend to the same branches of study at the same time." F. Henry Johnson, "Changing Conceptions of Discipline and Pupil-Teacher Relations in Canadian Schools" (Doctor of Pedagogy thesis, University of Toronto, 1952), pp. 160-61; J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910 (3 vols.; Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1910), I, 128.
handle larger numbers of children efficiently. Much of the search for better school organization was to forestall the necessity of hiring additional staff. Grading also brought the threat of reduced pupil freedom for it led to more regimentation in the classroom.

John Herbert Sangster, later a master and then principal (1866-71) of the Toronto Normal School, was a pioneer of the grading system in Ontario. In 1855, when superintendent of schools in Hamilton, he went to study the schools of New York, Pennsylvania, and the New England States. He admired the Boston system most and introduced a modification of it in Hamilton. Each ward there had a small school for young children to learn the three R's, and after two years they went to the large central school of ten divisions where each pupil spent six months in each division or grade; it was a seven-year (2-5) system.31

However, in the 1860's the major divisions in grading were three: junior or primary, intermediate, and senior, or simply Divisions I, II, and III. In the seventies Ryerson's concept, a four-book, eight grade system became the pattern. The first four books of readers were the key to progress, and

ordinarily pupils stayed in each book for two years.\textsuperscript{32}

Toronto introduced the graded system in the late fifties. To illustrate the nature of grading, the limit table in effect in Toronto in 1861 is given:\textsuperscript{33}

City of Toronto: Standard for the Attainments of the pupils in the respective Divisions of the city Public Schools, having especial reference to the transfer of pupils from a lower to a higher Division, and to the periodical combined examination of selected pupils.

I.---Reading and Spelling.
Division 1.--1st and 2nd National Reader.
Division 2.--Sequel to 2nd and 3rd National Reader.
Division 3.--4th and 5th National Reader.
Sullivan's Spelling-Book Superseded.
N.B.--Pupils in 3rd Division to be exercised in Spelling, by means of Dictation.

II.---Writing.
Division 1.--Pupils in 2nd Reader to write on slates, to the extent of combining three letters, without capitals.
Division 2.--A plain text hand, including capitals and figures.
Division 3.--A good commercial hand.

III.---Arithmetic.
Division 1.--Notation and Numeration, to nine places of figures. Simple Addition and Subtraction. The Multiplication Table. Simple Multiplication as far as by 12; and Simple Division, Long Division excepted.
Division 2.--Sangster's Elementary Arithmetic to page 80 inclusive.
Division 3.--The remainder of Sangster's Elementary Arithmetic.

The table also gave the standards of attainment in English Grammar, Geography, History, Mensuration, Algebra, and Geometry.

\textsuperscript{32}Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950, p. 17.

\textsuperscript{33}Porter, Annual Report, 1861, pp. 68-69.
When grading was introduced into a school, sometimes a pupil was allowed to be in an advanced group in one subject and in a lower group in another, similar to the level system in use today. However, in the 1860's this arrangement was regarded as an expedient; the ideal was to have all pupils together in the subjects of their division. Today the opposite is true, and a school which can arrange to have pupils operating at different levels in the several subjects is regarded as a superior school.

The introduction of grading caused some problems at first. One writer, commenting on the adoption of the Education Department's limit table in the local school in 1869 wrote:

... when we consider that the old style in vogue before that was to teach reading and spelling as the main things, and advance from form to form as the pupils became proficient in these, independent of how much or how little they knew of other studies, we can easily see how unpopular a movement for grading would be to one who was in the Fifth Book and could not do short division. ... There was, however, a general turning back and a considerable amount of howling, but as more stress was put on arithmetic and other studies that, according to the limit table, they were most behind in, the matter began to adjust itself.

As grading was introduced and more pupils enrolled in the large multi-roomed schools, some internal organization

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34 Forrester, op. cit., p. 509.

of staff became necessary. In schools of two rooms, the division was automatic: a man had charge of the boys' class, and a woman taught the girls. When there were more than two rooms, a man was appointed head master. He was in charge of the male department and had the overall supervision of the school. A head mistress was appointed over the female department. Each head also taught a class of pupils. The concept of an administrative principal in an elementary school was unknown in the sixties. The local superintendent had authority over all the schools and did a considerable amount of administrative work for the individual schools in his jurisdiction.

Other staff members were designated "assistant teachers" and were responsible to their respective heads. Junior teachers were advised to take "obstinate and insubordinate" children to the head teacher to avoid severe and hasty treatment.36 Enterprising teachers who desired to become head masters had limited opportunities, for in 1870 there were still only 322 of the 4,566 common schools (one in fourteen) in Ontario with more than one teacher.37

36James Porter, "Diary of the Local Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Toronto," October 4, 1861. Porter's diaries are in the Records Room, Toronto Education Centre.

37Hodgins, Documentary History, XXII, 251.
The school day and the school year. Prior to 1860 Upper Canadian schools were in session six hours a day, and only alternate Saturdays were holidays. The vacation periods consisted of eight days at Christmas, eight more at Easter, and the first two weeks in August. There was no provision in the school law for recesses during the day as this was left to the discretion of local boards of trustees.38

On July 10, 1860, the Council of Public Instruction adopted a revised policy for holidays and vacations in the common and grammar schools. It retained the daily six hour limit (exclusive of the noon hour) and permitted local trustees to reduce it if they so desired. The Easter holidays, with the exception of Good Friday, were abolished, the eight day Christmas vacation was retained, and every Saturday became a holiday. In cities, towns, and incorporated villages only the summer vacation was extended from two to four weeks, beginning with the first Monday in August; other places retained the two week pattern, also from the first Monday in August.39

Thus during the sixties the five-day, thirty-hour school week was in effect in Ontario. The day began at

38Ibid., IX, 195.

nine o'clock in the morning, school adjourned for an hour at noon for lunch, commenced again at one o'clock and closed at four. It was general practice to have a recess both in the morning and in the afternoon. In some schools a rude sundial on the window sill might still be the only time-piece.

Ryerson took pride in the long school terms in Ontario. In his annual reports he would regularly compare the Ontario schedule with that of leading states in the United States. In his report for 1869, for example, he wrote that the average time of keeping schools open, including holidays, was eleven months and four days in Ontario, and added that this was nearly twice the average of Pennsylvania and Ohio, and about three months more than New York and Massachusetts. He stated candidly that the chief reason for attaining this record was the practice of making apportionments of the School Fund to school sections not on the basis of population, but according to time of keeping schools open and average attendance. This financial pressure was a strong incentive to trustees to follow the provincial regulations respecting length of term.

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40 Hodgins, Ryerson Memorial Volume, p. 111.

41 Ryerson, Annual Report, 1869, p. 6. In cities, towns, and incorporated villages the grants were on the basis of population; perhaps the problem of retaining pupils in the crowded city schools in summer caused the Council of Public Instruction to allow these areas four weeks in the summer. They sometimes also took a few days extra by closing in the latter part of July.
But the long school terms were unrealistic, as few pupils were regular in attendance throughout the year. A shorter school year with more holidays interspersed might have resulted in better attendance by providing a more attainable goal for youngsters who wanted to be regular in school. But Ryerson's view was to keep the machinery in operation almost year round to provide the maximum opportunities for learning.

**Pupil-teacher ratio.** The number of pupils per teacher varied by seasons as well as by districts. In winter rural schools had an influx of big boys and girls (or even young men and women) because of the decrease of work on the farms. As the teacher had to concentrate on teaching them and keeping order, often little attention could be paid to the younger children. When enrollment approached a hundred in a rural school, an annex might be built onto the school and an assistant teacher employed, or, more usually, another one room school would be built some distance away.

In cities, grading did not diminish the number of pupils per teacher. In fact, trustees believed that even larger classes were possible because of the better organization grading introduced into the classroom. A pupil load of eighty was not regarded as serious over-crowding in the sixties. Trustees' preoccupation with keeping costs down militated against hiring additional teachers and
providing more classrooms, and teachers had to make the best of the crowded conditions.

In 1861 the Committee on School Management of the Toronto School Board recommended that whenever the number of pupils in a department fell below 150 for two months, no more than two teachers could be employed. The Board adopted the motion.\textsuperscript{42} In 1865 the Committee reported that in the Primary Division each teacher had an average of 90 pupils, the Intermediate Division had 56 per teacher, and the Senior Division had 55.\textsuperscript{43}

The Committee also noted the crowded state of some galleries in the Intermediate Divisions, where a single female teacher had from 80 to 130 children, far too many "unless some more perfect organization could be obtained."\textsuperscript{44} One may be certain the Board would have preferred the "more perfect organization" to hiring another teacher. The Committee said it was too difficult to keep a gallery occupied and also instruct a class separately, for the great

\textsuperscript{42}Porter, Annual Report, 1861, p. 30. Arrangements made for beginning teachers appear routine, though the number of children involved would alarm present day teachers. Porter recorded in his diary for May 6, 1861: "Placed Miss Keown in charge of the Juvenile Division (100 children present) and made all needful arrangements for her efficient and comfortable discharge of her duties."

\textsuperscript{43}Porter, Annual Report, 1865, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{44}Ibid., p. 49.
bulk had to remain quiet without adequate occupation. The Committee on Sites and Buildings was asked to lower the seats so that children unemployed might rest their feet more comfortably and thus keep in better order.\textsuperscript{45}

In 1865 Superintendent Porter gave his opinion that the Senior Divisions should comprise about 50 pupils in average attendance, the Intermediate about 60, and the Junior about 70. But he noted with chagrin that in April, 1865 the average attendance in the Junior Divisions was 90 pupils, with a high of 127. He said the number had been increasing and would continue to do so until the hot weather would reduce attendance. He stated that both children and teachers suffer "not a little" as summer advanced and school work could scarcely be performed.\textsuperscript{46}

Conditions in winter could be just as bad. Dr. Crowle described a cramped and over-heated schoolroom to the teachers' convention in these words: "... with the windows all closed--the stove red hot--the atmosphere putrid--the children perspiring, being seethed, as it were, in their own milk."\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{46}Ibid., p. 86.
Crowded conditions obtained also in other Ontario cities. The Visiting Committee of the Board of Trustees of Kingston reported "one lady teacher was in sole charge of 150 children." A summary of the situation in London, Ontario stated that "The size of the Classes in the years 1848 to 1878 appears unusually large, sometimes as many as 150 being registered in one Class."

The problems of crowding persisted. In 1869 Porter of Toronto reported 87 pupils in daily average attendance in the Junior Divisions, and one teacher had a daily attendance ranging from 101 to 134 during the year. The solution? More classrooms and more teachers, said Porter. In Toronto in the sixties the problem became more acute, as the average number of pupils in attendance in all divisions per teacher rose from 59 in 1860 to 68 in 1869, though the number of teachers in common schools increased from 38 to 46. Pupil enrollment and attendance increased faster than

48 Donald Arthur Lapp, "The Schools of Kingston: Their First Hundred and Fifty Years" (Master of Arts thesis, Queen's University, 1937), p. 182.

49 Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools, I, 125.

50 Porter, Annual Report, 1869, p. 11.

51 Ibid., p. 70. At times Porter found expediency necessary to keep the proper balance in numbers of pupils per teacher, as indicated in his diary entry for May 6, 1861: "Concluded that as the attendance was increasing in the 1st Division, a few pupils, whether fully prepared or not, had better be transferred from that to the Second Division, after the Easter holidays."
classrooms and teachers were provided.

The acceptance of such a high pupil-teacher ratio may have been due in part to the lingering effects of the monitorial system which, while never widespread in Upper Canada, had been introduced there in the early part of the century, and was doubtless well-remembered by the many immigrants from England, where it had been common.

The greatest number of pupils per teacher was found in the Junior Divisions partly because the youngest children accounted for a disproportionate percentage of the enrollment as many older children dropped out of school. It was believed that the more advanced work in the upper classes required more individual attention and a lower pupil-teacher ratio. Since teachers as a class were so poorly educated it was held that the most difficult task was to teach the older children for this required more knowledge, and so there should be fewer pupils in the upper divisions. Today this thinking is reversed, as the introduction to school life is regarded as critical and a lower pupil-teacher ratio is necessary in the primary classes than in the higher grades.
CHAPTER IX

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOLS

The grammar schools in Ontario during the 1860's provide a striking example of the struggle between form and function that occurred in many phases of Ontario education in that period. For many years prior to the sixties these schools had presented problems. As Ontario society matured and could give more attention to secondary education, the stresses reached a breaking point as efforts at remedies backfired and revealed even more fundamental elements that needed to be resolved.

Legislation which sounded good when discussed by educationalists and which looked good when enacted eventually bogged down in a morass of discontent. It finally became apparent by the end of the decade that it was no longer possible to try to improve the existing structure of the grammar school system. What was needed was a new system more compatible with the needs of 1870 society. The form had to be changed, so that the schools could function effectively.

In 1869 the Inspector of Grammar Schools wrote an unusually lengthy report, saying that he did so because of "the special interest and anxiety which, in common with many an earnest man, I cannot but feel at the present crisis in
William Tassie, the celebrated headmaster of the Galt Grammar School and chairman of the Ontario Grammar School Masters’ Association, said in his presidential address in 1870 that in their last meeting the masters had agreed that "a crisis had arrived in the interests of higher education in the province" and that a special meeting had been called to consider remedies.²

Grammar schools before 1860. The fundamental reason for the crisis was lack of agreement on what the form and function of the grammar school should be. The crisis had been building up for a long time, but originally the purpose of the grammar school was clear-cut: it was modeled on the English public school and was to give a classical education to upper class boys to prepare them for leadership in the colony.

Until 1807 this was done entirely through local private enterprise. There are records of some twenty-five private schools (both primary and secondary) in Upper Canada before 1800, and about half again as many were opened in the next ten years.³ The principle that education for leadership

1J. George Hodgins, Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada (28 vols.; Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, I-VI, L. K. Cameron, VII-XXVIII, 1894-1910), XXII, 64.

2Ibid., p. 126.

was more important than schools for the masses was enunciated by the legislation in 1807 which provided for the establishment of grammar schools in each of the eight districts of Upper Canada, granting £100 per year for the support of each teacher. This was ten years before the first common school legislation.4

Called "District Schools" and modeled on the English public schools, they were independent of government supervision and offered a classical curriculum with Latin and Greek as the basic components. They accepted boys only, were imbued with the religious atmosphere of the Church of England, and were supported by landed endowment and fees.5 In 1839 the designation of secondary schools was changed from "District Schools" to "Grammar Schools."6

In the period 1807-1853 the grammar schools were in many respects like their English models. They were generally boarding schools that admitted day students as well. Substantial fees were charged in some schools. At Brockville the school charged £30 a year for board and the usual branches of study (at the time of conversion from pounds to dollars in 1859 a pound equalled $4.00). These were not schools for the

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4Hodgins, op. cit., XIX, 39.
5MacPherson, op. cit., p. 1.
6Hodgins, loc. cit.
masses, nor were they meant to be. The teachers were usually clergymen of the Church of England. Latin and Greek were ostensibly the chief elements in the curriculum, but more often than not the bulk of the master's time was spent teaching elementary subjects. The age of the scholars usually ranged from seven to sixteen.\textsuperscript{7}

In 1849 only eight pupils matriculated to the University from all thirty-nine grammar schools then supported by the province. Private schools and academies had more pupils than the thirty-nine state-aided grammar schools in that year.\textsuperscript{8}

By 1853 it was clearly evident that the attempt to duplicate schools for English gentlemen in Upper Canada had failed. In that year 56\% of the schools received pupils who were unable to read or write. Not one in six pupils studied Latin and of these only about one in twenty could read Caesar and Virgil. The grammar schools had become elementary schools for the well-to-do and influential families, subsidized by government money. But the higher qualifications of grammar school masters and the charging of fees to pupils still gave them an exclusive character.\textsuperscript{9} Instead of being

\textsuperscript{7}MacPherson, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 7, 9.
\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., pp. 1-2.
\textsuperscript{9}Ibid., p. 13.
"classical schools" they were simply "class schools."

Already in his annual report for 1850 Chief Superintendent Ryerson pointed out the defects of the grammar schools and stated that they harmed common schools by competing with them in offering essentially an elementary English education. Instead, he said, they should take up where common schools left off, and become a link between common schools and universities.\textsuperscript{10}

The failure of grammar schools to provide even a modest number of matriculants to universities and the general dissatisfaction with their poor academic performance led to the enactment of a Grammar School Act in 1853, which was refined in 1855. By placing grammar schools under the supervision of the Education Department this legislation marked the end of the exclusive, independent school (MacPherson designates the years 1807-1853 as the period of the "old Grammar School."). It laid the groundwork for the evolution of the modern high school with a wider curriculum and a definite place in the state system of education. It was an effort to make them schools for the people as well as preparatory schools for universities.\textsuperscript{11}

Although the Act of 1853 placed grammar schools under

\textsuperscript{10}Ibid., pp. 13-14.
\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 2.
the Education Department it also provided for more local involvement by authorizing the county council (instead of the provincial government) to appoint the grammar school trustees. The Provincial Council of Public Instruction was given the responsibility to develop regulations and a uniform course of study for grammar schools. In 1855 provision was made for paid part-time inspectors, and headmasters thereafter had to have university degrees or certificates granted by a Board of Examiners appointed by the Council of Public Instruction.\textsuperscript{12}

But the strengthening and refurbishing of the form of the schools did little to change their function. Thomas Jaffray Robertson, principal of the Toronto Normal School, and Rev. William Ormiston, local superintendent for Hamilton, were appointed grammar school inspectors in 1855 and reported that teachers did not follow the prescribed program and that most children studied only one or two subjects. Nor was there any notable improvement in facilities. In 1858 twenty-seven of the seventy-five grammar schools were conducted in rented quarters, in such diverse places as a room in a common school, an old tavern, the second story of a business block, a temperance hall, a town court house and jail, an old printing office, the "Old Central Hotel," and in a master's

\textsuperscript{12}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 15.
By 1860 there were a total of eighty-eight grammar schools in the Upper Canada public school system, enrolling 4,546 pupils. Six of them were free while the rest charged fees ranging from 75¢ to $9.00 per quarter. There were 127 masters. The average salary for a head master was $709, for an assistant master, $383. The highest salary was $1,400. Thirty-eight schools were brick buildings, nineteen were stone, one was concrete, and the rest were frame. Only fifteen were now held in rented quarters. The most popular subject was English with 4,406 scholars, followed by arithmetic with 4,290 and geography with 4,072. Greek enrolled the fewest, 558. As feeders for universities grammar schools were still woefully inadequate as only fifty-three matriculated to universities in 1860.14

The years 1853-1871 were years of great stress and strain as the old cloth resisted being patched by new, until it became evident that the grammar school pattern must be cut wholly from new cloth. The three areas that lay at the heart of the problems of grammar schools in the sixties were (1) curriculum, (2) coeducation, and (3) finances.

13Ibid., p. 16.

Curriculum. The regulations drawn up by the Council of Public Instruction subsequent to the Act of 1853 kept Latin and Greek central in the program but also added new subjects. A regular program of studies, embracing five grades with eight departments and these subjects was announced: Latin, Greek, French, English, Mathematics, Geography, History, Physical Science, Writing, Drawing, Vocal Music, and Bookkeeping. Entrance examinations for English and classical studies were required and prescribed textbooks were assigned to each subject.15

The plan was that pupils taking English studies would terminate their education in grammar school and those taking the classics would proceed to university. The elements of the curriculum were not fundamentally changed from 1853-1871, but there was a rising tide of resentment against the dominance of Latin. In 1865 major legislation entitled "An Act to Further Improve the Grammar Schools" was enacted. While the bill was in the House, correspondence between Ryerson and his deputy Hodgins reveals their strong desire to retain Latin and Greek as fundamental to the grammar school curriculum, but fear of too much objection to these subjects as the basis of government grants caused them to substitute the words "the prescribed course of studies" in

their place.\textsuperscript{16} Then, after the bill had passed, the Council of Public Instruction declared that financial grants would be based on the daily average attendance of pupils studying Latin or Greek, and no other pupils would be counted for grant purposes, although the schools were open to those wishing to study French and English subjects.\textsuperscript{17}

Insistence on this prestige-type curriculum only multiplied the problems of the inspectors. In 1860 Inspector G. R. R. Cockburn lamented that the programs of study were not followed and the entrance examinations not observed.\textsuperscript{18} In 1864 Inspector George Paxton Young wrote that "In a considerable number of the Schools no preparation . . . is expected even from Pupils in somewhat advanced classes."\textsuperscript{19} In 1865 Young examined 2,000 pupils, and his comments on results in specific schools indicate that well over one-half failed and were put out of grammar school as a result. The greatest weakness he found was in English grammar.\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16}Hodgins, op. cit., XIX, 29-38.
\item \textsuperscript{17}Ibid., p. 41.
\item \textsuperscript{18}Ibid., XVI, 147. Cockburn also registered his dislike of broadening the grammar school curriculum through options by saying that they "degrade them into mere teaching shops for retailing information."
\item \textsuperscript{19}Ibid., XVIII, 204.
\item \textsuperscript{20}Ibid., XIX, 98.
\end{itemize}
His frustration growing with each passing year, Young wrote in 1867 that Latin was a farce in grammar schools. To illustrate the weakness of pupils in grammar, he recounted this experience while examining a class. He asked,

Parse: "I always do my work well." First boy: "'I' third person singular, nominative to 'always.' 'Always' a noun." On second trial: "'always' an adjective." And so on. Second boy: "'I' third person singular, nominative to 'always.' 'Always' a regular transitive verb." And so on.

Young said these two were "not a whit worse" than their companions; he rejected the whole class.21

In his final report, submitted on July 24, 1868, Young concluded that the study of classics is unfit for most Ontario youths. They "might almost as well be set to learn Chinese." He still regarded classics as the best means of developing mental discipline, but realistically faced the fact that it was not working in their system. He believed the need was for English high schools; classics should be removed and pupils should concentrate thoroughly on English, instead of learning neither English subjects nor classics adequately. Young was an able and conscientious man, who at Ryerson's request also visited many common schools. He is regarded by many writers as the key figure in grammar school developments in the 1860's, although he served as

21 Ibid., XX, 101, 100.
inspector for only four years, 1864-68.  

Young blamed the folly or indifference of school trustees and people in the various districts for the inadequacy of the grammar schools. He scored defective and inadequate methods of teaching as well. To illustrate his point he said that teachers did not ascertain whether pupils understood what they read. Because English was the pupils' native tongue, teachers assumed they could understand what they read, but they were mistaken. Teachers also asked for rote answers in English grammar, as "What is grammar? what is etymology? what is syntax?" No wonder, Young observed, that children hated grammar. "How was it possible," he asked, "that the Teacher could be insensible to the fact that he had rational-souled scholars to deal with, and not lesson-learning machines."  

The program of studies reproduced in Figure 5 was in effect throughout the sixties, with a slight change introduced by the Act of 1865, which added "a knowledge of Commercial transactions" for bookkeeping in the 8th Department, 4th Class, and in the 5th Class Telegraphy and Vocal Music were optional subjects.  

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22 Ibid., pp. 109-128.
23 Ibid., p. 125.
24 Ibid., XIX, 48.
### Programme of Studies in the Grammar Schools of Upper Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASS</th>
<th>I. LATIN</th>
<th>II. GREEK</th>
<th>III. FRENCH</th>
<th>IV. ENGLISH</th>
<th>V. ARITHMETIC AND MATHEMATICS</th>
<th>VI. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY</th>
<th>VII. PHYSICAL SCIENCE</th>
<th>VIII. Miscellaneous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Explanatory Memoranda to the Foregoing Programme

1. The above Programme is to be regarded as the model upon which each School is to be organized, as far as practicable, and no departure from it can be allowed, unless sanctioned by the Council of Public Instruction, on the recommendation of the Grammar School Inspector.

2. Pupils shall be arranged in Classes corresponding to their respective degrees of proficiency. There may be two, or more, divisions in each Class; and each Pupil shall be advanced from one Class, or division, to another, according to attainments in scholarship, without reference to time.

3. The subjects of the seventh and eighth columns are optional, except in Writing and Book-keeping.

† Poets, or Teachers'.
restlessness over the neglect of science in the grammar schools. Young wrote in 1869 that he would like to see "Scientific Education," for in the grammar schools generally "there was nothing in the name of Physical Science at present taught."^25

The framers of the grammar school curriculum were not altogether free to choose the subjects to be taught. The highest educational institutions, the universities, were far more conservative in regard to fundamental educational issues than either grammar or common schools were. Mathematics and science subjects were gradually finding their way into the university curriculum as concessions to industrial demands and scientific advances, but the classics still reigned supreme in prestige and emphasis.

Candidates for matriculation into the Faculty of Arts at Queen's University, for example, took entrance examinations in Greek grammar; Xenophon, Anabasis, Book I; Latin Prose Composition; Sallust, Catalina; Caesar, Book I.; Virgil, Aeneid, Books I and II; Arithmetic, as far as Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, and the Extractions of Roots inclusive, Algebra to the end of Simple Equations; Euclid, Books I, II.^26 The university program called for the study

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^26Calendar of the University of Queen's College, Kingston, Ontario, Session 1862-63 (Kingston: John Rowlands, 1862), p. 13.
of Latin and Greek in each undergraduate year.\textsuperscript{27}

Although defenders of the classical curriculum had to concede that other subjects taught more useful and relevant material for their age of change, nevertheless they contended for the great worth of the classics as the best means of acquiring mental discipline. Tassie's presidential address to the Grammar School Masters' Association in 1869 reflects the prevailing opinion among them:\textsuperscript{28}

The propriety of the study of the Classical languages seems to be periodically called in question. It is, I believe, generally conceded, however, that the study of those languages is more than any other conducive to the development of the mental powers.

\textbf{Coeducation}. The question of the right of girls to enter grammar schools and their rights vis-a-vis the boys was debated and was largely resolved in the 1860's. Coeducation threatened the grammar school curriculum, complicated school financing, disrupted conventional views on the purpose of the grammar school, and was a part of a larger demand for more rights for women.

Girls had been accepted in one-room common schools from the beginning, and a few grammar schools permitted girls to attend, but until 1865 girls had no legal status in the grammar schools of Ontario, and the first female

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{27}Ibid., p. 25.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{28}Hodgins, \textit{op. cit.}, XXI, 304.}
was not admitted to the University of Toronto as a bona fide student until 1885.  

What was a bright girl to do after she had learned all that the common school master could teach her? There were private academies for girls and ladies' seminaries that offered the delicate feminine subjects of drawing, music, needlepoint, plus grammar and a little French, but these schools were expensive and their subjects were no longer docilely accepted by all the girls and their parents.

The Rev. George Paxton Young, influential grammar school inspector from 1864-68, Ryerson, and other leading educationists were opposed to coeducation in the grammar schools. They could not divest themselves of the ingrained view that by their very nature grammar schools were for boys alone. Since girls were not welcome in schools designed for boys it was assumed that the schools were not suited to them. Grammar schools were established to prepare boys for university by teaching Latin and Greek, and girls' minds were not disposed to study the classics.

Young said it was bad for girls to study Latin, for boys' and girls' faculties did not develop in the same ways. "There is a very considerable diversity between the mind of a Girl and that of a Boy," he wrote. Nevertheless, in the

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next breath he said he believed girls had the capacity to learn Latin and Greek but a different course of study might be preferable, as the grammar school curriculum was not for girls. He reasoned as follows: classical study does three things: (1) it gives insight into languages and ways of thinking; (2) it gives light on English and other modern languages; and (3) it cultivates the taste. Young wrote that he had met only three girls in the grammar schools (to 1865) and none were far enough in the classics to have cultivated their taste. "Aesthetically, the benefits of grammar school to Girls are nil." However, he noted further that this was also true for adults in general. He said girls barely learn enough Latin to get any benefit for reasons (1) and (2) either, so they might as well study English.30

One senses that Young was not fully convinced by his arguments. If he had pushed them farther, they would have applied with equal force to boys, for most of them did not know enough Latin to achieve his three aims either. To say that the lack of benefits of grammar school applies to adults in general as well as to girls, is to destroy the argument against girls, for half the adults are men. It appears that underlying the argument was the recognition

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30Hodgins, op. cit., XIX, 96-97.
that he had enough trouble trying to lift the grammar schools to respectability without a large influx of girls to further complicate an already chaotic condition. While it might have seemed that he was weakening in his theoretical objections to coeducation, there was the very practical fact that coeducation was not worth the trouble it might bring, for girls would not be able to proceed to the universities in any case.

The moral question also plagued Young. He felt that girls of fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen years of age could learn together with boys like a family, with no moral danger, if the teacher were good. But if the teacher were bad, the classroom might suffer from want of discipline, and the gentle demeanor of the girls could be endangered by the rough behavior of the boys. Young honestly admitted that he had seen no gross examples of what he feared, but in true worrisome Victorian style he wished to be on the safe side and allow no girls into the confines of regular grammar schools. He was prepared to concede that coeducation was probably better for girls than no education at all.\textsuperscript{31}

Naturally, there was much discussion and difference of opinion in the teachers' association meetings and in the Grammar School Masters' Association meetings (the latter

\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., p. 97.
organized in 1868). The leading opinion was the traditional view that girls could not learn Latin, and even if they could it would do them no good.\textsuperscript{32}

But the common school teachers were not as convinced as the grammar school masters. It did not seem right in a progressive age to limit girls' opportunities so severely. In 1867 the common school teachers' convention resolved:\textsuperscript{33}

That the true civilization and enlightenment of a country depend, to a great extent, on the mental and moral culture and refinement of the females of that country; therefore, in the opinion of this Convention, any scheme that would prevent girls from attending our Grammar Schools on terms of perfect equality with boys, would be a step in the wrong direction, and subversive to the best interests of our new and prosperous country; and that the proposed virtual exclusion of girls appears to be too hasty, as they have not had a fair trial since the passing of the New Grammar School Act.

The \textit{Journal of Education} gave credit to the Ontario Teachers' Association for passing many such resolutions to alert the public to the need for better educational opportunities for girls and women.\textsuperscript{34}

It was the public that forced the hand of the government to open grammar schools to girls. When the Act of 1865 permitted their enrollment, the schools were deluged with

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{32}Ibid., XX, 237. \\
\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Journal of Education}, XXI (August, 1868), 125. 
\end{flushright}
eager girl pupils. In 1866, the first year of coeducation, 85 of the 102 grammar schools admitted girls, and there were three girls to every five boys in the study of Latin.35 In 1870 the Rev. J. G. D. MacKenzie, Young's successor as grammar school inspector, included these words in his report for 1869:36

A brief notice may be bestowed on the effect produced by the Minute of the Council of Public Instruction, sanctioning the admission of Girls on the same footing as boys, in concession to public opinion. Whilst the adoption of such a Regulation could not be avoided, we cannot but deplore the influence it has exerted on the education of our girls.

The concession referred to restored girls to the official rosters of the schools for grant purposes. But note the reference to the force of public opinion and the reluctance with which the Education Department's chief grammar school representative viewed this development. Leading educationists and grammar school personnel wished that girls did not want to go beyond common school, and sincerely believed that further education would do them little good, and if pursued coeducationally, it would doubtless harm them. If girls were determined to study on, let them attend private academies, or if some areas felt strongly about the matter, let them build public grammar

35Hodgins, op. cit., XX, 108.
36Ibid., XXII, 54.
schools for girls only. But the latter was unrealistic, as the existing system was badly starved for support, and no public grammar school for girls only was ever established in Ontario.\textsuperscript{37} The public insisted on sending girls to the regular grammar school, and when professional educators grudgingly acceded to the demand, girls flocked to grammar schools to study whatever was required of them, including the masculine subjects of Greek and Latin.

In a speech to the teachers' convention in 1870, the Rev. E. H. Dewart of Toronto referred to the question of women's rights. He said he hailed this new development with great satisfaction, yet his enthusiasm was not untainted with concern. "I confess, however, I see no advantage likely to accrue from wives and mothers coming to the Polls and taking part in the strife of political elections."

Manliness prevented him from being all for women's rights, for he would "shield her from everything that would . . . rob her of that indefinable delicacy, tenderness, and gentleness that are the charm and glory of womanhood."\textsuperscript{38}

Apparently few if any considered the ultimate implications of coeducation in grammar schools. Success there was only to whet women's appetites for learning, for

\textsuperscript{37}Walter N. Bell, \textit{The Development of the Ontario High School} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1918), p. 96.

\textsuperscript{38}Hodgins, \textit{op. cit.}, XXII, 145-46.
when the girls competed successfully with boys and completed their secondary education, they found another stark wall excluding them from the male universities, where the same arguments were again raised against them. The cycle was repeated twenty years later: with grave misgivings universities accepted women as men muttered that their objections were only for women's own good, and various restrictions were placed on the co-eds. There were dire warnings about the effects this dangerous innovation would have on the country.

**Finances.** Financing the grammar schools was a vexing problem. Up to 1865 the grammar school fund provided by the province was divided among the counties on the basis of population, in cities (after 1853) it was based on daily average attendance. County and city councils were empowered to levy municipal taxes for additional support, but many grammar schools did not receive a cent from this source, and fees provided the additional necessary funds to operate. By 1864 only one half of the grammar schools received municipal aid, an average of only $250 each.\(^\text{39}\)

Since common school boards could levy property taxes for common schools and because it was felt more economical

\(^{39}\text{Bell, op. cit., p. 152.}\)
to combine small grammar schools with the common schools in some areas, the Act of 1853 provided that a common school and a grammar school in the same community could unite to form a union school. This provision sounded fine in theory, but during the next eighteen years the poverty of the grammar schools forced a large number of them to unite with common schools to the detriment of both.

By 1860, fifty-two of the eighty-eight grammar schools in Upper Canada were union schools, an increase of ten over 1859. Many of them were common schools often with only five or six pupils studying Greek or Latin. Union boards of trustees would engage a headmaster with a university degree or a grammar school certificate and make him teach mostly common school pupils so they could obtain the grammar school grant in addition to the common school grant, and so reduce local school taxes.

The intent of the Act of 1853 had been to make grammar schools available to more children through union schools by encouraging communities too small to maintain a separate grammar school to include grammar school subjects in the common school building. But the financial problem and the unwillingness of local communities to increase taxes served

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41MacPherson, op. cit., p. 17.
to weaken established grammar schools and to encourage them to descend to union school status. The new union schools established in existing common schools were little more than glorified common schools. Often common school teachers found themselves with a full complement of common school pupils, plus a handful of grammar school pupils whom they were not competent to instruct.42

In 1863 Ryerson said that the Act of 1853 had one fatal flaw: the trustees of grammar schools could not assess ratepayers for money.43 Major changes were effected by "An Act for the Further Improvement of Grammar Schools in Upper Canada," enacted in 1865, and intended to solve the financial dilemma and to strengthen academic standards.

A major provision was that the local area was required to raise from local sources an amount of money equal to one-half the provincial apportionment to the grammar school. The provincial grant was to be apportioned half-yearly, and no longer on the basis of population in the counties, but now uniformly on the basis of the daily average attendance of pupils "in the prescribed course of studies" (Latin or Greek). To discourage the multiplication of weak

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43 Hodgins, op. cit., XVII, 295.
grammar schools, no new school could be started unless $300 a year could be made available to it without reducing the funds available to the existing school.\textsuperscript{44}

Headmasters henceforth were to be graduates of universities within the British Empire, but this did not apply to incumbents. Prior to 1865 the county councils appointed trustees for all grammar schools in the county, but the new Act provided that city councils could appoint half the trustees and the county the other half for grammar schools in the city. If there was another grammar school in the county in addition to the one in the city, the city council could appoint all the trustees for its school.\textsuperscript{45}

The Act put teeth into the regulations on entrance examinations authorized in 1853. After 1865 the admission of pupils into grammar schools by the headmasters was not final until the Provincial Grammar School Inspector had visited the school and examined the scholars to see whether they were indeed \textit{bona fide} grammar school material.

But the traditional function of the grammar schools was upheld by Council of Public Instruction's regulation that the grammar school grant was to be apportioned only on the basis of students in Latin or Greek. The added expense

\textsuperscript{44}\textit{Ibid.}, XIX, 26-27.
\textsuperscript{45}\textit{Ibid.}
of educating girls, who were now eligible to attend, and the costs of boys not taking classics, was to be borne by the amounts raised locally.

The fathers and mothers of grammar school pupils did not take this discrimination by sex and subject docilely. Thus nearly all schools disregarded the provisions barring girls from the classics, and set all pupils, whether boys or girls, to the study of Latin. In the application of the terms of the Act of 1865 there was a confluence of the sticky questions of curriculum, coeducation, and finances, not to mention a crisis in instructional procedure. The inspector wrote that the "new-born rage for Latin" on the part of girls was simply because girls studying only English and French did not count for grant purposes.\(^4^6\)

Ryerson, opposed to the principle of admitting girls to grammar schools, had hoped to retain the classical emphasis of the course for boys by isolating girls from those courses. But faced with the fact of their enrollment in classics subjects, in 1866 he apportioned the grammar school fund on the basis of daily average attendance, without distinction of sex. In 1867, with more girls enrolled, he had second thoughts and counted each girl as only one-half a pupil for grant purposes. In 1868, supported by a ruling which he had sought from

\(^{4^6}\)Ibid., XX, 100.
Attorney-General John Sandfield Macdonald that the Grammar School Fund had been established for boys only, he ignored the girls altogether for grant purposes.\textsuperscript{47} Girls were restored to the roster for grant purposes in 1869 and the following years (though until 1871 trustees could still exclude them from enrolling), again because of the considerable clamor from local boards and parents who protested against the unfairness of denying financial support on the basis of sex.\textsuperscript{48}

The idea behind making grants on the basis of attendance rather than general population was to reward those areas that had many young people in the grammar schools. In theory it appeared sound. In practice it had serious repercussions, for as more pupils now meant more money, an even greater influx of unprepared pupils from the common schools began. The tendency to establish union schools was not diminished, because the clause requiring that one-half

\textsuperscript{47}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 237.

\textsuperscript{48}Bell, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 96; \textit{The Grammar School System of Ontario}. A Correspondence between the Board of Trustees of Clinton County Grammar School and the Rev. E. Ryerson, D. D., Chief Superintendent of Education (Clinton: Re-Printed from the "Clinton New Era," 1868). Pamphlet 3520, Public Archives of Canada. In this spirited exchange of letters the trustees make a strong and logical case for the inclusion of girls in grammar schools for grant purposes. Their relentless marshalling of facts is reminiscent of Ryerson's own style. His replies indicate his continuing reluctance to admit that girls had a right to grammar school education.
of the grant be raised in addition locally did not apply to them. In fact, the Act did not mention union schools at all, which further complicated the situation.49

The entrance requirements into the grammar schools were not strictly adhered to by harassed headmasters who were under considerable local pressure to admit as many scholars as possible. So again there was a multiplication of pupils who were unfit for the serious study of Latin or even of English.50

**Outstanding grammar schools.** The outstanding grammar school in Upper Canada was not part of the public system, but enjoyed the unique advantage of government support without public control. Upper Canada College was founded in 1829 in Toronto as a superior grammar school, designed to be a replica of the best English public schools. It offered a classical education to young gentlemen in Toronto and those from other places whose fathers could afford the heavy expense of board and tuition. It was a creation of the Family Compact, maintained for the aristocrats by grants of government land and money.51


50 MacPherson, op. cit., p. 20.

When the grammar schools were brought under the Education Department in 1853, Upper Canada College remained independent, and trouble arose over the exceptionally generous treatment it received. Because of its large endowment and substantial grants, the headmasters of the other grammar schools regarded it with envy. Attacks on it at the time of Confederation resulted in the appointment of a parliamentary committee to investigate it and the publication of a pamphlet in its defence by the principal. Attacks on the College continued from time to time and finally, at the end of the century, it became disassociated from the government and became a wholly private institution.52

Many illustrious men in Ontario public life pointed with pride to their status as "old boys" of Upper Canada College, including the Rev. Henry Scadding, the Honorable John Beverley Robinson, J. Ross Robertson, the Honorable Edward Blake, the Honorable Adam Crooks, James G. Jessup, and more lately, Stephen B. Leacock.53

Undoubtedly the most famous grammar school in the public system, rivalling even Upper Canada College in prestige, was the Galt Grammar School, dominated by its

52Ibid., pp. 296-97.

illustrious principal, William Tassie.54 The grammar school at Galt opened in 1852, and when Tassie arrived a year later he found just twelve pupils. He was noted for his industry, energy, and severe but just discipline. He had a dignified and gentlemanly bearing. It was said that he never lost his self-control, was a good judge of character, and believed the main purpose of school was to develop character in the tradition of Arnold of Rugby. He was a good example of the old Dominie who believed that the rod was the best remedy for indolence, indifference, listlessness, and laziness. He was personally as inaccessible as a mountain peak. He favored cricket as the sport most useful in developing gentlemen.

During the 1840's, various educational committees reported with chagrin that many Canadians were going to the United States for grammar school, but Tassie's school reversed the trend, as pupils came to him from all over Canada and from Alabama, Toledo, Chicago, Detroit, even London, England and the West Indies. He maintained boarding facilities in his large home and made arrangements for other boarding places near the school to accommodate the many pupils from beyond Galt. In 1877 Queen's University awarded him an honorary LL.D. degree.

54 W. S. McVittie, manuscript history of Galt Collegiate Institute, Galt, Ontario.
During the sixties, when grammar schools were in a state of turmoil, flux, and self-examination, Tassie's rigid traditionalism and force of character brought him acclaim. Tassie was in his heyday in the sixties. The grammar school headmasters elected him president of their association and his school was held up as a model to be emulated. But in his success lay the seeds of his undoing, for his set pattern did not take into account the changing scene and mood in Ontario and he rode his formula into the ground.

He proved unwilling or unable to adapt to the new standards and methods as they were introduced and his school began a decline in the seventies. Tassie rebelled against the payment of grants based on examinations results which was introduced in grammar schools in the seventies. He believed his school built character and gave education for its own sake, not for external examinations, and few of his pupils passed the provincial examinations. He also resisted the insistent demand for coeducation. The changing times also demanded a less rigid approach to discipline and he found his own discipline breaking down. In 1881 he and his staff resigned. He had worked hard and built a formidable reputation, but he did not keep up with nor think through the educational trends as they applied to secondary schools, and so was left behind. He taught in Toronto and Peterborough from 1881 until his death in 1886.
The School Act of 1871 which restructured the grammar schools and breathed new life into them sounded the death knell for Tassie's system. Ironically, the Collegiate Institutes established by the Act as the elite grammar schools, were based on Tassie's model. Ryerson wrote:55

In fixing . . . the standard for Collegiate Institutes we have fortunately not to theorize on the subject, as the Grammar School at Galt taught by Mr. William Tassie furnished just the ideal of such an Institution.

Ryerson's attitude to the grammar schools. Ryerson's role in administering the grammar schools was fraught with frustration. His thinking on them was not consistent, for he was both ahead of and behind the times on this question, and his zeal for uniformity and efficiency was outraged by the poor performance of grammar schools.

At the start of his administration, common schools were terminal institutions with few children aspiring for more education. Many grammar schools enrolled beginning pupils and were glorified common schools for the elite, from which very few proceeded to college or university. His earliest utterances show his desire to make grammar schools the middle link between common schools and universities. He believed that the common schools should feed the grammar schools, which would offer terminal courses as well as

55Hodgins, op. cit., XXII, iii.
college preparatory work. This concept is commonplace today, but it was novel when Ryerson began his work in the Education Department.56

Such a plan demanded the broadening of course offerings to include more English, science, French, German, and bookkeeping. Although this was a healthy acknowledgement of the changing times, it also opened the door to the demand that girls be allowed to attend and this Ryerson resisted.57 He envisioned common schools functioning so effectively that girls' scholastic needs could be fulfilled without their desiring a grammar school education. The grammar schools' widening curriculum and aims would serve the male population more effectively. The limited financial resources, the tradition of secondary education for boys only, and his widely-shared pastoral concern about having fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen year old girls studying with boys of the same age did not permit Ryerson to advocate or even graciously accept mixed secondary education.58

He kept insisting that girls in grammar schools did

56 Jesse Edgar Middleton, Toronto's Hundred Years (Toronto: The Centennial Committee, 1934), pp. 61-62.

57 Robinson, op. cit., p. 86; Bell, op. cit., p. 93, reports that Ryerson had even declined to accept the presidency of Victoria College until the female department was discontinued.

58 Ryerson, Annual Report, 1866, p. 36.
not learn Latin and claimed that they would learn English better in common schools than in grammar schools. In a circular addressed to chairmen of Boards of Grammar School Trustees in May, 1868, he wrote: "I regret to observe the evil of inducing girls to enter grammar schools to swell numbers has increased."\(^{59}\) He pointed out that the law permitted separate (not religious) grammar schools for girls or separate departments for them in regular grammar schools. He made his views explicit in the correspondence cited: "The Organization and Studies of the Grammar Schools are not adapted for mixed classes of grown up Girls and Boys, nor is it desirable that such mixed classes should exist."\(^{60}\)

But the public interest in education which Ryerson promoted so assiduously haunted him on the grammar school issue. The public was not to be denied equal educational opportunities for the girls. The pragmatic trustees did not choose to wait until common schools graduated enough qualified pupils to swell secondary school enrollments. They needed pupils to exist, and since so very few boys went on to university, why not let girls into grammar schools on equal terms? Indeed, this is what they did, Ryerson, Young, and the Council of Public Instruction notwithstanding!

\(^{59}\)Hodgins, op. cit., XX, 236.

\(^{60}\)Ibid.
Ryerson deplored it, but it forced recognition of girls' rights and paved the way for the reforms of 1871.

Ryerson scored trustees for establishing new schools because of economic considerations instead of strengthening existing ones. He deplored the charging of high fees which made too many grammar schools only for the rich while the poor enrolled in common schools. He regularly reiterated the necessity of reform. For example, in his report for 1863, he said that without important amendments in the law, grammar schools "will always be a feeble, defective, branch of our system of Public Instruction." Ryerson did not have a clear and definite ideal or blueprint for the grammar school, as he had for the common school. He maintained that grammar schools must remain classical schools, yet he insisted also on the primacy of useful knowledge. He had some advanced ideas; his concept of model farms attached to rural grammar schools offering agricultural education being a good one although it was never implemented. He seemed fearful that English education in grammar schools would threaten the common schools. He did not press as insistently for grammar school reform as he did for improvement in common schools. He was unable to slice

61Ibid., XIX, 60.
62Ibid., XVIII, 118.
through the knotty problems of secondary schools with the same single-minded confidence that he exhibited in the common school arena. The fact is that his first love was the common school. He could give his heart more readily to this democratic institution than he could to the traditionally aristocratic grammar school. He was democratic in sentiment and grammar schools had little effect on common people.

The episode of the Model Grammar School is illustrative of his inconsistent attitude. The success of the Toronto Normal School for common school teachers encouraged Ryerson to provide training for aspiring grammar school masters. A Model Grammar School built at a cost of $39,269 was opened in 1858 just north of the Model Common School in Toronto. The school was to enroll grammar school pupils and utilize the best system of school organization and instruction, as potential grammar school masters would both observe and teach under the tutelage of an experienced master. In 1860 Ryerson wrote that while no Normal Class had started yet, as a model the school was doing well. However, in that

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64 Ibid., p. 151.
66 Bell, op. cit., p. 69.
year the Normal School for common school teachers moved into the grammar school building.67

The first class of grammar school teachers-in-training began in 1861. They paid no fees and if approved at the end of term they were awarded $1.00 a week toward board. The number of grammar school pupils was limited to one hundred and the training class to ten, but the limit was exceeded right away. G. R. R. Cockburn, who had been a grammar school inspector, was the headmaster. Ryerson then decided it would be better to merge the entire operation with Upper Canada College, but the government did not agree.68 When the headmastership of Upper Canada College was vacant, Ryerson recommended Cockburn for the position, and he was appointed.69 Then, in June, 1863, the model school and training program were abruptly closed.70

The training school did not have a large number of enrollees, but it hardly had a fair chance to prove its worth after only two years of operation. Perhaps the attitude that a university degree was sufficient evidence in

67 Hodgins, op. cit., XXIV, 25.
68 Bell, op. cit., pp. 70-71.
69 Dickson and Adams, op. cit., p. 113.
itself of ability to teach in grammar school and that grammar school masters felt themselves a cut above both common school teachers and a training program, discouraged Ryerson's ardour for recruitment. Perhaps the space was needed for the regular Normal School operation and economy played a part in the closing. But little was written about the episode—and Ryerson's behavior here is uncharacteristic of him. If he had been determined it should succeed he would not have recommended the able Cockburn to the rival Upper Canada College, nor would he have recommended or even quietly acquiesced in its closing.

Upon closing, the plan was to add a grammar school master to the Normal School staff to teach grammar school teachers-in-training there, but as divisions of status were keenly felt, no aspirant to a grammar school position ever enrolled in the Normal School for "common" school teachers.71 Thus both the extension of the principle of professional training to the secondary level and also its integration into the Normal School program were not pursued by Ryerson. Had he done so, the dichotomy of training which is still extant in Ontario might have been modified at least.

Perhaps underlying the other clues to the situation is the fact of Ryerson's very poor health in 1862-63 and his

71Bell, op. cit., pp. 71-72.
lack of a unified approach to the secondary school problem. He was now sixty years old and already talking about retiring; likely he wished his remaining energies to be expended in the larger and the more hopeful and promising field of elementary education.

Reform in 1871. The impasse existing at the end of the sixties cried out for reform. Inspector Young's successor, the Rev. J. G. MacKenzie, continued the pressure for new legislation to create a new kind of secondary school, one for all the people, to supersede the classical grammar school for the few. The advanced study of English grammar and literature, plus liberal amounts of physical science were to join mathematics and the classics as rightful subjects of instruction.72

The legislation of 1871 (which also introduced sweeping changes in common schools) gave girls full equality with boys and demoted Latin from its status as a compulsory subject. English was the basis of the new order. The new schools, named "high schools," were to teach "the higher branches of an English and Commercial Education and also the Latin, Greek, French, and German languages to those pupils whose parents and guardians may desire them."73


73Ibid., pp. 21-22.
High school boards of trustees were made financially independent. They could require of municipal councils the money needed above government grants and fees. Entrance examinations were set by local boards consisting of the local inspector of public schools, the high school principal, and the chairman of the high school board of trustees. The minimum grant for a high school was $400 and it depended largely on the proficiency of the pupils in the various branches of study.74

The tradition of grammar schools as elite institutions to prepare boys for universities through a classical curriculum was preserved in a special class of schools called Collegiate Institutes. To qualify, a school was required to have an average of sixty boys in Latin or Greek, with four masters. These schools received a minimum grant of $750 yearly.75 The six high schools that received this honor at first were those at Galt (Tassie's school), Hamilton, Peterborough, Cobourg, Kingston, and St. Catharines.76

The new system had similarities to the Prussian model: the new English high schools paralleled the .Real

74Ibid.
75Ibid., p. 22.
76McVittie, op. cit.
Schulen, or practical schools of Prussia, and the Collegiate Institutes were similar to the Gymnasia, or classical schools. The grammar school masters worried about the new emphasis on English; ever jealous of their status, they wondered aloud whether this would remove the line of distinction between common and grammar schools. 77

With the removal of Latin as the basis for grants, a new criterion was needed, and the system of "payment by results" in vogue in England was regarded as suitable for Ontario. Ryerson, always one to reward merit, believed this a good way to reward those schools that were doing well, and that the economic motive was also the best way to induce poor schools to improve. The province-wide examinations were introduced in 1875, but problems of implementing the system and the development of teaching for tests with its resultant anxieties and pressures on both pupils and teachers, caused the discontinuance of examinations for grants in 1882. But the legacy of examinations continued to play an important role in Ontario thinking and practice. 78

In the decade 1860-1870 the number of grammar schools increased from eighty-eight to one hundred-one and pupils increased from 4,546 to 7,351, or 62%. While this is a

77 Hodgins, op. cit., XXII, 127-29.
78 Bell, op. cit., pp. 120, 158; MacPherson, loc. cit.
remarkable growth, it must be emphasized that the total enrollment in 1870 still only represented less than 2% of the number of children registered in the common schools. The grammar schools were still far from being schools of the people.79

Commenting on the fact that in 1867 only 156 pupils in the whole Province passed matriculation examinations for university, Althouse wrote: "The organization of classes, and the methods of instruction in the grammar schools of 1870 differed but little from those of 1865, or 1855, or 1843,"80 indicating that teaching had improved but little despite all the legislation and regulations, and that there still was great need for improvement in the day to day business of instructing and learning within the schools.

The legislative attempts to correct faults in 1853, 1855, and 1865 did not change the form of the grammar school. The crises of the sixties finally made it plain that new structures were necessary. The new concept of English high schools for all was consistent with growing democratic sentiments and the prestige-type high schools, Collegiate Institutes, placated the purists and university faculties.


Bell, writing fifty years after, said that by the law of 1871 the Ontario secondary school reached in essentials a permanent form. Uniformity, rigidity, coeducation, the written examination, the adjustment of the curriculum to meet the needs of those who are to become teachers or enter other professions became fused into a system at that date, and while great advances have been made in the working out of those principles, they had, by 1918, undergone no fundamental change.81

The grammar schools had been far more resistant to change than the common schools, and the universities were much more traditional than either of them. The implications of the legislation of 1871 may not have been immediately apparent to universities, but the consequences were inevitable. Curriculum reform was now getting uncomfortably close to the university. The dread prospect of women on university campuses was approaching inexorably, for grammar schools were graduating bright young ladies who looked ahead to the next rung on the educational ladder. This threat was even more ominous in the context of the rising restlessness of women in society as evidenced by their activities in temperance work, in social reform, and in seeking broader rights for women.

81Bell, op. cit., p. 150.
The struggle for survival in Upper Canada was over. Women had done their part in the battle to subdue the frontier. They had earned the right to options in life and were looking for new worlds to conquer. Education was one of the first areas they invaded, and the grammar school provided an important opening wedge.
CHAPTER X

THE TRAINING AND CERTIFICATION OF TEACHERS

The Normal School. Ryerson could sense long-range needs in education and he quickly saw that trained teachers were a necessity if a school system was to progress. During his trip to Europe in 1844-45 the normal schools of Prussia, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dublin impressed him greatly, and that of Dublin most of all. His newly-appointed clerk, J. George Hodgins, was dispatched to Dublin to spend a year at his own expense as a student learning its principles and practices of teacher education.¹

The establishment of a normal school in Upper Canada was high on Ryerson's list of priorities in his report to the Legislature in 1846, and the Toronto Normal School opened its doors on November 1, 1847. Thomas Jaffray Robertson left his position as Chief Inspector of the National Schools of Ireland to become the first principal of the new institution.²

¹J. C. Boylen et al. (eds.), Toronto Normal School (Toronto: School of Graphic Arts, 1947), p. 28.

²Ibid., pp. 27-28. The first government-controlled normal school in North America was opened in Montreal in 1836, three years before the first state-training school in the United States was founded at Lexington, Massachusetts. The Montreal school closed in 1842. A normal school was opened in Fredericton, New Brunswick, on July 1, 1847. M. E. LaZerte, Teacher Education in Canada (Toronto: W. J. Gage and Company Limited, 1951), pp. 17, 19.
Many felt a teachers' school was a frivolous luxury for a frontier country like Canada which had so many other needs. The Gore District Council expressed this view in a memorial submitted to the Legislature in opposition to the common school bill being discussed in 1846. Addressing itself to the normal school question it bluntly assesses the status of teachers:

... nor do Your Memorialists hope to provide qualified Teachers by any other means, in the present circumstances of the Country, than by securing, as heretofore, the services of those, whose Physical Disabilities, from age, render this mode of obtaining a livelihood the only one suited to their Decaying Energies, or by employing such of the newly-arrived Emigrants, as are qualified, for Common School Teachers, year by year as they come amongst us, and who will adopt this as a means of temporary support, until their character and abilities are known, and turned to better account for themselves.

Ryerson's intent from the start was that the Normal School should offer professional training. It was not to be a place of general instruction but to train aspiring teachers the methodology of teaching. He brought this out in his address at the opening ceremony:

The word Normal signifies "according to rule, or principle," and is employed to express the systematic teaching of the rudiments of learning. ... A Normal

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4 Boylen, op. cit., p. 5.
School is a school in which the principles and practice of teaching according to rule, are taught and exemplified.

This ideal he re-iterated regularly. In his report for 1863 he wrote: "The Normal School of Upper Canada is not intended to do what can be done in other schools throughout the country, but confines itself as exclusively as possible to the special work of training teachers to teach." In 1867 he wrote: "The object . . . is . . . to do for the teacher what apprenticeship does for the mechanic, the artist, the physician, the lawyer--to teach him, theoretically and practically, how to do the work of his profession."

A professional training school required students who were well-grounded in the subject matter of the schools so that they could profit from professional courses. Entrance examinations were set for applicants to ensure they were qualified. However, the common and grammar schools of the Province were not yet capable of consistently producing students at home in academic subjects, and until the late seventies the Normal School could not concentrate on methods of instruction but had to emphasize the acquisition of the

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knowledge requisite for a teacher.\textsuperscript{7}

John Herbert Sangster, Mathematical and Science Master in the Normal School from 1858, became Headmaster at the death of Robertson in 1866. He wrote textbooks on algebra, arithmetic, chemistry, natural history, and philosophy and had both the M.A. and M.D. degrees. He was intense, hardworking, and conscientious. He resigned in 1871 at the age of forty to practise medicine.\textsuperscript{8}

In a report he prepared on the design and functions of the Normal School, he lamented that even at the end of the sixties the staff still spent more time teaching students what to teach than how to teach it. He wrote that more than nine-tenths of those who applied for admission did not possess "anything like that amount of information and general knowledge which the advancing spirit of the age very properly demands" and therefore every lecture in the school was delivered with a two-fold object:\textsuperscript{9}

1st. To convey to the Class of Students-in-training a certain amount of information on the subject on which it treats; and,

2nd. To give this information in such a manner, that, making the necessary allowance for difference of age and

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{7}Boylen, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{8}Ibid., pp. 45, 48.
\textsuperscript{9}J. George Hodgins, \textit{Historical and Other Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Educational System of Ontario} (6 vols.; Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1911), II, 45-46.
\end{flushleft}
attainments, it may serve as a model of the method in which the same subject is to be discussed before a class of children.

The concept of consciously demonstrating a technique while imparting information was an enlightened one, enabling a master not simply to say "Do as I say," but by integrating theory and practice to motivate students to "Do as I do."

In addition to the subject area courses was a course entitled "The Science and Art of Teaching" which was described as "thorough" and contained seventy one-hour lectures. Sangster taught this professional course, and summarized it as follows:10

The Lectures on Education in the Normal School embrace the following Course:—

I. Art of Teaching; characteristics of the Successful Teacher; qualifications, manners, habits, temper, tone of mind, etcetera.

II. Modes of securing the co-operation of the Pupils; how to secure attention; how to interest the Class.

III. Intellectual Teaching,—in what it consists; how secured.

IV. Mode of giving questions; kinds of questions; purposes served by each kind; characteristics of good style of questioning.

V. Mode of receiving answers, and of criticizing them; requirements by way of answering.

VI. Correction of errors; recapitulation, etcetera.

10Ibid., p. 48.
VII. How to teach,—(a) Reading; (b) Spelling; (c) Arithmetic; (d) Grammar; (e) Composition; (f) Writing; (g) History; (h) Geography; (i) Geometry; (j) Algebra; (k) Philosophy; (l) Object Lessons; (m) other subjects.

VIII. Organization of schools; Classification of Pupils; Monitor Teachers,—their use and abuse; School Buildings and arrangements; School Furniture and Apparatus, etcetera.

IX. School Management; Time Tables and Limit Tables; School Rules; School Register; Roll Book; Visitors' Book; School Discipline; Rewards and Punishments.

X. Principles of Mental and Moral Philosophy, as far as applicable to the elementary School Room; Mental, Moral and Physical Culture of childhood.

XI. General Principles of Education.

The content of education was given in the subject courses, the theory in Sangster's course, and the practice was provided in the two model schools, one for boys and one for girls, which were on the grounds of the Normal School buildings and were an integral part of the Normal School program. The Normal School was the school of instruction by lecture, the Model School was the school of instruction by practice.11

Pupils in the Model School were required to pay twenty-five cents a week in fees, and although the Toronto city schools were free the Model School was extremely popular, for in 1869 there were one hundred children on the waiting

11Journal of Education, XIV (February, 1861), 23.
list, some of whom had been waiting three years to get in.\textsuperscript{12}

In the Model School students-in-training from the Normal School, under the supervision of skilled teachers, were required to take charge of classes to "give practical effect to the instructions received in the Normal School."\textsuperscript{13} Students were divided into groups of nine with a leader who distributed the assignments for practice-teaching. The groups spent a day at the Model School in rotation, divided into three sections of three each to attend the various divisions of the school. The students were told the night before which lesson they were to teach so they could prepare themselves. No student was required to teach any subject he had not yet taken in Normal School classes, so in the beginning of their first session students mainly observed. The students' performances in practice-teaching were recorded in the Model School Training Register with marks ranging from one, great excellence, down to six, complete failure. The headmaster would privately commend or admonish students, and would ask any student "not likely to make a useful teacher" to withdraw from the program. Occasionally students would conduct a class in the Normal School, subject to the criticism and evaluation of their peers and masters.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{12}Ibid., XXI (September, 1869), 109.
\textsuperscript{13}Hodgins, \textit{Historical and Other Papers}, II, 48.
\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., II, 48-49.
The criteria for evaluation of practice-teaching were, as to the class: "Order, Attention, Interest, Manner or style, Progress." As to the Teacher: "Preparation, Fluency, Manner, Energy, Accuracy, Watchfulness, Mode of giving questions, Mode of receiving answers, Correction of errors, Power of giving explanation, Thoroughness, Effectiveness, General Value of lesson."\(^{15}\)

Figures 6-9 contain part of Sangster's 1869 report on the Normal School, and include information on curriculum, examinations, textbooks, and regulations of the institution in the sixties.\(^ {16}\)

The idealism of curriculum-builders may be seen in the excessive number of subjects (about twenty-one). This obsession with thoroughness is also found in the programs of study of common and grammar schools. In the Normal School, as in the others, performance was far from perfect but the ideals remained high. Not all were impressed, however, with the variety of subjects and the consequent hard grind for students, as this letter of a student's parent to a friend attests:\(^ {17}\)

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\(^{16}\) Hodgins, *Documentary History*, XXII, 64 ff.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>MONDAY</th>
<th>TUESDAY</th>
<th>WEDNESDAY</th>
<th>THURSDAY</th>
<th>FRIDAY</th>
<th>SATURDAY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8 A.M.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Natural Philosophy</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Natural Philosophy</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>School Drill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1:30 P.M.</td>
<td>Linear Drawing.</td>
<td>Geometry.</td>
<td>Composition.</td>
<td>Linear Drawing.</td>
<td>Reading.</td>
<td>Composition or dictation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Course of Study in the Normal School.

The Course of instruction includes Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, History, Geography, History of English Literature, Education, (including leading principles of Mental and Moral Philosophy), Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Chemical Physics, Principles of School Law, together with Vocal Music, Drawing and Calisthenics for females and Military Drill for males.

The requirements for entrance and final examinations on these several subjects are stated in the following Programme of Course of Study:

**Programme of Entrance Examination and Course of Study in the Normal School for Ontario.**

(Approved by the Council of Public Instruction, on the 28th day of August, 1855.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECTS</th>
<th>FOR ENTRANCE INTO JUNIOR DIVISION</th>
<th>FOR SENIOR CLASS CERTIFICATE IN JUNIOR DIVISION, OR FOR ENTRANCE TO SENIOR DIVISION</th>
<th>FOR ORDINARY FIRST-CLASS CERTIFICATE IN SENIOR DIVISION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>WRITING</strong></td>
<td>Write legibly and readily and correctly.</td>
<td>To Write a bold, rapid, running hand.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GEOGRAPHY</strong></td>
<td>The definitions—general knowledge of the relative positions of the principal Continents, with their Capitols—the Oceans, Seas, Rivers and Islands.</td>
<td>The relative positions of all the Countries of the world, with their principal Cities and physical features; the Islands—Hodgins' Geography: Mathematical and Physical Geography, as taught in Sullivan's &quot;Geography Generalized.&quot;</td>
<td>Use of the Globes (ظرف)—Geography of England, Ireland, Scotland, the United States and British Colonies (Hodgins)—Rudiments of Physical Geography—Structure of the Crust of the Earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EDUCATION AND THE ART OF TEACHING</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The general principles of the Science of Education applied to the Teaching of Common Schools—Methods of Teaching the different branches—Practice thereof, as exemplified in the Model School—Organization of Central Schools—Dimensions and Structure of School-Houses—Furniture and Apparatus.</td>
<td>The Science of Education applied to the Teaching of Common Schools—Methods of Teaching the different branches—Practice thereof, as exemplified in the Model School—Organization of Central Schools—Dimensions and Structure of School-Houses—Furniture and Apparatus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MUSIC</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Hullah's System.</td>
<td>Hullah's System.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DRAWING</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Facility in making Perspective Outline Sketches of common subjects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BOOK-KEEPING</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>The Book-kepper's,</td>
<td>Single and Double Entry.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Not required of those who are naturally disqualified.*

**FIGURE 7**
Chap. VII. THE NORMAL SCHOOL—IT’S DESIGN AND FUNCTION.

### Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>For Entrance into Junior Division</th>
<th>For Second Class Certificate in Junior Division</th>
<th>For Ordinary First Class Certificate in Senior Division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALGEBRA</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Definitions, Addition, Subtraction, Multiplication and Division. Use of Brackets, Decomposition of Trinomials. Fraction, Involvement, Square of Monomials, Expansion of (a + b)^2. Evolution, Greatest Common Measure, Least Common Multiple, Fractions, Interpretation of Symbols by x, and =, Simple Equations.</td>
<td>Review past subjects of Junior Division—Induces, arts, Quadratic Equations, Indeterminate Equations, Divisorial and Harmonical Progression, Ratio, Proportion, Equation, Permutations, Combinations, Binomial Theorem, Notation, Deduction, Induction, &amp;c., Properties of Similar, Continuous Functions, Exponential Theorem, Logarithms, Algebraic Series, Cubic and Biquadratic Equations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EUCLID</strong></td>
<td>None</td>
<td>Books I. and II., with Exercises (Potts’)</td>
<td>Books III., IV., and V., and Definition of Book V. Exercises on six Books (Potts’).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### List of Text Books Used in the Normal School for Ontario, which are Supplied to Teachers in Training at half price.

- A set of Readers.
- Companions to Readers.
- Authorized English Grammars.
- Lovell’s General Geography.
- Hodgins’ History of Canada.
- Sullivan’s Geography Generalized.
- Sangster’s Arithmetic.
- Pett’s Euclid.
- Sangster’s Mensuration.
- Sangster’s Algebra.
- Sangster’s Philosophy, Parts I and II.
- Sangster’s Rudimentary Chemistry.
- A Slate.
- Two Dictation Books.
- Two Note Books.
- Two Writing Books.
- Drawing Materials.
- Two Book-keeping Books.

### Additional Qualifications for Honour First Class Provincial Certificates.

I.—Each Candidate to have held an Ordinary First Class Provincial Certificate, Grade A, for one year.

II.—To give evidence of having been a successful Teacher.

III.—To stand an Examination in the following subjects, in addition to those necessary for an Ordinary First Class Certificate, viz:—

1. English History and Literature, (Collier).
2. Canadian History and Geography, (Hodgins).

**FIGURE 8**
3. Outlines of Ancient and Modern History and Geography.
4. Latin Grammar, (Harkness), and Books IV, V, and VI of Caesar's Commentaries.
5. Outlines of Geology, (Dayell & Chapman's), and Astronomy, (Moody's).
6. Science of Teaching; School Organization, Management, etcetera, including a knowledge of the leading principles of Mental and Moral Philosophy.
9. Euclid,—Books XI and XII.
10. Trigonometry, as far as the solution of Plane Triangles (Colenso).
12. The Principles of Book-keeping; Music and Drawing.

General Regulations to be Observed by the Normal School Students.

Students are permitted to board only in Houses which are specially licensed for that purpose by the Council of Public Instruction.

All Students are required to be in their respective Boarding Houses by 9.30 p.m.

Students are not permitted to indulge in games, or in practical jests, which are calculated to annoy their Class Mates, or to excite ill-feeling.

Students are not permitted to attend evening Lectures, or to go to places of amusement in the evening, or to absent themselves from their respective Boarding Houses for the night, without the express permission of the Head Master first obtained.

Male and female Students are not permitted to communicate with one another, either verbally or in writing, or in any other way, during the Session; nor are female Students permitted to form any new male acquaintances during their attendance at the Institution.

All Students are required to keep their Desks clean, and neatly arranged, to refrain from all talking, or whispering, etcetera, during Lecture and Recitation, to maintain a proper attitude and bearing in Class, and to refrain from all habits that are in any way offensive and objectionable; to diligently prepare his work from day to day, and to conform cheerfully to all the special requirements of the Masters.

Inattention to these Regulations is followed by a report of the delinquency to the Chief Superintendent, and suspension, or dismissal, from the School, as-in his judgment seems best.

Certificates, and the Average Length of Attendance.

The Certificates given are divided into First and Second Class, and each Class is subdivided in three grades, indicated respectively by the letters A, B and C. Thus, beginning with the lowest and proceeding to the highest, they run, Second Class, grade C; Second Class, grade B; Second Class grade A; First Class, grade C; First Class, grade B; and First Class, grade A. All of these are legal authorizations to teach in any part of the Province of Ontario, and, with the exception of grade C, of Second Class, are valid until revoked by the Chief Superintendent. Second Class Certificates, grade C, are only valid for one year from the date of issue.

The time required to take a Certificate depends, of course, upon the attainments and ability of the Student, and the grade and Class to which he aspires. To obtain a First Class grade A, the average time taken is between three and four Sessions. A few have taken such Certificate in one Session, but the majority require four, five and even six Sessions. The average time required to take a Normal Class Certificate, grade A, is about two Sessions.

Very few spend only one Session at the Normal School. In most cases, Students return for a second, and, in many cases, a third, or fourth, Session. The Certificates
The Model is a model for examining. There girls are stuffed with more algebra than common sense, and far more than they ever have occasion for. The "Normal" is even worse. There each pupil has no less than twenty-one books to swallow. Algebra, chemical physics, geometry, hydrostatics and similar branches are the principal subjects taught. . . . They are taught too much in too short a time, and the mental and physical sufferings some of them have to endure while studying I too well know.

The entrance examinations for screening out unqualified aspirants also covered many areas, as these samples show:18

Parse--Within two days succeeding his departure, the second sister was prostrated by a fatal illness, which terminated in three days.

Write fifteen lines of composition on the following subject: Should a parent be compelled to educate his children?

What is a participle? A preposition? An adverb?

Name the principal lakes and mountains of Europe.

Give the dates of the principal battles between the Persians and the Greeks, in the invasion of Greece by the former, and state where each was fought.

How does Instruction differ from Education?

After passing the preliminary hurdle, the scholar took tests every six weeks during the five-month session which closed with final examinations lasting six days, during which students wrote six hours a day. These successive hurdles took their toll. About one in ten failed to pass the battery of entrance examinations; of those remaining

18Normal School, Upper Canada, Entrance Examination Papers, Twenty-Fifth Session, January, 1861. Ontario Provincial Archives, Toronto.
about four of five survived to the end of the session and wrote the final examinations, and five of six passed them. Some elementary calculating shows that of all who applied for admission to the Normal School, only sixty per cent ultimately passed the course and received a teaching certificate.19

Questions from the final examination in June, 1861 in the section "Science and Art of Teaching" included the following:20

1. What does the Science of Education teach us regarding modes of punishment?
2. What great end is to be attained by Education?
3. What is meant by discipline?
4. What is the best method of producing obedience in young children?
5. Describe how you would proceed to organize a school.
7. Is it necessary to remark on or deal with trifling departures from regularity? Give reasons.
8. In teaching a school, how would you commence the following subjects: Grammar, Composition, Geography?

19Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers, II, 45-46.
20Normal School, Upper Canada, Final Examination Papers, Twenty-Fifth Session, June, 1861. Ontario Provincial Archives.
9. Describe a rural School-house, as regards dimensions, number of rooms, furniture and fitting up, and apparatus.

10. What is moral culture? What is Aesthetic education? How is the latter connected with Common School education?

The paper set for the subject "Education" in 1869 contained these challenges to the neophyte teacher:21

Explain . . . "School Management."

Describe the Size, Construction, and Function of a School designed to accommodate 240 children in charge of a principal and three assistants.

How would you Classify the pupils of such a school?

State
I. The basis of classification
II. Whether you classify the sexes separately or together, and reasons. . . .

Describe keeping a school roll with
I. a record of Attendance and Punctuality
II. a record of Merit and Demerit Cards.

How would you conduct Reading with an advanced class?

How do you teach geography to Beginners?

Classify the Mode of Rewards and Punishments, with examples.

For what offenses, and under what restrictions, would you employ "detention in school at recess or after 4 P.M. or imposition of specific tasks" as school punishments?

What are the benefits of monthly reports to parents?

How would you act if some pupils are habitually late to school?

21 Normal School, Ontario, Final Examination Papers, Forty-Second Session, December, 1869.
Students were marked from one to six, and the percentages were: 1. 80% and up; 2. 65-80%; 3. 50-65%; 4. 40-50%; 5. 30-40%; and 6. less than 30%.

An analysis of the questions demonstrates some important characteristics of educational thought in the sixties. There is evidence of confidence that education was indeed a science with sound specific theories and effective practices. From the study and experience of their masters the students could learn approved ways of teaching a given subject and successful means of dealing with recalcitrant children. Rules of thumb were touted as eminently workable in the classroom situation.

Although a search for formulas to cover all the cases seems rigid and artificial to present-day teachers, this approach was decidedly superior to the traditional dependence on experience alone and the use of force and fear to rule a classroom. Education had gone "scientific" in its efforts to determine the best kinds of procedures, and the application of the principles in schoolrooms was the "art" of teaching.

Another characteristic of examinations was the open-ended question ("What great end is to be attained by Education?") which offered the student an opportunity to expound in lofty terms the great good education could bring.

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22Hodgins, Documentary History, XXII, 71.
The many clergy-educators and the religious orientation of society explain why students were often asked to write homilies extolling education.

The administration of the school imposed strict rules and assumed paternalistic authority over the students, many of whom were away from home for the first time. Students were to lead "orderly and regular lives, to be in their respective lodgings every night before Half-past Nine o'clock, P.M., and to attend their respective places of worship with strict regularity." One hour every Friday was devoted to religious instruction by the clergy of the various denominations to their students. The masters of the school were required to inspect the boarding-houses and to submit weekly reports. Boarding-house keepers had to submit detailed applications and be approved before students were allowed to board there.

Ryerson personally interviewed each Normal School applicant. Candidates had to give references attesting to

23 Extracts from the General Regulations, quoted in the Normal School Boarding House Application. Ontario Provincial Archives.


25 Boylen, op. cit., p. 35.
their "strictly temperate habits and good moral character." Older students particularly doubtless chafed under the strict regime, but it was the price to be paid for enjoying the benefits of professional training. Particularly trying to all was a rule proscribing all conversation between the sexes that was introduced in 1853. The rule forbade all speaking between members of the opposite sex in the student body and was in force twenty-four hours a day. The male students protested but to no avail. It was naturally broken from time to time, but not lightly, for one boy was expelled for violating it.  

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26 Normal School, Upper Canada, Entrance Examination Papers, Twenty-Fifth Session, January, 1861. Two sample testimonials to the qualities of hopeful applicants are:

I hereby certify that Mr. John McBride is a young man of good moral character as far as is known to me and that he attends my ministry. He purposes to engage in common school teaching and comes to the Normal School with the view of preparing himself for that profession.

I am satisfied that he will endeavour to conform to all the rules of the institution and to profit by the valuable ministries of his different preceptors.—James Boyd, Minister.

This is to certify that Miss Catherine McCammon has been known by me from childhood; that she has been brought up under my Ministry and I have great pleasure in thus bearing testimony to her good moral character.—A. Wilson, Minister of the Brock Street Presbyterian Church, Kingston.

27 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration, 1847-1897, pp. 41-42. Enterprising students were not without means of circumventing the rule and the hawk-like vigilance of the masters. At the fiftieth anniversary jubilee celebration in Toronto in 1897 Mrs. Georgiana Riches, who was a student in the twenty-third session, January-June, 1860, reminisced about breaches of the intent of the anti-social law that did
In the present era of permissiveness, student protest and even revolt, such sanctions seem unbelievable. But it is more readily understood when one considers that universities admitted no women at all, and girls had no legal status in grammar schools. The Normal School was therefore an innovator and the rule against conversation was imposed and applied partly to forestall zealous souls from complaining of the social "mingling of the sexes." The mere presence of girls in the Normal School, many only slightly older than grammar school pupils, demonstrates the measure of Ryerson's devotion to teacher-training, for he was adamantly opposed to coeducation.

Implicit in the rationale of regulations was the fact that many students came from rural areas, the girls as young as sixteen and the boys eighteen. The administration wished to protect young innocents from seduction by the evils of the wicked city, and the strict rules and boarding-house regulations were a comfort to distant parents, who were not

not break the letter of it. She said:

"The students were not allowed to speak or write to those of the opposite sex, but there was nothing said about singing to them, and many a 'blush mantled o'er the cheek' and 'two hearts beat as one' when the rich bass voice or the mellifluous tenor trilled out the first emotions of love under the window of his student sweetheart; those who were not birds of gentle beak proclaimed their passion in luscious fruits surreptitiously placed in the desk. No note was needed, each felt the presence of the other and 'Eyes looked love to eyes that spake again.'"
all convinced that Toronto was "the Good."

The purpose of the Normal School was not to develop thoughtful, mature and independent educators, but well-trained conformists. To conform was the essential characteristic for success. There were rewards for good behavior and strict adherence to studies. Students who achieved a first or second class certificate at the end of the session received one dollar per week for the session. Tuition was free, and room and board could be had for between $2.25 and $3.50 a week. Textbooks were provided at one-half of list price.28

Two sessions were held annually, from January to June and from August to December. Students enrolled either in the Junior or the Senior Division. Seniors were those who had been enrolled in at least one previous session and held a first or second class teaching certificate. A few exceptional newcomers might be placed in the Senior division upon their first application, but the general rule was that it took one or two sessions as a Junior before one achieved Senior standing.29

In the years from its opening up to 1871 the average number of persons enrolled per year was 164. The average

29Hodgins, Historical and Other Papers, II, 46.
length of attendance was one-and-a-half sessions per enrollee. The students were nearly equally divided in numbers between the sexes, although two-thirds of the men enrolled had had prior teaching experience, as compared with a little less than one-third of the women students.

Normal School graduates were soon in demand, for they were imbued with a spirit of professionalism, had mental constructs from which to work, and practical experience in working out the lectures of their mentors. Already in 1848 a local superintendent praised their work:

Wherever the trustees are fortunate enough to procure a Normal School teacher... we see great energy and a spirit of emulation, infused among the scholars. ... Wherever I have found these teachers (and we have about a dozen of them in this district) the parents always tell me with great satisfaction that heretofore they could scarcely hire their children to go to school, but now they cannot hire them to stay at home. The value of the Normal Institution is beyond all price.

Some criticisms were levelled at the Normal School: it cost too much to maintain and graduates left teaching soon after their graduation; it took common school funds which belonged to the teachers; the training was not practical enough; the Model School for practice-teaching was not typical of the common schools of the province; the

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30Hodgins, Documentary History, XXIV, 24.
31Ibid., XXV, 39.
32Boylen, op. cit., p. 31.
curriculum was too crowded and academic and not professional enough. Ryerson answered: statistics showed that most graduates did go into teaching (though not all considered teaching as a career); the Common School Fund was not devoted solely to paying teachers' salaries but for the furtherance of all education in the province; a select school to demonstrate the best techniques and organization cannot be the same as a typical common school; and the curriculum was a difficult problem to solve—for until students came with adequate academic backgrounds there would necessarily be insufficient time for professional studies.33

When high schools became more efficient in the seventies, the Normal School could put more emphasis on professional courses, and when the County Model School system of teacher-training was introduced in 1877 Normal School instruction turned almost entirely to professional education, for only experienced teachers were permitted to enroll.

From the viewpoint of observers in the twentieth-century, the 1860's were years in which the Normal School sought to perpetuate a rigid authoritarian system—but this was probably the only safe method for teachers who were immature, poorly equipped with academic knowledge, and

condemned to a bare subsistence economic level by the pitiful salaries of the day. It is unfair to expect such persons to think constructively for themselves and for their pupils. So the Normal School sought to teach them sure-fire methods of dealing with every teaching problem. In the '70's, '80's, and '90's the aim of the Normal School gradually moved from the organization of teaching material to a better understanding of the mind of the pupil.34

William Carlyle, an inspector of public schools in Oxford, Ontario, made these significant remarks about the effects of Normal School training in the early days—remarks which are still relevant to teachers of teachers:35

In those days, students of the Normal School received academic training in the Normal and Model Schools. Our masters were teachers and taught us as we were expected to teach our pupils. As a matter of course we taught the subjects as we had been taught them by masters in the art, so far as our aptitude permitted. The same influence is operating today. As inspector, I find teachers teaching academic work as they were taught it, not as they were directed to teach it in the training schools.

Primitive though the teacher-training system may appear to those taking a backward glance of a hundred years, and ill-prepared as students were, Harris observes that the

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35Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration, 1847-1897, p. 28.
fundamental concept and framework built by Ryerson has endured; that there has been no fundamental change in the essential emphasis of the basic course for elementary school teachers in Ontario for a hundred years. It still centers in teaching techniques, academic reviews, practice-teaching, and opportunities for observation.  

**Model Schools.** The first attempts to introduce teacher-training in Upper Canada occurred about a quarter-century before the Toronto Normal School opened in 1847. A monitorial school at Kingston and the Central School at York both proposed to train teachers but neither succeeded. In 1839 the Commissioners on Education suggested a model school be designated in each township, taught by a master and his wife in two rooms, one for boys, one for girls, to teach itinerant teachers how to teach. But nothing came of the plan. The Common School Act of 1843 provided for the establishment of a model school in each township whose teacher would receive a larger share of the school fund for giving gratuitous instruction to other teachers in the township. Model schools of a higher grade, one in each county, could also be established. Both types were

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dependent on the initiative of the local area, but grants-in-aid from the communities were slow in coming, and the few that began were unsatisfactory in staff and equipment. The regulation of 1846 that only new schools were permitted to be model schools further retarded their development. Nor were they supported by the Legislature as centralization was the aim of the leadership there, and the model school idea was foreign to this concept. Model schools were neither effective nor popular as teacher-training institutions, and Ryerson was obviously not impressed with them as instruments of preparing teachers. In 1847 when he opened the Normal School there were only three model schools extant and only one of them had a learning teacher for a short time.

Althouse summed up the early model school situation by saying "It is certain that after Ryerson's appointment Model Schools dwindled and died."\textsuperscript{38}

The School Act of 1850 again mentioned model schools, allowing Township Councils to levy sums to erect and support Township Model Schools, one for each township where student-teachers could learn by observing and helping.\textsuperscript{39} These failed to get underway, largely due to the apathy of local

\textsuperscript{38}Althouse, "The Ontario Teacher," pp. 26, 27, 115-17.

\textsuperscript{39}J. M. McCutcheon, Public Education in Ontario (Toronto: T. H. Best Co., Limited, 1941), p. 213.
superintendents. By 1855, model schools had ceased to function entirely.

During the sixties, then, the only training program for teachers was the Toronto Normal School. The majority who did not attend Normal School depended on home study or stayed in the common school to take the Fifth Book to prepare for certification examinations. Teachers were either "made in Toronto" or self-made.

Ryerson advocated the establishment of additional normal schools throughout the province to increase the number of trained teachers, but the costs involved and the lack of a sense of urgency on the part of the government for the project delayed this development. It was not until 1875 that a second normal school was opened, in Ottawa.

When Ryerson retired in 1876 the office of Chief Superintendent of Education was abolished at his suggestion in favor of a Minister of Education who was a member of the


41 J. G. Althouse, "Centenary Address," p. 13. The early permissive legislation on Model Schools coupled with the inauguration of the County Model School scheme of Crooks on a broad scale after 1877 has led many writers either to state directly or to infer that Model Schools were functioning from before 1850 right through to the twentieth century, when in fact they were insignificant to the fifties and non-existent from then until 1877.

Government. When the Hon. Adam Crooks assumed the office in 1876 and saw 5,000 untrained teachers the cost of extending the normal school system to all teachers seemed prohibitive. During its first twenty-five years the Toronto Normal School cost an average of $63 per student. At first Crooks thought an extensive on-going program of teachers' institutes might upgrade the profession, but he soon turned back to the old Model School concept of training teachers.43

The County Model Schools which he established in 1877 were self-contained training centers. Where Ryerson had regarded the Model School in Toronto not as a training ground in itself but rather as a part of the Normal School program, Crooks said that practice was all-important and teachers could learn theory largely on their own. In his view theory could be taught to a limited extent by the principals of the model schools but the practice was to come first both in time and in importance.44

Ryerson held that teachers were best trained by a separate institution in the principles of education. They should then observe these principles in practice, and finally practice the principles themselves in supervised teaching experiences. Crooks reversed the order--first

44 Ibid., pp. 117-18.
observe a good teacher, then try your hand at teaching yourself, and from observation and experience formulate principles which apply to the process of education.45

The County Model Schools were regular common schools, but for fourteen weeks from September to December each year aspiring teachers came for observation and practice-teaching under the direction of the school principal and staff. The idea was to get the best teachers on the model schools' staffs. Upon the completion of this stint of training, the individual was awarded a third-class teaching certificate, good for three years only. In order to continue after the three years, it was necessary to acquire a second or a first-class certificate, for which the teacher had to attend the Normal School. No one could be admitted to Normal School unless he had Model School training plus at least one year's teaching experience, so the Normal Schools then received only experienced teachers as students. The new order of things introduced compulsory education for teachers, in itself an admirable goal in view of the fact that only 17% of Ontario teachers in 1877 were Normal School graduates.46

45Ibid. The fundamental elements of these two approaches are operative in the teacher education programs of British Columbia's two largest universities, the oldest, the University of British Columbia, following Ryerson's position, and the youngest, Simon Fraser University, that of Crooks.

46Harris, op. cit., pp. 72-73.
This system continued in force until 1907, during which time the average annual attendance at the Model Schools was 1,200, while the Normal Schools enrolled but 300 annually, indicating a 75% drop out rate by teachers after three years of teaching or less.\textsuperscript{47} The Model Schools were designed to meet a specific situation and within the limits of their aims they were effective, for henceforth every Ontario teacher had some training before teaching in the classroom. This had never before been true in Ontario. Model Schools did not pretend to complete the teachers' professional training—that was to be the task of the Normal Schools under the new arrangements.\textsuperscript{48}

However, in the long run "the effect of the Model Schools upon the status of the profession was devastating."\textsuperscript{49} It was a step backward for it accelerated the tendency for transients to be attracted to teaching and held back the professional development of teachers. It offered an easy way to certification and led to an over-supply of teachers, and the young and immature would under-bid experienced teachers for positions. The Model School system arrested the upward trend that was getting underway in the previous

\textsuperscript{47}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{48}Althouse, "The Ontario Teacher," p. 121.

\textsuperscript{49}Ibid., p. 122.
forty years.50

The Model School concept so eagerly grasped to the detriment of the profession after 1877 was studiously ignored by Ryerson during his regime. During Ryerson's years, the number of teachers increased steadily, and the number with Normal School training and their percentage of the whole had not only been keeping pace but gradually gaining. Ryerson wanted three additional normal schools opened in 1872. Had this been done, Ontario would have been moving in the direction of normal school training as a requisite for all elementary teachers. In 1908 his suggestion was at last adopted and schools were opened at Hamilton, Peterborough, and Stratford as a consequence of giving up the Model School scheme in 1907. After the Ottawa Normal School was opened during Ryerson's last full year in office, 1875, no new normal school appeared until 1900 in London. North Bay received one in 1909 to raise the provincial total to seven.51

The normal school course after 1877 developed into a methodological set with a diminution of academic content which has continued in Ontario. If normal schools had expanded in the 1870's instead of contracting, a linking of

51 Harris, op. cit., pp. 72-73.
elementary and secondary teacher-training would have been facilitated and the normal schools' isolation from the universities would not have been established. But instead the isolation of normal schools from university campuses was crystallized and the pattern set. The seventies and eighties would have been propitious years for relating the work of teachers' schools to that of the universities, for those years saw the rapid development of the study of education as an academic study by such scholars as G. Compayre, Sorbonne; S. S. Laurie, Edinburgh; R. H. Quick, Cambridge; and G. Stanley Hall, Harvard and Johns Hopkins.52

Certification. Although the great majority in the sixties became teachers without formal training the status of the profession was protected in a measure by certification requirements. The power to regulate certification procedures was in the hands of the Provincial Council of Public Instruction. Until 1850 County Superintendents were responsible for the examination and certification of teachers in each county. The Act of 1850 transferred this authority

to the County Boards of Public Instruction which were created in that year. They consisted of the trustees of the county grammar school and the local superintendents of the common schools in the county. These boards also had the responsibility to "advance the interest and usefulness of Common Schools" and to see that authorized textbooks were used in the county schools, but in practice their main task was to examine and certify teachers.53

The Act of 1850 also gave the Chief Superintendent the power to grant provincial certificates to Normal School graduates without their taking county examinations, but Ryerson did not exercise this prerogative until 1853. By then, Normal School graduates had so clearly demonstrated their superiority in the examinations and in the classrooms that this privilege was not questioned. A Normal School graduate's provincial certificate entitled him to teach anywhere in the province; county certificates were good only in the county of issue.54

In 1858 the county boards were empowered to issue certificates of three classes, first, second, and third, with minimum requirements for each laid down by the Council of Public Instruction. Second class, grade C county

54Ibid.
certificates were good for only one year, and third class certificates were apparently never issued. Ryerson said in 1865 that third class certificates should be given only in extreme cases. Minutes of county boards of trustees reveal that none of their certificates were permanent, for at examination time they regularly declared all previous certificates to be null and void.55

County certificates represented the provincial authority, for the county boards after 1858 were agents of the province and examined for specific skills and definite knowledge. Thus, shortly before 1860, the classification of teachers by scholarship and training was established, and with it, the concept that teacher certification was the responsibility of the province.56

Provincial certificates were of but two classes, first and second, and depended on the marks obtained in the final examinations at the Normal School. Like county certificates, they also had three categories for each class, A, B, and C. To achieve a first class, A, certificate usually required three or four sessions in residence at the Normal School, (a few students stayed for as many as six sessions) and two sessions were about par for a second class, A, standing.


A second class, C, was valid for only one year, while the others were good until revoked by the Chief Superintendent, a restriction intended to keep teachers on their good behavior.57

Although the Provincial Council of Public Instruction laid down general regulations regarding the content and conduct of county certification examinations, the examinations themselves were prepared locally, which meant a wide disparity of standards. There was also the danger of dishonesty in their administration. In the County Education Conventions in 1866 Ryerson referred to "irregularity . . . in connection with the County Board of Public Instruction in their examination of candidates for certificates" as a reason for having uniform examinations given on the same day throughout the province.58 Jeremiah O'Leary, local superintendent in Ops, reported in 1863 that his County Board followed the suggestion that examination papers be printed beforehand, but added ruefully that they "by some means found their way to intending applicants who studied and learnt well to answer them, although completely ignorant of the arts and sciences to which these questions referred," so his board decided to discontinue printing question

58Journal of Education, XIX (February, 1866), 18.
Legislation in 1865 permitted the Council of Public Instruction to issue provincial certificates to "Meritorious Common School teachers" whose teaching records and performance on the county examinations would warrant this honor and who would then have the status of Normal School graduates.  

Thus during the 1860's the teacher's status was conditioned by the certificate he held. Classification was a step toward higher prestige. It recognized and labelled degrees of skill and scholarship; it improved the lot of the good teacher, and identified the less competent. The distinction between County and Provincial certificates gave an advantage to the trained teacher, for he had the privilege of moving about freely throughout the province without re-examination. As city school systems became more sophisticated with grading, report cards, and better apparatus, the trained teacher was usually in the best position to get the better-paying jobs in the cities.  

The School Act of 1871 introduced radical changes in certification. Teachers' certification examinations were

60 Hodgins, *Documentary History*, XIX, 27, 29.
61 Althouse, "The Ontario Teacher," p. 43.
thereafter prepared by a central committee chosen by the Provincial Council of Public Instruction and were given on the same day throughout Ontario, thereby eliminating previous inequities. Those candidates whose performance entitled them to a first or second class certificate were certificated for life (on good behavior) anywhere in the province. Third class certificates were good for only three years and only in the county where the examination was written. They were not renewable except on the recommendation of the county inspector in exceptional cases, for the intent was that third-class teachers should up-grade themselves. The new arrangement was well-received by the profession for where before they had been examined by physicians, lawyers, and clergymen, now they were evaluated by members of their own profession, a decided step forward in the development of professionalism.  

In 1860 only 424 of the 4,281 Upper Canada common school teachers held Normal School certificates, just under ten per cent. In 1869, 601 of the 4,920 certificated teachers were Normal School graduates, slightly less than twelve per cent.  

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per cent of the teachers had no formal professional training. Ryerson correctly believed that the extension of normal school training at various locations throughout the province would have accelerated the growth of trained teachers; and it would have perhaps deterred Crooks from implementing his ill-fated Model School System.

In-service training. The only organized in-service training for teachers in the sixties was provided by the local and provincial teachers associations, which will be discussed in chapter twelve. But early in his administration Ryerson had thought that teachers' institutes conducted by the Education Department would be useful in improving teaching in the province. In 1850 he received permission from the government to hold them in the various counties in Upper Canada. The opening of the fall session of the Normal School was deferred until September 1 so that the two principal Normal School masters could conduct the institutes.64 Institutes of two days' duration were conducted in twenty counties from May 30 to August 16 that year.65

The program included two or three lectures by a Normal School master, a few model lessons were taught, and

64 State Book K, handwritten minutes of the Privy Council, United Province of Canada, 24th April, 1850. Public Archives of Canada.

65 Hodgins, Documentary History, XXIV, 17.
papers describing special methods were read. But many teachers did not attend the institutes, and Ryerson wrote in his report for 1871: "I never acted on this provision of the Law but once, namely in 1850." His reasons for abandoning them were faulty classification of teachers, lack of suitably graduated programs of study for use at institutes, and the inability of local superintendents to arrange or conduct the meetings. Few teachers were found either willing or able to take the lead in the group study required by the visiting lecturers so that continuing the institutes would have been "useless and a waste of time and money" in Ryerson's opinion. His assessment was corroborated by the more efficient local superintendents and the Normal School masters.

It was also true that the initiative had come from the Education Department rather than from teachers themselves, who had little share in either planning or executing the program. The narrow aim to teach teachers gave little allowance for professional pride, and teachers had few if any regrets when institutes remained a dead issue for over twenty years. Though the initial effort to establish institutes in 1850 was unsuccessful, they did give some

66 Ibid., XXIII, 249.
impetus to neighboring teachers to get together in local associations to discuss local problems, teaching techniques, and school management.  

Ryerson ignored legislation which in 1859 again empowered him to form teachers' institutes. However, in the new order of things established by the Act of 1871 which included provisions for institutes, both Ryerson and teachers were ready for them, and the first ones under the new Act were held in 1873. Characteristically, having put his hand to the plow, Ryerson took up the cause of institutes with vigor and quoted people and examples from all over the United States extolling their benefits, and drew up regulations and procedures for them. He spoke of the great improvements that had taken place in education since 1850 which made institutes more practical. He referred to experienced and distinguished teachers who were then inspectors, and other teachers who were qualified to assist in the conducting of the sessions. The introduction of elementary science in the public school was another reason for institutes, to familiarize teachers with the best modes of teaching the new subjects.

69Ibid., p. 63.
70Hodgins, Documentary History, XXIII, 249-50.
The upgrading of teachers' certification examinations caused many teachers to desire institutes now, for they could see their practical worth. The common school teachers in convention in 1870 encouraged the formation of institutes to teach methodology, to break down barriers between teachers, and to create and maintain sympathy between teachers and the people.71

In 1871, a teachers' committee recommended that county institutes be held just before the summer certification examinations and that "attendance at such Meetings to be noticed by Examiners in awarding certificates."72 The teachers hoped that institutes would not only provide a means of cramming for the certification examinations, but also place those who attended in a favorable light before their judges. The institutes of the seventies offered an on-going program of in-service training, but they were dominated by the Education Department and hindered the development of local associations by duplicating much that had been on their agendas for study.

71Ibid., XXII, 153.
72Ibid., XXIII, 157.
CHAPTER XI

TECHNIQUES OF TEACHING

The textbook and individual recitation. The nearly exclusive use of the textbook both as the content and the means of schooling was a legacy of the pioneer period. Improvements in methodology and new directions in means and goals of learning were reported to teachers in the 1860's and were implemented by alert and innovating teachers, usually Normal School graduates; but the average teacher was without professional training and still strongly oriented to the textbook so that rote learning remained the order of the day. The modern belief that even in good schools the lag between the discovery of a promising practice by scholars and the general adoption of such practice is more than fifty years, may account for the situation in the sixties. Good teaching ideas and practices were in use, but only by a minority of teachers.¹

Pupils still memorized and recited; fixed questions required fixed answers with little regard for relevance and no opportunity for discussion.² Most teachers were amateurs


and the amateur often hides behind formality and authority to conceal his incompetence. So the teacher hid behind the authority of the textbook and the formality of the individual recitation. The pupil could fail if he did not have his work memorized exactly, but the teacher could not fail for he was required only to check the pupil's progress on the basis of the expert's written authority. The sixties were a time of great faith in authority. Leaders in church and state tended to emphasize obedience and conformity, and teachers did not desire to develop initiative and creativity or a critical mind in a pupil, but preferred to have the child memorize and conform rather than to question.  

Teachers' literature detailed various other types of teaching. There were references to the "simultaneous" method, which simply meant class teaching, as opposed to the "individual" method in which each child recites alone; the "intellectual" method of teaching meaning as against the "rote" method; the "suggestive" method of leading questions; the "elliptical" method of repetition in spiral fashion; and the "mutual" method of employing pupil monitors.  

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The mutual method was never widely adopted in Canada, although it was not without proponents, chiefly from about 1810 to 1845. In England and India, monitors helped teachers cope with large enrollments but in Canada nearly all schools even later than the sixties were of the small one-room variety. In Upper Canada, school monitors were used more informally, not as Bell and Lancaster had intended, but to mark down offenders against rules or occasionally to hear lessons of younger pupils.

Educators delighted in classifications. The categories gave the impression that a teacher used either the "intellectual" or the "elliptical" method and "never the twain shall meet." But if methods were combined, there was a label for this also, the "mixed" method, naturally. The use of such terminology was a beginning of professional vocabulary and while inadequate, it had its uses. It focused attention on means of teaching that were better than the old stilted way.

But whatever the theorists were saying, the average classroom teacher was indicted by the criticism: "It is the easiest task in the world to set a young child to memorize

book definitions, and the stupidest!" Charles Gordon wrote of his school days in the sixties that the greatest defect in the educational system was its emphasis on feats of memory. Hodgins' description of the worst manifestations of this "methodology" related that the loud hum of studying aloud was often heard as heads and bodies swayed simultaneously back and forth in rhythm with the voices. Voices were modulated without relation to the words on the paper and thoughts were often far off as the dreary memory work was drilled. Yet some masters were glad when all pupils were engaged in this "horrible, monotonous chant." Then came the recitations: "Confusion, stripes, tears and bellowings." The class was arranged in a long semi-circle. If a word "a foot and a half long" were missed, the master would deliver two or three strokes on tingling fingers or aching palm with the pitiless hardwood ferule.

In the sixties, the pupils all learned from the same textbooks. Strict uniformity is not considered good educational practice today when a variety of sources is deemed desirable. But a century ago it was a distinct step

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8J. George Hodgins, Ryerson Memorial Volume (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1889), p. 111.
forward, for in 1846 thirteen different spellers, one hundred-seven readers, thirty-five arithmetics, twenty geographies, twenty-one histories, and sixteen grammars were in use in Upper Canada's common schools.9

In the face of this confusing variety, Ryerson introduced uniformity and offered many suggestions on superior methods of instruction to lift the level of the schools to more acceptable standards. The schools rapidly adopted the textbooks authorized by the Council of Public Instruction, and Ryerson's annual reports gave the number of schools using prescribed textbooks in each subject.10

In the city of Nuremberg, Germany there is a famous carving known as the Nuremberger Trichter, which represents a schoolmaster holding a funnel to an opening in the top of the head of a luckless school boy into which he is supposed to be pouring knowledge. The "funnel" method which the carving illustrates so graphically was still typical of many teachers in the sixties.11

Review, drill and thoroughness. As with textbooks,

9Ibid., p. 105.

10For example, in the Annual Report, 1868, p. 10, he stated that "authorized text-books only are used in nearly all the Public Schools, the exceptions being less than 100."

so with learners: when standards are low, uniformity is a virtue because it brings all up to a mediocre level; but as performance accelerates, uniformity retards the progress of the able. Class teaching meant more efficient learning of data on a group basis, but it hindered bright pupils. Consider, for example, the views of Superintendent Porter of Toronto, in which the Board of Trustees concurred: "That teacher is always the most successful who possesses the greatest power of patient and unremitting drill" in all subjects, whether reading or geometry. He said that he and the trustees would fully sustain teachers who kept the whole class back until the slowest child had mastered the lesson for this was good practice. Good teaching consisted not in the number of lessons gone through, he maintained, but in the accuracy, readiness, and universality of the replies. "The more haste the less speed" was a proverb he offered to teachers as "absolutely and universally true in all matters of education."¹²

Note the tendency to ignore the individual in the concept of the "mass" or the "class." Perhaps the concept of mass production being utilized in the world of industry was finding application in the classrooms as all pupils

¹²James Porter, Seventh Annual Report of the Local Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Toronto, For the Year Ending December 31st, 1855 (Toronto: H. Rowsell, 1856), pp. 45-47.
were required to fit into the molds and be conveyed off the schools' production lines identically equipped to face the world. In the sixties, the educators were still concerned mainly with the mold and the machinery rather than with the raw material and the product.

To assist classes to learn large amounts of material, various drill techniques were adopted. One pupil of the sixties later reminisced about chanting facts in a sing-song manner: "I can remember singing lustily, along with the others--' the factors of a number are those which when multiplied together produce or make it.'" Since he had entered school in mid-term, he never heard the words spoken normally and could not catch the last three words as the voices dropped in cadence there. One day he accidentally saw the statements in Sangster's *Arithmetic*. In another school, the children sang reading and geography lessons to the tune of the Baden polka. The countries of Asia and the rivers of America, among other places, were learned to this tune.

Thoroughness in learning was emphasized again and again in teachers' literature. Constant reviews, both

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written and oral, were believed necessary to ensure the pupils' mastery of the subjects. Slow and sure were the watchwords, scholars were forced to go backward rather than forward until all was mastered. Teachers were warned not to be in a hurry as drill was of the essence of good teaching. As a result it was not uncommon for a pupil to have a reader almost memorized before going on to the next one.

A local superintendent addressing a teachers' meeting said pupils were required to read too much. In his opinion, they should be given short lessons and be required to read the same piece repeatedly.\textsuperscript{15} In the introductory suggestions to teachers the First Book of the Canadian Series was this advice: "Each lesson should be thoroughly mastered before the pupil proceeds to the next, and the back lessons may with profit be frequently reviewed."\textsuperscript{16}

Occasionally a writer would complain about the expansion of the curriculum that was taking place in the sixties because the number and variety of subjects militated against thorough learning.\textsuperscript{17} Pre-occupation with thoroughness could

\textsuperscript{15}Minutes, York Township Teachers' Association, February 27th, 1869. Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario.

\textsuperscript{16}Canadian Series of School Books, First Book of Reading Lessons, Part I (Toronto: James Campbell and Son, 1867), p. 4.

\textsuperscript{17}Educationalist, I (May 1, 1861), 127.
be carried to ridiculous lengths.\textsuperscript{18}

Every mis-pronounced word should be corrected by sounding the elementary sounds, and teachers would find it an excellent practice, securing great distinctiveness and carefulness, to make the pupil sound the elements and syllables backwards.

To learn something "backwards and forwards" was not merely a figure of speech to this zealous educator!

Review, drill, be thorough! seemed safe advice, for surely it was common sense and the best antidote to careless scholarship. Yet fundamentally it begged the question and only restated the problem, for the solution proffered was a slower pace and more drill, simply more of the old method that had not worked initially. What was required were some new departures.

In addresses to teachers' meetings and in journal articles, educators put forward the "best" methods of teaching reading, spelling, or other subjects. The belief that education was becoming a science encouraged theorists to look for the key that would unlock all barriers to learning a specific subject. Much that was written ostensibly about methods actually merely suggested ways of evaluating pupils' learning. For example, an article on the "best" method of teaching spelling would simply give the author's complicated technique of conducting a spelling test and indicate how he

\textsuperscript{18}\textit{Journal of Education for Ontario}, XXII (September, 1869), 134.
marked the papers. 19

The object method. The most significant development in the sixties was the spread of the "oral" method. It had many manifestations and variations but fundamentally it meant that pupils and teachers talked to each other. Teachers would explain material before assigning it, they would present lessons orally and discuss them with the class. Questions would be asked of individuals or the class could volunteer to answer; pupils could question the teacher on unclear matters. That such developments seem prosaic today indicates the formality of elementary education of that era and of the progress made in pupil-teacher rapport in a hundred years.

The Hope Commission reported: 20

The most striking innovation . . . was the new method of class teaching—by oral question and answer. This, of course, was the result of the Pestalozzian influence. Ryerson spread it by way of the Journal of Education and the normal schools. Graduates of these schools taught the gospel in county teachers' associations. The new method was made possible largely by the adoption of uniform textbooks for all pupils in the schools.

19 The Journal of Education contained many such brief articles in which authors, sometimes with a singular lack of modesty, proclaimed that if faithfully followed their way would prove superior to all others.

20 Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950, p. 13. Although the report refers to normal schools, during the period under discussion there was only the one in Toronto; the second, in Ottawa, was not opened until 1875.
Teachers were encouraged to pose questions of their own devising to test pupil understanding. Ideally, the questions were to lead pupils to inquire further into topics on their own initiative. Sometimes more than one subject would be integrated into the questions, taking the children's environment into account. The more sophisticated techniques were difficult to introduce widely because the teacher had to be thoroughly informed on the various topics.21

The Model School attached to the Toronto Normal School was an early exponent of the oral method and pioneered in the use of objects. The rooms were like galleries, with seats rising so that all pupils could readily see the teacher. The use of objects and class teaching made unobstructed vision important. Free discussion between teacher and pupils was called the "conversational" method, and textbooks were

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21Carlton, op. cit., pp. 73, 80. The new techniques were utilized extensively by Normal School graduates, but parents did not always appreciate progress in educational methodology. Some parents in Oshawa "didn't like the new-fangled ways," and said "there wasn't no use in tip-toeing children up higher than ever their fathers were taught," cited in J. George Hodgins, The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910 (3 vols.; L. K. Cameron, 1910), I, 259. And, as usual, the innovation could have its "dangerous aspects," for the Journal of Education carried an article warning that "the introduction of oral teaching into our primary schools must be attended with a reduction in the number of school hours." If these two reforms did not go together, scores of the best primary teachers would prematurely break down, for four hours of oral teaching was "far more exhausting than six hours of ordinary lesson hearing." Cited in Journal of Education, XXII (February, 1869), 28-29.
seldom employed during the lessons as the teachers were not slavishly bound to them.22

The Model School attracted many visitors. An American from Baltimore was greatly impressed in 1862 at the manner in which explanations were given in all subjects and how the recitations were all conducted by questioning. He observed that the material which had been learned was elicited from the pupils in a natural way. He noted that the children became highly animated in their desire to answer the teacher. The whole system seemed to him a sort of story-telling process in which the minds of the hearers were kept in continual excitement and the interest prolonged by their being made parties in the free interchange of thought.23

The "object" method, which added Pestalozzi's dictum of "things, not words" to the oral method was highly touted in the 1860's as a most effective teaching technique. The teacher would hold up an object, ask questions about it to elicit information from the children, and then give further information about its qualities. The display of an object aroused the interest of the children. An object lesson on glass from the Third Book of the Irish National Readers is given in Figure 10.

22 Journal of Education, XIV (February, 1861), 23.

23 Hodgins, Documentary History, XVII, 41-42.
Glass is made of sand or flint and the ashes of certain plants, which are made to melt and unite by exposure to intense heat. It is said to have been discovered by some merchants, who were driven by stress of weather on the coast of Syria. They had lighted a fire on the shore with a plant called kali; and the sand, mixing with the ashes, was vitrified by the heat. This furnished the merchants with the hint for the making of glass, which was first regularly manufactured at Sidon, in Syria. England is now much celebrated for its glass.

There are three sorts of furnaces used in making glass; one to prepare the frit, a second to work...
the glass, and a third to anneal it. After the ashes and sand are properly mixed, they are put into the first furnace, where they are burned or calcined for a sufficient time, and become what is called frit. This being afterwards boiled in pots or crucibles of pipe-clay in the second furnace, is fit for the operation of blowing, which is done with a hollow tube of iron about three feet and a half long, to which the melted matter adheres, and by means of which it is blown and whirled into the intended shape. The annealing furnace is used for cooling the glass very gradually; for if it be exposed to the cold air immediately after being blown, it will fall into a thousand pieces, as if struck by a hammer.

Teacher. Now, in this piece of glass, which I hold in my hand, what qualities do you observe? What can you say that it is?

Pupil. It is bright.

T. Feel it, and tell me what it is?

P. It is cold.

T. Feel it again, and compare it with the piece of sponge that is tied to your slate, and then tell me what you perceive in the glass?

P. It is smooth; it is hard.

T. What other glass is there in the room?

P. The windows.

T. Look out at the window, and tell me what you see?

P. I see the garden.

T. When I close the shutter, what do you observe?

P. I cannot see any thing.

T. Why cannot you see any thing?

P. I cannot see through the shutters.

T. What difference do you observe between the shutters and the glass?

P. I cannot see through the shutters, but I can see through the glass.

T. Can you tell me any word that will express the quality which you observe in the glass?

P. No.

T. I will tell you, then; pay attention that you may recollect it. It is transparent. What do you now understand when I tell you that a substance is transparent?

P. That you can see through it.

T. You are right. Try and recollect something that is transparent.

P. Water.

T. If I were to let this glass fall, or you were to throw a ball at the window, what would be the consequence?

P. The glass would be broken. It is brittle.

T. If I used the shutter in the same way, what would be the consequence?

P. It would not break.

T. If I gave it a heavy blow with a very hard substance, what would happen?

P. It would then break.

T. Would you therefore call the wood brittle?

P. No.

T. What substances then do you call brittle?

P. Those that are easily broken.

FIGURE 10—Continued
Ryerson encouraged the use of object lessons and oral teaching through the *Journal of Education*, his annual reports, and at teachers' conventions. He appeared to be not so much partial to any one method as he was interested that pupils should be taught to think and learn on their own initiative. He was not pre-occupied with finding the one best way but rather was glad if teachers tried new ways to motivate and teach effectively.²⁴

The trend to the use of visual apparatus that developed was a result of the growth of science and technology. Ryerson was right with the times and kept the Educational Depository well-stocked with material to assist alert teachers to do their work more effectively. Objects were stocked as well as printed object lessons for classroom use. Already in 1860 12,746 sheets of these lessons were sold by the Depository in that one year.²⁵

The *Journal of Education* regularly reported new devices designed to assist teachers in presenting lessons in a concrete way. Items available in the Depository included:²⁶

²⁴Carlton, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-84.


Planetariums, Tellurians, Lunarians, Celestial Spheres, Numerical Frames, Geometrical Forms and Solids, &c. Also, a great variety of object lessons, Diagrams, Charts and Sheets. Magic Lanterns, with suitable slides, from $2.40 to $1.20 with objects, Telescopes, Barometers, Chemical Laboratories, beautiful Geological Cabinets, and various other Philosophical Apparatus in great variety.

General School Room Maps, Raised Maps, Map Cases, Rotary Map Stands, Globes, and Elementary School Apparatus relating to Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Pneumatics, Electricity, Electro-Magnetism, Optics, Chemistry, &c., &c., may be obtained by schools at the Depository of the Education Department, Toronto.

The orrery was the solar system in miniature and could be set in motion by turning a crank. The magic lantern, a pre-cursor of the modern slide projector, used glass slides and was warmly recommended to trustees as an excellent teaching device, especially for astronomy, anatomy, geography and science subjects. Vaulting benches, parallel bars, and dumbbells were offered for use in physical training classes. Most of these items were beyond the reach and the interest of the average school section, but by advertising Ryerson reminded them of the possibilities and the low prices enabled progressive areas to avail themselves of the apparatus.

The use of visual aids and oral teaching encouraged two-way communication and promoted teacher interest in the individual child. It tended to humanize the learning process as one person conversed with another about a topic of mutual interest. It was a beginning of recognizing the
child as more of a participant in the learning process than simply as a recipient of instruction from teacher or textbook.

The very word "conversation" in the pupil-teacher context was a large step forward. The use of objects to arouse interest and to sustain attention was indicative of a sensitivity to pupil needs. It was no longer deemed satisfactory to have the teacher talk and the pupil listen, or to have the pupil recite and the teacher listen. The new methods made learning more of a two-way street.

Some in the sixties even began to stress education for self-improvement, that pupils should take more initiative in learning. While this was still largely on the theoretical level, it did affect practice, for some teachers believed that a pupil did not learn by what the teacher did for him, but by what he was brought to do for himself. One progressive proponent of this theory was the editor of the Educationalist who wrote in 1860:

It cannot be too earnestly insisted upon, that in education the process of self-development should be encouraged to the greatest possible extent. Children should be led to make their own inferences. They should be told as little as possible, and induced to discover as much as possible. They should be put in the way of solving their questions. To tell a child this, and to show it that, is not to show it how to observe, but to make it a mere recipient of another's observations, a proceeding which tends to weaken rather

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27Educationalist, I (September 15, 1860), 4.
than to strengthen its powers of self-instruction; which thus generates that indifference and even disgust with which its lessons are not infrequently regarded.

This statement could have been written today, as the very term "discovery" is in vogue, particularly in science subjects where the "new" discovery method is employed.

Pupil freedom in the classroom necessary to implement these ideas was slow in coming. Its cautious introduction then was a far cry from the openness found in good classrooms in the 1960's and the new emphases and techniques did not revolutionize Ontario classrooms overnight. Teachers and pupils alike could not lightly dismiss long-ingrained habits and attitudes. Most teachers then, as now, taught the way they had been taught.

The responses of children suddenly confronted by an "enlightened and progressive" Normal School graduate must have been halting and stilted at first. The free informal atmosphere characteristic of modern classrooms was beyond the experience of teachers and pupils in the 1860's. It was against a tradition of rigidity and restraint that change took place, bit by bit. Good theory and practice by modern standards is encountered in the best that was written in teachers' journals and among the gifted and devoted teachers.

Teaching reading. As textbook writers almost invariably devoted the introduction to the manner in which
the subject should be taught, the two reading series in use in the sixties are primary sources for ascertaining how beginners were taught to read. The Irish National Readers were used from 1846 to 1867 when the new Canadian Series was introduced. The two series were fundamentally the same in their approach to beginners.

The **First Book** in the Irish Series began with lessons designed to make the child familiar with the forms of the letters and their sounds, from the simplest to the most difficult. These were not learned in isolation but were utilized in simple words and sentences. The introduction said: 28

... first, to train the Children to a ready perception of the forms, and a quick sense of the sounds of the letters and their combinations, and, next, to cultivate with them, by patient and careful repetitions, a clear, firm, and round utterance.

As soon as the children had learned some of the letters of the alphabet they were to commence to read as well as spell. The first lessons were reproduced on large Tablet Lessons and it was recommended that the children stand in a semicircle opposite the tablet. The teacher would stand alongside the tablet and point out the letters and words with a pointer, calling on the children to name them. Then the pupils were to read through the words as arranged in

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sentences. Then the reading was to be explained, but "sparingly" at first, following which the words were to be spelled as the tablet was turned to the wall. Spelling was an integral part of the reading process as the words in each lesson were to be spelled as an aid to reading.  

In the explanation phase of the lesson, children were asked questions like these:  

How many letters in the word Sam? Which is the first letter? The last? The middle letter? Of what is Sam the name? The right or full name for Sam? For Pat? Would you call a little girl Pat or Patrick? By what name like to Pat or Patrick might she be called? What sort of names are these? What other names have we?  

The Canadian Series which replaced the Irish Series in 1867 was arranged in much the same manner. Figures 11 and 12 contain the first lessons of the First Book, Part I, and its sequel, Part II, which correspond to their counterparts in the Irish Series. Again, large Tablet Lessons identical to the lessons in the First Book were recommended to teachers for class instruction. The textbook advised teachers to draw the letters of the first lesson on the blackboard or point to them on the tablet as the children learned their forms and names. The first sentence of the lesson was then printed on the blackboard or pointed out on the tablet, distinctly pronounced by the teacher and repeated by the class, until  

29Ibid., pp. ii, iv.  
30Ibid., p. v.
FIRST BOOK.

SECTION I.—LESSONS ON THE LETTER-FORMS.

LESSON I.

a, o, i, x, n, m, s, t.

is it an ox?
it is an ox.
so it is an ox.
am I on it? no.
is an ox on it? no.
is an ox in it?
an ox is in it.

LESSON II.

e, b, d, g, h, w.

do we see an ass?
we do see an ass.
is it an ox?
no, it is an ass.
is he on it? he is on.
see it go!
go on, ass, do go on.
do we go to it?
no, we go by it, so.

LESSON III.

c, f, j, l, r, y.

I see a jay by my egg.
is it my egg? no.
if it is an egg, it is my egg.
lo, it is an egg; it is my egg.
is my egg in it? an egg is in it.
his at my egg.
he is at it, or by it.
is he by it, or on it? he is by it.
TO THE TEACHER.

meanings, the Teacher is expected to give only the particular meaning attached to the word in the lesson under consideration.

II. The lesson is read sentence by sentence, and is dealt with, generally, as recommended in Part I, Section II.

III. The lesson last under consideration, or any previous lesson, may be employed as affording materials for an exercise either in oral spelling or in spelling on the slate, care being taken, in either case, to have every word spelled in its proper connection. For this purpose, the teacher is recommended to give the words in short connected phrases, and to call upon each pupil to spell all the words of a phrase. Pupils will thus learn to associate with one another the sign, the sound, and the sense of each word.

It is earnestly hoped that the Teacher will not use the isolated words at the head of each lesson as an exercise in spelling, especially before the lesson has been read. The most useful spelling exercise at this stage of the pupil's advancement is that which shows him to be familiar with the orthography of the words he has already met with in his reading.

EDUCATION OFFICE,
TORONTO, December, 1865.

PART II.—SECTION I.

LESSONS ON THE SOUNDS OF THE DOUBLE CONSONANTS.

LESSON I.

Do you see this fine red and white bull? Well, when I was a boy, just such a bull as this ran at me one day as I went to school. I was on the road, and I did my best to get out of the way; but I saw that the bull would soon be up to me. So I ran on and on and on, till at last I could hear him close to me. I threw down my books, and I knew that he would stop and look at them. Soon he was once more close to me. I knew not what to do. There was no fence near the road, and I could not run much more. I was sure the bull would have me; but just then a man came up with two dogs. They drove off the bull, and I was safe at last.

FIGURE 12
the children could read the sentence as a whole. Succeeding sentences were dealt with similarly.\textsuperscript{31}

When pupils were able to read the sentences as given on the tablets, the teacher selected other combinations of words from the lesson to form new sentences to see if the pupils could read them. At the close of the lesson, pupils might be asked to print all the letters and words of the lesson on their slates. However, the teacher was advised not to trouble the pupil with oral spelling at this early stage, as the Irish readers had recommended. Rather, the textbook advised, the pupil's eye by this stage was becoming familiar with the word signs and he was learning to spell "insensibly."\textsuperscript{32}

Succeeding lessons included words containing more letters and syllables. New letters and new words were listed at the top of the page, with sentences below. Teachers were carefully warned to be sure to pronounce new words carefully and to proceed slowly, making sure that all pupils had mastered the lesson at hand before going ahead.

By the sixties, the deadly dull practice of drilling the alphabet relentlessly for weeks and months before proceeding to words was the exception rather than the rule.

\textsuperscript{31}Canadian Series of School Books, First Book of Reading Lessons, Part I, p. 3.

\textsuperscript{32}Ibid.
Ryerson had scathingly attacked this practice already in his Report of 1846. Beginners might still be called the "alphabet class" or "abecedarians" but were not generally doomed to the parrot-like repetition of the letters, first frontwards and then backwards, as the luckless children of pioneer days were wont to do.33

Reading was a popular topic among teachers who entertained a variety of views about the best method of teaching it. The controversies have a familiar ring, for the basic issues in reading and the options available to teachers today were known then, and the contemporary argument over the relative merits of the word (look and say) method versus the phonic method of working from the sounds


In his 1846 Report Ryerson became quite exercised over the practice of teaching the alphabet at length to beginning readers, calling it "tedious... irksome, stupifying... unnatural... dull monotony... Not a single faculty of the mind is occupied except that of imitating sounds; and even the number of these imitations amounts to only twenty-six. A parrot or an idiot could do the same thing... echoing the senseless table of a, b, c. As a general rule, six months are spent before the twenty-six letters are mastered; though the same child would learn the names of twenty-six playmates or twenty-six playthings in one or two days." Egerton Ryerson, Report of a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada (Montreal: Lovell & Gibson, 1847), pp. 63, 72-73.
of the letters rang through the debates when teachers in the 1860's gathered to discuss reading. There were proponents of a combination of the two approaches, which was what the readers employed.\textsuperscript{34} By 1871 almost everything that could be said about learning to read had been written and published.\textsuperscript{35}

Even the fundamental concept and structure of the initial teaching alphabet (ITA) method which is increasingly employed in the 1960's had been developed by the 1860's. Sir Isaac Pitman developed a phonetic alphabet and devised a reading system he called "phonotopy" which was introduced briefly in St. Louis, Missouri in the 1860's.\textsuperscript{36} Ontario also had a linguistic innovator in the person of William V. Huntsman of Oxford County who developed a phonetic alphabet which he presented to the Provincial Teachers' Convention in 1865. He demonstrated the method with a series of charts, and said he was able to teach children to read in half the

\textsuperscript{34}The Committee on Primary Instruction of the Provincial Teachers' Association gave a lengthy report on techniques of teaching reading and other elementary school subjects to the Convention in 1867. It is reported in the Journal of Education, XX (October, 1867), pp. 163 ff.; and also in Hodgins, \textit{Documentary History}, XX, 91 ff.


\textsuperscript{36}St. Louis, Missouri \textit{Post-Dispatch}, May 12, 1965.
usual time. These early ITA systems worked well, but the great problem hindering their widespread adoption was the lack of an adequate body of literature printed in the symbols and spellings of the phonetic alphabets. The production of such material is the key factor in the spread of the method a century later.

After pupils had mastered the rudiments of reading, they were introduced to the higher branches. Mechanical reading embraced the loudness, distinctness, slowness or tempo, and proper pronunciation of words. Intellectual reading dealt with the understanding of material read. Oral reading, or elocution, was the branch that developed ability to read interestingly and forcefully aloud while entering into the spirit and feeling of the author. Oral reading was emphasized throughout, for it developed qualities deemed necessary for success in public life as three important professions, the ministry, law, and politics required ability in public speaking. Texts and teachers alike warned against reading in sing-song rhythms or in "wretched monotones."

Methods of reading in the sixties covered the entire spectrum of possibilities. At the one end were a few holdouts who still were convinced that without the proper

37Hodgins, Documentary History, XIX, 65.
foundation one could not learn properly and who therefore drilled the alphabet; in the middle were the majority who taught by sounds and word recognition combined; some stressed word recognition almost exclusively at first; and at the far end were one or two who used a phonetic alphabet like the modern ITA.

**Teaching spelling.** During the nineteenth century, spelling was over-valued at the expense of other studies. Estimates place the amount of time devoted to it at about one-third of the time of common school instruction. There was some reason for this emphasis for there was then more private correspondence, a custom the use of the telephone has greatly diminished. Spelling was also a kind of social institution as spelling bees provided not only relief from ordinary class routines but were also featured at social gatherings. More significant is the fact that many teachers (nearly all in the first half-century) regarded spelling as the basis for reading. The belief that spelling aids reading persists even today in the practice of asking pupils to spell a word that they have failed to recognize.

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As authors of early spelling books assumed that spelling was a necessary preparation for reading, their textbooks contained reading exercises for beginners as well as lists of words and a variety of other material. It was common practice to learn the letters and then form syllables and finally words. Reading was not begun until the pupil had mastered the spelling of long lists of words. This was for the most part a waste of time, since the ability to spell very often lags behind ability to read, and when a child reads he recognizes a word by its general appearance and not by analyzing it into its component parts. In the course of time, reading matter was omitted from spellers. Early books in use in Upper Canada were Mavor's *English Spelling Book*, Cobb's *New Spelling Book*, and Carpenter's *Scholar's Spelling Assistant*. These books, in harmony with the prevailing notion that small words were always easy words, classified words into lists according to length.\textsuperscript{41}

The rules for spelling in the early spellers were not very helpful because they were given as formal statements and were not first developed inductively. Later a reaction set in among teachers and educationists against the practice of spending so much time learning to spell orally the long list of words in the spellers. It was

\textsuperscript{41}Ibid., p. 25.
thought that the ordinary words could be learned better and more easily by studying them as they appeared in their natural connection in the readers, and this was the prevailing feeling in the 1860's. The more difficult words and special classes of words might still be learned from a spelling book. 42

Robert Sullivan, a master of the Dublin Normal School in Ireland, had written a speller that proceeded on this assumption which he titled The Spelling-Book Superseded. In the preface, he wrote that teachers no longer needed to force pupils to the useless drudgery of memorizing uninteresting and endless columns of a spelling-book but recommended they employ dictation instead. The teacher was to read a sentence from a reading book or to compose one himself and the pupils would either write down the whole dictation (which Sullivan thought was best) or only selected words from the dictation sentence for spelling practice. He said that learning to spell the words as they occurred in reading lessons was much superior to learning to spell words syllabically and alphabetically as arranged in spelling books. Therefore, there was no need for spellers for beginners. However, he added, there was still need for a spelling textbook for reference and to give special classes of words

42 Ibid., p. 27.
and practical rules to older students. The pupil would not ordinarily use *The Spelling-Book Superseded* until he reached the Third Book of reading lessons.\textsuperscript{43}

Sullivan's book contained long lists of homonyms and other special classes of words, dictation sentences, rules for spelling, orthoepy (pronunciation), Latin, Greek and English prefixes and affixes, Latin and Greek roots, English etymologies and Latin words and phrases. Much in it was interesting and valuable; but it was pretentious, and the method of treatment was too elaborate for common school classes.\textsuperscript{44}

In 1868 Sullivan's speller was superseded by the *Companion to the Readers* that had been prepared for use with the new Canadian Readers. Modelled on Sullivan's, it had 222 pages, of which 108 were devoted to lists of spelling words and the remainder to a variety of subjects: principles of orthography, orthoepy and elocution, etymology or the derivation of words, Latin words, phrases and quotations, and sentences for dictation. The spelling lists were quite as elaborate as those found in the early spellers and contained a large number of words not in common use. The grouping was according to length, vowel sounds, and position

\textsuperscript{43}Sullivan, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

\textsuperscript{44}White, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
of the accented syllable. It was prepared for classes in the Third Book and above but the work was not otherwise graded.\textsuperscript{45}

Although both spellers authorized for use in Ontario in the sixties contained dictation exercises and teachers wondered publicly about the value of oral spelling, spelling matches remained a regular occurrence on Friday afternoons and during the winter months spelling bees were frequently held at the schoolhouse in the evenings with the young people of the neighborhood participating.\textsuperscript{46}

 Teaching writing. Penmanship illustrates again the gulf between theory and practice evident in the elementary curriculum. Writers of handwriting manuals and teachers' textbooks wrote long and tedious analyses meticulously distinguishing between the intellectual and mechanical aspects of the subject: the intellectual or theoretical dealt with grasping the principles and concepts of penmanship; the mechanical or practical had to do with the muscular movements required to develop a good hand.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., pp. 27-28.

\textsuperscript{46}Ibid.

In this subject, the influence of Pestalozzi was a negative one. Penmanship experts vied with each other in reducing the strokes of writing to the smallest denominator, describing strokes, ovals, loops, hooks, curves and double curves, lower turns, upper turns, left and right curves, et al. Some suggested the use of a metronome to attain the right beat and rhythm of movement; many advised counting aloud as the class executed the various strokes in unison.  

The concept of class teaching which brought many improvements in instruction also brought with it a blind devotion which, in the case of penmanship, glorified uniformity above all else. One writer noted that some pupils moved too rapidly, others moved too slowly with an irregular, tremulous motion—and urged that these should all get together so that they not only make the same letter, but the same part of the letter at the same time. He ascribed almost mystical qualities to the practice of counting to achieve this unison in writing:

For these ends, no method has yet been found superior to counting. It checks the sudden jerks with which beginners strike off the final parts of letters, and constrains them to such a rate of progress as gives time for thought and care. Besides this, it urges the very slow to a proper speed, and checks the hurried rate of the nervous; while it exercises a peculiarly beneficial influence on the irritable.

48 Ibid.  
Uniformity and drill were ever the watchwords; if a teacher could achieve a military-type precision in the execution of a penmanship lesson he was regarded as an excellent teacher of the subject. Figure 13 contains an article on penmanship which indicates the military precision many writers extolled. However, the evidence suggests that penmanship purists had few disciples among the teachers of Ontario, as there was little serious teaching of writing in the common schools.\textsuperscript{50}

The usual approach was for the teacher to write lines of copy, called headlines, on the blackboard or on the top of the pupils' slates or paper and the pupils set out to duplicate the words as best they could. If a pupil had a lined copy book, he would practice on slate or foolscap before writing in his lined book. A few schools had copy books with headlines printed on the top of each page for children to copy on the blank lines below.\textsuperscript{51}

The only authorized writing material were the \textit{Tablet Lessons} of the Irish National Series which consisted of a set of copy lines for children to copy on slate or foolscap, authorized in 1846. In 1871 \textit{Writing Copy Books} for the use

\textsuperscript{50}\textup{White, op. cit., p. 73.}
\textsuperscript{51}\textup{Tbid.}
V. PAPERS ON PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

PENMANSHIP—ITS THEORY AND PRACTICE.

By W. H. Ellsworth.

MATERIALS FOR WRITING.

It is but poor economy, at best, which furnishes materials of an inferior quality for carrying on any of the arts, and, perhaps, none in which it is more exhibited than the very first in which the young hand is to be practiced—the Art of Writing.

Writing materials should always be the best which can be procured, and the practice of economy in their use should be inculcated upon every pupil. They should always be of uniform quality throughout the school; a uniformity which may be distributed by persons appointed for that particular purpose, and should always be under the charge and supervision of the teacher.

To aid in the selection of proper materials, the necessary qualities which they should possess are here briefly enumerated:

1. Pens: Metallic pens have now generally superseded the quill for common use.

Their general introduction has dispensed with a vast amount of unprofitable labor, in making and mending pens, and thereby effectually saved a great saving of valuable time to teachers, enabling them to superintend and instruct their classes in a much more thorough and correct manner.

Pens have been made of every kind of metal, yet nothing seems better adapted to the purpose than steel. Although gold pens have a great advantage over steel, in point of durability and flexibility, yet their quality of mark is generally inferior and lifeless. The appearance of the marks from pens which have been in use for some time is altogether different from the oil painting which derive from those which have been in use for a longer period of time.

The points should not exceed three fourths of an inch, and fresh ink should be supplied by the pupil. A piece of black cloth, of any shape, will be of great use, and will, in general, do as much toward advancing the school as oil painting differs from the steel engraving. The marks of the oil painting differ from the steel engraving.

2. Ink: Indian ink when necessary, and should never be left open.

It is but poor economy, at best, which furnishes materials of an inferior quality for carrying on any of the arts, and, perhaps, none in which it is more exhibited than the very first in which the young hand is to be practiced—the Art of Writing. To prevent blots, do not take too much ink upon the pen at once, and never allow yourself to hold the pen in your mouth, or carelessly by the end of the holder.

But as blots will always occur, even under the utmost care, it is important to know how to erase them in the best manner.

First: Take your blotting paper and lay it lightly upon the blot. Do not press upon it, or lift till the ink is all absorbed.

Second: Then change the paper to a new place, and rub it over the blot, leaving the paper by the side of the ink. This, or a similar plan, adapted to the circumstances, cannot but prove beneficial to the pupils of the school.

Third: When thoroughly dry, take a knife or ink eraser, and scrape it lightly until all color is removed, after which rub with the handle of the knife, or eraser, until smooth and hard. You can then write over it if necessary.

Never put blotting paper upon your writing if you can wait for it to dry, as the color is much better if the ink is left in the marks.

HINTS AND DIRECTIONS FOR CONDUCTING WRITING CLASSES.

The plan here presented for conducting classes, renders writing an exercise of costless labor, in making and mending pens, and thereby effectually saves a great saving of valuable time to teachers, enabling them to superintend and instruct their classes in a much more thorough and correct manner.

Each pupil should be furnished with the requisite materials, after which the following directions should be given by the teacher, and practiced by the class, until every pupil understands exactly the method of the direction only is spoken, or indicated by a stroke of the bell. The least violation should be noticed and reproved, and the whole gone over and over again, until it is performed with military precision. The pupils may not at first be apparent; but all difficulties and obstacles will disappear, and the good work itself is made up of the observance of apparently trifling things, lot strict order and discipline be laid aside for a single moment, if he would succeed.

Before commencing, each pupil should lay the pen upon the front of the desk, and place the book in the middle of the table, the front edge. Then sit erect, and hold the hands ready to obey.

Signal 1. Sit directly forward until the body touches the edge of the desk, keeping it straight and erect. At the same time place the left hand upon the desk, in such a way that the forefinger is parallel with its edge, the fingers touch the book; then drop the right arm by the side.

Signal 2. Place the right hand upon the inkstand.

Signal 3. Open inksstands.


Signal 5. Touch pens.

Signal 6. Touch pens.

Signal 7. Take ink.

Signal 8. Adjust the pen, arm, etc., ready for writing.

Signal 9. Write.

At closing, the following directions may be observed:

Signal 1. Wipe pens.

Signal 2. Lay pens upon the desk.

Signal 3. Touch inksstands.


Signal 5. Sit back (as at opening). Then unscrew the pen, and take it out.

Signal 6. Collect pens.

Signal 7. Take books (the class).


This is of the utmost importance that the whole class write after the same manner at the same time. This enables a single teacher to superintend class as large as can be assembled in any room, and impart any instruction, by means of the blackboard, in all the general features pertaining to the lesson, as effectively as to a dozen. The special attention and instruction needed by each pupil can be im
3. COMPETITION FOR SCHOOL PRIZES.

The Trustees of the Scotland Grammar School, offer the following
Prizes, to be competed for, by the pupils of the Common Schools
of Scotland, and within certain
Regulations.—All pupils who wish to compete for the prizes are
required to send in their names to the Committee chosen for the
purpose, on the day of the competition; also a fee of Twelve and
a half cents, to be applied to raising the funds for the prizes.

There will be a Committee chosen, to consist of the Superinten-
dents of the various schools, the Grammar School Masters and three
other Gentlemen, chosen by the Teachers on the day of competition.

There will be two prizes to be competed for by the teachers of the
Common Schools, and Teachers competing for these prizes will
be required to pay a fee of Twenty-five cents.

The books used for examination will be Lovell's School Geography
and Sullivan's Spelling Book; and the Examining Committee will
confer themselves to these in their questions.

It is probable that all Teachers who have this circular sent
should enter into this plan heartily, and do all they can to carry it
through successfully, so that it may be a benefit to the schools,
and excite in the pupils a desire to excel in the branches for which
prizes are offered.

It is proposed to hold the meeting in Scotland, on Monday, 21st
December, at Mr. Mil Kelly's Hall—to commence precisely at ten
o'clock, A. M.

Teachers to whom this Circular is sent, are requested to reply at
once, and state if they will give their assistance in carrying out the
undertaking.

It is earnestly hoped that all the Teachers will exert themselves
in forwarding this plan, and induce as many of their scholars as
possible to enter into competition for the prize.

LIST OF PRIZES.

Spelling.—First Prize, $4; Second, $3; Third, $2; Fourth, $1.

Geography.—First Prize, $4; Second, $3; Third, $2; Fourth, $1.

Teachers' Prizes in both Spelling and Geography.—First Prize, $5
Second, $4.

F. S. HAIGHT, M.A.

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VI. PATTERS AT THE FIRESIDE.

1. THE SCHOOL AT THE FIRESIDE.

Now that teachers are asking each other how they can do

The sense of sight is, of all the-senses, the one by and through
which we learn most and learn best, and the one which is most
capable of improvement by cultivation. It therefore plainly follows
that in any scheme of education, some provision should be made
for the cultivation of the eye.

New, drawing is the direct education of the eye, and, like reading,
writing, and arithmetic, it ought to find a place in our time-tables
on account of its very great general usefulness, and not because of
its supposed importance in the higher branches of education. Such a knowledge of
drawing as may easily be given to the pupils of our common
schools has the following advantage: 1. It educates the eye, giving it com-
pleteness and accuracy of perception, and so increase its power that
the knowledge obtained through it is acquired and remembered with
more ease and certainty. 2. It improves the penmanship. 3. It is
a kind of ocular arithmetic, useful not only in particular trades,
but also in the ordinary affairs of life. 4. It gives command of a
new and universal language. 5. It improves the taste, and is
a pleasant and soothing occupation for leisure.

Senex* implies that the requirements of the Revised Code will
now be able to reach drawing; but in this I cannot agree with
him. It is easily taught; but do not think of it; and also the good
lesson per week, an hour long, or, better style; two short lessons of
half an hour each, will be sufficient to secure the above-mentioned
advantages.—(D.) in English National Society Monthly Paper.

2. A PLEA FOR THE TEACHING OF DRAWING.

THE SENSES...
of each child were authorized to replace the tablet sets. 52

Handwriting specimens show that the lines written first approximated the copy set by the teacher, but successive lines grew less and less legible as the model at the top became farther removed from the lines being written. 53 The result of much writing practice was the fixing ever more firmly of incorrect letter forms and bad habits of holding the pen and the movement of the hand and arm. 54

Nearly all pupils in the sixties used steel pens, which had been invented early in the nineteenth century. By 1825 steel pens were being produced in large quantities and gradually replaced the long feathers of geese, chickens, crows, and other fowl. The invention of the steel pen made possible the elaborate style of Spencer's handwriting system. 55 His system took a great amount of practice and was regarded as too elaborate for elementary school children. 56


53 Dictation exercises appended to the Minutes of School Section Number 16, Township of Mathilda, 1868, in Upper Canada Village Archives, Morrisburg, Ontario.

54 'White, loc. cit.


Teaching arithmetic. Arithmetic was regarded as an important subject on two grounds: first, it had great practical use in everyday life for counting, figuring, and making change, and secondly, it had the effect of training and disciplining the mind.\textsuperscript{57}

Traditionally, arithmetic had been taught by rule. The two Irish National Arithmetics, authorized in Upper Canada from 1846-1860, were rule arithmetics. According to this system, definitions of terms were given first, then rules for solving problems, then type examples according to the rule, and finally some problems for the pupil to work himself. In the First Book there was no theory, that is, no explanations of the concepts were given, but just practical rules for solving problems. The teacher was encouraged to explain the logic behind the rules with chalk and blackboard, but no helps were given in the book.\textsuperscript{58}

In most cases in the sixties, owing to lack of scholarship and training, teachers followed the text very closely. The first step was for pupils to memorize the definition, then the rule, and the teacher would work an example or two on the blackboard strictly adhering to the rule, and the pupils were then set to solving problems. One pupil of the

\textsuperscript{57}Forrester, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 259.

\textsuperscript{58}White, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 33.
sixties later wrote: "Rarely did the teacher ever ask you how you arrived at such and such a result. To get the answer was the main thing—not to understand the principles involved." Charles Gordon reminisced:

Arithmetic was largely a matter of memory. Problems were solved by Rules of Proportion, simple or compound, by the Laws of Decimals or Fractions, or, most ghastly of all, by the Rules of Square or Cube Root. These rules were learned by rote, and if you could fit your sums into the framework your answer would infallibly be right. . . . The Rule of Cube Root must have consisted of at least six paragraphs of small print making up in all a solid block some five inches by four. This rule we were forced to memorize.

Thomas H. Huxley wrote in 1868, "I doubt if one boy in five-hundred ever heard the explanation of a rule in arithmetic." An example of a definition: "Multiplication teaches of two numbers given to find a third which shall contain either of the given numbers as often as the other contains a unit." Sangster gave this exposition of the famous "Rule of Three:


60Gordon, op. cit., p. 18.


Simple Proportion is frequently called the Rule of Three, because when three terms are given, by means of them a fourth may be found. It is also sometimes called the Golden Rule from its extensive utility.

Rule. Set the given term of the imperfect ratio in the third place, and the letter x, to represent the answer, in the fourth. Then, if by the nature of the question, the ratio of the third term to the answer is a ratio of greater inequality, make the remaining ratio a ratio of greater inequality also; but if the ratio of the third term to the answer be a ratio of less inequality, make the ratio a ratio of less inequality also.

Lastly, multiply the second and third terms together, divide the product by the first term, and the quotient will be the answer in the same denomination as the third term.

Proof.—Multiply the first term and the answer together, and, if the product is equal to the product of the second and third terms, the work is correct.

This rule was memorized and rigidly applied to simple problems like "If sixteen barrels of flour cost $112, what will 129 barrels cost?" that could be solved much more readily by a rational approach.

When Canada changed from English to decimal currency in 1859, John Herbert Sangster, mathematical master at the Toronto Normal School, was asked to revise the two Irish National Arithmetics. However, he went beyond mere revision and wrote two new arithmetics, which were authorized for use from 1860-1869. The Elementary Arithmetic was for beginners and the National Arithmetic was for advanced common school classes and the grammar schools. Both were superior to the Irish Series and received liberal praise throughout the province in the public press. One innovation was that in the
illustrative examples, explanations of the several steps taken in the solution were given, which was a great improvement over earlier texts which only showed the work. Sangster's texts were still basically rule arithmetics, but he did introduce the solution of some problems by analysis instead of by rules. He explained the rule of three more clearly than was usual, and reduced it to the status of a simple equation which greatly reduced its difficulty. The exercises were well-graded and the questions in the exercises were varied so that no one rule applied to all, requiring the pupil to think for himself. The rules were clearly stated and illustrated and their rationale was made clear to the pupil.64

Sangster was an enthusiastic advocate of mental arithmetic and offered a number of such problems in his texts. They were to be read by the teacher, only once, and were to be solved by the class in perfect silence in their heads. Some examples will indicate the ability and concentration required to solve them:65

How many are 9867-2143-478-916-276-43?

What is the product of 9187x6? 8888x77? 8967x54?

64Campbell, op. cit., pp. 202-05.

What is the quotient of $123459 \div 96$? $67143 \div 90$?

What is $3/5$ of that number of which $36$ is $4/11$?

If a man can mow $66$ acres of grass in $2$ days, how many acres can $14$ men mow in $7$ days?

If from my age you subtract $1/2$, $1/4$ and $1/5$ of my age, the remainder will be $1 1/2$ years; how old am I?

What is the interest of $\$809$ for $11$ months at $12$ per cent?

What principal will in $3 \frac{4}{7}$ years at $7$ per cent amount to $\$555.55$?

The Smith and McMurchy arithmetic text that superseded Sangster's in 1869 was not as practical nor as well-adapted for elementary school pupils as Sangster's. The standard was too high and it was not as well-graded. $66$

Sangster's texts exerted a wholesome influence on the direction of arithmetic teaching in Ontario. They were important factors in stirring up the fresh breeze of innovation that was gently but insistently blowing in the sixties: the awareness that arithmetic should be taught by reason and not by rule alone. Pupils should understand number operations and analyze the nature of problems and apply intelligence to work out solutions instead of rigidly and unthinkingy applying memorized rules.

Arithmetic by reason may be traced back to Pestalozzi, who gave arithmetic practically the foremost place in school

$66$ Campbell, op. cit., p. 212.
because it was unequalled for training the mind. He held that number knowledge, like all other knowledge, must begin with observation or sense perception. He introduced objects to beginners and made arithmetic a rational process in contrast to the prevailing practice of the rote learning of rules. But the introduction of his methods was a gradual process, and his system did not materially change the teaching of arithmetic until the third quarter of the nineteenth century, and was not incorporated generally into arithmetic textbooks in Ontario until after 1871.

Still, the movement in arithmetic teaching from rote rule application to rational analysis had progressed to a point where High School Inspector J. A. McLellan in his report for 1871 expressed pleasure at the disappearance of rule and formula from the teaching of arithmetic and the introduction of the more intellectual and more fruitful methods of analysis.

Teaching grammar, geography, and history. Reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic were the staples in the

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68Campbell, op. cit., pp. 113-14, 116.

educational diet of Canadian common school pupils in the 1860's, but grammar, geography, and to a lesser extent, history were finding a larger place in the schoolrooms. There were grammar lessons and geography and history selections in the school readers but in the sixties these subjects began to find their own niches in the curriculum. In a time of broadening horizons they were regarded as useful in developing citizens better-equipped to participate in a growing commercial and industrial community. But unfortunately the new subjects were taught in an unimaginative manner and so did not contribute as effectively to the desired ends as educators had anticipated.

The purpose of grammar was to develop thought and speech and it was regarded as a good mental discipline and a fine preparation for foreign language study. But it was taught mechanically: rules were memorized along with lists of prepositions, adverbs, adjectives, and other parts of speech, sentences were parsed and the English language treated so artificially that the grammar lessons contributed little to an understanding or an appreciation of it. Instead of producing sharp thinkers who could ably participate in the democratic process, grammar became another body of information to be learned. Charles Gordon recorded that

Grammar was largely a matter of memory. We learned lists of the various parts of speech. . . . The climax of absurdity seems to have been reached when we were asked to recite a complete list of the Prepositions in the English language, as set forth in Lennie's Grammar in a solid block of small print three inches by four.

Geographies in use in the 1860's were encyclopedic in character with long lists of names to be memorized. Geography was defined as a description of the earth, but little effort was made to show relationships. Pupils were required to memorize bare facts and names of places which were sometimes learned without being located on a map. Often geographies were written as catechisms:

Q. Point out and name the capital of the Dominion of Canada.
   A. Ottawa, on the Ottawa River.

Q. What islands lie in the Gulf of St. Lawrence?
   A. Anticosti, Magdalen, Prince Edward, Cape Breton, Newfoundland.

There was little descriptive matter and the information was scanty and badly connected, with a premium placed on learning unrelated facts as ends in themselves rather than as means of understanding lands and people. W. J. Alexander recalled spending six months memorizing facts of the geography of Nova Scotia.

Charles Gordon wrote that geography had little to do

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71White, op. cit., pp. 53-55.
72Alexander, loc. cit.
with the "ge" in its Greek root, for it was quite remote from the earth. The boy or girl who could recite, without error, the capes, bays, peninsulas, and other physical features of North or South America went to the top of the class. It had little relationship to the great world in which he lived. Pupils were ignorant of contemporary people and their lives, thoughts, and governments; other peoples were foreigners and unknown, and more or less despicable and even dangerous. It was only later in the century that emphasis was put on the influence of geography on human activities and social developments, as espoused by Pestalozzi and the German geographer Carl Ritter.

An unusually bizarre treatment of geography in New Brunswick illustrates the extent of the abuse of the subject. In 1870 an inspector wrote that the only geography textbook used in French schools in New Brunswick taught that the population of St. Andrews was 10,500 and that of Fredericton 5,300. He visited a school in Northumberland County where the children were reading a lesson from one of the Irish National Readers. The lesson began: "The country where you, children, live in, is called Ireland," and the teacher gave the explanations all on the assumption that the children did

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74 White, op. cit., p. 55.
live in that country. The class was dismissed without any reference to the error, and, on examination, the inspector found that the children actually believed they lived in Ireland. The inspector's comment was that it was bad enough to teach little Frenchmen that St. Andrews was twice the size of Fredericton, but that to teach young Bluenoses that they lived in Ireland was drawing too largely on good nature.75

There is evidence that a few teachers endeavored to follow Pestalozzi's advice to begin with a study of the local area so that pupils could understand their immediate environment before studying the larger areas of the country and the world. Those who did so had the earnest support of Superintendent Ryerson, who wrote "The Great and True Method of Teaching and Learning Geography" in which he said in part:76

Geography should commence by locating the very position of the school house on the map and globe, and from there proceed to map and study systematically, every ocean, continent and country, at the same time learning a bit of the history of each. Each child must be able to reproduce on the board a map of the country studied, complete with rivers, lakes, and towns.

The lack of suitable history texts retarded the introduction of the subject in the common schools. Those from the United States were often inaccurate and anti-British,


and those from Great Britain had but little about British North America in them. In 1857 J. George Hodgins wrote *Geography and History of British North America* which was authorized for use in Upper Canada. When history and geography were introduced as individual subjects they were mainly taught in the larger schools only at first. As the demand for appropriate material grew, Hodgins wrote separate books for geography and history. The history, which appeared in 1865, was called the *History of Canada and the Other British Provinces*. It was especially for Canadians and contained accurate and interesting information but was written in too much of a summary form and did not prove attractive to pupils. Like most histories of the era it gave undue attention to wars, battles, and affairs of court.\(^7^7\)

W. J. Alexander recounted that acquiring information was seemingly regarded as the aim of history lessons. He remembered learning the actual words of the writer of the dull textbook in Canadian History, and the names and dates of the Governors of French Canada. The result was a dislike of Canadian history.\(^7^8\)

Whereas the teaching of the traditional subjects of

\(^7^7\)White, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

\(^7^8\)Alexander, *loc. cit.*
reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic that developed skills was showing some significant development in the sixties, the teaching of grammar, geography, and history, which were treated as content subjects, followed the traditional memoriter approach. But the very presence of the latter three as distinct features of the curriculum was itself an innovation and a necessary first step to refinements in concepts and techniques.

Principles of classroom management. In the 1860's methodology was directed to individual subjects as teachers sought the "most approved" ways of teaching reading, arithmetic, and the other subjects. There were likewise principles for maintaining classroom discipline. The concept of an integrated or unitary approach of developing a relationship of trust between pupil and teacher that would both facilitate learning and enhance discipline was still embryonic; most educators were still looking for a specific answer to every specific problem. A term used occasionally in the sixties that became very popular later was "classroom management." It connoted more than simply discipline, for it included the ways in which the teacher managed both the pupils and the learning situation.

The regimentation of military life appealed to some educators as a model for schools and military drill in both common and grammar schools had been established in a number
of Upper Canadian schools by 1860. The appeal of military drill was based on the notion that children are miniature adults, so that the way to discipline boys was to emulate the way it was done in men, in the Army and Navy.79

Promoters of the practice contended that as pupils learned to be subservient not to their own will but to the will of others, they would become fit in every possible way to serve their country, and the practice was related to patriotic feelings. To those who felt that it would engender a war-like spirit among youth, the reply was that military commands would fill little boys not with the elements of war but of peace, for the words of command would gentle them. Military drill was commended as "sanitary," that is, it would correct bodily defects of the participants, and it was "moral," for it would develop discipline, duty, order, obedience to command, self-restraint, punctuality, and patience.80

The influence of educators in Great Britain and particularly those of the warring northern States during the Civil War who extolled military training, was felt in Upper Canada. Ryerson was a strong advocate of it, and, as ever, when he became convinced of the value of something he lost


80Hodgins, Documentary History, XIX, 146-48.
no time in developing strong reasons to support his view. He introduced military drill into the Model Grammar School in Toronto in 1862 and recommended it to common and grammar school masters throughout the province on the grounds that it fostered a love of country and its institutions and a disposition to defend them in the most skillful manner to the very last, and that nothing else was so well adapted to secure the habits of obedience and discipline in the schools as military drill.\footnote{Ibid., XVII, 235.}

He reported that in 1863 military exercises were incorporated into gymnastic instruction in the Normal and Model Schools in Toronto and that military drill was conducted among the senior boys in the schools of Toronto and Port Hope. He wrote that preparing for war helped preserve the peace. He referred to the great advantages of developing prompt, instant, and unconditional obedience which was best inculcated by military drill. Such automatic responses were thought beneficial then, in contrast to the modern emphasis on "critical thinking" as a primary goal in education. Ryerson added that public schools were to prepare youth for their duties as citizens, one of which was the defense of the government. Training children in military tactics in school was efficient for it would save
training them later when they became adults.\textsuperscript{82}

In the Grammar School Improvement Act of 1865, provision was made for extra grants of up to $50 a year for those grammar schools that had a course in military drill. Ryerson stated his hope that these grammar schools might eventually become feeders for some "West Point yet to be established in Canada."\textsuperscript{83} He devoted the entire October, 1866 issue of the \textit{Journal of Education} to explaining and extolling the uses and values of military drill in the schools.

However, the popularity of military drill was short-lived and by 1869 a number of those grammar schools that used it had abandoned the practice.\textsuperscript{84} The emphasis on military drill in the sixties demonstrates a phase of development in Ontario education. Prior to the sixties, the child was ignored if he behaved himself or controlled by

\textsuperscript{82}Ibid., XVIII, 118-19. The trustees in Kingston approved of military drill because they thought it would be good for the pupils to become like soldiers. However, when some teachers encouraged the military practice of espionage by telling pupils "to watch and mark down the names of delinquents who are fit subjects for punishment," the trustees drew the line saying that "information thus obtained is not always reliable." Minutes of the Board of School Trustees, Kingston, Ontario, February 7, 1866, Queen's University Archives.

\textsuperscript{83}Hodgins, \textit{Documentary History}, XIX, 27, 29.

force if he did not. In the sixties, the idea was more to train and manipulate him into obedience and conformity as the superior will of the adult was imposed on the will of the pupil—and not simply by force but by management. It is true that some teachers were trying to understand the child as child, but widespread interest in the needs and interests of children was decades away, and the dominant theme of classroom management in the sixties is illustrated in the appeal of military training.

While military drill in the sense of actual marching and parading was not common in the elementary schools, its influence was felt in the use of military commands in the classroom: "Class rise! Class be seated!" and similar commands were employed. The influence of military precision in the teaching of handwriting has been noted. Children have a tendency to fall in with any system of drill, and the practice of orderly processions in changing classes, the use of floor markings to indicate where pupils were to stand ("toeing the line"), formally saluting the master and visitors, sitting or standing in set positions, and moving only at the command of the teacher were believed to represent the epitome of efficiency by many a zealous schoolmaster. In the 1890's these formal drill-like movements came to be known as "school tactics."\(^{85}\)

\(^{85}\)Ibid., pp. 148-49.
Another popular instrument in the campaign for good school management in the sixties (which persisted until well into the twentieth century) was the list of rules and regulations, which sometimes also included the corresponding punishments to be inflicted for their transgression. They were usually drawn up by the teacher, sometimes by the trustees, and were read aloud on the first day of school and then often posted conspicuously in the room.\(^6\)

The purpose of the rules was to prevent misconduct by clearly informing pupils at the outset what the teacher required. But their use was criticized on these main grounds: (1) too many rules made consistent and thorough enforcement impossible, so that children came to regard violating them as a trifling matter; (2) often the rule would encourage the very misdemeanor it was intended to curb; and (3) drawing up rules with fixed penalties tended to engender resentment in pupils and hindered the teacher in doing what he considered right for the individual transgressor.\(^7\)

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the custom of listing disciplinary rules was very widely practised by Canadian teachers, but it waned as the twentieth century brought an emphasis on standards in an effort to enlist

\(^6\)Ibid., p. 133.

\(^7\)Ibid., p. 134.
cooperation, rather than depending on rules which tend to provoke opposition.\textsuperscript{88}

In Toronto the trustees had a list of "Regulations for the Government of the City Public Schools" which applied to all city schools. Some of the rules for pupils (there were also regulations for teachers) were:\textsuperscript{89}

20. Pupils are required to be respectful and obedient to their teachers, and kind and obliging to each other. All games likely to excite ill-feelings are strictly prohibited.

22. Pupils are required to speak the truth on all occasions; to refrain from indelicate or profane language, and from mocking or nick-naming their schoolfellows or others; to be obedient to parents and guardians, and respectful to all persons in authority; to be attentive, quiet, and orderly in the school; to promote, as far as possible, the comfort and improvement of others; and, in fine, to do unto others whatever they would that other should do unto them.

Some other regulations were:

Pupils must have certificates of vaccination against small pox. . . . Chewing and spitting in the Schoolrooms are prohibited. . . . Any pupil who brings lucifer matches or fireworks to school shall be immediately suspended from school privileges.

The appeal of rules and regulations in the sixties as a means of governing pupil behavior was a symptom of the belief that education was coming of age. To list exactly what was expected of pupils gave the appearance of efficiency.

\textsuperscript{88}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 136, 135.

\textsuperscript{89}Porter, \textit{Annual Report, 1869}, pp. 88, 90-91.
This emphasis on externals was a necessary step in the development of greater perception of the function of schools which would ultimately center more appropriately on the individual child.

City school administrators, with their large numbers of teachers and pupils, were especially conscious of the benefits of uniformity as a mark of an efficient school system. Growing public interest required the systematic conduct of classrooms to engender confidence. Printed regulations were easier for novice teachers to follow than guiding principles which needed perception and experience to implement. If one is weak in principles, specific instructions are elevated in importance, and rules of thumb like not turning one's back to the class, never repeating a problem in arithmetic, never letting a pupil get up from his desk until recess are eagerly grasped by a teacher bereft of understanding of his task and the nature of the learner.

As Ryerson strove to impose professionalism on teachers with regulations for teachers and schools, prescribed textbooks and manufactured aids, so city superintendents and, to some extent other local superintendents as well, sought to apply their stamp of order on their schools. The imposition of standards for teachers served to create a minimum level of efficiency and any innovation judged worthy of adoption could be incorporated into the whole system at once.
While Ontario's classroom management and methodology left much to be desired by modern standards, it compared favorably with its contemporaries elsewhere in the sixties. A Royal Commissioner who studied education in the United States and Canada in 1863 gave an interesting comparative analysis of methodology in the two countries. The Reverend (afterwards Bishop) James Fraser, M.A., of Manchester, England, was a member of a Royal Commission appointed by the Queen to inquire into the schools of England, Scotland, the United States, and Canada. His candid report included these words:90

Entering a Canadian school, with American impressions fresh upon the mind, the first feeling is one of disappointment. One misses the life, the motion, the vivacity, the precision—in a word, the brilliancy. But as you stay, and pass both teacher and pupils in review, the feeling of disappointment gives way to a feeling of surprise. You find this plain, unpretending teacher has the power, and has successfully used the power, of communicating real, solid knowledge and good sense to those youthful minds, which, if they do not move rapidly, at least grasp, when they do take hold, firmly. . . . To set off against their quickness, I heard many random answers in American schools; while, per contra to the slowness of the Canadian scholar, I seldom got a reply very wide of the mark. The whole teaching was homely, but it was sound.

90Hodgins, Documentary History, XVIII, 98.
CHAPTER XII

THE ONTARIO TEACHERS

Teachers in the sixties had an unsavory past to live down, but had by then already come a long way according to contemporary descriptions that reveal them in a much more favorable light than ten and twenty years earlier. With few exceptions, the early common school teachers had been a sorry lot. Usually ignorant, often immoral, old soldiers or idlers of all descriptions, many were notorious for their drunkenness. Often they were old men with a mere smattering of learning, incompetents compelled to teach out of sheer necessity to stay alive and hired by trustees who believed that the main qualification of a teacher was the ability to suppress disorder while pupils committed lessons of a textbook to memory for later recitation.¹

Ideals for teachers. By 1860 the drunken, brutal, and immoral teacher had almost disappeared and educators, clergymen, public officials, and prominent citizens were encouraging the highest standards for teachers and called for the highest type of person in teaching. A plethora of words flowed in articles and speeches on duties and

responsibilities of teachers, suggestions for teachers, rules for teaching, how teachers should act, and characteristics of a good teacher. Teachers were advised as to dress, demeanor, habits, qualities, knowledge, taboos, and religion. Teachers were not to be daunted by poor pay and low esteem, but with exemplary devotion were to serve mankind gladly. The teacher was to have the qualities of a saint. The exhortations he received were usually descriptions of an abstract ideal held up for emulation. The repeated reading and hearing of these bromides was doubtless both monotonous and irksome to most teachers.

Religious motivation was frequently employed. Hodgins told the teachers in convention in 1869 that "the possession of genuine Religious principles on the part of the teacher was the true basis of School Discipline." At the same meeting President Nelles of Victoria College said:

Thus the range of the Teacher's influence has widened to the universal brotherhood of man. Like the Preacher of the Gospel, he has become the friend of the poor, the liberator of the Slave, the solace of the weary, and the instrument of a new social order.

The York Township teachers in 1869 were told that

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3 Ibid., pp. 289-90.

4 Minutes, York Township Teachers' Association, 1869. Queen's University Archives, Kingston, Ontario.
The encouragement is not so much a remuneration or a Salary which is too small, as the usefulness of the Calling. A grateful parent or child is driven to the closet to offer up a prayer for his temporal or Spiritual welfare for the benefits conferred on them for laying the foundation of all their greatness and happiness and the approval of his own conscience should be his chief encouragement, which shall be rewarded in a better way by him who welcomes with the salutation, "Well done good and faithful Servant."

Dr. Daniel Wilson, President of the Teachers' Educational Association of Upper Canada in 1865 and later President of the University of Toronto, told the teachers that

The personal influence of a conscientious teacher, unconsciously operating in every word of encouragement, or reproof, trains the youthful mind to yield to generous impulses, and develops into healthful activity the moral principles, without which mere intellectual culture may be a curse instead of a blessing.

Cyrus Thomas became rhapsodic, even poetic, in his idealization of the teacher's task:

Remember that in the moral and mental mechanism of that son are keys capable of sending forth diviner music than ever swelled at the touch of Handel. It is the privilege of that teacher whom you disregard to tune them to discordant notes that will render the professor wretched, or draw from them a soul-inspiring melody that will cheer him in all his march from the commencement of active life to the throne of God.

Teachers of quality, with the right spirit, would give character to the school, wrote Inspector William Ormiston

\[^5\text{Hodgins, op. cit., XIX, 53.}\]

\[^6\text{Cyrus Thomas, The Frontier Schoolmaster (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1880), p. 432.}\]
in his report for 1861, and he continued:

The great desideratum for the further progress of our schools is a staff of intelligent, well-qualified, faithful, well-trained Teachers, men who purpose to make the profession of teaching the labour of their lives. . . . Something more is needed than the minimum amount of information to fit any man for the work of the Schoolroom. There must be a natural aptness, a strong liking and a special training for that work; a good Teacher should not only thoroughly understand the subjects to be taught, but should also be familiar with the best and most judicious methods of teaching them; and further, be well acquainted with all the best and most approved systems of classification and discipline.

Ryerson also repeatedly pointed out to teachers that quality and progress in education rested with the teacher. Lists of rules and regulations that gave the duties of teachers were published by the Education Department and by local boards of trustees as well. The Journal of Education printed numerous guide-lines for teachers which included every pure and noble quality imaginable. The teacher was to be the epitome of virtue, diligent and dedicated, for he was molding character and shaping intellects. The child well-taught would be grateful all his life and praise the teacher in time and in eternity.

Some samples from the Journal are:

7Hodgins, op. cit., XVII, 15.
8Phillips, op. cit., p. 539.

... Not slovenly, neat and clean, not austere, kind and courteous, cautious and sensible, knows human nature, punctual, always active, in school and out. Not only makes good rules but keeps them. Conquers difficulties, is patient and persevering. Knowledge is equal to and beyond what his pupils need to know. A diligent reader. Able to communicate, to keep the attention of pupils and to make them love studies. Repentant of sins, given heart to his Saviour, and loves and serves God.

Summary of what a teacher should do.

The exhorters seemed to believe that if the goals were repeated often enough, the teachers would absorb the advice and emulate the models. It was easy enough to catalog virtues but such lists did little to enable teachers to achieve them, and how to acquire the virtues was seldom spelled out. Public men seemed to believe that "teaching was telling," and if teachers were told how they were to be often enough they would automatically assume the desired qualities. Those giving this gratuitous advice did not reflect on their own reactions should an outsider presume to tell them how to run their business or profession. The
status of teaching as a profession was still at a point where any and all felt competent to offer opinion and advice about it.

Reality for teachers. There was an aura of unreality about the romanticized descriptions of the ideal when compared with the average Ontario teacher. It is true that progress had been made in the quality of teachers, but the unskilled and untrained were still numerous and there were still a few who imbibed of spirits too freely or who slept in school with the class unattended or with an older pupil as monitor trying to keep order.

Because of its poor tradition and low pay, teaching was regarded as one of the lowliest of occupations. So poor were teachers’ prospects that more than one young man lost his position because he became enamored of a trustee’s daughter. Many young girls continued teaching only until they got married. Able young men left teaching as soon as possible for more respectable and rewarding occupations.

The formal education of a common school teacher was often considered of little significance since he was merely to be a dispenser of facts and a drillmaster of the three R's. Anyone who could maintain reasonable order, who had a way with younger children, and who knew a bit more than the basic elementary school curriculum was considered a fair
prospect for teaching.  

Cyrus Thomas wrote bluntly about the teacher's status from his own experience. He lamented that while the person who passed judgement on a business or profession about which he knew nothing was branded as an ignomus, this stigma was avoided if one pontificated on teaching for the teacher could be criticized with impunity by everyone. He became the scape-goat for nearly all evils, moral or social, in the community. For example, if taxes were heavy, the teacher's enormous salary was the cause, and must be reduced. He continued: 

Should he seek relief for his over-worked brain and exhausted body in those simple recreations to which others resort, he is not dignified, or his morals objectionable. If he is reserved, he lacks sociability, in short, is "stuck up." If he dresses with care, he is a fop; if he fails to do so, he is slovenly. Should he get angry, and stand up for his rights, he is too independent, and must be put down; if he fails to display considerable spirit, he lacks determination, and is unfit to govern a school. In short, a person who answers all the requirements of a country district must be an anomaly—there can be nothing like him in heaven or on earth.

Until 1860 most teachers were foreign-born, but by 1880 native Canadians dominated the field. The Canadian-born teacher was usually a farm lad or lassie, familiar


with the colonial, rural point of view and therefore not apt to precipitate serious differences of opinion. This development led to better feeling toward the schools because teachers were of the same background as parents, but it placed the young teacher in a more subservient position than his foreign-born counterparts who came into a community unknown and independent of local ties of friends and relatives.

Teachers were not expected to have opinions on current affairs lest they influence children against parental and community attitudes. This was true in the city as well as in rural areas as Toronto's Board of Trustees spelled out very plainly:

Teachers are expected to refrain from all public, political, and ecclesiastical controversy, and to remember, that the public schools are intended for the children of all, without regard to the party principles of any, in matters religious or political.

Teachers were to be self-effacing, without opinions, and satisfied in being benign influences on their charges. The subservient position of the teacher in the community, the advice dinned into his ears, and the rules and strictures

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imposed on him reveals that society regarded teachers as children who needed watching and guidance. It is not surprising, then, that teachers occasionally acted immaturely, even to the extent of "tattling" on one another, as this incident from the diary of the Superintendent shows:14

... to inquire into a complaint made by Mr. Jardine against Miss Henderson, for having, on a certain day last week, a tea pot on the stove and a pot of jam on the table of the room in which she teaches, during school hours. Found that the jam was there, as a remedy for sore throat, and was assured that the tea pot should not appear again.

Though many persons felt constrained to advise teachers how to be and many teachers were incompetent, there were teachers who were raising the level of the profession in the best possible way—by doing an outstanding job in their classrooms. There were some outstanding schools, manned by persons of great natural ability, or Normal School training, or both, who helped spread the idea that a teacher could be more than a jailer or a monitor. And if teachers' shortcomings were more apparent in the sixties, it was because there was more interest in what the teacher was doing and greater expectations of his role in the community. The teacher was gaining in importance because of added demands upon him—more was expected of him than had been the case twenty years before, more character, more scholarship,

14James Porter, Diary of the Local Superintendent of the Public Schools of the City of Toronto, February 6, 1860. Records Room, Toronto Education Centre.
more ability to instruct.  

Women teachers. In the first half of the nineteenth century young women would occasionally be employed as teachers, at first mainly during the summer months when teen-aged youth were working on farms and the school population was limited to little children, for women were then considered unable to control rough adolescents. It was natural to refer to the teacher as a "he" during the early years of Ryerson's administration. Women teachers were the exception, used largely in cities and towns to teach the female departments of segregated schools. In 1847, the first year in which male and female teachers were listed separately, only about 1/5 were women. Men numbered 2,356, women 663.  

As late as 1859 a local superintendent wrote in his official report that  

Few females possess that mental ability and decision of character which are so essential to the successful Teacher. . . . the framers of the School Law committed a grave error in authorizing females to teach at all. 

15 Althouse, op. cit., pp. 95-96.  
17 Hodgins, op. cit., VII, 154.  
Prejudice against women teachers had not disappeared by 1860, but the decade of the sixties was to see a more remarkable increase of women teachers than in any other like period. The statistical story is told in Ryerson's annual reports:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Male Teachers</th>
<th>Female Teachers</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>2697</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>3476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>3100</td>
<td>1131</td>
<td>4281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865</td>
<td>2930</td>
<td>1791</td>
<td>4721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>2753</td>
<td>2412</td>
<td>5165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>3264</td>
<td>3433</td>
<td>6777</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women were in the majority for the first time in 1871. From 1850 to 1860 the numerical increase was almost exactly the same for both sexes, but from 1860 to 1870 the number of men decreased by 347 while the women added 1231 to their roster. In the seventies male teachers increased by 511, women by 1071. Ross, comparing sex of teachers from 1844 to 1894 observed that in that fifty-year period as a whole there was practically no increase in the number of men teachers. In 1844 there had been 2,736 men, in 1894, 2,795. "Whereas in the same period of time female teachers, unknown to the profession in 1844, increased to 6,029."  


20George W. Ross, The School System of Ontario: Its History and Distinctive Features (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), p. 190. However, there were some women teaching in 1844 but teachers were not categorized by sex in the Reports until 1847.
The phenomenal growth of women teachers in the sixties speaks volumes about the improvement in the home, in the school, and in the teacher during Ryerson's time. The passing of the frontier and the success of the first women teachers contributed to the rapid erosion of the traditional bias against them. The teaching profession no longer required exclusively the stern masculine hand that had been its traditional representative. It had been contended that women could not maintain discipline nor develop manliness in boys. But the success of lady teachers in maintaining good order without impairing the virility of boys and the recognition that with young children the motherly touch of a woman was preferable to the rough hand of a man gave women a tremendously expanding field for their energies. The presence of women gave schools a more gracious atmosphere, consistent with the passing of the frontier. The success of women, the need for more teachers, and the rising financial pressures of increasing enrollments on trustees all accelerated the process of hiring more women to teach in the 1860's.

Even Ryerson, no advocate of women's rights, was

moved to extol the virtues of the fair sex in the classroom, if only indirectly:

I concur in the following remarks of the New York State Superintendent:—to teach and train the young seems to be one of the chief missions of women. Herself highminded, the minds of those with whom she comes in daily contact unconsciously aspire. Gentle herself, she renders them gentle. Pure herself, she makes them pure. The fire which truly refines the ore of character can be kindled only by her hand. Woman is more deeply read than man in the mysteries of human nature, at least, in that of children. It might, perhaps, be nearer the truth to say, that her superior knowledge in this respect is intuitive. Better her discipline of love than his reformatory theories and austere rules and stringent systems. Her persuasive reproofs far exceed his stern menaces and cold logic.

The Provincial Teachers' Association organized in 1861 had permitted women to attend the sessions and in 1865 resolved that ladies should be allowed to join without having to pay the fees. Such gallant chivalry characterized the male response to women in the sixties: condescending and patronizing, granting that women were superior to men in grace, virtues, and morals, which were especially useful in teaching the young and gracing the home.

It was not long before women showed their dissatisfaction with this attitude. In the sixties, men could still graciously offer opportunities to women—but soon women would begin to demand their rights. The urban trend of the sixties

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23 Hodgins, op. cit., XIX, 59.
and the rising standard of living on the farm meant that able and ambitious women were looking for options from domestic service or early marriage, for there were few other alternatives. Teaching had a real appeal to those for whom marriage was not imminent and for those who sought a rewarding area of service.

Salaries. The greatest obstacles to the elevation of teaching to a respected profession were the poor salaries and the lack of tenure. Because certification requirements were not high, unprepared persons with a county board certificate could take jobs away from conscientious and experienced teachers simply by offering to teach for less money. Since many trustees believed that just about anyone could teach and cash for school purposes was scarce in most localities, getting a teacher at a low salary was too often the primary consideration. Tenure in Ontario was limited to one year, so the hiring of the teacher came under annual review. Teachers were sometimes hired for only one session, January to July or August to December.

In 1860 the average salary of a male teacher was $457, without board; the average for those who received board was $188. Salaries ranged from a low of $96 per year to a high of $1300. The average salary for a female without board was $242, with board, $124.24

By 1870 references to board were no longer recorded in the annual reports, indicating the disappearance of this custom during the sixties. In 1870 salaries in cities averaged $597 for men and $231 for women; in towns the figures were $482 and $226; incorporated villages, $422 and $190; and in the counties $260 and $187.25 In that year laborers were getting $210 per year and skilled mechanics received from $1.50 to $3.00 per day. The Toronto Telegraph regarded teachers' salaries as being on a level with those of "third-rate clerks and day labourers."26

There was little improvement in remuneration between 1860 and 1880. During the sixties there was no real upward trend. The over-supply of teachers made salary-cutting common.27 Although Ryerson repeatedly told the public in general and the trustees specifically that the "cheapest" teacher was really the most expensive, it was a question of supply and demand and of generally poor quality in the teachers. Ryerson also urged a fixed minimum wage and permanent tenure for teachers but again his suggestions were too far in advance of the times.28

25Hodgins, op. cit., XXII, 251.
26Althouse, op. cit., p. 146.
27Ibid., pp. 150, 145.
28Egerton Ryerson, A Special Report on the Systems and State of Popular Education on the Continent of Europe,
It was to take a long time for teachers' salaries to rise appreciably. Ross, the Minister of Education in 1894, compared the average salary of a male teacher of $421 in that year with the $346 average of 1867. Women averaged $300 in 1894 compared with $226 in 1867. Both increases average less than 1% per year for the thirty-year period.\textsuperscript{29} The feminization of teaching tended to reduce average salaries as women were paid from one-half to two-thirds the salaries of men. It also contributed to the transient nature of the profession, as few married women taught and single women were less likely to remain in one locality permanently than married men.\textsuperscript{30}

Salary-cutting and teacher replacement were done quite ruthlessly by trustees. In 1861, for example, the Toronto Board became convinced that a female assistant could do the work of the male assistant in the Phoebe Street School and resolved "on the ground of economy, that the services of the present male assistant be dispensed with."\textsuperscript{31} Disturbed by the costs of substitute teachers and endeavoring

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\textsuperscript{29}Ross, op. cit., p. 191.

\textsuperscript{30}Toronto common schools had 46 teachers in 1869, 10 men and 36 women. Only one of the woman teachers was married. Porter, Annual Report, 1869, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{31}Porter, Annual Report, 1861, p. 30.
\end{flushleft}
to cut down teacher absenteeism, the Toronto Board decided in 1869 that "one-half of the substitute's remuneration shall be deducted from the salary of the teacher."\(^{32}\)

Nor did trustees appreciate requests for salary increments, and the expendability of any one teacher was a potent deterrent to any grandiose ideas on the part of a teacher. Yet one man in Kingston showed his independence in 1868;\(^ {33}\)

A communication was received and read, from Mr. Thomas Alexander, Assistant Teacher, Johnson Street School, tendering his resignation unless his salary be increased to $320. Moved by Mr. Wm P. Phillips, Seconded by Mr. Thos. Robinson, Resolved that the Communication of Mr. Alexander, be referred to the Committee on Johnson Street School, to Report and State whether, in their opinion, the situation cannot be filled by a female. Carried.

However, the standard ploy did not intimidate Mr. Alexander, for the minutes of March 3, 1868 record his resignation to accept a position in the grammar school at Gananoque. One suspects that his contacts had been made there before he dared to present an ultimatum to the Board at Kingston.

The problem of transiency in the profession was often discussed in teachers' meetings. For some rural teachers, changes of position were almost annual occurrences, and they scored the prejudices and pettiness of trustees,

\(^{32}\)Porter, Annual Report, 1869, p. 94.

\(^{33}\)Minutes of the Board of School Trustees, Kingston, Ontario, January 21, 1868. Queen's University Archives.
citing cases where wealthy men caused teachers to be dismissed because they did not like the way their children were treated.\(^\text{34}\) The *Journal of Education* lamented the large annual turnover of teachers and advocated the European practice of permanent tenure for teachers.\(^\text{35}\)

Teachers were paid annually, at the end of their service. This arrangement was highly unsatisfactory for a teacher required some savings to live on until he was paid. But trustees believed that since teachers contracted for a year of teaching they should not be paid until they had fulfilled their obligations. It also ensured that a teacher would not leave before his year was up. Taxes and sometimes school rates were collected annually and this made it more convenient for trustees to pay only once a year. There was some agitation for half-yearly or quarterly payment, but not until 1877 was quarterly payment of teachers required by law.\(^\text{36}\)

However, the contract a teacher had with trustees was enforceable at law and bound trustees to pay the teacher in full. This was a potent deterrent to letting a teacher


\(^{35}\)Journal of Education, XXI (December, 1868), 178. In 1867 one of four teachers in Ontario changed positions.

go while his salary was in arrears.\textsuperscript{37} But minutes of boards of trustees and records of receipts signed by teachers for payment reveal that often teachers did not receive their money for weeks and even months after their salary was due.\textsuperscript{38} Already in 1850 the law provided that if the teacher was not paid by the final date of his contract, the trustees were to pay at that rate for the days after.\textsuperscript{39} But this provision was evidently honored more in the breach than in the observance as trustees were hard pressed to raise the salary without the penalty and teachers had little recourse but to accept the settlement.

Within the school, the teacher had the rights of a "judicious parent," and certain pedagogic rights as well. He controlled the organization of the school, and all promotions and classifications within it. But his depressed social status and his dependence upon the good will of the trustees and the influential members of the community made his position precarious even in the best of areas during the sixties.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{37}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 151.

\textsuperscript{38}The Minutes of the Board of Common School Trustees in School Section No. 2, Township of Lochiel, for example, show payments from 1860 to 1870 from two to seven months tardy. Archives, Upper Canada Village, Morrisburg, Ontario.

\textsuperscript{39}\textit{Althouse, op. cit.}, p. 82.

\textsuperscript{40}\textit{Ibid.}, p. 151.
Superannuation. Ryerson understood the force of the economic motive in the establishment and maintenance of the school system by local initiative. He knew that the poor pay was a great hindrance to attracting able people to teaching. Therefore, besides urging adequate salaries, in 1853 he announced a Superannuation Scheme for teachers, the first of its kind in America. The legislation for the benevolent provision "in aid of Superannuated or worn out Teachers of Common Schools in Upper Canada" was given effect on May 16, 1854.

Ryerson was again ahead of his time, for although it was made operative, the Fund was not adequately financed by the government and was unequal to the task expected of it. The annual appropriation of the Legislature was only $2,000 until 1869 when it was increased to $4,000. The plan did not take into account the differences in salaries but required a flat contribution of $4.00 annually from each participant, plus $5.00 for each year of teaching since 1854 that the teacher had not paid his subscription. The plan was voluntary and many teachers, particularly women who had no intention of teaching more than a few years, did not join and this further weakened its financial base. Pensions paid

41Ibid., p. 85.

were not to exceed $6.00 yearly for each year the retired teacher had taught in Upper Canada. But the Fund was never able to pay even this modest amount, so that each year the money available was divided up among the recipients on the basis of years of service. 43

In 1860 there were 150 pensioners, 142 men and 8 women, who divided $4,084.61 for an average pension that year of $27.23. 44 The yearly subscription of $4.00 each was previously deducted, so that while the pension was a mere pittance, the annual participation fee was still payable. The average age of the pensioners was 66 1/2 and the average length of service in Upper Canada was 21 1/2 years. 45 The individual amounts received ranged from $12 to $40. 46 In 1867 the maximum allowable pension was reduced to $28.31. There never was any provision for widows and orphans. 47

Though the amounts were pitifully small due to the limited support of the government and limited participation

43 Althouse, op. cit., pp. 85-86. In 1871 participation in the plan was made compulsory for men and voluntary for women, Althouse, op. cit., p. 149.

44 Ryerson, Annual Report, 1860, p. 133.

45 Ibid.

46 Althouse, op. cit., p. 149.

by the profession, the modest sums were not paid out as a right upon retirement. The applicant had to be physically unable to teach any longer. The law provided that

No teacher shall be eligible to receive a pension from the Fund, who shall not have become disabled for further service while teaching a Common School, or who shall not have been worn out in the work of a Common School Teacher.

An applicant had to submit a certificate of good moral character, proof that he was destitute, and he had to be paid up in the plan before his application could be entertained. If under sixty years of age, the applicant also needed a form filled out by a doctor attesting to his worn out condition.

The harsh legalism of the terms of payment seem petty and unfair, but the provisions were in keeping with the mores of the time: if a man had enough money to live on, why should he draw from a fund established for destitute teachers? If a man was old but still able to work, why should he be allowed to retire from teaching and draw a pension? If a man was of low moral character, he had no right to draw on funds provided by the public through the Legislature and his hard-working co-teachers. Public funds

48 State Book 0, loc. cit.

49 Application forms, Ontario Provincial Archives, Toronto. Each applicant had to certify "that he has worn himself out in the work of teaching, and is, in consequence, wholly unable to teach school any longer."
were to be administered for the public good and not to subvert the morality of the people.

Although the pension plan was woefully inadequate, its very existence was remarkable. At an early stage in her educational history Ontario tacitly admitted that the state owed something to its teachers as well as to its municipalities, that these public servants deserved some consideration against the day when they could no longer serve.50

Living conditions. The pioneer teacher had nearly always boarded around the neighborhood, staying a week or so at each pupil's home. As most schoolmasters were single and pioneer families were accustomed to taking in travelers and relatives, it was the simplest and least expensive way for a district to provide for the teacher. The reception the itinerant pedagogue received depended largely on the housewife. Over-worked already, she could regard the care of the teacher as an added burden and reflect this in her attitude toward him. A sensitive man could be made to feel miserable in such circumstances.51

However, it may be assumed that generally teachers

50Althouse, op. cit., p. 88.
51J. George Hodgins, Ryerson Memorial Volume (Toronto: Warwick & Sons, 1889), p. 112.
were welcomed into the homes. Some were men of culture and most had seen something of the world. Their presence in a family raised and widened the topics of conversation. In most families, the conversation was confined to matters of interest to the several members around the house or the neighborhood. In many cases the mind of the father, though perhaps knowledgable, was a sealed book to the children. The presence of a stranger of a better or at least of a different culture, tended to draw out members of the family who had anything to impart. Experiences and ideas were exchanged after the initial wariness and strangeness were overcome. 52

The trend away from boarding around had begun in the 1850's, and in the 1860's it was the exception rather than the rule. This was an important step toward the attainment of a respectable status for teachers, for the right of privacy is inherent in a profession, and the teacher was everybody's business when he was forced to live among his pupils in primitive homes. 53

A brief autobiographical account of a teacher in 1865 brings into focus a number of facets of a teacher's


experience in undertaking a new assignment. The young man was seeking his first teaching position. Armed with a county first-class teaching certificate, he coaxed two influential citizens to go with him to the trustees. One trustee heaped scorn on the former teacher for teaching grammar and geography. The aspirant was hired only upon promising not to teach these two subjects. His pay was fifteen dollars a month and he was to board from house to house. He was to make the school fires in winter and to keep the schoolhouse clean.

He recalled the utter loneliness of his first morning at school. The fireplace was large enough for an ox. Daylight could be seen through the log walls, on which three maps were found. The seats were primitive, the teacher's desk was like the top of a toboggan slide. No fence enclosed the premises. The children arrived. He made a speech, stating that reading, writing, arithmetic, and the Ten Commandments would constitute the course of study. He got on well with the scholars who reported to their parents that he was "the greatest teacher of the age."

He boarded first with the trustee who opposed grammar and geography. His bed partner was son Bill, whose feet occasionally were found where his head should have been. In his sleep Bill cried out "No grammar! Hurrah!" However, after this auspicious beginning, it was the new teacher's
misfortune to fall in love with the trustee's daughter. This promptly started adverse talk against him and he was soon fired.  

**Professional associations.** By 1850, many teachers had already formed local teachers associations. Their reasons were to improve their status as teachers, to improve the quality of teaching, and to ensure greater uniformity in methods of instruction. By 1860, township and county associations were quite numerous, but there was as yet no provincial body. The associations were favorably regarded by the Education Department but it had no power to give them grants of money.  

In the meetings, usually held monthly, teachers would exchange ideas and opinions on classroom procedures and discuss educational affairs in the province. They served as forums for debate and provided opportunity for fellowship. The local superintendents usually took leading roles in the meetings. Programs included essays on topics like Euclid, English Grammar, Algebra, History, School Management and new

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teaching methods, and spirited discussions often followed the presentations.\(^5\) One local group defined its aims in this manner: \(^5\)

The objects of this Association are, to encourage the frequent interchange of ideas, and kindly intercourse between the members of the profession throughout the township; to enlarge the views of teachers and stimulate their exertions for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge; and, to secure the general adoption of the most approved systems of imparting instruction.

The activities of the local associations led to an interest in a province-wide organization. Robert Alexander of Galt was the prime mover of this development. He attended the fourth annual meeting of the National Teachers' Association of the United States in Buffalo, New York in 1860. On his return he suggested to the Teachers' Association of North York that a provincial association be formed in Upper Canada. An organizing committee was formed and called a meeting of all interested for January 25, 1861 in the Court House in Toronto, which was attended by one hundred-twenty persons.\(^5\)

The assembly resolved "that the interests of the

\(^{56}\) *Educationalist*, I (November 1, 1860), 28.

\(^{57}\) Minutes, York Township Teachers' Association, 1865. Queen's University Archives.

profession render it necessary that we form ourselves into a teachers' provincial association," and that "the association shall be styled the Teachers' Association of Canada West." A constitution was adopted, subject to amendment by a majority vote of a meeting to be held in Toronto in August of 1861. The preamble to the constitution declared that the objects of the association were:

1. To secure the general adoption of the most approved systems of imparting instruction.

2. To secure the improvement of our text-books, or the adoption of others more suitable to the wants of the community.

3. To enlarge the view of the teachers and stimulate their exertions for the advancement and diffusion of knowledge.

4. To encourage the frequent interchange of ideas and kindly intercourse among the members of the profession throughout the country.

Prominent leaders in education lent the prestige of their persons and offices to the fledgling organization. Thomas J. Robertson, Headmaster of the Toronto Normal School, was the first president. He was succeeded by the

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59Ibid., pp. 197-98. In 1865 the name became "The Teachers' Association of Canada," in 1867 "The Ontario Teachers' Association," in 1873 "The Ontario Teachers' Association for the Advancement of Education," in 1881 "The Ontario Teachers' Association," in 1892, as a result of the union of a number of educational associations the name became "The Ontario Educational Association." Today the name is "The Ontario Teachers' Federation."

60Ibid.
Rev. Dr. McCaul, president of the University of Toronto. Dr. Daniel Wilson, the third president, held office for three one-year terms.\textsuperscript{61} While the group was composed almost entirely of common school teachers, some grammar school masters were in it from the beginning.\textsuperscript{62} In 1868 a separate Grammar School Masters' Association was organized, and in 1869, in a burst of democratic feeling, assistant masters were permitted to join it.\textsuperscript{63}

At the annual conventions, papers and reports on a variety of educational topics were given: new developments in education; new methods of teaching; problems with the public; explanations of school law; and similar professional concerns. Committees were appointed to investigate various concerns in depth and then report back the next year. Local associations sent their delegates and paid their expenses.\textsuperscript{64}

\textsuperscript{61}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{62}Robert Alexander, address at the Jubilee Banquet, April 18, 1911, cited in Souvenir Volume (Toronto: Ontario Educational Association, 1911).

\textsuperscript{63}Althouse, op. cit., p. 332. During the 1860's other groups were achieving full professional status. For example, a Medical Council was established in 1865 (by which time most medical training was in the universities); dentistry and pharmacy achieved professional status at the same time. Splane, op. cit., p. 196.

\textsuperscript{64}Unfortunately, the Minutes of the Provincial Association were destroyed by fire. Highlights of them are
In reviewing the work of teachers' associations from 1860 to 1880, Althouse stated that during this time the associations increased in vigor and took an ever-increasing interest in the policies of the Education Department as well as in local and practical problems. Self-improvement bulked large as training in method was stressed; stimulus and enlargement of vision were frequently recognized as proper objectives. The trend was away from the popular and political and toward the more strictly professional.

Although the provincial association particularly advocated many progressive educational measures, the opinions of teachers were largely disregarded and they were not consulted on educational legislation to any significant extent. As a group, teachers were able to do very little about their three most pressing professional problems: adequate salaries, adequate pensions, and guaranteed tenure.

Provincial and local meetings provided teachers with

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65 Althouse, op. cit., p. 126.
66 Hodgins, Documentary History, XXIII, 152.
67 Hardy, op. cit., p. 21.
opportunities to commiserate over the unfair and unenlightened practices of trustees and superintendents, about interference by parents, and about the slowness of the provincial Education Department to implement desirable innovations. Guillet, in his analysis of the minutes of the provincial association in its first hundred years, concluded that while teachers might have been restive and dissatisfied they demonstrated a timidity and subservience that was long to keep them in an inferior position. They were reluctant to take strong stands, and acted too much like "servants of the servants of the people." 68

Ryerson had always approved of teachers' associations, and permitted teachers up to five teaching days a year to visit other schools for observation or to attend association meetings. After 1871, he was especially keen on associations as well as the official Institutes because the new certification regulations necessitated more thorough preparation for the examinations. He realized that the older, more experienced teachers who required preparation to fulfill the new demands would rather seek it in the associations with their fellow-teachers than in attendance at the Normal School at considerable expense and in the company of younger, less-experienced students. 69

68 Guillet, op. cit., p. 42.
After 1877 Adam Crooks, the first Minister of Education, used local associations as an arm of the Education Department to supplement the County Model School system of teacher-training. In 1877 the Government gave grants of $50 to associations to promote in-service training of teachers. Government supervision followed the money as inspectors did more and more in the way of organizing the associations' programs and the teachers lost control and the associations became more and more departmental agencies. The associations' programs were then taken over by Township Institutes at which attendance was made compulsory. As a result the local associations almost disappeared as independent organizations of teachers.70

However, the provincial association retained its independence, freely criticizing the Department and giving its own judgements on matters of theory and practice in education. Increasingly it became an avenue for professional opinion and it attracted the best in the profession, for the indifferent and poorly-qualified teachers stayed away from its deliberations.71

70 Ibid., pp. 129, 133.
71 Ibid., pp. 131-32.
CHAPTER XIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Society and education. Phillips described the world before 1850 as characterized by confidence in form, formulas, and formalities, and in distinctions based on formal criteria. Not only was a spade a spade; a woman was a woman to the extent of having a female mind different from and inferior to the male mind. A gentleman was a gentleman, sharply distinguished from a commoner--not by what he did but by what he was in terms of birth and education. Value was attached to certain subjects of study because of what they were, and to such content as rules in grammar and arithmetic because rules are rules, not because they were effective in practice.¹

The 1860's were years of transition, when some flexibility was introduced to these rigid concepts. Some of the changes were overt, some were subtle, but underlying them all was the fact that Ontario was changing rapidly from a pioneer to a modern society. Agriculture was becoming scientific and dependent upon increasingly sophisticated machinery, a strong industrial base for the economy was being

established, the narrow rural point of view was tempered and challenged by a broader metropolitan outlook, markets were expanding, and transportation and communication were breaking barriers and bringing the world to Ontario's doorstep.

Contrary to current attitudes that change itself is a value, in the 1860's changes were not so much sought as accepted, sometimes with considerable reluctance. While the effect of the changes was to be profound, this was not immediately evident for many were technological and the new machines and processes came gradually and could be integrated without threatening fundamental values of life. Twentieth century innovations effected by automation, computerization, and medical breakthroughs are telescoped in time and their effects are more dramatic and unsettling. The 1860's was a time of confidence in man's ability to master his destiny, to control his creations and to build a better world. A hundred years later, man is no longer certain he can control himself or even his creations, and the preservation of humanity is a more important item on society's agenda than its betterment.

Nevertheless, the changes in Ontario in the 1860's were both inevitable and profound. The occupation of all the fertile farmland was a serious hindrance to population growth and the emigration of large numbers to the United States meant a slowdown in the rate of increase which the government
interpreted as a calamity because of the frontier presupposition that substantial immigration was necessary for prosperity. The government promoted immigration vigorously and placed newcomers on marginal farmland when its efforts would have been better spent promoting industry as a source of employment. Industry would provide jobs, make possible more efficient farming, and raise the standard of living.

The declining birth rate and the more equal ratio of the sexes were further evidence of the decline of the frontier. Metropolitanism was evident in that the growth rate of cities was double that of the province as a whole, and in the accelerating influence of cities on the province. However, rural life was still the ideal, and there were objections made to the pull of the city upon the able and ambitious. The key to many developments was the effect of the railways. They bridged the geographical gap between city and country and symbolized the transition in time between the pioneer period and the industrial revolution.

Higher literacy rates, better home illumination, and a little more leisure time meant more opportunity for reading. The newly-literate were not so much interested in classics and informative tomes as in fiction. But the "Establishment," whose tastes leaned to the classic and encyclopedic, resisted the potential corruption of the masses through novel reading and insisted on quality books in the public libraries. The
phenomenal hothouse growth of public and school libraries shows that earnest promotion can develop structures without grass-roots interest and support, but they cannot endure, for the libraries so assiduously promoted by Ryerson had all disappeared before 1900.

The attitude to reading reflects the seriousness of the decade. The Victorian-Puritan concept of the stewardship of time regarded light reading as wasteful and therefore harmful, even if the words themselves were not immoral or evil. Dwelling on unreal situations and imaginary characters would have a deleterious effect on the reader. Words were important and powerful. In the 1860's words (not the medium) were the message, and the medium which brought the words was books. If you controlled the words in books, you could control morality. The impact of books was believed to be direct and lasting and so religious and educational leaders were slow to allow books that suggested frivolity or levity, and firmly opposed any that suggested immorality, for readers would acquire the attitudes and imitate the actions they read about. Therefore, provincial control of library books through the Education Department was regarded as a necessary form of censorship in the interest of public safety. But the vehemence with which novels were denounced in the sixties was a last effort at persuasion, for lack of interest in fiction could no longer be assumed and in the seventies
the prejudice against it largely disappeared.

It was a time of confidence and self-assured stands on public issues, on which opinions varied, and on private morals, on which there was consensus. Newspaper editors did not seek to please everyone but stated their positions forthrightly on religious and political issues. The influence of the United States by its proximity to Canada was effectively counteracted by the influence of Great Britain through immigration from the British Isles and the control of the press by British-Canadians. American influence was decried and British institutions were extolled. Ontario was not yet oriented so much toward the West or the South as across the Atlantic to London. The extension of this influence throughout the province was facilitated by railways which brought the big city newspapers to every hamlet along the right-of-way. The literary magazines partially counteracted the British influence through the press by consciously fostering Canadian nationalism.

Programs of adult education were minimal and were hampered by upper class fear that too much education would produce dangerous ideas among the working classes. Adults operating the programs treated their clients as children who were given what was deemed good for them. Partly because of this upper class attitude and partly because working-class adults were not keen on further education, few were attracted
to mechanics' institutes. Philanthropists had to walk the narrow line of propriety between their humanitarian desire to uplift and the conviction that too much education was not good for the common man, for it would give them hopes they could not realize, make them dissatisfied with their lot, and strain or dislocate the social structure. Only recently has society realized that the more education all its members receive, the more society will benefit. Ryerson was enunciating this principle with respect to elementary education, extolling the value of universal education for children, but this idea was not yet applied to secondary education then, and was unthinkable at the adult level.

Although fifty-five per cent of the population was under twenty-one years of age, no one worried about it, because youth was not regarded as a force or a threat in its own right, but knew and kept its place. The self-assurance of the adults in that decade provides an interesting contrast to the anxieties and forebodings so regularly expressed in 1968 over the statement that before long half the population of Canada will be under twenty-five. Adults of the 1860's would be bemused over the insecurity with which adults regard youth today, for they had no such problem. Their approach to young people was to regard them as immature and to keep them in line.

The vitality of Ontario Protestantism in the 1860's
is evident in the involvement of churches in political
issues and the eminence of clergymen in public life. The
churches too were emerging from a pioneer frugality and had
entered upon a phenomenal decade of church-building, and as
the struggle for survival ended, cooperation among
Protestants began to replace old antagonisms. However, no
one wanted anyone else's theology taught in the public
schools, so that while all agreed that religion was necessary
there, it was to be a kind of Protestant omnibus religion-in-
general that chiefly emphasized morality. Ironically, as
society was outwardly becoming more religious with church
membership and attendance increasing, there was less concern
about the teaching of religion in schools. As the church as
an institution prospered and as schools became stronger as
agencies of education, there was less need for the one to do
the work of the other: the educational function became more
exclusively the province of the school, and the religious
function more exclusively the domain of the church. This
beginning of specialization in an intrinsically Christian
society was eventually to secularize the schools almost
completely in a hundred year span.

Protestant insistence on the form, if not the
substance, of religion in public schools contributed to the
Roman Catholic desire for separate schools of their own in
which their faith could be taught. Had public schools
offered no religion at all, Catholics might have been more willing to accept the public system; but Protestants insisted on reading from the Protestant Bible which was a forbidden book for Catholics.

From 1852 to 1867 the separate school issue was a recurring source of controversy. In the sixties, separate schools secured a permanent place in the Ontario school system and a pattern was set for other provinces by means of the Scott and British North American Acts. Protestant insistence on religion-in-general in public schools ultimately resulted in no meaningful teaching of religion there, while Roman Catholic insistence on explicit religious teaching in their own schools resulted in a separate school system within the public system for the perpetuation of Catholic ideals in education.

The Catholics were right about the only way to have religion in the schools; the Protestants were right about how to build a universal system of schools. Logically, from the Roman Catholic view, if their right to educate their own constituents is granted at the elementary level it should be extended right through university level. Logically, from the non-Catholic viewpoint, there should be no aid to education apart from the public system and the granting of this privilege to Catholic elementary schools is a concession of the majority. So historically the compromise
has continued: no aid to separate schools beyond elementary grades. But the extension of public education for all to high school and university levels since 1867 has kept the issue alive in Ontario to this day, and both sides have logical and historical grounds for their positions.

The 1860's were the last decade in which the clergy were paramount in the administration and supervision of public education. The School Act of 1871 established a professional corps of inspectors of schools, and obviated the need for clergymen to serve in two professions concurrently. Ryerson's retirement in 1876 and the transfer of school administration to a Minister of the government also meant the end of the Council of Public Instruction which had been composed almost entirely of clergymen.

Ryerson was an educational idealist. The reforms in curriculum, teaching methods, school organization and administration and in other areas which he advanced during his tenure have not all been implemented yet. He set his goals high and held them up for all to see. At the same time he was a political realist. He knew legislation alone would not bring about the changes he envisioned because if the people of Ontario were to provide the funds for education they had to be convinced both of the value and of the attainability of the projected school system. So he explained to the public as well as to the legislators what his plans
were and why.  

He used the principle of local participation as a device to initiate school reform. As people operated schools within the framework of the provincial system and understood the problems, they were more sympathetic to the reforms Ryerson encouraged. He was so adroit that much of what may be called public participation was a subtle way by which Ryerson convinced the public to support what he wanted done. His success in achieving free and compulsory education in a province not long removed from subsistence farming was remarkable. The public had its prejudices rather than its programs and Ryerson was able to implement universal education since people were willing to forego exercising their prejudices as long as others could not indulge theirs, and the strong central authority was a guarantee against abuses. Ryerson was willing to compromise for progress and succeeded in convincing the public to do the same.

He kept education in the public eye. Any attack on himself he perceived as an attack on the school system for which he was responsible. He was a great controversialist, marshalling exhaustive arrays of facts and logic with which to decimate his foes. He was seldom if ever bested in an

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argument, and certainly would not admit to coming away second best in any public controversy.

He knew the value of pride, and publicized the progress of Ontario schools. He made lengthy comparisons of the statistics of other countries and states to the south to point out Ontario's superiority and sometimes to spur Ontarians on to greater efforts. Ontario was not narrowly provincial in educational outlook, but thanks to Ryerson's interest in comparative education and his pereginations, he kept his province alerted to educational developments throughout the world. He gave Ontario pride in its system and a reputation for excellence in Canada and abroad. Later, as Ontarians moved westward in large numbers to Manitoba, the North West Territory, and British Columbia, they brought the content and structure of Ontario education with them and it was the dominant influence in the evolving school systems in the West.

The years 1870 to 1900 have been called the period of consolidation in Ontario education in which educators applied more fully the reforms Ryerson inaugurated. For the province they were years of broadening outlook, although progress in education was not marked with the same vigorous attention as under Ryerson, and in some areas there was regression rather than progress. Ontario in that period was part of a growing federation. She was linked to the
other provinces by three-cent postage in 1868. The Inter-Colonial Railway was completed in 1876, and the Canadian Pacific was connecting the East and West in 1887. The International Bridge at Niagara was built in 1873; in the 1890's Canada had surplus wheat for export; in 1899 the Boer War found Canadian soldiers fighting overseas.\(^3\)

In a sense, Ryerson did his work too well as Ontarians were complacent about the structure he had built and were not disposed to keep working at improving it. By the end of the century, Ontario had a well-based system of education and was well satisfied with it. In cities massive buildings of brick, three or four stories high, with smoke proudly pouring from their central heating systems symbolized the strength and efficiency of the educational organization. In the last quarter of the century the school system was a model of formal efficiency, the envy of other provinces. But a few even then regarded the whole system as a pretentious machine incapable of true education.\(^4\)

In most of his views, Ryerson has been vindicated through the years. Between 1900 and 1944 the province


gradually accepted his ideas for consolidating elementary and secondary education in cities and towns. His idea of township boards was adopted in 1964. His hope for a central Dominion Bureau of Education in Ottawa is still unrealized.

A striking feature of public statements of the sixties is the optimism expressed about the power of education. A rosy future was predicted for Ontario and Canada if children would attend school faithfully. Such optimism appears naive, but is nonetheless refreshing since in the 1960's it is more the fashion to question bright promises of hope and progress, and confidence that education has all the answers is rare.

Theory of education. Increasing government and private activities to remedy social evils in the sixties were hopeful stop-gap measures against the day when universal education would effectively wipe out delinquency and crime by teaching morality and good citizenship. Adults who did not have the benefits of education and children growing up without schooling were identified as the cause of social problems, and the answer lay in raising up a generation of educated youth.

There was concern for the physical needs of children in school and obvious shortcomings such as uniform height

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5Harris, op. cit., p. 115.
of all school benches were now being corrected and many schools had proper desks for the scholars. But children were essentially perceived as so many little learning machines that needed to be cared for so they might learn better. Recesses, exercises, marching and singing all had their place to keep little bodies oiled and working and to provide little minds with a change of pace lest they break down from overwork. Each person had a certain amount of "life power" which was not to be used up too rapidly.

A machine has little initiative and is operated by an expert who feeds material into it. The internal workings of the learning machine were assumed to be of a certain nature described by faculty psychology. The goal was to make the teachers expert at the uniform task of programming information into children by means of the "most approved" methodologies. The child was to learn for the sake of learning and to acquire useful knowledge and skills for adult use. He was to be content with deferred satisfaction—it would all be good for him "some day."

Whereas earlier the child had been ignored in favor of the content of education, in the 1860's he was not ignored but manipulated on the basis of "scientific" methods of instruction. More recently educators have felt that the form of the school should be derived from its function as in architecture where "form follows function,"
but in 1860 it was form that determined function. The old forms of theory and practice were no longer satisfactory although still widely practised, so new educational theories were expressed in structures: physical, administrative, and instructional.

Discipline was still based largely on the strap and although educational theorists did not advocate the abolition of corporal punishment, they urged teachers to obtain good order without it. Children were still treated harshly in the classroom, but this treatment was not as damaging psychologically as identical treatment would be today, for children then were conditioned to harsh treatment at home. Offenses were commonly punished without reference to causative factors or underlying needs of the offenders. In theory, moral suasion was superior to corporal persuasion, but in practice the strap was the mainstay of discipline. There was an urban-rural split in attitudes toward corporal punishment brought about by two factors, the more professional orientation of city teachers and the greater public sensitivity in cities to strapping. The higher incidence of women teachers was an ameliorating factor with respect to discipline throughout the province.

A theology of good works and a Victorian belief in the merits of competition led to widespread use of merit cards and prize books as motivators for pupil achievement.
Theories of education under the imposing title "Science of Education" offered laws of learning and expositions of the proper practice of education under the heading "Art of Education" dealt with the application of principles in the classroom situation.

The theorists of education were generally in advance of the classroom teacher. Only a minority of teachers seemed to have the sensitivity and the good sense to appreciate that interest and understanding on the part of the child were paramount in learning. The repeated emphasis on thoroughness indicates that conditioning for success was not regarded as important in theory or in practice, but that patient and unremitting drill was vital. In every classroom, there were children who did not understand what was occurring in some or all of the subjects being taught. Interest in the child, in positive reinforcement, and in internal motivation were all to be found in the sixties, but as yet they were prophetic rather than widely practised.

Basic to all education in the 1860's was the development of morality. Honest, upright, and conscientious Christians were the rightful products of the schools. Religion provided a rationale and explanation for all of life, but was a matter of morals more than theology. The universe was moral and in God's economy the good were rewarded materially and the wicked were punished. Success
in life depended more on good character than on intelligence alone. The crafty self-seeker would lose out to the virtuous and steady. While a few intellectuals might dissent from this view and regard nature as amoral, the Puritan tradition still provided the basis for popular culture. 

Ethics did not evolve from culture, nor were they developed by the individual through experience and critical thinking, nor from his peers, but they were absolute and unchanging, and came from God. Ethics were learned as other information and the child’s behavior was not to be inner-directed or other-directed but dictated by authority and passively accepted. To be well-adjusted meant to be in harmony with God and nature rather than with one’s peers.

Textbooks portrayed the hard realities of life, and along with the more pleasant aspects of living did not hesitate to include tragedy, crime, drunkenness, and death. The universal triumph of moral integrity in the textbooks was not borne out in real life, yet to dismiss nineteenth century texts as mere fantasy is itself unreal. Children of that era were more exposed to hardship and death.

By way of contrast, the textbooks for children today are as full of fantasy in their predilection for pleasant,

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7 Ibid.
sunny children cavorting in the best of all possible worlds. These cheerful books do not so much as hint at the fact that life is anything but sunny afternoons, indulgent parents, policemen, balloon men, zoo attendants, and bus drivers in a world which is filled with amity and concern for others, a world where kindness and hospitality are no less dependable than the laws of gravity. The stories are exclusively about "good guys" and one wonders how a nine year old child can reconcile the adventures he reads about in school with the dirty-faced child next door, the cheater-at-marbles, or the irascible bus driver who loses his temper. Modern readers are no less fantasy-ridden than the Irish National Series and its contemporaries, for they contain not the slightest hint that anything could be wrong out there in the big world. The nineteenth century reader dealt readily with all that was wrong and proposed cures: righteousness and integrity and the tenets of the Bible. It was unreal in applying perfect solutions to every personal and social problem but it did not ignore the problems as contemporary readers do.  

While religion and morality remained important in school textbooks throughout the century, a significant development took place in the 1860's as nationalism supplemented and reduced religious content in school readers.

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8Jack Matthews, "Words from Another Century," The Cresset, XXIX (April, 1966), 16-20.
The emphasis became for God and country. In the late sixties it was no longer satisfactory or satisfying simply to be anti-American and a loyal British subject. American threats and British indifference fanned the flame of a growing sense of nationality, and Canadians learned from the nationalistic American textbooks to promote national pride and a sense of community through school books.

Confederation, the widening horizons of commerce and industry, and scientific developments all injected new feelings and stirrings into Canadians who began also to find new aims for education in the sixties. The traditional values of religion and morality lent themselves well to the new aims, for they provided the country with a value system into which new developments could be integrated: the belief in a moral universe in which industry and thrift were rewarded suited an industrial economy as well as an agricultural one, and was also compatible with the social Darwinism which developed later in the century. Religious and utilitarian aims merged into a workable synthesis. The combination of religion and education was regarded as a powerful means of social progress, and as confidence grew the aims became more inclusive.

Historically, the concept of common schools was that they were to provide education for the common people. Ryerson filled the term with the new meaning of an elementary
school common to all, the universal educational agency for children. This concept implied a levelling of the classes and was regarded as suspiciously akin to the democracy of the United States at a time when the word "democracy" was not yet entirely respectable in Upper Canada, for it contained overtones of rebellion. Upper class people preferred grammar schools for the elementary education of their children, as a "common school" had no appeal for them. The change in name from common school to public school in 1871 helped to soothe ancient prejudices against this democratic institution. The enthusiasm of Ryerson and some other upper class persons for one universal system for the sons and daughters of all classes was a factor in the development of the notion of a classless society in Canada in which everyone is theoretically the equal of his neighbor, with class structures fluid rather than fixed.

In undertaking his task in the Education Department, Ryerson knew he must put first things first and build from the ground up, so he began with the common school which was both the most obvious and the most difficult place to begin. Once the public accepted the principles of education there, they could be extended to the next level of schooling. This was essentially accomplished in the sixties and enacted

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9 Harris, op. cit., p. 42.
Ryerson blueprinted his plans in 1846. He thought through the fundamentals of education, and while he modified his ideas as time went on, he operated from the essential framework he developed early in his career. He always had the large view before him, which gave him the advantage in any debate over a particular facet of the educational program. His desire for innovations was based on his previous plans, and he resisted innovations which were not accounted for in his own conceptual framework or did not complement it. For him innovations were not sudden changes but long-awaited improvements in efficiency.

He laid the foundation carefully and well. Nearly all the reasons he advanced for universal elementary education were later extended to the high school level and some today are using them as a rationale for free university education and for continuing education of some type for all adults able to benefit from it.

**Practice in education.** In the 1860's it was becoming firmly established that children should be enrolled in school, but regular school attendance was by no means universally accepted. On a typical school day only four of ten registered pupils were present. In pioneer days when each pupil progressed at his own speed through a textbook sporadic attendance affected no one but the individual
pupil. But the introduction of more efficient procedures like grading and class teaching meant that widespread absenteeism could wreak havoc on uniform progress. This added to teachers' frustrations and was an additional motivating factor in their support of the drive for compulsory education.

The need of farm children to work at home and the availability of jobs for city youngsters were a constant deterrent to school attendance; and the drab and uninspiring nature of most schools was no strong magnet to pull the children in. Elementary education for all could never become operative unless all were compelled to participate in it.

The necessity initially of imposing a uniform curriculum throughout the province without permitting local options set a pattern of provincial control that was to become standard in Canada. Originally it served to guarantee a minimum standard but it led to the idea that uniformity is a virtue. A century later when educators believe that flexibility and meeting individual needs is more important than uniformity and when communities sometimes desire curricular options to meet local needs, the long standing tradition of uniform curriculum and textbooks imposed by the provinces remains a barrier against local freedom.

A uniform curriculum was a logical extension of the idea that individual differences are not important in the
classroom and therefore individual options for various localities are not important either. Even as all children in a class were to proceed together, so all the schools in Ontario were to proceed together through the line of subjects efficiently ordered by headquarters.

Group differences were more important than individual differences, and so the differences between the sexes were magnified and received more attention in the 1860's than individual pupil differences. As group differences were minimized, individual differences began to receive closer scrutiny. Some educators today are again looking closely at sex differentiation with particular reference to their effects on beginning pupils, and are re-affirming that boys and girls bring different concepts and capabilities to the learning situations. The significance of these differences is now believed to be found in the beginning years of school; in the 1860's they were identified at the adolescent level.

The most crisis-ridden educational institution in the sixties was the grammar school. The English concept of the great public school simply had not taken root in Upper Canada's soil. Instant tradition is difficult to develop, but even so it was many years before the mistake was acknowledged and a serious search for solutions undertaken. By 1860 all concerned recognized how woefully inadequate the grammar schools were. The solutions were forced on the
Education Department by a public which demanded curricular reform, coeducation, and better financing. The solutions tried in the sixties underlined the depth of the problems and were preliminary to the major overhaul of 1871 when the high school assumed its modern characteristics.

Reforms in the grammar school indicated the increasing importance of secondary education. While the enrollment was still very small, the public resented the exclusive nature of the institution. The crisis of the old versus the new came to a head in the sixties as the grammar school provides an excellent case study of what was happening at many levels of society and education: friction, conflict, and crises.

Ryerson wanted professional training for teachers to be thorough and permanent so he favored the establishment of institutions specifically devoted to that end. He shunned the model school concept of training teachers in local common schools and also decided early that teachers' institutes would not suffice either, although he used them in the seventies as a means of upgrading practising teachers. The abandonment of the Normal School for training beginning teachers in 1877 by Crooks was a tragic undoing of Ryerson's work and contributed to the isolation of teacher-training from universities in Ontario.

Certification requirements gave teaching professional classifications, the highest of which were reserved for
Normal School graduates. Normal School students, as a rule ill-qualified academically upon their admission and often immature in years and experience, were treated like children. Their course of study gave them much academic content and a battery of practical teaching helps which made them easily superior to the average common school teacher. In the sixties more teachers were Canadian-born as the province became largely self-supporting in supplying its teaching personnel.

The elementary curriculum was enriched in the sixties by the general introduction of grammar, geography and history, which were taught in the traditional content-centered manner. However, in the traditional skill subjects of reading, spelling, writing, and arithmetic some progressive methods of teaching were being introduced, as methodology sought answers to problems in each specific subject more than in general principles or a holistic approach.

There was movement in methodology from the central role of the textbook to the centrality of the teacher in the learning process. Teachers were enjoined to become more active in bringing information to pupils and to use such helps as objects and apparatus to interest and assist children to learn. They were to use a variety of activities in the classroom and to employ a positive approach to create a wholesome classroom atmosphere to aid learning and
discipline and to conceive of their task as broadening in theory and in practice.

The concept of oral teaching was a humanizing trend in education, for pupils and masters conversed with one another. It was stilted and formal at first, as sample object lessons demonstrate, but it was a beginning—it was a live presentation, not a pre-recorded situation printed in a textbook.

A fundamental principle of education is to engage the individual child in a learning situation, but in the 1860's children were treated as constants and the methods were the variables. If teachers could find the right method for teaching a given subject all the children would learn it well. Therefore the "most approved" methods were to be uniformly taught in the schools. With this penchant for method regimentation was regarded as efficiency, obedience stressed above thinking, conformity desired before initiative, and knowing was stressed before understanding.

The forward-looking who discussed education in terms of self-improvement, motivation, initiative, and understanding did so in a much more limited way when compared with twentieth-century practice, but in the context of mid-nineteenth century authoritarianism even small freedoms constituted notable progress.

To pursue a teaching career one hundred years ago
meant deprivation of both social prestige and economic security. The only rewards held out as motivation were the internal ones of satisfaction in self-sacrificing service for humanity, and teachers were to devote themselves to their calling with religious zeal and dedication.

It was an era of the amateur in education, a time when a veneer of professionalism was applied that was only skin deep. Teachers' journals had the form of professional journals but lacked the substance because their readers were amateurs. Amateurs with responsibility are prone to hide incompetency behind formality. Teachers retreated behind textbooks where they were not as vulnerable as out before the class standing on their own two feet. For the same reason amateur superintendents inspected rather than supervised. It was easier to evaluate teachers in the relatively meaningless terms of "good, fair, poor, or indifferent" than to enter into dialogue and assist neophytes to improve. Too many teachers treated their pupils as they were treated by superintendents: inspecting pupils' work instead of assisting them to learn.

When the quality of personnel is poor, uniformity helps establish and maintain a minimum level of respectable performance. But when personnel are of high quality, uniformity becomes a straight-jacket which hinders the full scope of a teacher's talent. The Education Department set
a minimum level of education through teachers' certification, uniform textbooks and curriculum, teaching hours and days, et al., and these raised the level of schooling.

In the beginning of Ryerson's administration when teachers had only superficial supervision, they were free to innovate and improvise but had neither the desire nor the ability to do so. Quite apart from his glaring academic deficiencies, the average Upper Canadian teacher was psychologically unable to develop in new directions and explore new dimensions in the teaching-learning process. It was emotionally satisfying to remain in the narrow confines of provincial regulations and teaching traditions and safer than wandering out into the desert of one's own intuitive views. The regulations and efforts to establish uniformity were useful guides to such teachers.

But as teachers gradually became more competent, some became restive under controls established for more primitive times. By 1871, when there was a progressive minority of teachers able to innovate successfully, the newly-appointed inspectors with their First Class A teaching certificates and zeal to upgrade teaching made inspections more professional but also more restrictive. These new men felt qualified to tell teachers in their jurisdiction what to do and how to do it and were less prone to tolerate deviations than their amateur predecessors had been. The inspectors
improved the efficiency of the majority but inhibited the creativity and independence of the superior teachers. A good teacher must be willing to innovate without knowing what the results will be, willing to fail if necessary; but the emphasis on uniformity was designed to insure success.

The 1860's saw a surge of women into teaching that has continued ever since so that today only a few men are deemed necessary on an elementary school staff, to teach physical education and the upper grades, whereas before 1860 the situation was the reverse, with only a few women employed to teach beginning pupils.

**Years of transition.** 1860-1870 was a decade in which amateurs in education were beginning to become professionals. Teachers were ill-equipped, superintendents had no teaching experience, methods and equipment were time-worn, but these conditions were no longer accepted as inevitable—progress in society required progress in education. So many people recognized the amateur standing of the personnel in education that something had to be done about it. The old ways were still practised but were not defended. The awareness of amateur standing is an important step toward professionalism and the formation of the provincial teachers' association in 1861 gave teachers an instrument to express their aspirations mutually and to the public.

It was a decade which recognized the supreme position
of religion in school as well as in life but which contained
seeds of the secularization of education. Religious content
in schoolbooks diminished but was compensated for by
improved religious instruction in the churches. Although
education became more secular, society was strongly religious
and the growth of denominations in numbers cloaked the
factors contributing to a more secular society.

It was an era of the rustic becoming refined as
Ontario was emerging from a rigorous pioneer heritage.
Ontarians had come a long way in a short time, and looked
with some feelings of superiority at American "republicanism"
and its fruits (the Civil War) and felt pride in their
progress and their British heritage; at the same time they
experienced some loneliness as a result of American hostility
and British coolness and apparent unconcern for British North
America.

It was a time when tradition, intuition, and prejudice
were challenged by the scientific method. Learned articles
and books on education appeared containing much that has
since been discarded as nonsense, but which attempted to
organize theory and practice of education along scientific
lines.

It was a time in which monologue was gradually becoming
dialogue. True, controversies were often monologues carried
on by opponents in the press or pamphlets; true also that
the Education Department instructed local authorities in the performance of their duties, local superintendents told teachers how they were doing, and teachers told pupils what to learn. But there was more dialogue among equals and even across lines of authority, for teachers and superintendents talked in teachers' association meetings, pupils and teachers talked together in schools, and everybody talked in the various kinds of public meetings on education. The sixties were a prelude to the invention of the telephone in 1876, an instrument which has done more to promote dialogue than any other.

It was an elastic decade, for innovators would stretch out with new concepts and ideas but keep anchored to accepted values. Contrary to the 1968 attitude of many that change is itself a value, no one in the 1860's advocated change for its own sake. The changes advocated then were carefully built on well-established bases. Examples from the past and from older countries were used to justify new proposals. The radical suggestion of free and compulsory education for Canada, for example, was identified as a long-accepted practice in some European countries and as compatible with Ontario values. Innovations were based on solid foundations: Ontarians were willing to accept a new concept, Confederation, but not to abandon loyalty to the Crown and British institutions;
they were willing to add more nationalistic and secular material to their readers, but not to abandon Scripture selections;

they were willing to accept the transportation revolution and more commerce and industry in cities and towns, but not to abandon the ideal of rural life as the best life;

they were interested in better means of school discipline, but did not abandon corporal punishment;

they saw the value of adding understanding to memory work, but did not abandon memory work;

they showed much local interest and support for schools, but the power of central authority in education was not relaxed.

Viewed from the vantage point of 1968, education in Ontario in the 1860's appears to be like an adolescent, in whom childhood was receding and maturity was still ahead. Growth was uneven; there were signs both of childish and of adult behavior. The adolescent has neither the resources nor the experience to achieve his aspirations, time and further growth are required.

In the 1860's the legacy of Ontario's educational childhood was still much in evidence: one room schools, untrained teachers, dependence on textbooks, stress on content, rules, drill, and memorization, parsimonious
trustees, folk psychology, and segregation of the sexes.

Adolescent characteristics included strong central authority coupled with local responsibility, broader reading tastes, growing contacts with the outside world, and reliance upon uniformity in textbooks, curriculum, and in the pace of learning progress.

Signs of future maturity were an expanding curriculum, grading, education for understanding and self-development, greater participation by pupils through object lessons and oral teaching, and a recognition of the rights of girls and women as learners and teachers.

An adolescent may become painfully aware of problems that did not exist for him before. The 1860's were years of rising sensitivity to educational problems that because of growth and progress in the province could no longer remain unresolved: inadequate schoolhouses, untrained teachers, narrow textbooks, non-professional superintendents and time-worn methods. There was dissatisfaction with the status quo, a prerequisite to improvement.

Stages in educational development may be described as giving attention to each of these questions in turn: what? how? who? why? The first stage in pedagogy is to concentrate on conveying information (what to teach), content is pre-eminent, lodged in books to be memorized by pupils under the teachers' domination. The next step is the rise of
methodology (how to teach) and ways of teaching the book become important. The next step is to study the object of instruction (who is the learner, what sort of creature is he?) as understanding the child becomes important so that he can be educated effectively (the child-study movement). The last step is to search for meaning in education in the context of the wide world (why do we teach?), to seek to relate school to society (John Dewey and progressive education).

Man undertook systematic study of the natural sciences before turning to the social sciences because it is easier to study phenomena outside of man than to study man himself. The same is true in education—it started farthest from the learner, with content, then moved to the teacher, and only then turned to study the child, after which it could discuss the place of the learner in society.

In the 1860's Ontario was in the "how" stage, turning to methodology, although many teachers were still absorbed in content, a few were concerned with the child, and, as in every age, a few perceptive ones were asking "why?" Educational change means that more follow the ideas of the few who precede change. In 1860 most teachers were still teaching in the traditional way, but there were enough giving attention to new thoughts and new ways that the 1860's can be identified as marking the beginning of modern education.
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Introduction. Textbooks for pupils regularly contained introductions in which the authors gave their views to teachers on the best theory and practice of the subject treated, and textbooks written for teachers would cover all subjects in this manner. These are revealing not only in the suggestions they offered, but also in their frequent disapproval or condemnation of certain widespread beliefs and practices.

Autobiographies of teachers, reminiscences of former pupils, family correspondence and papers, the annual reports of local superintendents and of Ryerson give both official and informal information on the state of education. The Journal of Education and other journals, newspapers, and magazines provided material. The annual reports and the diaries of Toronto's Superintendent Porter gave first-hand glimpses into the daily routine of administration and the problems of teachers.

Minutes of local school boards, the provincial teachers' conventions (the originals of which were destroyed by fire), and local teachers' groups reveal the minds of trustees and teachers on many points. Guillet's In the Cause of Education gives excerpts and summaries of the provincial minutes, as does Hodgins' Documentary History. Normal
School students' notes and examination papers were helpful in understanding the nature of teacher-training.

Hodgins' *Documentary History* was an important source in many areas and in many instances his statements were cross-checked for accuracy in other primary sources. An interview with a centenarian, Charles Young of Langley, British Columbia, who went to school with Charles Gordon (Ralph Connor) corroborated written evidence as he related incidents and facts from his school days in Harrington, Ontario, a century ago.

Secondary sources included a variety of printed resources and theses. Local and school histories too often are content to list dates of buildings, personnel of boards and teaching staffs, and relating reminiscences of undetermined dates and as a rule do not offer significant information on the development of education or its essence at any particular time.

Places where the material was found included: the Public Archives and National Library, Ottawa; the libraries of Ottawa and Carleton Universities; manuscripts in the administration building at Upper Canada Village, Morrisburg, Ontario; the library and archives at Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario; the library of the Ontario College of Education at the University of Toronto; the Records Room of the Toronto Education Centre; the Toronto Reference
Library; the Ontario Legislative Library; the Ontario Provincial Archives; and the library of the Ontario Teachers' Federation. The library of the University of British Columbia, particularly the Murray Collection of approximately 5,000 volumes, considered the largest single collection of school Canadiana, contained a wealth of material.

Further study in the area of professional literature for Canadian teachers (textbooks and journals) in the nineteenth century, free and compulsory education in Canada, private education, J. George Hodgins and his contribution to Ontario education, and the role of clergymen in Canadian education could enhance our understanding of the nineteenth century and its relationship to the twentieth.

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