

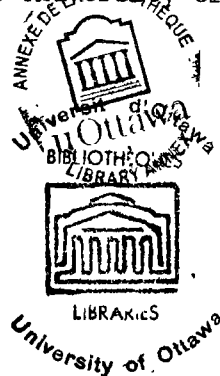
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (HISTORY)

*The Organization, Control and Administration
of the Teacher Training System of the
Province of Ontario:
1900-1920*

by

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INTRODUCTION

On March 29, 1966, the Hon. William G. Davis, Minister of Education in the Robarts Government, released the findings of the McLeod Committee¹ appointed in September, 1964, to examine and report on the preparation of teachers for the elementary schools of Ontario. On the same day he made the following statement in the Ontario Legislature:

The report suggests that the ideal programme should embody three methods of qualifying as an elementary school teacher; a consecutive plan; a concurrent plan; and an internship plan. In each case the teacher will be required to obtain a university degree before entering the teaching profession. ...

I am in complete agreement with the programme suggested and it will be the policy of my department to implement plans to this end as quickly as possible. ...

The Committee recommends that, while the responsibility for the certification of teachers should continue to rest with the Minister, the programmes for teacher education should be provided by the universities which should, where feasible, offer both elementary and secondary teacher education within the same faculty.

I am completely in agreement with having the universities take a larger share in the preparation of teachers, both elementary and secondary. The teachers' colleges have served us well²

Indeed, the Teachers' Colleges, formerly the Provincial Normal Schools until renamed in 1953, had served the province since 1847 when the Toronto Normal School was established. Barely more than three years after the Minister's statement, on 1 July, 1969, to be precise, Lakehead Teachers' College, then one of thirteen similar colleges in the province, was integrated with Lakehead University. It was to prepare both element-

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1. Ontario Department of Education, *Report of The Minister's Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers*, 1966.
 2. *The Educational Courier*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 5, May-June, 1966, 12-13.

ary and secondary teachers. In announcing transfer of its control and operation to the university Mr. Davis said that it was the first of a series of similar transfers to take place over the next few years, meeting the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950, the *Report of the Minister's Committee on the Training of Elementary School Teachers*, 1966, and *Living and Learning* (Hall-Dennis Report)³. Since then the following colleges have also been integrated: University of Ottawa Teachers' College with the University of Ottawa in 1969, Windsor Teachers' College with the University of Windsor in 1970, St. Catharines Teachers' College with Brock University in 1971, and Lakeshore Teachers' College with York University in 1971.

These modern-day efforts to have Ontario's teachers, elementary as well as secondary, trained in university settings, and where possible, side-by-side within the same colleges or faculties have been generally acclaimed as advances and as something new in the province. So too has the decentralization of control and administration involved. In point of fact, in some respects, these changes are revivals of partially successful attempts which were made over sixty years ago to challenge some of the principles and assumptions on which the control and administration of the province's teacher-training facilities were based in the nineteenth century.

When Robert A. Pyne, Minister of Education in the new Whitney Government, occupied his office, he found among his inheritances from

3. Ontario Department of Education News Release: 69-33, 26 May, 1969.

Richard Harcourt, his predecessor, a sheaf of correspondence⁴ concerning the recent educational activities of Samuel Walters Dyde, Queen's University Professor of Mental Philosophy, and Chairman of the Kingston Board of Education. The correspondence revealed that in April, 1904, Dyde had "taken up the idea of improving the Model School", and such was his vigor that it had moved E.J.B. Pense, Kingston's representative in the Ontario Assembly, to boast that Kingston was "not slow-going in educational matters". "It keeps the others trotting", he had crowed⁵. The correspondence which Pyne acquired and augmented does not indicate that either he or Richard Harcourt was interested in Dyde's ideas on teacher education reform; in fact, Pyne's tone and terminology give the impression that the Minister thought Dyde's reforms were, if not incredible, then, to say the least, naive. For Dyde had put forward the astounding proposal that Eastern Ontario's twenty-seven-year-old model schools be closed down and regrouped at Kingston in one large teacher-training facility affiliated with Queen's University. In 1905 such a notion simply left the Minister gasping⁶.

However astounded the incumbent Minister of Education may have been, Dyde's proposal was no personal fad; it had local backing. For strength of conviction it drew on a resolution of July, 1904, approved by the Board of Examiners of Carleton County, which ran as follows:

That the interests of the rural schools of Eastern Ontario will be best served by establishing at Kingston a strong training school in organic relation with Queen's University, thereby affording

4. P.A.O., RG2/P2/39 contains this bundle of correspondence: see item 11.

5. Ibid., Pense, E.J.B., to Harcourt, R., 28 May, 1904.

6. Ibid., Pyne, R.A., to Dyde, S.W., 8 April, 1905.

teachers of our rural schools exceptional opportunities for culture and bringing them under the inspiring influence of university ideals. 7

Dyde had inserted this resolution in a printed circular of October, 1904⁸, soliciting the support of Eastern Ontario's educational authorities. For good measure he had included a similar, recent resolution from the County of Frontenac Board of Examiners. It ran as follows:

That professional training and practice in teaching should go concurrently with the academic work of the teachers' course and, for this purpose, these training schools should be affiliated with superior secondary schools or universities.

Dyde's ideas had also attracted the support of the public school inspector in Kingston, William Spankie, M.D. At the request of John Millar, Deputy Minister of Education, Spankie had earlier inspected some experimental "courses of instruction and model lessons" which the indefatigable Dyde had persuaded certain university professors to provide free of charge for the students of Kingston Model School during the fall of 1904⁹. Reporting that the experience was an "unqualified success", Spankie supported Dyde's belief that the problem of the province's model schools could be solved by establishing enlarged and improved schools at different university centres throughout the province¹⁰.

But Pyne was unmoved. Piqued, if anything, by Dyde's insistence that Spankie's report be published, the Minister dealt firmly with Dyde's basic proposals. "The whole question if taken up must be disposed of

7. Approved 8 July, 1904; P.A.O., RG2/P2/39/11, Cowley, R.H., I.P.S., Carleton County, to Millar, J., 8 August, 1904.

8. Ibid., see item 106 for circular.

9. P.A.O., RG2/D7/10, Gordon, D.M., Principal, Queen's University, to Pyne, R.A., 12 September, 1905.

10. P.A.O., RG2/P2/39/11, Spankie, W., to Harcourt, R., late autumn 1904.

with some certain policy", he said, and then added:

... It is also well for me to say that the late Government notwithstanding the comprehensive knowledge which the Premier, the Honourable Mr. Ross, had of the inception and progress of the County Model Schools, never committed itself to a material change in the existing system. 11

Anticipating that changes would call for large expenditures, Pyne then cautioned Dyde:

My colleagues have not had time to take up the question, and it would be unwise for me to disturb present conditions until a well-defined policy can be matured. --- No favourable response to your circular was received evidently from the authorities of County Model Schools, such as Madoc, Athens, Cornwall, Morrisburg, Perth, Prescott, Renfrew, etc.. 12

Pyne concluded that he had no reason to believe that Dyde's views would be accepted. The proposal to unite the academic and professional courses of public school teachers at collegiate institutes or universities, he described as "revolutionary". High and public school inspectors, he pointed out, had never advocated any changes of that kind.

It is our contention that the Kingston experiment and Pyne's reaction to it were significant occurrences in the development of teacher education in Ontario: the experiment, because it is the earliest known practical attempt to interest the provincial government in the possibility of university participation in the planning and presentation of teacher-training programmes; and Pyne's response, because it reflected official attitudes and ideas regarding the development of teacher-education policy at the beginning of the century. We have therefore selected the Dyde-Pyne interchange as an inciting force for certain enquiries into the

11. Ibid., Pyne, R.A., to Dyde, S.W., 8 April, 1905.

12. Idem.

history of Ontario's teacher-training institutions. These enquiries are outlined below in the form of questions we have asked with respect to the pertinent events and opinions.

First, there is a basic question, spotlighted by juxtaposing Pyne's discouraging response to Dyde's proposals of 1904 with Davis's policy decision of 1966. It is this: What has accounted for the apparent slow development in the Province of Ontario of university-based institutions devoted to the professional preparation of teachers? An attempt will be made to show that part of the answer is to be found in the way in which teacher-training institutions developed in Ontario during the first two decades of the twentieth century, that is, during those years which lie between the first half-century of growth (running from the founding of Toronto Normal School to the end of the nineteenth century) and the last half-century of growth (running from the establishment of the Ontario College of Education in 1920 to the present day).

In pursuing the answer to this basic question during the years from 1900 to 1920, we shall follow two lines of enquiry. The first, forming the relevant historical background for the second, will examine the way in which Ontario's teacher-training institutions were controlled and administered at the end of the last century. It will seek to set forth the principles and assumptions on which the overall structure and operation of the system were based, and to assess some implications for the future. The second will examine some of the political, financial, social and psychological forces which helped mould and re-mould the system during the crucial opening decades of this century so that by 1920 it was set in a pattern which remained practically unchanged until

the 1960's? We believe that it is only by following carefully these lines of enquiry that we can understand why, at the time the McLeod Committee was appointed, Ontario's teacher-training system, from certain standpoints of control and administration, retained features of nineteenth-century design. Then we can better understand why university involvement in the preparation of teachers seemed to be slow in coming in Ontario.

To form the warp and woof of the chronological pattern of development essential for an understanding of the history-making forces involved and for a valid interpretation of events, opinions and policies during the period under study, we shall be guided by two sets of subsidiary questions, one deriving from the content of Pyne's letter to Dyde of April, 1905, and the other from the apparent paradoxes, contradictions, and incongruities of later events. Both are outlined immediately below, starting with those questions related to Pyne's comments to Dyde.

In his reference to the teacher-education policy of the preceding government, Robert Pyne told S.W. Dyde that Ross and his colleagues had never committed themselves to any fundamental reform of the county model school system¹³. Can it be inferred that Richard Harcourt and the Liberals were satisfied with the province's quarter-century old method of preparing teachers for the elementary schools? What changes, if any, had Harcourt made or envisaged? Certainly Pyne's

13. See quotation, P.5, 1.5. The Ross Government held office from October, 1899, to February, 1905.

comments leave the impression that changes of the sort that Dyde and his eastern Ontario supporters were pressing the government to accept were out of the question. Pyne thought Dyde's proposal "to unite academic and professional courses at Collegiate Institutes or Universities would be in itself revolutionary", and added in support of his opinion that such changes had never been recommended by the province's high school or public school inspectors. Did this mean that at the beginning of the century Ontario's teacher-training institutions and universities were far apart and had no interest in each other? And did it mean also that the Minister's advisors and others in the educational community had never thought about possible liaisons among them? We shall examine these possibilities.

Also arising from Pyne's letter are certain closely related questions concerning the ways in which reforms in teacher education were introduced in those days. They emanate specifically from statements on the anticipated procedure of the government made by Pyne when he told Dyde that if and when the government took up the problem of teacher education it would dispose of it only on the basis of "some certain policy". "Experimenting is out of the question", he said, implying that there would be no tinkering with the system and that reforms, if any, would be decided upon and handed down by the government. Why was the Minister so dogmatic? Why would the idea of experimentation be rejected so forthrightly? How were innovations generally introduced in those days? Did changes, if any, come only from above? Was the system rigidly structured and unresponsive to change because it was government controlled? Questions of this order will also guide part of our enquiry.

The second set of questions derives, as we have stated, from the apparent paradoxes, contradictions and incongruities of later events. From the tenor of the Minister's letter to Dyde one could readily believe that events would move slowly forward in the slumbrous world of education. But it was not so. Within a space of barely twenty months, a startling new design for the training of the province's teachers had emerged. "Revolutionary" was the word to describe it! The new plan called for drastic action. It would wipe out the model schools; it would refurbish the existing normal schools and increase their number; and it would bring into existence a new organism: a faculty of education, for the simultaneous training of high school teachers and higher grade elementary school teachers, to be created at the University of Toronto. The question which naturally arises is how such a sudden transformation in government behaviour and attitude can be explained. Why did the Minister of Education eliminate the model school, an institution almost as old as the institution of the office of the Minister of Education itself? And through what gateway did the university, suddenly it seemed, enter the world of teacher-education? We shall investigate these questions.

By 1907 the first phase of this new programme was underway. But by then further changes were being made. Surprisingly, there were now two faculties of education, not one, the second being at Queen's University! A year later, phase two took shape as the number of normal schools doubled to six. Further questions automatically arise. Had the Minister of Education undergone a change of heart? Had Dyde and his

supporters achieved their objective after all? What was the form and shape of the new system? And how did the reorganized normal schools of the twentieth century differ from those of the nineteenth?

By 1920, however, there was another surprise in store. The Queen's Faculty of Education disappeared from the scene and the Toronto Faculty was transformed into a new institution, the Ontario College of Education, devoted to the professional training of high school teachers only. Though nominally part of the University of Toronto, the latter was placed virtually under direct government supervision and there it remained for nearly fifty years. The impact of the reorganization was therefore traumatic, for no real changes in policy or plans for control and administration of the province's teacher-training facilities occurred until the late 1960's when William Davis was Minister of Education, and, with the erection of new colleges of education and government approval of the transfer of existing teachers' colleges to university control, steps were taken to renew the process of university involvement in teacher-education halted in 1920. The realignment of 1920 and the events leading up to it therefore had an enduring impact on the history of teacher education in Ontario in the years that followed, and so we shall examine the nature of the reorganization of 1920 and attempt to determine how it came about. In particular, we shall follow the events which led to the complete closure of the Queen's Faculty of Education, to the apparent failure of at least part of Ontario's first attempt to involve universities in the professional preparation of teachers, and to the separation of elementary and secondary professional training.

It is only by asking ourselves questions of this order and pursuing the sources for incontrovertible answers that the history of teacher-training institutions in Ontario may be recounted in relevant and meaningful terms.

Finally, the selection of 1900 as the point of departure for our study may be defended on other grounds. To be able to start a historical study at the turn of a century is handy. To have historical justification for so doing makes for respectability. So it is with our study which takes as its historical benchmark the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. For it was in October, 1899, that George W. Ross took over the premiership of Ontario from the tiring A.S. Hardy. In the wake of rising opposition over the election scandals of the previous two years, Ross promised action to punish the culprits, and after the appointment of nothing less than a Royal Commission to search the accounts of the Treasury Department since 1867 and furnish a statement of incomes and expenditures of successive Ontario governments, he tried to ease his government and Ontario into the new century. At that time, across the aisle from Ross in the Ontario legislature, sat James P. Whitney, Leader of the Opposition, a man dedicated to making life for Ross and the Liberals as uncomfortable as possible. No Liberal government since Oliver Mowat had come to power twenty-seven years earlier had faced so formidable a foe - if only from the standpoint of the size of the opposition.

Heading the Education Department at the close of the century was Richard Harcourt. When Ross took over the government he switched his portfolio as Minister of Education, held since 1883, with Harcourt who was then Provincial Treasurer. His right-hand man was John Millar, Irish-

born Deputy Minister of Education. He had served Ross throughout the nineties and at the end of the decade was running the Education Department with a headquarters staff of about twenty people¹⁴. In him Harcourt had the assistance of an experienced teacher, school principal, and administrator. For Millar, like Ross and Harcourt, the opening of the twentieth century had a significance of its own - if somewhat less sensational. It marked completion of a belated stage in the history of the normal school construction programme recommended to the Mowat government by Ryerson twenty-eight years earlier¹⁵. In 1875 the government had opened the Ottawa Teachers' College for the eastern part of the province; in 1900, the new Ross Government opened the London Teachers' College for the western part. Thus, like members of the Ross government, officials in the Education Department responsible for teacher training were also moving into the twentieth century under hopeful, new initiatives.

More than seventy years have passed since then. Today, even as we write, officials in Ontario's but recently renamed Ministry of Education, especially those responsible for the administration of the province's teachers' colleges, are again moving forward under the impetus of promising new initiatives. The programme of integration begun in Thunder Bay is three years old, and plans are now being formulated to transfer to the universities jurisdiction over the colleges remaining under direct government control. Interestingly enough, with the exception of the Sudbury Teachers' College, founded in 1963, those left are the oldest: Toronto,

14. Figure excludes assistants in the field: 80 school inspectors, 36 normal and model schools staffs, 12 Ontario Normal College staff. See *O.S.P.*, 1900, Vol. XXXII, (No. 12).

15. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, Vol. XXIV, 22-23, Ryerson, E., to Mackenzie, A., 19 October, 1872.

Ottawa, London, Hamilton, Peterborough, Stratford and North Bay, all having been founded before or during the period we have chosen to study. Six years ago, in 1966, when the McLeod Committee submitted to the Minister of Education its findings on the future training of elementary school teachers, our interest was kindled in the historical reasons why integration of teachers' colleges with universities in Ontario seemed to have been shelved. Later, inspired by questions raised by Robin S. Harris¹⁶, Ontario's noted specialist in post-secondary education, our interest caught fire. Now, being personally caught up in the process of integration, we have understandably looked for practical application of our academic interest. Historical problems concerning the control and administration of Ontario's teacher-training institutions, especially its earliest faculties of education, have acquired added meaning, for hopefully our studies may prove to be a useful source of vicarious experience from which profitable object lessons may be drawn.

We are not the first to have taken in hand a history of teacher training in Ontario. Of greatest significance are the works of J.G. Althouse¹⁷, the renowned Ontario educator, who more than forty years ago traced up to 1910 the development of the status of the Ontario teacher towards professionalism, and of E.E. Newcombe¹⁸, who in 1965 up-dated Althouse's work with regard to the status of elementary school teachers.

16. Harris, Robin, S., *Quiet Evolution*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967), 70-84.

17. Althouse, J.G., *The Ontario Teacher, A Historical Account of Progress, 1800-1910*, (Toronto, W.J. Gage, 1967).

18. Newcombe, E.E., *The Development of Elementary School Teacher Education Since 1900*, (unpublished Ed.D.Thesis, University of Toronto, 1965).

Both writers devoted special attention to changes in government regulations regarding teacher certification and academic and professional requirements, with Althouse concentrating additionally on levels of remuneration, questions of supply and demand, and variations in public esteem, and Newcombe concentrating additionally on the changing educational philosophy and curriculum content of normal school programmes. In both cases, research focussed on printed sources, including ministers' reports, provincial legislation, departmental regulations, circulars and bulletins, college calendars, and professional journals. We believe, therefore, that our approach is unique and we cite four reasons: firstly, we have set previously unsought goals concerned with historical changes in the manner of the control and administration of teacher-training institutions in Ontario during a specific period, viz., 1900-1920; secondly, as Ontario is currently in the throes of major changes in jurisdiction over its teachers' colleges, we are enjoying new perspectives on past developments along these lines; thirdly, we are the first to make extensive use of the primary historical sources specified in our bibliography, particularly the official records and files of the Education Department¹⁹ housed in the Ontario Archives, to carry out research in the field of teacher-training history in Ontario; finally, as a teachers' college principal experienced in the administration of a government-controlled teacher-training institution, we claim unique insight into the problems we propose to study.

19. P.A.O., Record Group 2, Records of the Department of Education.

CHAPTER I

Compulsory Teacher Training

In 1893 John Millar published a slim but compact volume on the educational system of the province of Ontario. It included a thoughtfully prepared section on the training of teachers. Three years later, at the request of W.T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education, George W. Ross came out with his own volume about the school system. It, too, contained its section devoted to the training of teachers. Both accounts, the Minister's and the Deputy's, were significant for what they said about the system and for what they did not say. With some pride both authors expounded an initial basic principle on which they claimed the system was based, namely, that no person should be allowed to take charge of a school without instruction in the theory and practice of teaching. "Every position from the lowest in the Kindergarten to the highest in a Collegiate Institute must be filled by a trained teacher", said Millar¹. "To know a subject from the standpoint of a pupil is a very different thing from knowing it from the standpoint of a teacher", Ross added². Twenty years later John Squair, a Toronto

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1. Millar, J., *School Management*, (Toronto, William Briggs, 1897), 54.
 2. Ross, G.W., *The School System of Ontario*, (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1896), 89.

University professor who taught student teachers at the Ontario Normal College in Hamilton in the nineties, looked back over his career and wrote, "On few points has there been such unanimity of so-called expert opinion as on the necessity for such training. Scarcely has a discordant note been heard. All through the years it has been asserted that this is one of our greatest needs³". To judge from an earlier assertion of Millar about the province's "efficient army of well-educated teachers"⁴ one might conclude that in the 1890's the need was filled.

It was a fact that since the establishment of model schools in 1877 every certificated new teacher coming forward to occupy a position in an elementary school had to have some professional training as well as a minimum level of academic achievement. To ensure that such teachers would be available where required for Roman Catholic schools, it was also a fact that in 1879 additional legislation authorized the Education Department to set apart a separate school in any county as a model school⁵. It was a fact, too, that since 1885, after earlier failures to establish model grammar schools, the province had organized professional training for high school teachers. It was in that year that the high schools relieved the normal schools completely of all academic work, including that for first-class teachers; thus, high school teachers were now teachers of teachers, and the time had come to ensure that they too,

3. Squair, J., *John Seath and the Ontario School System*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1920), 88.

4. Millar, J., *Op. Cit.*, 3.

5. Ontario, Education Department, *The School Law of Ontario*, (Toronto, The Goodwin Law Book and Publishing Company, 1894), 7.

had some professional training⁶. It was also in 1885 that the regulations by which collegiate institutes and high schools were distinguished from each other underwent change. From then on, each collegiate institute had to have a specially qualified teacher in each of four different departments. One reason why Ross transformed certain collegiates into training institutes at that time was to provide professional training for these 'specialists'⁷. Within a few years it was compulsory for every person seeking a teaching position in a high school to acquire a certificate⁸.

It was also a fact that, in 1890, after Ross contended that English ought to be taught in every school, regulations were issued permitting the setting apart of model schools for the training of French or German teachers⁹. Before the Plantagenet school was so designated in 1890, no successful attempt had been made to train French-speaking teachers, although Ryerson had recommended to the Mowat Government that in the Ottawa Normal School there should be "one, or more, of the Masters Roman Catholics, - one competent to teach French, and to have a class in French" It was also in Ryerson's mind that similar arrangements should be made "in a Normal School situated in

6. *Report, Minister of Education, 1885*, 76.

7. High school teachers were prepared in Training Institutes from 1885-1891, in the School of Pedagogy, Toronto, from 1891-1897, and in the Ontario Normal College from 1897-1907 (see P.24). For information on the development of specialist certificates, see Harris, R.S., *Quiet Evolution*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967), 79-81.

8. Althouse, J.G., *The Ontario Teacher*, 152.

9. *O.S.P.*, 1891, No. 4, 59; Regulation of 10 February, 1890, post-dated opening of Plantagenet Model School, 1890. A second school was opened in Ottawa in 1896 (see P.25).

London ... for teaching German, and perhaps French¹⁰". Ryerson was far ahead of his time. Methods of teaching French would not be introduced in the Ottawa School until 1964 and only then to English-speaking teachers preparing to teach English-speaking pupils in the elementary schools. By then, of course, a separate school for the preparation of teachers for the bilingual schools would be established.

To have advanced legislation thus far in the direction of compulsory professional training by 1900 was no mean achievement. For there was opposition. In 1882 the Senate of Queen's University argued that an educated individual disqualified himself from professional training. Deploing the attempts of the Education Department to set up lecture courses for high school teachers, the Senate stated in an open letter that when a man "has been taught for four years by men whose position is a guarantee that they are the highest kind of educators of youth attainable, he himself has been trained to teach according to the only method that ... is worth anything as a preparation for the actual work of teaching". To subject graduates to professional training, the Senate concluded, was to restrict trustees in their selection of employees to those with "an inferior training", and to "something worse than a superfluity¹¹". That such a line of thinking was still alive after the setting up of the training institutes in 1885 was evident from a contribution to *The Educational Journal* in which a certain J.H. Farmer regarded the idea of university men taking anything like normal school courses as "repugnant". The writer looked on any graduate who could not

10. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, Vol. XXIV, 22, Ryerson to Mackenzie, A., 19 October, 1872.

11. *Canadian Education Monthly*, December, 1882, 515.

cope with the teacher's tasks as "lacking in native teaching power". "To force our university men to a special training school would be ... to quench the last spark of liberty¹²", the contributor concluded.

In direct opposition to such critics of compulsory professional training were men like J.A. McLellan, the high school inspector. "Ours is the only system in this continent that demands some degree of professional training as a necessary qualification for the teacher", he boasted to the Minister in 1882 after touring American schools¹³. Then there were men like Sam Hughes, the normal school graduate who later became federal Minister of Militia. Just a year before the first training schools were established for high school teachers he wrote to the Minister arguing in their favour. He spoke of high schools as "really the nurseries of teachers" and deplored the fact that not over twenty per-cent of head or assistant high school masters were either "trained teachers or ... first rate educators". Then he proceeded to lay out a programme of teaching requiring all future undergraduates and graduates to pass professional examinations in education before being permitted to teach in high schools¹⁴.

It would be folly, however, to conclude that by the end of the century all classrooms were filled with trained teachers. It was not so. Following an intensive study of the period Althouse concluded that compulsory professional training for all succeeded "only in handing over

12. *The Educational Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 16 May, 1887.

13. P.A.O., RG2/H1/9, see original report of McLellan, J.A., undated.

14. P.A.O., RG2/D7/10, Hughes, S., to Ross, G.W., 13 October, 1884.

the vast majority of the schools to the half-trained and the immature¹⁵". He pointed out that between 1881 and 1899 - just before the London Normal School opened - the number of public school teachers, including separate school teachers, holding third-class certificates rose from 3828 to 4187, with the percentage of the total number falling from 54.7% to just over 50%. This meant that a majority of the teachers at the end of the century had received no more than fourteen weeks of professional training¹⁶.

In the French schools of northern Ontario the situation was even more serious. Here the ranks of Millar's "army" were seriously depleted. The lament of Inspector George Grant of Parry Sound was particularly poignant:

I am fairly driven to my wits' end ... There is not a French, Catholic teacher in my inspectorate that holds a legal certificate ... The struggle appears to be hopeless. I am on the very best terms with these people. I believe even popular amongst them. When I urge upon them the absolute necessity of employing a properly qualified teacher, ... they tell me to send them one 'and there I am floored' ... The priest sends down to Quebec and imports a Quebec Teacher. I then, per force, must endorse that Quebec Certificate until the next ensuing examination. But said teacher is afraid to face the Ontario examination, and leaves us at mid summer. After the holidays another is imported to take her place until the next examination drives her away and so the process goes on ... What am I to do with all this? 17

With the schools springing up around him "as thick as blackbirds in the Fall", Grant dreamt of Plantagenet and complained to Ross that he had "never heard or seen a graduate of that school". Ross coolly replied, "You should have no difficulty in getting an ample supply of French-

15. Althouse, J.G., *Op.Cit.*, 81.

16. *Ibid.*, 90.

17. P.A.O., RG2/P2/54/2, Grant, G., I.P.S., Parry Sound and Nipissing Districts, to Ross, G.W., 19 November, 1897.

English teachers from Plantagenet and Ottawa", and gave the Rev. Mr. Grant the names of the principals¹⁸. In Eastern Ontario, nearer Plantagenet, the situation was not quite so bad. The criticisms of J.J. Tilley, Inspector of Model Schools, were confined to the low standards of the teachers available and to the inability of the model schools to supply professional training to supplement the academic work¹⁹. At least the schools were open in Eastern Ontario, thanks in some cases to the fact that the teachers were members of religious orders from Quebec, usually Christian Brothers or Grey Nuns, who lacked Ontario certificates. They taught under an interpretation of the British North America Act which extended the provisions of Section 13 of the Scott Act, 1863, beyond 1867. This Section stated that teachers "qualified by law ... in ... Lower Canada, shall be qualified teachers in Upper Canada". The interpretation that certain untrained Quebec teachers could teach in post-Confederation Ontario without taking professional training in the province had yet to be tested in the courts²⁰.

Thus, though John Millar might justly take pride in the provisions of Ontario law regarding the preparation of teachers, his inference that the schools of the province were manned by battalions of trained personnel was overdrawn, to say the least. Perhaps in his use of the expression, 'a well-educated army of teachers', he appreciated better than we know some subtle difference between being well-educated and being trained.

18. Ibid., Ross, G.W., to Grant, G., 26 November, 1897.

19. *O.S.P.*, 1897, No. 1., Vol. XXIX, Part I, Report of Minister of Education, App. F., 247-249.

20. Sissons, C.B., *Church and State in Canadian Education*, 47-48 quotes *The Leader*, 13 March, 1863.

CHAPTER II

Teacher Training Institutions, 1900

If a person wanted to become an elementary school teacher in Ontario in 1900 he had to obtain a certificate from a County Board of Examiners or, in some cases, from a City Board of Trustees. To do this, he enrolled in a fourteen-week course at the county model school - a large public school selected for the purpose of teacher-training - having submitted evidence that he held a Junior Leaving Certificate (Part 1), obtainable after three years' study at high school, and that he would be eighteen years of age by the end of the course. At the model school his whole time was supposed to be devoted to professional training in the theory and practice of teaching, including instruction from the principal in "the best methods of teaching all the subjects on the Public School Course of Study ... and such practice in teaching as will cultivate correct methods of presenting subjects to class and develop the art of school government¹". Success at the final written examinations, prepared and marked in the Education Department, and at practical examinations held in the presence of board members merited a third-class certificate valid in elementary schools throughout the province for a period of three

1. Millar, J., *School Management*, 281.

years. To put it bluntly, the county model school provided no more than a scanty, initial preparation for a teacher so that when he took charge of a school for the first time, he knew what to do, and within certain limitations how to do it. Then, as Ross put it, "he could avoid the mistakes of a teacher wholly inexperienced²".

By 1900 there were fifty-five model schools dotting Ontario with an average enrolment of nineteen³. Each was operated under regulations of the Education Department dating back to 1877 and each was subject to the jurisdiction of a County Board of Examiners, or if located in a city, of the School Trustees. The former body was made up of the county inspector and two others, appointed by the county council, and holding first-class teacher's certificates and engaged actively in teaching. The law required the County Board of Examiners to earmark at least one public school in its county or inspectoral district - usually synonymous since 1871 - as a model school. To encourage selection of the largest and best-equipped school, the government made a grant of \$150. per annum to each county model school, to which by law an additional \$150. was added by the county council⁴. J.G. Hodgins, dean of the Education Department and its historiographer in 1900, but Deputy Minister when the model schools were established, said that it was originally intended that they were to be "purely County Institutions for training of rural, primary school teachers", located in some accessible town or village. This is why the legislation named county councils as supporters as well

2. Ross, G.W., *The School System of Ontario*, 95.

3. *O.S.P.* 1901, No. 12,x.

4. Millar, J., *The Educational System of the Province of Ontario*, (Toronto, Warwick and Sons, 1893), 58.

as the government⁵, By 1900, however, many cities had obtained permission to set aside a public school for training teachers in this way. Toronto, one of the first, persuaded the Department to adopt a plan by which all of the city schools were to be considered practice schools with one, Victoria Street and later Church Street, serving as a headquarters⁶. It was here that James L. Hughes, Toronto's illustrious inspector, instructed his tyros in pedagogics, doubtlessly supplementing lectures by assignments in a thin but nerve-wracking manual he had prepared to warn students of the hazards they faced. Each of more than eighty sections was captioned in heavy, funereal type, "It is a mistake to ...⁷".

In the sparsely populated northern regions of the province there were no schools sufficiently advanced to be designated county model schools. Instead, district model schools were set up and encouraged by government grants of \$200.00 per annum on condition that minimum enrolments and staff qualifications were met. Regulations called for the provision of a course of professional training in the subjects provided for county model schools "as the Inspector of the District may direct⁸". In practice, it was expected that the work would be "mainly the non-professional course for teachers⁹". Both D. McCaig, the Collingwood Inspector, and J.J. Tilley, the Departmental Inspector of Model Schools,

5. P.A.O., RG2/D6/Vol. 1, Undated Memo of Hodgins, J.G.

6. Hardy, E.A., et al, *Centennial Story*, (Toronto, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1950), 87.

7. Hughes, J.L., *Mistakes in Teaching*, (Toronto, W.J. Gage, 1879).

8. Millar, J., *School Management*, 282, quotes from The Public School Act, as amended in 1896.

9. P.A.O., RG2/P2/41/14, Millar, J., to McCaig, D., Inspector, Collingwood, 23 April, 1898.

admitted that this was all that the students could accomplish¹⁰.

Graduates of the district model school received third-class certificates limited to their respective districts.

Separate provision was also made for the establishment of bilingual model schools. By 1898, however, "only two" could be officially designated as such¹¹. One of these, located in the village of Plantagenet, was established in 1890 following earlier failure to find a suitably qualified principal¹². The other, situated in Ottawa, had been established in 1896. Both schools were intended to train French-English teachers to instruct in English in schools where the French language prevailed¹³. Here again little professional training was provided. Effort was concentrated on ensuring that the teacher had a working knowledge of English and that a sufficient number of teachers was turned out so that the schools could be kept open¹⁴. The Ottawa school, encouraged by a special grant of \$800., developed very shakily. The number of students in attendance was small, and the institution did not make sufficient progress to "justify its continuance or the payment of the very large grant¹⁵". By the spring of 1900 it had disappeared. When the Departmental Inspector arrived, he found that the principal had taken another job¹⁶. Soon afterwards, as will be shown later, the future of the Plantagenet school was also in doubt.

10. Idem.

11. P.A.O., RG2/P2/39/6, Millar, J., to Blakey, E.A., Chief Clerk, 20 July, 1898.

12. O.S.P., 1890, No. 7, 15, Summerby, W.J., I.P.S., to Marling, A., Department of Education, 15 November, 1886.

13. P.A.O., RG2/P2/39/10, Education Department Minute, dated 17 January, 1896.

14. Between 1890-1896, 210 students graduated from the Plantagenet School. See *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1896, 247-249.

15. P.A.O., RG2/P2/39/1, aide-mémoire prepared by Jenkins, W.H., Registrar, 2 December, 1905.

16. Ibid.. Item 10. Tilley, J.J., to Millar, J., 21 May, 1900.

To obtain a permanent licence to teach in an elementary school at the beginning of the century the holder of a third-class certificate had to attend a normal school for a sixteen-week course beginning in January or August. He had to submit proof that he held at least a High School Junior Leaving Certificate, had passed the final examination of the county model school and had taught successfully for one year. He was awarded a second-class certificate, valid during good behaviour anywhere in the province, following success in departmental written examinations and in practical tests given at the end of the College year by external examiners appointed by the department. Teachers-in-training who had obtained third-class certificates at city model schools and who had continued to teach under the instruction of the principal a full school term could also be admitted to the normal school.

Soon after arrival at normal school the student-in-training in those days was given a preliminary oral and written test on his study of previously assigned professional texts on the history of education and on methods of teaching. The course he took was mainly professional in nature, the academic work having been taken over by the high schools after 1885¹⁷. The aim was to have the student concentrate on a particular subject from the standpoint of the teacher rather than increase his own knowledge of that subject. In addition to courses in the history of education, science of education, school organization and management and methods of teaching, the student received instruction in temperance and hygiene, agriculture, reading, writing, drawing, music, drill and calis-

17. *O.S.P.*, 1886, No. 5 (Minister's Report, 1885), 76.

thenics, and after 1898 in domestic science. Local clergymen gave classes in religious instruction every Friday afternoon to students of their own religious denomination. The programme also included opportunities for practice in managing classes and in teaching.

By 1900 Ontario had three normal schools: one in Toronto, the oldest, established in 1847 and located in St. James Square; one in Ottawa, established in 1875 and situated on Elgin Street; and one, the most recently established, in London. The total enrolment in the three schools in 1900 was 637¹⁸. Each school had a staff of six including the principal, vice-principal, and four other teachers. John A. MacCabe, 58, a Dubliner by birth and a graduate of the Dublin Normal School, was principal of the Ottawa Normal School. Egerton Ryerson had encouraged MacCabe to come to Ottawa from the normal school in Truro, Nova Scotia, twenty-five years earlier. In Toronto, William Scott, 54, was in charge, having taken over in 1898 just after the school celebrated its silver jubilee. Francis W. Merchant, formerly principal of the London Collegiate Institute, had been appointed principal of the London school as recently as July, 1899. There was an important difference between the London school and the two older ones. The latter were in two sections, one for the instruction of the teachers-in-training, and the other, called the Provincial Model School, for student observation and practice teaching. The model schools in both places were adjacent to the normal school and were divided into classes as in the regular public schools. For practice teaching purposes, students in London, beginning in the fall of 1900, made use of the Simcoe Street School which since 1891 had been the

18. *O.S.P.*, 1901, No. 2, (Minister's Report, 1900), x.

local model school.

Normal schools, like the county model schools, were non-residential. Students' lodgings were inspected, however, and each student could stay only at a licensed boarding house or with some relative or friend. Male and female students were not permitted to stay at the same house. In the normal school, men and women students were instructed together but outside the classroom communication between the sexes was "strictly prohibited", except by permission of the principal or one of the masters¹⁹. Ross put it thus: "Outside the classroom they are allowed reasonable intercourse with each other, it being assumed that their conduct would be such as would characterize ladies and gentlemen in good society²⁰".

Apart from the programmes leading to second-class certificates, each normal school gave special courses for young ladies who wished to become kindergarten teachers. These began in 1885, following establishment of kindergartens in Ontario three years earlier. To qualify as a kindergarten director a student had to enroll in the Kindergarten Training School, attached to each normal school, and pass prescribed departmental examinations at the end of a two-year course. If she already held an assistant's certificate, obtainable following successful completion of a course given by an already qualified director in a recognized regular kindergarten under a board of trustees, the course at the normal school was reduced to one year.

19. *The School Law of Ontario*, (1894), 389.

20. Ross, G.W., *Op. Cit.*, 98.

To become a high school teacher in 1900 or to obtain the highest grade of public school certificate - it also qualified one to teach in high schools - a student had to attend the Ontario Normal College, established in Hamilton just three years earlier. The college was actually a combination of two earlier institutions which, for various reasons, had failed: The Training Institutes and the School of Pedagogy. When Ross was Minister of Education he set up five of the former in collegiate institutes in Hamilton and Kingston (1885), Guelph and Strathroy (1886), and Owen Sound (1888). They gave short five months' courses including practice teaching and observation experiences as well as instruction from the collegiate institute staff in methods of teaching high school subjects. Courses were provided under agreements signed on behalf of the Education Department and the respective board of education. This method of training was abandoned not only because of lack of enthusiasm reflected in low enrolments²¹ but also because parents and trustees complained about the way in which the high school pupils were being retarded in their work²².

In 1891 the Department of Education established a School of Pedagogy in the Toronto Normal School with a regular staff appointed by the Minister of Education. But the course became more theoretical and the practice teaching more unreal despite a lengthening of its duration to seven months. So for the next few years it operated without any practice

21. McCutcheon, J.M., *Public Education in Ontario*, (Toronto, T.H. Best, 1941), 228.

22. P.A.O., RG2/P2/41/43, complaint of O'Connor, S., trustee, to Ross, G.W., 22 February, 1891.

school, while the students were expected to try out their skills on each other until they could get out into regular classrooms at the end of the course²³. The plan was that after passing the examinations of the School of Pedagogy, students were given an interim certificate which permitted them to teach as "apprentices" or "interns" for six months. At the end of this period they took a practical examination leading to the award of a permanent certificate²⁴. Lack of practice teaching facilities in the School of Pedagogy resulted in the transfer of the institution to Hamilton where, in 1897, it was renamed the Ontario Normal College and located in the Hamilton Collegiate Institute.

By the beginning of the century, then, the Ontario Normal College was located in a brand new building of forty-five rooms costing the Board of Education the sum of \$160,000. and occupying an entire block in the city of Hamilton²⁵. Relations between the Hamilton Board of Education and the Education Department were subject to an agreement which specified the duties of the collegiate institute staff, placed them under the authority of the principal of the Normal College "for the purposes of ... the normal college only", and fixed at \$2,500. the amount to be paid to the board for services rendered. This agreement which dated from October 1, 1896, had a ten-year life with provision for subsequent cancellation on a year's notice - a point of some significance in view of later events²⁶.

23. Ross, G.W., *Op. Cit.*, 104.

24. Millar, J., *The Educational System of the Province of Ontario*, 67.

25. Hodgins, J.G., *The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910*, Vol. 1, 88.

26. P.A.O., RG2/P2/41/51, copy of agreement dated 3 March, 1896: see also *O.S.P.* 1896. No. 64. 1-3.

To become a student at the Normal College an applicant had to hold a High School Senior Leaving Certificate or an Arts degree from a university in the British Dominions, and he had to be at least eighteen years of age by the end of the course. He received lectures in psychology, history of education, science of education, and in "the best methods of teaching each subject on the High School course of study", as well as instruction in a wide variety of professional subjects²⁷. Each graduate was awarded a Normal College Interim Certificate which entitled him to teach in a public school if he was under twenty-one years of age, and in a public or high school if he was over twenty-one years of age. After teaching successfully for two years he could obtain a permanent certificate as a first-class public school teacher or as a high school assistant, ordinary or specialist, according to his experience and qualification²⁸.

In 1899 the Normal College had a staff of twelve and a student enrolment of 148²⁹. Its principal was James A. McLellan, sixty-seven, an aging, rubicund gentleman of "herculean frame and sonorous voice" whose lectures in psychology reflected an unusual interest in spectral phenomena and hypnotism³⁰. McLellan had served in the Education Department first under Egerton Ryerson and then under three successive Ministers of Education. In a variety of positions, including high school inspector, inspector of normal schools, principal of the Toronto School of Pedagogy, and finally principal of the Ontario Normal College in Hamilton, he had helped to shape and mould the teaching profession in Ontario in the late nineteenth century.

27. Millar, J., *School Management*, 285-6, quotes Departmental Regulations.

28. *Ibid.*, 287; the 'specialist' high school teacher had to hold an honours degree approved by the Education Department, see Althouse, J.G., *The Ontario Teacher*, 143.

29. *O.S.P.*, 1900, No. 12 (Minister's Report), xiv.

30. *Douglas Library Notes*, Spring, 1963, Vol. XII, No. 2; "Recollections of the Ontario School of Pedagogy", by Sissons, C.K.

Interestingly enough, twenty-five years before McLellan moved to Hamilton he had offered himself as a Liberal candidate at a Dominion general election.

The system of training we have reviewed tended to divide the teaching profession in 1900 into at least two camps: high school teachers trained in the Normal College or its predecessors: the training institutes and the School of Pedagogy, and elementary school teachers trained in the model schools and normal schools. The first group, based in the Normal College, looked increasingly to the universities for its supply of recruits, and thus tended to emphasize the value of the academic component of the teacher's background. The second group, based in the normal schools, drew its students exclusively from the pool of model school graduates who had the interest and the will to continue training. It emphasized the practical component of the teacher's background and looked to the normal schools to turn out efficient practitioners³¹. Bridging the gap between the two was the high school or collegiate institute graduate holding a Senior Leaving Certificate. In theory, he could enter the profession by two routes: through attendance at Normal College where he could rub shoulders with university graduates and with specialists fresh from honours courses, and qualify for dual certification; or through attendance at a county model school where with other high school graduates he could qualify for a third-class certificate. Naturally, if he could afford it, he went to the College at Hamilton. As long as this

31. Harris, R.S., makes the point that the methodological orientation of normal schools might have been quite different if they had had to provide a course for more than a minority of potential elementary school teachers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; see *Quiet Evolution*, 75-76.

possibility was open to him, we can say that high school teachers and some elementary school teachers were being trained in the same institution in 1900.

CHAPTER III

State Control of Teacher Training: Some Consequences

It is interesting that in the early 1970's J. Donald Wilson should hold that the idolizing of Egerton Ryerson derived from a faulty conception of historical development in the nineteenth century. Ryerson's efforts to build a universal, free and compulsory educational system, said Wilson, were "in the main stream of educational change" occurring throughout the western world at that time. Ryerson was but "one of a multitude" who were then relying heavily on state action to achieve educational aims, and he should not be claimed as a hero - at least not in the sense that he championed a unique cause¹. On the other hand, in the late 1920's J.E. Middleton, and F. Landon held that it was a fault to minimize Ryerson's accomplishments. "Thirty years ago", they observed, "everyone in Ontario was convinced that Egerton Ryerson was a great man. Today there are many doubters; ... School administration in Ontario is centralized and autocratic (they say) and Ryerson was the one who began it"².

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1. See Wilson, J.D., et al, *Canadian Education: A History*, (Scarborough, Prentice-Hall of Canada, 1970), 214.
 2. Middleton, J.E., and Landon, F., *The Province of Ontario - A History*, (Toronto, The Dominion Publishing Company, 1927), Vol. 1, 609.

In 1897, exactly thirty years earlier, John Millar, the Deputy Minister, published a volume telling Ontario's nearly ten thousand teachers how to run their schools³. To him one conducted a classroom as one conducted a state. For an efficient classroom, power had to be centralized in the teacher; for an efficient educational system, power had to be centralized in the government. In both cases such an arrangement led to efficiency and to worryless uniformity. His book did not defend centralization. It adulated it, and by inference idolized Ryerson who had been a contemporary of the author. "Authority is essential to good government", Millar said. "The rights, powers and duties of the teacher should be defined by the laws of the State ... An efficient system of education demands a fair measure of centralization⁴". The reader who might detect a moderating tone in the last comment would later find Millar adding:

The state should prescribe the course of study, decide what textbooks are to be used, fix the qualifications of teachers and inspectors, and determine the duties of all school officers ... Those principles of school organization ... accepted as sound by the leading educationists of the country should be embodied in the statutes and regulations and should govern all school authorities ... uniformity in the organization of the school system should be a marked feature of the system. ...⁵

In Millar's mind it would be patently absurd to leave major decisions to the unedified local teachers and boards. "To leave the course of study to each teacher, or to each board of trustees", he warned, "is to ignore the conclusions ... reached by those who have made a study

3. Millar, J., *School Management*, (Toronto, William Briggs, 1897).

4. *Ibid.*, 105-106.

5. *Ibid.*, 155-156.

of the science of education⁶". The Deputy Minister was a great believer in tactics, and it is easy to imagine him running the Education Department and the schools of teacher training as he would have teachers run their classrooms. "School tactics should be uniform and should cause no confusion. By means of a little bell ... children may be called to attention, assembled in their places, trained to stand or sit, or to be dismissed ... with regularity, promptitude and decorum. ... order is indispensable ...⁷". It was not surprising then that when Millar came to describe the characteristics of Ontario's teacher-training programme he took the most conspicuous feature for granted. It was unquestioned; it was part of life; it had no need of articulation. Millar accepted implicitly the idea that the state "owned" teacher training. There could be no other way. It had been thus from the beginning.

In Ontario state control of teacher training received an initial impetus in 1836 when Charles Duncombe's Proposed Common School Bill laid down a method of financing "four Schools in this Province for the education of Teachers ... located in such parts ... as ... provided by some future Act of the Legislature⁸". Later, John McCaul's Commission on Education in Upper Canada, 1839, had something to say about a system of certification for teachers at a normal school to be set up in Toronto but no effective legislation was enacted before 1843. The Common School Act of that year gave municipalities the option under

6. *Ibid.*, 169.

7. *Ibid.*, 111.

8. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, Vol. 11, 322.

certain circumstances of setting up county model schools for the gratuitous instruction of teachers, but probably because they ran counter to a trend towards centralization Ryerson saw in them a danger to his own plans. Althouse has hinted that after Ryerson was appointed Superintendent, model schools were allowed to fade away⁹. With the passage of the Common School Act of 1846, following Ryerson's return from his travels and submission of his famous Report, the prime role of the state in the preparation of teachers began to take shape. The new General Board of Education for Upper Canada was charged with the task of adopting "all needful measurements for the establishment and furnishing of a Normal School for Upper Canada", including framing regulations, prescribing admission requirements and conditions of instruction, locating sites, acquiring buildings, and determining salaries. Maximum sums were set aside and instructions given "that detailed accounts ... be annually transmitted to the Governor, ... to be laid before the Legislature¹⁰".

Ryerson's proprietary interest and unflagging enthusiasm helped determine the style and depth of departmental control of teacher-training institutions for years to come. From the outset when the normal school was located first in Government House, and then when the government returned from Montreal, in its new location on Temperance Street, Ryerson rivetted his attention on it. He gathered students through the press, circulars, and letters and showed personal interest in its growth and management. According to Pakenham, first dean of the University of

9. Althouse, J.G., *The Ontario Teacher*, 15.

10. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, Vol. VI, 60-61.

Toronto's Faculty of Education, Ryerson usurped the functions of the headmaster and staff, and directed the everyday activities of the classroom to the point where he and his colleagues on the Board of Education supervised students' 'lates' and 'absences' with 'a parental and personal authority'¹¹. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that when the school moved from Temperance Street to the St. James Square site, now occupied by Ryerson Polytechnic, Ryerson transferred the office of the Department of Education from King and York to new headquarters located in the front of the new normal school building¹². And there the office remained until sixty years later when it was moved to Queen's Park. Visitors to the normal school - they were frequent, for it was one of the "showplaces" of Toronto - found the headquarters of the provincial educational system visibly and thus intimately linked to the normal school.

If at any time Ryerson toyed with the idea that teacher-training institutions might be privately established in Ontario he subdued it well. By 1871 when he was defending himself against charges that the Department's book depository interfered with private trade, he pointed out that the normal schools, too, were once condemned because they interfered with "proprietary rights". Now, he said, normal schools were regarded "on this continent at least, as the exclusive property of the State and not of private individuals or corporations"¹³. A year later when the question of building new normal schools came up he wrote

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- 11. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1914, 202-12, "First Chapter in Teacher Training in Ontario" by Pakenham, W.
 - 12. *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 40.
 - 13. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, Vol. XXIII, 195.

decisively:

I think all the Normal Schools should be subject to the oversight of the Education Department, and under the same Regulations formally sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. This, I think is necessary on the grounds of economy and uniformity of standards and system of instruction ... 14

And by that time, Ryerson had already made it clear that when he spoke of the Education Department, he meant a "responsible Minister of the Crown, with a seat in Parliament¹⁵". Thus Egerton Ryerson implicitly accepted the theory that control of teacher training was a matter for the provincial government. In the remaining years of the century following his retirement, no one denied the theory. Teacher training was the responsibility of the province, and in particular of its Minister of Education.

When Ryerson retired from the Education Department, there were no model schools for beginning elementary teachers in existence, and no training schools at all for high school teachers. Ryerson's legacy in the teacher-training field comprised two normal schools, one in Toronto and one in Ottawa, and a centralized machinery for operating them. Later, with the expansion of the public school system and the government's determination to place a teacher with at least a rudimentary professional training in every classroom, the demand for economy, as we shall explain in the next chapter, led to the use of existing but scattered school facilities, and inevitably to the introduction of a limited measure of decentralization of control. A similar situation arose with the training institutes before high school teacher training

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, 23, Ryerson, E. to Mackenzie, A., 19 October, 1872.

15. Ross, G.W., *The School System of Ontario*, 26.

was centralized in the School of Pedagogy and then in the Normal College.

The outcome was that by 1900 the province ran three types of training institutions, each centrally controlled by the Education Department in a different manner and to a different degree. Firstly, there were the normal schools, totally owned, operated, staffed, and inspected by the Department; next, there was the Normal College, administered locally by a departmentally employed principal who worked on the premises of a collegiate institute, owned, operated, and staffed by the Hamilton Board of Education; finally, there were the model schools, operated by county boards of examiners in selected public schools throughout the province, and inspected regularly by a specially appointed departmental Inspector of Model Schools.

Superimposed over all was the Minister. He was a politician and a member of the government and he was responsible to the legislature for the execution of provincial laws and regulations as they applied to teacher-training institutions. More than any other person he appreciated that the institutions were potential tools which could assist him politically, or potential cudgels, available to political foes, which could be used to smite him down. For this reason, during the approximate quarter-century following the appointment of the first Minister of Education, the system, particularly as it applied to the operation of the totally owned normal schools, came to acquire certain characteristic sensitivities or tendencies, which as we shall see, could have important implications for future development.

To suggest that Adam Crooks¹⁶, Ontario's first Minister of

16. Crooks, Hon. Adam, 1827-1885; Minister of Education, 1876-1883.

Education, and his successors¹⁷ never framed a policy, formulated a regulation, or phrased an official letter without thinking of the political implications would probably be no exaggeration. Certainly it would be no disparagement to their motives. George Ross, in fact, once said that whatever the project he was involved in, small or large, he could not allow himself to forget that some interested member of the legislature was likely "to make it a matter of complaint on the floor of Parliament or perhaps stir up his constituents to avenge at the polls of the wrong done¹⁸". Records show, for example, that the Minister could not appoint or dismiss an employee - from the principal of a normal school to the caretaker of the building - without thought for political repercussions. Harcourt had hardly taken over his duties before he was on his feet in the assembly justifying Merchant's appointment. "Who has been appointed Principal of the Normal School at London?" demanded F.G. Macdiarmid, the Conservative member for Elgin West. "How many years did the appointee teach in a Public School? What normal school did the new Principal attend and for what period? What experience, generally, has the new Principal had in connection with public work, or the teaching of Public School teachers¹⁹?" The Minister could expect to be subjected to similar inquiries if he released an employee. Some years earlier, acting on the recommendation of Thomas Kirkland, the Toronto Normal

17. Ontario's Ministers of Education from 1883-1923 were:

Ross, George William, 1883-1899;
 Harcourt, Richard, 1899-1905;
 Pyne, Robert Allan, 1905-1918;
 Cody, Henry John, 1918-1919;
 Grant, Robert Henry, 1919-1923.

18. Ross, G.W., *Getting into Parliament and After*, 200.

19. P.A.O., RG2/P2/46, Millar, J., to Harcourt, R., 18 April, 1900.

School Principal, Ross let go one of the Model School teachers, a certain Miss Haggarty - apparently, she would not accept orders and suggestions. Ross was called to account and had to produce the full correspondence for examination by members of the House²⁰.

Outside the House, too, the Minister had to move with caution. There were people like Pat Farrell of Ottawa lying in wait. Pat felt that because he had been "a life-long Liberal" and had contributed to election expenses that he ought to be the one to fill a vacancy for a caretaker at the Model School. To help secure the appointment he enclosed with his letter of application to Ross a petition signed by "the most prominent Liberals of Ottawa both French and English". The petition on behalf of Farrell's application had one hundred signatures, including those of aldermen and ex-mayors²¹. To judge from MacCabe's enquiries, the principal had nothing to do with the appointment; in fact, when a caretaker was appointed to the London Normal School he received his official notification of appointment, not from the principal or the Deputy Minister or the Minister - he got it from the Premier of the Province²². Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, that when an engineer at the same institution complained of having to cut the grass during the holidays, he thought he should write directly to the Minister²³.

On the other hand, Ministers might expect to have to cope with irascible individuals like J.E. Wetherell, Principal, Strathroy C.I.,

20. *O.S.P.*, 1893 (No. 54), 7.

21. *P.A.O.*, RG2/P2/42, Patrick Farrell to Ross, G.W., 14 November, 1885.

22. *Ibid.*, see G.W. Ross's letter, 18 January, 1900.

23. *Ibid.*, see letter to Harcourt, R., 7 July, 1902.

who awoke one morning in late August, 1893, to read in the Toronto *Globe* that a position in the School of Pedagogy allegedly promised to him by Ross had gone to another man. Appalled by this "signal example of the tortuous policy of politicians", Wetherell condemned Ross for his "free notions of official ethics", and branded him forever "with the mark of tergiversation and dishonour". The hot-tempered Wetherell then struck where he thought it would hurt most:

... I have been loyal to you in this constituency ever since 1883 ... you shall have my support no longer. ... At the coming election my vote ... will be cast in the other scale, and will help to swell the tide that is rising full against you in this town. I now hold myself free to make public your offer, ... and your subsequent duplicity. ²⁴

An astute Minister, like Ross, knew the ropes, of course, and prepared for them. It seems that he would purposefully write a lengthy reply not so much because he was anxious about its fullness, but, he admitted on one occasion, because "correspondence on important matters like this may at any time be called for in the House²⁵". He once confided to Principal Grant of Queen's University that in managing the Department he "carefully avoided all political interference and political pressure²⁶". Ross could even be accused of carrying caution to excess - even to the point of personal discomfort. In 1893, a School of Pedagogy student signed her name on her examination papers instead of on the slips attached to them - a practice required by the

24. P.A.O., RG2/P2/D7/10, Wetherell, J.E., to Ross, G.W., 26 August, 1893. On 1 January, 1898, Wetherell wrote to Whitney offering him electoral assistance: see *Whitney Papers*. In 1906, when Whitney was in power, Wetherell was appointed Inspector of High Schools and Collegiate Institutes. (O. in C., 28 May, 1906).

25. P.A.O., RG2/2/54; see G.W. Ross's letter, 12 July, 1894.

26. P.A.C., *G.M. Grant Papers*, 3931A, Ross, G.W., to Grant, G.M., 4 December, 1899.

regulations and carried on in normal schools until the 1970's. The Department's Registrar was apparently instructed to write to each of the examiners involved. He did so in the following terms: "The Minister refuses to issue her certificate because he fears the examiners may have read her papers knowing her relationship to him, she being his daughter²⁷". Nellie Ross had already written penitently to the Board of Examiners regretting "exceedingly that I inadvertently broke the regulations of the Education Department²⁸".

Such careful weighing in the balance of political disadvantages against educational advantages was not a skill reserved by Ministers. Deputies practised it, too, and taught their inferiors to do so. We note, for example, how Millar gently advised MacCabe when the principal objected to accepting a student who had arrived at the school four weeks after the opening of the course in September, 1898. Millar knew that it was too late but advised caution. "It is possible other inferences than those you mention would be drawn", he observed, "if efforts were not made to have ... the number admitted ... which the accommodations warrant²⁹". Millar was not far off the mark perhaps. In February, 1901, under the caption "Politics at the Normal School", *The Mail and Empire*³⁰ reported that Dr. J. Barr (Dufferin, C.) had complained in the House that teachers taking part "in the Dominion election could get admitted to normal school whereas others could not". Harcourt was forced to provide

27. P.A.O., RG2/P2/41/44; Nudel, F.N., to the examiners involved, 18 May, 1893.

28. *Ibid.*, Miss N. Ross to Board of Examiners, 15 May, 1893.

29. P.A.O., RG2/P2/43/42, Millar, J., to MacCabe, J., 9 September, 1898.

30. *The Mail and Empire*, 20 February, 1901.

full information on recent admissions, including numbers, names, causes of rejection, etc.. By then the Minister had surely become more wary. Earlier as Provincial Treasurer, he seemed to think nothing of asking Millar to "arrange" an admission for a student whose family had given him "their hearty support"³¹.

Some civil servants seemed to acquire political awareness quickly. If MacCabe was a slow learner in this respect, John Dearness, the London Normal School vice-principal, was not. Dearness was not in his position long before he was culling the occasional newspaper clipping and sending it to the Minister, thinking it "might be quoted in a political address in a locality where that newspaper may be supposed to carry weight"³². Even students picked up the scent. When an enterprising editor of London's new school journal wrote to Harcourt about a series of portraits and sketches featuring the Premier, the Minister of Education, and the Members for London, he knowingly saluted these gentlemen as "promoters of the Institution"³³.

That Ministers could be called to account for any aspect of the administration of the Education Department, and thus of the training schools, tended to concentrate decision-making power at the top. Thus, as the training system expanded and the number of training schools, including staff and students, multiplied, the need for generalized procedures grew not only because of the practical necessity of conserving Ministers' obviously limited time and energy, but also because of the need for impartiality and efficiency. Thus machinery for the organiza-

31. P.A.O., RG2/P2/29; see, for example, Harcourt, R., to Millar, J., 27 February, 1899.

32. P.A.O., RG2/P2/44/45, Dearness, J., Vice-Principal, London Normal School to Harcourt, R., 1 January, 1902.

33. P.A.O., RG2/P2/42/27, Editor of *Mnemosyne*, to Harcourt, R., 10 April, 1900.

tion and control of the training institutions evolved, aimed at implementing the relevant school laws of the province and the regulations of the Education Department based on these laws. In theory, at any rate, the more comprehensively departmental regulations, instructions, and schedules determined what was to be done by, to, for, and with students, staffs (those in the normal schools were civil servants of course), accommodation, and programmes of study, the fewer would be the uncertainties, the indecisions, and the dangers, and the fewer would be the references 'up the line'. A tendency existed, therefore, for rules and regulations to multiply as their framers urged themselves towards that ever-receding omega-point where, in theory, all eventualities were catered for and no favourites recognized. Such standardization of procedures developed at a time when uniformity in the classroom was admired.

"Uniformity will overcome the evils of diversity of methods", Ross wrote in 1883 when he was inspecting model schools³⁴. Seventeen years later, writing to a student about the training institutes for high school teachers - "my training institutes" as he loved to call them - he claimed that simply writing the examinations preserved a uniformity of methods in high schools "which the Training Institutes were established to bring about"³⁵. And after all, were not the normal schools so named because therein students would learn to teach according "to rule"? Under such conditions, standardization proceeded apace.

Uniformity and rigidity in the application of regulations were nowhere more strikingly evident in the 1890's than in the manner of con-

34. *O.S.P.*, 1883 (No. 5), 78; Report of Ross, G.W., and Tilley, J.J., Inspectors of Model Schools.

35. *P.A.O.*, RG2/P2/41/46, Ross, G.W., to McKee, J., 1 September, 1890.

ducting departmental examinations. Millar's devotion of one-seventh of his book on the Ontario school system to their description is indicative. Doubtless the scandals of the late 1870's had left a legacy of concern not just for the improprieties themselves but for the political implications. In 1877 a Justice of the High Court had been appointed to investigate alleged collusion in the preparation of certain examination papers, including those prepared by J.A. McLellan, the high school inspector, who set some of the normal school papers. Though nothing was proved, John Squair remembered how the inquiry left allegations of 'whitewashing' in its wake³⁶. Thus to a meticulous individual like Millar, a man scrupulous about the strict observation of regulations, the Department of Education in its conduct of examinations was to be 'like Caesar's wife'. Strict, fixed examinations aimed at severe impartiality, were the hallmarks of a system which must favour no one - even a Minister's daughter!

Such inflexibility created inevitable tensions, affecting interpersonal relations and leaving their marks on personalities. In 1892, for example, Millar and McLellan, then Principal of the School of Pedagogy, ran headlong into each other. McLellan refused to run a sessional examination which Millar asserted was called for by the regulations. McLellan disputed the interpretation, maintaining at the same time that the examination was unnecessarily burdensome to his students. Millar was thoroughly put out. He referred the disagreement to the Minister, reminding Ross that discussion with the recalcitrant McLellan on the educational value of examinations at that juncture was

36. Squair, J., *John Seath and the School System of Ontario*, 42.

'out of place'. To Millar, with the regulations spread out before him, the problem was an administrative one, not a philosophical one. "The only question at present", he said coldly, "is what are the regulations and should they be ignored³⁷". That this experience and others like it³⁸ helped change McLellan's resolute spirit was probable. C.K. Sissons, a student, recalls how one late May morning in 1895, Principal McLellan came to her rickety, little, portable table in the examination room in the School of Pedagogy to see what 'the philistines', the external examiners, had done to his 'beloved Psychology'. The white-haired, towering figure looked down as she feverishly tackled the questions, and then from his great height muttered scornfully, "They have no meaning whatsoever"³⁹!"

There is no evidence however that the principals and staffs of late nineteenth-century training schools were excessively restive or dormant under the burden of government regulations. Contemporary critics, including the ones tracked down by Althouse during the 1880's and 1890's, the period he labelled as "the dark days of the normal schools", were subjective for the most part. Outspoken ones, like J.H. Putman who attended Ottawa Normal School in the late 1880's, and mild-mannered ones, like C.B. Sissons who went to the Normal College in the 1890's, did not link what one called a "waste of time" and the other "the most barren and dismal year of my life", with government domination of

37. P.A.O., RG2/H1/9, Millar, J., to Harcourt, R., Acting Minister of Education, 29 November, 1892.

38. P.A.O., RG2/P2/44/37, Ross, G.W., to Paxton Young, G., 16 April, 1888 and subsequent correspondence.

39. *Douglas Library Notes*, Spring: 1963, Vol. XII, (No. 2) pp 4-8.

the training institutions⁴⁰. The comments of John Squair, another eye-witness who lectured at the College when Sissons was in attendance, are penetrating though inconclusive. He talks of a departmental tendency to lay "undue stress on uniformity", and of the proneness of officials to make elaborately detailed syllabuses for the guidance of teachers and students; in particular, he remembers forty years later a twenty-page discourse of 1884 on the operation of model schools with content so "obvious and trivial as to be almost comical"⁴¹.

J.H. Sangster, a former and unusually flamboyant principal of the Toronto Normal School who resigned to take up the practice of medicine, was less temperate in his criticisms. In 1892, twenty-one years after leaving the normal school, he flayed "the powers-that-be", blaming them for the "dull, dead flatness and almost corpse-like insensibilities" of teachers. For their uninspired condition and for every other weakness in the educational book, he blamed bureaucracy and "the unhappy alliance between politics and education". His most acrid comment he reserved for his attacks on the "dry disquisitions" of the allegedly spiritless School of Pedagogy⁴².

Sangster's criticisms, expressed on this occasion before a teachers' gathering at Stratford, are more interesting, however, for the measure they provide of an astounding change of heart he underwent by the time of the Toronto Normal School's Golden Jubilee celebrations a few years later. It was in 1897 just after the closing of the School of Pedagogy in Toronto, so

40. Putman, J.H., *Fifty Years at School*, 10, and Sissons, C.B., *Nil Alienum*. 62.

41. Squair, J., *John Seath and the School System of Ontario*, 56.

42. Sangster, J.H., "Ontario Schools", a paper read at the Teachers' Convention, Stratford, 1 March, 1892; published by *The Educational Journal*, Vol. V, p. 662.

perhaps that had something to do with his metamorphosis. Be that as it may, he now chose to praise the Department for the "fluent character" of legal enactments and departmental regulations. He spoke of "the rigid conservatism" of former years and of the "more prompt adoption of obvious improvements and needed reforms", and he congratulated the Department on how 'quickly amenable it was to public opinion when conveyed through legal channels⁴³".

What was the explanation for Sangster's cheerful change of attitude? Was he mellowed by having his portrait painted, and hung in the school? Hardly! Evidence suggests that at the Toronto celebrations he was referring obliquely to changes evolving in the application of certain long-standing regulations concerning fraternization between male and female students at the school. Perhaps, subconsciously, he was relating the rules to not dissimilar personal experiences of an earlier year. A breakdown in the barriers which since 1848 had kept students of the opposite sex apart in normal schools would have afforded him some psychological satisfaction, it is suggested - perhaps an exoneration too! For, in 1871, Sangster had resigned his position as principal at the Toronto school, it seems, to marry Miss C.E. McCausland, one of the Model School teachers. According to J.G. Hodgins, they had married in the United States in September of that year, and Carrie McCausland had resigned in October. An earlier letter from Ryerson to Hodgins explains the apparent tensions that had built up in the normal school in preceding months, and hints darkly that they were related to what was probably a clandestine affair⁴⁴.

43. Toronto Normal School, *Jubilee Celebration*, 73.

44. Sissons, C.B., *Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters*, Vol. II, 591; see Ryerson, E., to Hodgins, J.G., 2 June, 1871, and Hodgins, J.G., to Ryerson, E., 23 September, 1871.

The reforms to which Sangster was probably referring in his address were significant not only for the light they threw on social mores of the day, but more importantly for the example they provided of the way in which Departmental Regulations could be "changed" - in this case by students - and allowed to take effect. The story of what happened really began in mid-May of 1848 when the startling second session of the Toronto Normal School opened. Twenty-two women were admitted! Regulations were immediately drawn up controlling fraternization between men and women, and in 1853 - apparently, for the first time - posted in the school's waiting rooms⁴⁵. The regulations of the Council of Public Instruction stated in part:

1. That ... salutations are permitted ... between Male and Female students when they meet, but within the Normal School buildings ... are not permitted, ...
2. With the above exceptions, Male and Female students ... are not permitted, either during hours of recreation, or holidays, or at any time, or place, to hold any communication with each other, direct, or indirect, by visits, walking together, conversation, Letters, Notes, or Messages, of any description.
3. Nor can any Female Students be permitted to form acquaintances, or to have intercourse of any kind with young men in the City, not of the Normal School; nor can Male Students ... have intercourse of any kind with young women in the City, not of the Normal School. ⁴⁶

These regulations, or ones similar to them, remained in effect for at least forty years - probably fifty. By then they had been extended to the School of Pedagogy and to its successor, the Ontario Normal College. Oddly enough, they never seem to have been applied to the model schools. Was such discrimination imposed on the Education Department by its inability to enforce regulations universally?

⁴⁵. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, XI, 23-4.

⁴⁶. Hodgins, J.G. *D.H.E.*, XI, 17.

By the end of the century, however, the regulations had undergone subtle changes in interpretation as well as in wording. Those for the normal schools simply said, "Ladies and gentlemen shall not board at the same house, and shall have no communication with one another except by permission of the Principal or one of the Masters". The regulation for the old School of Pedagogy had been precisely the same, but by the time the transfer to Hamilton was complete, the regulation for the Normal College had been changed to, "Ladies and gentlemen shall not board in the same house, nor shall they mingle together in the classrooms or in the halls of the Normal College⁴⁷".

By then it had become common practice for students to submit petitions to the Minister of Education. These often concerned grievances over the number or severity of examinations, the length of courses, and exemption from writing final examinations⁴⁸. No petition was more elaborately prepared, however, than a hand-written masterpiece prepared in Ottawa by fifty-four men and twenty-five women "attending the Normal School during the Michaelmas session" of 1886, who, ironically enough in view of the subject matter of the petition, signed in two separate groups, men first, then a space, then women. Addressed to the Hon. G.W. Ross it described as "very offensive" the rule which "prohibits any communication or social intercourse whatever between the ladies and gentlemen attending the said Institution which rule is enforced with the utmost strictness, and it regretted the aspersions cast upon the petitioners". They

47. Millar, J., *School Management*, 284-5, quotes Departmental Regulations.

48. P.A.O., RG2/P2/40/15; RG2/P2/40/21; RG2/P2/41/34 contain petitions for the years 1890-1900.

requested that the rule be rescinded "in keeping with the spirit and tendencies of this enlightened age⁴⁹".

By the following year the tone of a second submission by Ottawa students to the Minister had hardened. Now the petition was abrupt; it was a firm protest. It talked forcefully of injustices, arbitrariness, and "bad policy"⁵⁰. Correspondence of the day shows that MacCabe gave in - but regretted doing so. He liked the rule, he said, "in all its strictness", but he admitted that he had to face the inevitable facts. To the Minister he wrote in tones more reminiscent of modern-day disorders than of 19th century student troubles:

But I must say ... that in every class that comes to the school, there are some students - and the number is greater every Succeeding Session ... who *no pledges* will bind to observe the rule ... I cannot fail to notice especially among the young men, a growing tendency to question every rule, even those absolutely necessary for the preservation of order ... Radicalism is becoming stronger and stronger every day among our students. I have, therefore, to say that unless you are prepared to dismiss a whole class if necessary ..., the rule ... is practically a dead letter; and should be relaxed somewhat. 51

So the Minister relaxed the rule, apparently, and MacCabe reluctantly yielded - but not without a last-ditch stand. He was prepared to allow students to talk to each other in and around the school, on the streets and at church socials, and they could walk together on the streets but he insisted that "under no circumstances" should they be allowed to visit each other at their boarding houses, nor appear together at any place of amusement. He would recommend "instant expulsion

49. P.A.O., RG2/P2/43, Ottawa petitioners to the Minister of Education, 1886.

50. Ibid., Item 131, Gowan, J., and others to the Minister of Education, 26 May, 1887.

51. Ibid., MacCabe, J.A., to Ross, G.W., 28 June, 1887.

if this latter regulation were broken⁵²". What happened in the end was that the regulation was kept on the books, but it was left to the discretion of the principals of the schools to enforce it when and as they saw fit. Gradually it fell into desuetude, and by 1904 the regulations contained no more references to forbidden communication between the sexes.

In spite of Sangster's revised impressions, evidence indicates that resistance to change characterized Ontario's teacher-training system in 1900. Events in the early years of the twentieth century, to be detailed in Chapter V, will bear out further that the system was sensitive to alterations of any kind, including deviations from regular procedures as well as upheavals affecting the size and shape of the system itself. The reasons, we believe, were that new ways of doing things were subject to at least two kinds of scrutiny: educational and political, the former carried out by educational experts and advisors in the Education Department who evaluated change in the light of accepted educational goals, and the latter carried out by the Minister and other members of the government, who measured change in terms of political criteria, which, in their crudest form, boiled down to questions of seats and votes. More often than not, of course, the educators found themselves thinking politically, while the politicians regarded themselves as professional educators.

The big problem was that educational outcomes of particular changes were hard to predict, let alone guarantee, and hard to identify let alone assess. Whether or not the model school course

52. Idem.

might be lengthened or eliminated was a question of this calibre in 1900. Whether or not manual training and household science, subjects expensive to finance, should be introduced into normal and model schools was another. In the long run, therefore, changes, recommended by educators, whether emanating from common sense, intuition, or hunch, were often settled on the basis of anticipated political consequences. If educational outcomes seemed inconclusive, or even favourable, and if political outcomes seemed dubious - in those days they usually were if expenditures were involved - the tendency was to avoid unnecessary risk, shelve the venture involved, and hold fast to the 'status quo'. In other words, Ontario, in 1900, had a teacher-training system which was inclined to be slow to change. It seemed to be directed towards a politically worry-free, and thus educationally sterile state of uniformity, standardized procedures, multiple rules, and deferred decisions. Under such conditions experimentation would not be preferred; experimentation and innovation would not be encouraged.

CHAPTER IV

Some Fundamental Assumptions

Writing in the 1890's John Millar indicated that Ontario's teacher-training organization, which he administered as Deputy Minister of Education¹, was based on four assumptions. He made them explicit. We shall examine each of these together with a fifth assumption, an implicit one, which for reasons to be made clear, he did not mention. Millar's first assumption ran as follows:

... It is assumed that the different grades of schools ... require teachers of different qualifications whose professional attainments should be gained at institutions specially provided in each case for the purpose. 2

On this assumption Ontario had provided itself with training schools which separated high school teachers from elementary school teachers, and third-class, semi-trained elementary school teachers from second-class, fully-trained elementary school teachers, or to put it another way, as S.W. Dyde did later, the system incorporated a "lateral

-
1. Ontario's Deputy Ministers of Education, 1876-1934:
 John G. Hodgins, 1876-1890;
 Alexander Marling, 1890;
 John Millar, 1890-1905;
 Arthur H.U. Colquhoun, 1906-1934.
 2. Millar, J., *The Educational School System of the Province of Ontario*, 55-56.

as well as a vertical cleavage" among the professional and non-professional training schools. The former were separated from the latter and from each other. Dyde made a diagram of the system, as he envisaged it, and inserted it in the *Queen's Quarterly* of October, 1904³, so that readers could picture the segmentations of the system he deplored. His diagram is reproduced below to enable the present reader to picture more clearly the segmentations which Millar, presumably, admired. The double lines were drawn in by Dyde to call attention to the geographical and functional 'cleavages' inherent in the system.

Non-Professional	Professional
University	Ontario Normal College
High School	
High School	Normal School
	Model School
High School	Model School
Public School	

Though Millar wrote as head of the Education Department's permanent force of officials, it would be faulty to conclude that all of the Minister's advisors held the same viewpoint as he on the organization of teacher training in the 1890's. Interestingly enough, in October, 1892,

3. *Queen's Quarterly*, October, 1904, 165, "Should There Be A Faculty of Education in the University?", by Dyde, S.W.

just months before the publication of the book in which the Deputy's assumptions were outlined, J.A. McLellan who, since 1882, had been responsible for "the supervision and direction of the work of the Principal and Masters of each normal school", submitted a report to the Hon. G.W. Ross "on the present condition of the normal schools". It was confidential, and as McLellan put it stated opinions as "pointedly as possible without reference to the requirements of final literary form"⁴. Anticipating Dyde's comments, the report referred to the lack of unification throughout the system of training and described as mischievous "the present want of connection among the several parts of our training system". "Why should the kindergarten 'system' be independent of the model school system, this independent of the normal school system, and this again (not so much now) be independent of the secondary training system?" Then McLellan posed the question to which Millar apparently gave the official answer, "Is there one set of principles for the kindergarten, another for the model school, etc.?"

As a step towards unification, McLellan's report suggested that for "economy of working" the terms of the School of Pedagogy and the Normal School should be similar so that the masters could take some of the lectures in the School of Pedagogy "and perhaps vice versa", meaning, no doubt, that instructors in the latter might also take classes in the Normal School. He also suggested occasional meetings not only between staffs of the two schools ("One of us might deliver a lecture on (say) literature-teaching with a practical analysis of the lesson ... followed

4. P.A.O., RG2/P2/44/51; received by Ross, G.W., 15 October, 1892.

by general discussion, etc."), but also conferences between normal and model school staffs ("to discuss the psychological bases of actual criticism; and ... the general principals of Educational Psychology and their applications in rational method").

McLellan's report answered, in part, Robin S. Harris's recent query about the possibility at the time that the School of Pedagogy was housed in the Toronto Normal School buildings, of Ontario's teacher-training system being viewed "in the round and as a continuing process, rather than in a segmented and static form⁵". As if to demonstrate that teacher training "in the round" was not an unconsidered concept in the Department in the 1890's, McLellan suggested to Ross that one committee of professionally trained men ought to have charge of all training institutions, so as to secure unity in aim, principles, methods and results. "Unity is fundamental in System", he affirmed in summarizing his thoughts.

There is no indication of any follow-up action having been taken on McLellan's advanced suggestion. His tattered report, worked over meticulously to judge by the innumerable amendments and deletions, was simply marked, "Received, 15 October, 1892". If Millar saw it, he was not so impressed that he changed his basic line of thought. But Ross, who like Millar had also been a teacher, was probably convinced about the educational soundness of McLellan's recommendations. "The psychological principles which apply to the development of the child's mind in the early stages of his education apply to his development in all stages",

5. Harris, R.S., *Quiet Evolution*, 79.

he observed towards the end of his term of office as Minister of Education⁶. But educational reasoning did not override practicalities, for in 1897, the School of Pedagogy was moved out of the normal school building and out of Toronto, and the gulf between elementary and secondary teacher training widened. The opportunity of which Harris speaks was seen, but too dimly to be seized.

John Millar's second assumption emphasized the Education Department's preference in the 1890's for professional courses of study which were 'consecutive' as opposed to 'concurrent'. It ran thus:

It is assumed that the professional training of a teacher should be taken up *after*, and not in conjunction with the acquisition of knowledge gained at a high school or university. ⁷

The implication of Deputy Minister Millar's second assumption is that fully fledged, separate professional courses of study, different in scope and content from regular academic courses, were offered in the training institutions in the 1890's. In the county model schools the assumption was generally being applied, for the urgent thing in the short time available was to prepare the young, immature student for the eminently practical, imminent task of facing large classes of children. The assumption, however, was not applied in the lower-grade district model schools and bilingual model schools where little time, if any, was spent on courses in foundation subjects, such as History of Education, and Psychology, or in Methodology. As for the School of Pedagogy and the Normal College, students' academic backgrounds were more advanced, and the courses seem to have been more highly theoretical.

6. Ross, G.W., *The School System of Ontario*, 104.

7. Millar, J., *Op. Cit.*, 54.

The question of maintaining rigid separation between academic and professional work at this level did not arise until after the faculties of education were set up in 1907 at the University of Toronto and at Queen's University. It was in the early years of the history of the faculties that John Seath in the Department and Cecil Lavell in Queen's took ominously opposite views over whether or not students should review the complete curriculum of the elementary schools and high schools from the standpoint of the teacher.

The real test of the application of the assumption in the 1890's was in the normal schools where, at least for the first thirty years, they had done their own non-professional work as well as professional. Up until 1877 when Adam Crooks set up the model schools, the normal schools taught not only an academic programme, but they were also supposed to provide what Ryerson regarded as the science⁸ and the art⁹ of school teaching. In modern parlance, the courses were provided concurrently with the object of doing for the teacher what an apprenticeship did "for the Mechanic, the Artist, the Physician, the Lawyer - to teach him theoretically and practically, how to do the work of his profession¹⁰". Whether the course or any part of it in those early days could properly be called "professional" was doubtful. Later on, McLellan looked back and claimed that there was no professional training, but a "mere literary education" and that pupils were so concerned about matter they could not attend to manner¹¹.

8. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, Vol. VI, 198, para 6.

9. *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, 171, para 3.

10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, 139.

11. *O.S.P.*, 1886, No. 5, 76-78; see J.A. McLellan's report for 1885.

In any case, after the founding of the high schools in 1871, and the establishment of the model schools as a training stage between high school and normal school a few years later, the bulk of the non-professional work of the training schools was, on paper at any rate, transferred to the high schools. The Minister's Report for 1877 stated that instruction in the normal schools for first-class certificates from September to July was literary and scientific, and also professional, while for second-class certificates, for which attendance was obligatory for a twelve-week session, "the whole time" was "devoted exclusively to the instruction in the theory and practice of teaching"¹². John Seath, then a high school principal, and a man of destiny in the world of education, liked the idea so much, he wanted to see the non-professional courses for first-class certificates relegated wholly to the high schools too. "The Normal Schools ... would thus be enabled to devote themselves wholly to their proper duties", he wrote in 1879. "Professional training would become a well-ordered course; and important branches now omitted would receive attention. Foremost among these would be psychology"¹³.

Two years later the matter was still on the mind of Education Minister Adam Crooks, for he despatched High School Inspector McLellan to the United States to examine the "extent and modes for the separation of ... professional from the general training". McLellan reported¹⁴ that only one American institution, the City Normal School, Boston, illustrated "the Minister's idea of the true function of a Normal School - viz. that of

12. *O.S.P.*, 1879, No. 5 (Minister's Report, 1877), 18.

13. *Canadian Educational Monthly*, January, 1879, 23; "The Training of First-Class Teachers" by Seath, J.

14. P.A.O., RG2/H1/Box 9, see original report of 46 pages.

giving professional training alone". He argued, however, that if education could be carried on regardless of expense, it would probably be better for the normal schools to give the entire education of the teacher, general as well as professional. But the expense, he warned, would be "enormous". Quoting figures of current expenses in the State of New York - in 1880 it had 271 graduates at an annual cost of \$185,000.00 - McLellan concluded that as a matter of economy it was "imperative" to separate general from professional training, and to make the latter the chief business of the normal schools. Besides, he claimed it was a "reckless waste of public money" to maintain normal schools to do the same work as high schools.

Four years later McLellan reported gleefully to the Minister:

I am not aware that there is a single State in the Union that has solved the problem of 'separation of the academic from the professional training of teachers'. It has been solved for the first time in Ontario ... Ontario stands without a rival among the States of the Union. 15

So pleased was McLellan with Ontario's achievement that he was repeating his words of joy five years later. By then he was thoroughly opposed to the concurrent course, pointing out that a study pursued with constant reference to the use that is made of it loses a considerable portion of its cultural value¹⁶. Ross seemed to agree with his advisor's opinion but his reasons were different. Again they were non-educational and concerned powerful forces which no politician could ignore. In his report of 1894 he stated:

... If the province could afford to maintain ten or twelve normal schools where teachers were required to take a two or three-years'

15. *O.S.P.*, 1886, No. 5 (Minister's Report, 1885), 76-78.

16. *O.S.P.*, 1891, No. 4 (Minister's Report, 1890), 410-437.

course, ... no doubt the normal school training, professional and non-professional combined, has its advantages. 17

Under existing circumstances, however, Ross concluded that such a combination, was "far from satisfactory". He would prefer to keep the courses separate so that the student's mind was free to consider but one thing at a time.

Taken alone the observations of McLellan and others might lead fairly to the conclusion that the separation of professional and non-professional courses was complete as far as the normal schools went, and that a valid, professional course was being provided. Suspensions are awakened, however, when evidence is found that in 1879, two years after the alleged separation, female students at the Ottawa school sent a letter to Hodgins, the Deputy Minister, complaining that the public knew nothing of the non-professional subjects on which they were examined. "They, therefore, think our course here purely professional", the students lamented¹⁸. Suspensions harden, when sixteen years later, Principal MacCabe of Ottawa is found reporting to the Minister of Education that "in what is intended as purely professional training the non-professional aspects of the Subjects must not be neglected¹⁹". On the other hand, Kirkland, the Toronto principal, in his report of 1895, said that the school was "now strictly professional²⁰".

To judge from these reports, the amount of time and energy devoted to non-professional studies varied from one normal school to

17. *O.S.P.*, 1895, No. 4 (Minister's Report, 1894), xxviii.

18. *P.A.O.*, RG2/D6/1, Ottawa Normal School students to Hodgins, J.G., 18 June, 1879.

19. *P.A.O.*, RG2/P2/43/57, see Ottawa Normal School Principal's Report for 1895.

20. *Ibid.*, see Item 79.

another, and to judge from examination papers prepared in the 1890's from subject to subject too²¹. But the course was too short to be ostentatiously entitled "professional", despite the flavour lent to it by inclusion of subjects such as Psychology and History of Education. In effect it was a narrowly practical course, not surprisingly so when the qualities of staff as well as students (if McLellan's opinions on this subject were valid) are considered. His comments sent to the Minister in his 1892 report²² were enlightening: Ottawa model school teachers he described as not filled "with the spirit of progress, love of learning and the personal strength which comes from it"; normal school masters he found wanting and queried where the men were who had a knowledge of "educational Psychology, of the science of education, of the application of this in rational methods of educational History - and all this united with long practice in school-work, and the training of teachers"; normal school students he concluded showed "a decided lack of scholarship and of the power to think ..."; and model schools impressed him with the fact that the training provided was generally "purely empirical and grounded on meagre scholarship not to say illiteracy". Confronted with such comments, the politician who considered the past and had to decide on the future had an unenviable task. One could sympathize therefore with Ross's non-committal conclusion that the separation of academic and professional work was possible "without injury to either course of study²³".

Millar's third assumption dealt with what happened to the teacher

21. See Ottawa Normal School's examination papers: September to December, 1886 in P.A.O., RG2/P2/43/98.

22. P.A.O., see RG2/P2/44/51 for McLellan's 1892 report.

23. *Canadian Educational Monthly*, October 1893, "How Teachers are Trained in the Province of Ontario", by Ross, G.W.

after graduation from a model school or from the Normal College. He wrote:

It is assumed that a person may ... after taking a course at a training school, fail when in charge of his own school. 24

Millar was making the point that there were teaching qualifications which could be acquired and tested only by actual experience. Thus, he concluded, the Education Department had accepted the principle that a life certificate should be given "to no teacher until he is tried by the only true test - that of experience". On the basis of this assumption, by the end of the century the Education Department had built into all teachers' courses a third stage, following the academic and professional stages. Having completed it and thus proved himself "on the job", the teacher received his permanent licence. To Millar, the teacher did this by showing he could "get on" with parents and trustees and by showing his ability to exercise "a large amount of common sense".

The introduction of a probationary in-service period for high school teachers was comparatively late in coming. Before 1885 no enduring training plan had emerged for this group, and it was only after the School of Pedagogy retreated into the Normal School and withdrew its students from practice teaching classrooms in the Toronto high schools that post-graduate experience became a prerequisite for permanent certification. Thus it was failure to provide adequate practice teaching experience in the training schools which helped to bring about internship, and to initiate a plan of interim certification for high school teachers.

As for elementary school teachers the application of the assumption could be considered as dating back to 1877. At that time, of course,

24. Millar, J., *Op. Cit.*, 55.

the introduction of a certificate valid for three years aimed at keeping out teachers with no training at all or with no proven ability. The object of postponing permanent certification, Millar said later, was "to prevent incompetent persons from holding positions, and by offering their services at low salaries, shutting out energetic teachers and injuring the schools²⁵". Right from the beginning it had been expected by the framers of the 1877 plan, according to J.J. Tilley, the Model School Inspector who was one of them, that holders of life certificates would be sought out by trustees and that they would be encouraged by higher salaries to go to normal school²⁶.

The scheme was fine in theory. Good teachers would be encouraged to eliminate bad teachers. It was not so in practice. Following an interesting variation of Gresham's Law, the bad teachers drove out the good, and not simply by a process of slow replacement but by a crushing numerical preponderance which makes Millar's comments on the reasons for postponing permanent certification sound ludicrous. As early as 1880, records of reports sent in to the Education Department by elementary school inspectors began to show defects in the plan which aimed at providing a large number of otherwise teacherless schools with partially trained teachers, while recognizing the prolonged time they were permitted to teach in these schools as a stage of their training. There is "absolutely a plethora of teachers" wrote Inspector Morgan from Barry in February, 1881²⁷. Some years later, in 1888 Inspector Henry Reazin in Victoria (West) repeated the warning about the surplus "working a great

25. Millar, J., *Op. Cit.*, 58.

26. *O.S.P.*, 1908, No. 12 (Minister's Report, 1907), 582-591.

27. *P.A.O.*, RG2/H1/7; see report dated 10 February, 1881.

deal of mischief to the profession" by permitting inexperienced third-class lady teachers to underbid and supplant experienced and successful third-class teachers and even second-class teachers²⁸. In 1894 Inspector J.J. Wadsworth, Norfolk, in his personal report to the Minister, was still complaining of "too much raw material" being thrust into the profession every year²⁹, while J.W. Garvin, Peterborough, told of "the keenest competition" for positions with the result that the most worthy were frequently "thrust from the teaching ranks"³⁰. In the same year from Lambton, No. 1, Inspector C.A. Barnes complained that sixty-five percent of the teachers were of the lowest grade and that a complete change occurred every three or four years³¹. His neighbour in Lambton, No. 2, Inspector John Brabner, lamented that it was not at all uncommon to find that the worst teachers were the "most thought of"³². The fact was, as J.J. Tilley summarized it in 1890, the system brought into the profession every year hundreds who intended to teach but a short time. They competed with teachers of experience, kept salaries down and forced the most promising teachers out of the profession.

Since 1883, Ross had been running a system based on expectations which had no more validity in the 1890's, when they were enunciated by Millar, than they had had in the late 1870's when they were formulated by Tilley and his departmental colleagues. In the early days, Crooks, Ross's predecessor, might justifiably draw comfort from the thought that though some might condemn the scheme as "a farce", the student was better off

28. P.A.O., RG2/P3/31/44; see report dated 13 February, 1888.

29. *Ibid.*, Item 21; see report of 15 February, 1894.

30. P.A.O., RG2/P2/33/56; see report of 15 February, 1894.

31. *Ibid.*, Item 60; see report of 20 February, 1894.

32. *Ibid.*, Item 61; report of February, 1894.

than he would have been with no model school at all³³. But by the end of the century, nearly twenty years later, Harcourt, Ross's successor, still had no other source of comfort to turn to. Money seemed to be the answer, but even here the politician's hands seemed tied. In the annual report for 1898 he wrote - rather dejectedly it seems:

All that can be done by legislation is to lay down the highest feasible standard of qualification and to hope that public opinion will, 'ere long, recognize that the best policy for trustees ... is to select ... those teachers who, by scholarship, experience and character will exercise the best influence upon ... youth ... 34

The fourth and last assumption expressed by John Millar in his description of Ontario's teacher-training system of the 1890's stated explicitly:

To train students how to teach is not, it is felt, the province of the University or High School. 35

In a strict sense, this assumption of the Deputy Minister meant that the university and the high school ought to have nothing to do with teacher training. In its applicability to the latter, however, the assumption came closer to a conclusion induced from existing circumstances, rather than to a principle guiding future operations. For in 1893, when Millar wrote, high school training was in that uncertain, transitory period between the defunct training institutes, housed in selected high schools, and the Normal College, yet to see the light of day in a single Hamilton high school. Similarly, as far as university involvement was concerned the statement was closer to an acceptance of university disinterestedness

33. P.A.O., RG2/H1/7; see report of Inspector Nichols, Kent Co., 10 February, 1881.

34. O.S.P., 1899, No. 1 (Minister's Report, 1898), xviii.

35. Millar, J., *Op. Cit.*, 54-55.

in teacher training than to a principle of government policy. At any rate, events of the last quarter of the nineteenth century seemed to indicate so.

In 1887 the University of Toronto Federation Act specified that education, as a separate subject, could be taught in the university. Sam McAllister, past-president of the Ontario Educational Association, spoke as if the establishment of a chair of education was imminent³⁶. Three years later when the Education Department was trying to solve the problems connected with the programme for the training institutes, it offered to recognize as an alternative "the course presented by the University of Toronto in connection with the Chair of Education"³⁷. There was no follow-up.

In 1905 *The Globe* complained that eighteen years had elapsed since the Federation Act assigned education to the university and "nothing has been done"³⁸. The reasons were enunciated later by at least two government officials. In 1906 John Seath, Superintendent of Education, presented a brief to the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto stating, in part:

About twenty years ago the late Government made a proposal to establish a Department of Education in the University, but was forced to withdraw it on account of the opposition of the University authorities, who took the ground that the available funds were needed for purely academic purposes. 39

In the same year, Normal College Vice-Principal R.A. Thompson used stronger tones in lamenting to his colleagues attending O.E.A. that when

36. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 9-11 August, 1887, 125.

37. *Minister's Report*, 1890, 93; quoted by Althouse, J.G., *The Ontario Teacher*, 151.

38. *The Globe*, 5 May, 1905.

39. P.A.O., File No. B-4-4-1906, *Report of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto*, 4 April, 1906, 140.

the School of Pedagogy was "most in need of support, ... the university professors were openly opposed to professional training for secondary teachers⁴⁰".

Teacher training seems to have been the one problem on which the academics at Toronto and Queen's shared a common outlook. The views expressed by the Senate of Queen's University in the early 1880's about the "superfluity" of professional training persisted into the mid-1890's at which time, according to C.F. Lavell, later Dean of Queen's first Faculty of Education, anyone found advocating teacher training was "a scarcely endurable heretic". In Lavell's opinion Queen's had had an "ancient contempt for the very word 'pedagogy'⁴¹". Herein, perhaps, lies the explanation for the content of an address given by Daniel Miner Gordon, Principal of Queen's, to the University Council in April, 1903. Speaking on "The Functions of a Modern University", he told of how the university stood "for service, ... of the human kind, ... to the largest number, and along the greatest variety of lines". He spoke proudly of the School of Applied Science, affiliated with Queen's, and of the School of Forestry to be added shortly. He spoke of "men of other callings that might ask what can we do to fit them ... for ... service to the nation". He spoke of journalism and commerce in the university. Yet, he did not mention the teaching profession - not once⁴²! Gordon's blatant omission seemed to indicate an utter lack of interest in the teachers and in their preparation. Yet, it was too deliberate. To presume that Gordon and Queen's

40. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, April, 1906, 124.

41. *Queen's Quarterly*, 1907, XV, No. 2, 134-7, "Queen's Faculty of Education", Lavell, C.F.

42. *Queen's Quarterly*, 1903, X, 487-497, "The Functions of a Modern University", by Gordon, D.M.

still wanted nothing to do with teacher training would be a grave error; in fact, the reverse is suggested. Swiftly-moving succeeding events, to be recounted later, seem to show that he was more likely biding his time; indeed, his coming to Queen's but four months earlier to replace Grant might be looked upon as a turning-point in university involvement in teacher training in Ontario.

Events that dated back more than a quarter century lend credence to this possibility and suggest that while the waves of progress seemed to gain "no painful inch" at the turn of the century,

Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
Comes silent, flooding in the main.

On a late-October day in 1875, a large crowd had gathered in the assembly hall of Ottawa's new normal school. The Hon. John Crawford, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario was there; so was Alexander Mackenzie, Prime Minister of Canada; Oliver Mowat, Premier of Ontario; Egerton Ryerson - then nearing retirement; and Adam Crooks - Mowat would use the occasion to announce his appointment as the first Minister of Education in Ontario. Also present was the pastor of St. Andrew's, Ottawa's first Presbyterian Church, and he was none other than the Rev. Daniel Miner Gordon, who, in 1902, would be Principal of Queen's University. *The Ottawa Times* reported that when Gordon addressed the meeting he spoke about the need for universities to play their part in teacher preparation. Paraphrasing Gordon's comments the newspaper reported him as saying:

While we were extending our Normal School System it would surely be wise, if not absolutely necessary, to extend also our University System. It might, he thought, be fairly questioned whether the mere training of a Normal School was sufficient to produce a first-rate teacher without any University education. 43

43. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, Vol. XXVI, 310.

Twenty-seven years later after sojourns in Winnipeg and Halifax, Gordon reached Queen's at just the time when Dyde was becoming interested in teacher education. There were others, too, in Ontario in those earlier days concerned about the relationship between the universities and the teaching profession. One was Sam Hughes and he was worried. In October, 1884, in a letter to Ross, written in Hughes' notoriously forthright manner, evidence is revealed that the universities were not alone to blame for their apparent lack of interest. Hughes commented revealingly:

In past times the normal students were trained deliberately to look with contempt on a university education; hence many, including myself, were some years in learning by experience that we had been taught to undervalue university college ... Had there been a proper spirit existing ..., I am not rash, in asserting that the now great majority of high school ... masters would be men trained in the normal school who subsequently would have taken a university course. As it is, few of them have ever had a professional training. ... To bring about that connection between the two institutions would, in itself, be a great, indirect, educational gain. ⁴⁴

His letter then went on to suggest a programme of teacher preparation to be provided by the university. Here, then, is the first-known solid suggestion for a thorough-going teacher education programme in a university, and it was suggested by a future, war-time Minister of Militia and Defence for Canada who at one time had been a graduate of the Toronto Normal School.

A few years later, inspired perhaps by urgings from men like Hughes or from the occasional article on university involvement in teacher education which by then was beginning to appear in professional journals⁴⁵,

⁴⁴. P.A.O., RG2/D7/10, Hughes, S., to Ross, G.W., 13 October, 1884: (Some changes have been made in punctuation.)

⁴⁵. For example, see *Canadian Educational Monthly*, March, 1884, 97: "Education as a University Study", by Payne, W.H.

Ross put out the feelers mentioned earlier. But, in the late 1880's, the universities were not ready to think about teacher education. Federation was in the air; academic departments were multiplying fast; new buildings were going up; and women had just begun to enrol at university college⁴⁶. Ten years later, however, new pressures, those gentle but persuasive psychological pressures associated with desires to emulate for fear of losing ground, were beginning to make themselves felt in Ontario. It was only a matter of time before resistance to university participation gave way, and Millar's claim that teacher preparation did not fall within the province of the university crumbled.

In 1898, the eminent Toronto philosopher, Professor J.G. Hume, went to Halifax to address the Dominion Educational Association and to advocate pedagogy as a subject worthy of university study⁴⁷. He placed Scottish universities on a pedestal because pedagogy had become an integral part of each. He saw their salutary influence reaching into Dalhousie and McMaster both of which had dignified themselves with chairs of pedagogy, but he regretted he could not say the same of Toronto or of Queen's. The following year J.G. Hodgins, former Deputy Minister, returned from an official tour of England to report the unexpected success of an integrated programme of academic and professional studies for both elementary and secondary teachers in King's College, Cambridge⁴⁸.

46. 9 registered in 1884; 70 in 1890; 155 in 1897.

47. *Proceedings of Dominion Educational Association*, 1898, 38: "Pedagogics as a University Subject", by Hume, J.G.

48. *O.S.P.*, 1899, App. N, 191-259; report submitted 20 February, 1899.

By then, too, educators were interested in the writings and thoughts of John Dewey. J.H. Putman of the Ottawa Normal School claimed that the philosopher's writings helped him acquire fresh insights into the educational value of so-called fads and frills, like physical culture, gardening, handwork, nature study and art⁴⁹. F.W. Merchant, principal of the new London Normal School, journeyed to Chicago to sit at Dewey's feet just a few weeks before the school opened in 1900⁵⁰. These normal school leaders would be aware, of course, of Dewey's insistence that schools of education, devoted to discussion and experimentation, were "obviously and without argument" the responsibility of universities⁵¹.

And if they could not afford to buy Dewey's works, or to visit him in his own bailiwick, they had but to turn to J.G. Fitch's, "Lectures on Teaching", a practical textbook prescribed for students' use in Ontario's training institutions - it was based on lectures delivered at Cambridge twenty years earlier - and read the early pages. No science, said Sir Joshua, should be "mainly pursued ... in separate training institutions or professional colleges where the horizon is necessarily bounded. ... It is to the university that the public look for those influences which will prevent the nobler professions from degenerating into crafts and trades". If the schoolmaster, he says, is not to be a pedant, he must obtain from the university an attestation of his qualifications because "that is the authority which can testify that he is not merely a teacher, but a teacher and something else⁵²". In April 1900, William Johnston,

49. Putman, J.H., *Op.Cit.*, 28.

50. P.A.O., RG2/P2/42/43, Merchant, F.W. to Ross, G.W., 4 October, 1899.

51. *University Record*, (University of Chicago Press), 18 and 25 September, 1896; "Pedagogy as a University Discipline", by Dewey, J.

52. Fitch, J.G., *Lectures on Teaching*, (Cambridge, University Press, 1883), 4.

Inspector of Schools in Leeds, No. 1, stood up before the Inspectors' Department at O.E.A. and told his colleagues that the Normal College should rightly be connected with Toronto University, that its principal should be a professor of the university, and that the instructors should be members of the university staff⁵³.

In front the sun climbs slow, how slowly!
But westward, look, the land is bright!

Upon completion of our examination of the assumptions which, according to Deputy Minister John Millar, underlay Ontario's late nineteenth-century teacher-training system, we pause to note that, with certain minor exceptions, a striking similarity exists between these assumptions and those which we have observed from personal experience pertained to the system sixty years later. In the early 1960's 'consecutive', wholly professional courses⁵⁴ for elementary and secondary school teachers were provided in separate institutions⁵⁵ which were virtually independent of the province's universities⁵⁶, and for both groups these

53. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1900, 349.

54. Two emergency training courses: The In-service Course and the Two-year Course offered in the teachers' colleges in the 1950's and 1960's to otherwise academically unqualified high school students were temporary. In the present context they are considered exceptional.

55. The optional courses at the O.C.E. leading to certification as elementary school teachers were offered only to candidates for high school certification. Candidates seeking only elementary school certification had to attend a teachers' college.

56. Under the terms of the 1920 agreement between the University of Toronto and the Department of Education the connection between the university and the professional courses offered at the O.C.E. in the early 1960's to high school teachers-in-training was nominal. W.G. Fleming (*Ontario's Educative Society/V*, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971), 95) states the affairs of the College were "of minor concern" to the university in the early 1960's. The connection between the University of Ottawa and the teachers' college named after it was also nominal.

courses led to permanent certification after a follow-up period of in-service probation. At first glance, therefore, it might seem that events of the twentieth century substantiated the hypothesis propounded at the end of the last chapter that Ontario's teacher-training system in 1900 would be slow to change. But, as we know, such a comparison between conditions in 1900 and in the 1960's exaggerates the similarities. The lack of change is more apparent than real. Changes and reversals of change did occur in the first two decades of the twentieth century and it is these that we intend to review in more detail in order to understand better the reasons for the apparent inertia of the system. Before doing so, however, we must examine a further important assumption which intimately affected the four already specified; indeed, it influenced all aspects of teacher-training development, particularly its propensity to change slowly. This assumption concerns the financing of the system and gives rise to our claim that when it came to furnishing and supporting their own training facilities Ontario governments in the late nineteenth century were parsimonious.

John Squair was a part-time lecturer in the School of Pedagogy in the early 1890's. For \$150. a year he taught French and German⁵⁷ in the eerie gloom of the borrowed lecture room in the Normal School where, cramped and uncomfortable, students wrote on their knees⁵⁸. Although he asserted that the Mowat Government "did not waste much money on Pedagogy"⁵⁹, he

57. P.A.O., RG2/P2/46 gives details of Squair's appointment.

58. For conditions in the school from a student's viewpoint, see article by C.K. Sissons in *Douglas Library Notes*, Spring, 1963, Vol. XII, No. 2.

59. Squair, J., *John Seath and the Ontario Educational System*, 87.

must have noticed, too, how Conservative opposition members, including one James Pliny Whitney, a rising newcomer, played their parts in keeping down the costs of running the school. In 1893, they demurred over the approval of funds to pay Squair, and in two succeeding years they objected to voting supply to defray the school's maintenance expenses⁶⁰.

Squair's personal view of government tightfistedness was doubtlessly shared by others in the pay of the government: for example, the lowly nightwatchmen who guarded the normal school buildings for \$400. a year, a sum which did not change in a fourteen-year period from 1889 to 1903⁶¹; or the normal school principals in Toronto and Ottawa who, in 1902, reminded Harcourt that their maximum annual salary had remained fixed at \$2500. for eleven years⁶²; or the school inspectors whose "scale of remuneration", *The Globe* reported with astonishment, was not revised in a third of a century⁶³.

G.W. Ross, who had been in the Ontario legislature since 1883, and who followed Mowat as Premier soon after the latter's move to Ottawa, transferred some of the onus for governmental tightfistedness to Mowat's predecessor, John Sandfield Macdonald. Writing about the "chronic conservatism" of the Ontario legislature in his personal memoirs, Ross said:

In my early days it was under the spell of Sandfield Macdonald's economic fatalism. To propose an increase of the estimates or an

60. See *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario*: Vol. XXVI, 195 (Motion of 26 May, 1893); Vol. XXVII, 179 (Motion of 27 April, 1894); Vol. XXVIII, 1895 (Motion of 9 April, 1894).

61. P.A.O., RG2/E1/4/folder 5; see pay lists.

62. P.A.O., RG2/44/50, Merchant, F.W., to Harcourt, R., 16 December, 1902.

63. *The Globe*, 27 March, 1905. Though public school inspectors were "to all intents and purposes" officers of the Department, they were strictly county council employees. Their salaries, however, were subsidized by the provincial government at a rate fixed by provincial law.

advance in the salary of a clerk in the Civil Service was a high crime and misdemeanor. Sandfield's surplus was a sacred legacy, and must not be reduced, no matter what interests starved and stagnated. If a motion were made for reducing an appropriation, members seemed to shiver, at the calling of the 'yeas' and 'nays'. ... to erect a public building until driven to it by the direst necessity would mean a prolonged discussion or a vote of confidence. ⁶⁴

The financial restraint imposed by successive governments on the province's teacher-training system in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was in part an outcome of the "spell" that Ross and his colleagues lived under in those years. But the hardship and deprivation that the system underwent can also be linked to the bitterness which clouded the final years of Ryerson's superintendency and arose out of the controversy over the future composition of the Council of Public Instruction, the twenty-five year old governing body of the province's public schools, and over the Council's alleged mismanagement of its equally old Book Depository⁶⁵. For it is hard to see how the acrimony and antipathy which permeated the correspondence exchanged by Ryerson and government leaders after 1872 did not affect the conditions under which the Ottawa Normal School was planned, built and staffed between then and 1875. Ryerson had first recommended the building of two more schools in 1871, one in the east and one in the west⁶⁶. The possibility was mentioned favourably in the throne speech of that year⁶⁷.

Then in mid-October, 1872, just days before Mowat took over as Premier from Blake, Ryerson's arch-enemy, the superintendent advanced

64. Ross, G.W., *Getting into Parliament and After*, 195.

65. For further details see Sissons, C.B., *Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters*, (Toronto, Clarke Irwin Co., 1947), Vol. II, Ch XVI, passim..

66. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, Vol. 23, 192; see Ryerson's "Annual Report, 1871", Sec. X.

67. *Ibid.*, 285, see Speech from the Throne on 8 December, 1871.

his recommendation to three schools, one at Ottawa, one at Kingston, and one at London⁶⁸. He warned, however, that comparatively few students would be trained, due to their lack of scholarship and to the consequent need to begin their training "low down". The inference was that per capita expenses of training would be high.

Of the three locations recommended, Ryerson gave Ottawa highest priority as it was located in the centre of an area where schools were backward and the influence of the Toronto Normal School least felt. He also thought that because there was a considerable French and Roman Catholic element in Ottawa and the surrounding district, one or more of the Ottawa masters should be Roman Catholic, including "one competent to teach French, and to have a class in French, although there should be nothing Denominational in the normal school at Ottawa, any more than there is in that at Toronto⁶⁹". He was confident that there would be a sufficient number of students to fill new schools at Ottawa and Kingston. Referring to London he argued in favour of providing for teaching German, for in the region to be served by the proposed normal school, there were about eighty schools in which German was taught.

Mowat's Government chose to build only one school for the moment, turning aside Ryerson's recommendation for three, as well as

68. *O.S.P.*, 1873, No. 34, Vol. V, Part III; see letter of Ryerson, E., to Provincial Treasurer, 19 October, 1872, in Return of copies of correspondence relating to the establishment in Ottawa of an additional normal school.

69. *P.A.O.*, Miscellaneous Collection of Pamphlets, 1875, contains a copy of a letter E. Ryerson wrote to *The Mail* on 20 September, 1875, about the special circumstances surrounding the first staff appointments to the Ottawa Normal School, including that of John MacCabe, an outsider and a Roman Catholic.

additional pleas from Cornwall (despite its "proverbial freeness from miasma and malarious diseases, and all epidemics"), Ingersoll (despite its "numerous streams of pure spring water"), and Woodstock (despite its "good cheap and plentiful markets"), as well as submissions from Prescott, Brockville and Stratford⁷⁰.

But even after limiting itself to a request for funds for one new school, the government had difficulty in securing assembly approval. On 28 March, 1873, a resolution from the Committee of Supply requested a grant of \$96,000. "to defray the expenses" for Ottawa Normal School, including \$16,000. for land and \$80,000. for building. Six divisions of the Assembly were required to secure final approval. The first of these wanted to strike out the \$96,000. altogether because of the financial burden involved at a time when "expenditure is increasing at a rate which is perfectly enormous". Other motions of the opposition held that the necessity for new schools had not been proved; that present accommodation was perfectly satisfactory; and that it would be much cheaper to transport students from eastern Ontario to Toronto for training⁷¹.

The succession of opposition motions spelled doom for additional normal schools. A site selected in Kingston was abandoned, and although Ryerson and other normal school officials had visited London to examine Hellmuth College, offered by the Bishop of Huron, nothing came of the idea. In fact, by the summer of 1875, Mowat was worrying that the

70. *O.S.P.*, 1873, No. 34, Vol. V, Part III; see respective petitions and requests.

71. *Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario*, 1873, Vol. VI, 360.

cost of the Ottawa building might exceed the original \$80,000. "It is absolutely necessary", he wrote to Ryerson, "if we are to go on with this Normal School, that the whole Expenditure for the principal Building and Outbuildings, Fences, Furniture, etcetera., should be within the sum for which we took a vote, namely \$80,000. How are we to reduce the cost of the Building so as to accomplish this⁷²?" Ryerson met the demand, but was soon preparing statistics for another Return requested by the House. This time it concerned costs and pupil enrolments at normal schools. We have to agree with the conclusion of J. Harold Putman, Vice-principal of the Ottawa Normal School at the beginning of the century, that Kingston and London were abandoned largely because of "the apathy of the Legislature in regard to expense". Putman concluded that it was doubtful if, at that time, "any Government could have forced ... a vote for such a purpose⁷³".

In 1876, with no more than two normal schools at his disposal, Crooks had to face the problem of training the five thousand under-trained teachers in the expanding elementary schools of the province. Estimates showed that the required number of schools would cost the province \$150,000. for buildings and at least \$40,000. per annum for maintenance expenses. To Crooks the building of additional normal schools was out of the question. What was needed, as J.J. Tilley, the Model School Inspector, candidly remarked, was "a simple and inexpensive way of providing ... some training for all⁷⁴". The county model school system met the need. The

72. Hodgins, J.G., *D.H.E.*, Vol. XXVI, 303, Mowat, O., to Chief Superintendent of Education, 9 July, 1875.

73. Putman, J.H., *Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada*, 255.

74. *O.S.P.*, 1908, No. 12 (Minister's Report, 1907), 587-91.

economies achieved by the model school programme were soon "clearly apparent", according to Crooks. Following the graduation of over thirteen hundred students in 1878, he boasted that the expenditure involved amounted to only \$3.81 per student, or \$7.62 in cases where County Councils gave the same sum as the government⁷⁵. Twenty-one years later, in 1899, the cost to the government for 978 county model school graduates of that year, on the basis of \$150. grants for each of 59 model schools, was \$7.81. Comparative figures for the training of each of 478 normal school graduates of that year was \$39.98 after taking into account the per capita cost of the education of the model school pupils at the rate of \$9.28 per year, then the current cost of each elementary school pupil. The annual cost of the education of each high school pupil, based on total attendance in 1899, was \$32.15⁷⁶.

In 1893, Inspector Craig looked around the counties of Leeds and Grenville. He thought about the trustees elected "to curtail expenses and reduce ... school tax"; he considered teachers' salaries, set much too low to induce the required number of well-qualified persons to enter the teaching profession; and he pictured in his mind's eye the "very immature" boys and girls who were the elementary school teachers. And, with many another inspector, he wondered, "Are our teachers not as well qualified as the country can afford⁷⁷?" The answer depended, of course, on the government's appraisal of the place of teacher education on the

75. *O.S.P.*, 1880, App. C., Annual Report of the Minister on County Model Schools for 1878.

76. Per capita costs obtained from or based on statistics in the Minister's *Report*, 1900, viii, x, xiv.

77. P.A.O., RG2/P2/31/1, Report of T.A. Craig to Minister, 24 February, 1893.

public's scale of preferences. Clearly it was not high in Ontario in the late nineteenth century. Ross, himself, included educational problems of the 1890's among 'minor issues' the government faced⁷⁸.

More objective evidence, however, comes from the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Financial Position of the Province of Ontario*⁷⁹, mentioned earlier, which Ross set up just after taking office late in 1889. It showed that in the period from 1st July, 1867, to 31st October, 1899, out of the total expenditures by successive governments of \$103.2 millions, \$17.8 millions, or 17.2%, were spent on education⁸⁰, and that out of \$9.5 millions spent on public buildings, \$433,000., approximately, or 4.6%, was spent on teacher-training institutions⁸¹. The *Report* also revealed the illuminating statistics that the Agricultural College built in 1873 cost \$476,000. approximately, (5.0%), and that the Central Prison, built in 1871, cost \$873,000. approximately (9.2%). The last figure was exactly double the cost of normal school construction in the same period at Toronto, Ottawa and London. Adding the further costs of the Penetang Reformatory, built in 1870, and the Andrew Mercer Reformatory, built in 1880, total government expenditure on three prison and/or reformatory buildings was more than two and a half times the expenditure on the three teacher-training institutions built by the government in the same period⁸². For the total period of thirty-two years and four

78. Ross, G.W., *Getting Into Parliament and After*, 189.

79. P.A.O., RG-18-File No. B-13-2-1900, *Report of the Royal Commission on the Financial Position of the Province of Ontario*, 1900, (Corrected version), 13 February, 1900.

80. *Ibid.*, 10.

81. *Ibid.*, 13.

82. *Ibid.*, Toronto N.S. (1871): \$177,670.25; Ottawa N.S. (1873): \$217,051.76; London N.S. (1898): \$38,667.13.

months investigated by the Commission, the *Report* disclosed that successive governments accumulated a total surplus of \$600,000.00. Sandfield Macdonald's "sacred legacy", as Ross called the surplus, had been preserved!

One cannot fail to agree with the conclusion reached by E.E. Stewart, Ontario's present Deputy Minister of Education, that in late nineteenth-century Ontario, development and operation of the province's educational system was "not of great importance in the public mind⁸³". In fact, when the Deputy Minister's opinion is applied specifically to teacher education, and when the evidence given above is examined, one has to admit the existence of the implicit assumption underlying any plans to improve the quality of teachers in the late nineteenth century, namely, that expenditures incurred had to be ruthlessly pared to a minimum "no matter what interests starved or stagnated".

83. Stewart, E.E., *The Role of the Provincial Government in the Development of the Universities of Ontario, 1791-1964*, 236.

CHAPTER V

Teacher Training in Trouble: 1900-1905

In April, 1899, when Richard Harcourt was still Provincial Treasurer, he wrote to John Millar pressing him to ease departmental regulations so as to help the Public School Board in Welland solve certain problems it faced in the local model school. The board wanted to hire a qualified teacher to teach the model school students so that the principal could give more attention to his regular duties. Also, because of the alleged inefficiency of the model school students, the county inspector wanted to confine their practice teaching to primary classes, for the astounding reason that their time was "less valuable than that of the senior pupils". When Millar insisted that Welland follow the regulations like other Boards, Harcourt was put out and replied sharply, "I do not think that any School Board which is even in a modest way able to comply with your regulations will want a Model School¹".

In mid-November, 1901, when Harcourt was Minister of Education,

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1. P.A.O., RG2/P2/39, see Harcourt, R., to Millar, J., 27 April, 1899, and preceding correspondence on this question. Harcourt (L. Monck) was a Welland lawyer and a former inspector in the Niagara Peninsula. The correspondence shows he was clearly interested in the possible closure of the Welland school. "If application be made to you in regard to it", he told Millar, "let me know before you come to any decision". (See Harcourt to Millar, 11 April, 1899).

he received a plaintive appeal for assistance from H.J. Talbot, Principal of the Beamsville Model School. Just the year before, J.J. Tilley, the Model School Inspector, had addressed local townsfolk telling them that he expected the model school term to be lengthened and, more to the point, that upcoming changes in the regulations would probably also permit principals to devote more time to the public school pupils in their care. Talbot lamented that the regulations had not been carried out and that the Beamsville Board was about to close down its model school - hence his plea to the Minister. Harcourt's reply, sent two days later, was enlightening:

I wish we had fewer of them ... There are too many weak schools. How to overcome it is, I repeat, a difficult problem. It would help if the weaker ones were closed. I mark this letter confidential since it may disappoint you ... We cannot take any immediate steps. When the change does come, it will be in the direction of lengthening the term. 2

One senses in the Minister's laconic phrases the deep helplessness of a man burdened with a problem he could not solve. When he questioned Millar so imperiously in 1899 about Welland, he simply wanted to do something for a school in his old inspectorate; in 1901, when he had direct responsibility for over half-a-hundred such schools, he had to find answers as well as pose questions. Clearly, the whole model school affair was now worrying Harcourt; there were so many aspects to it. As John MacCabe of the Ottawa Normal School put it when he cautioned impatient teacher education reformers at O.E.A. the previous April: "Several related questions have always to be considered when changes are made³".

2. Ibid., Item 100, Harcourt, R., to Talbot, H.J., 15 November 1901.

3. Italics inserted; MacCabe was actually quoting Harcourt's own words; see *Minister's Report*, 1900, xliii.

Reports submitted to Harcourt by Tilley and others in 1900 and 1901 suggest that during these years the Minister gave considerable thought to two basic questions leading to possible changes in elementary school teacher training. One was whether or not he should phase out the model schools. The other, a *related question* concerning normal schools, was whether or not he should lengthen their programmes and have them take over the work of the model schools as well. In comparison problems about high school teacher training were less pressing. Sooner or later, after years of trial and error, first with the abortive model grammar school, and then with the training institutes, the School of Pedagogy, and finally the Normal College, a link between high school training and the university would probably have to be worked out. For the moment, however, the existing contract with the Hamilton Board had some years to run, and so the question of high school teacher training could wait.

On the other hand, according to the advice given to Harcourt the plans for the future of elementary teacher training could not. In 1901 there were just over nine thousand teachers in the elementary (public and separate) schools in Ontario. Nearly a half had third-class certificates or lower, and women outnumbered men two to one. Assuming an average length of service per teacher of nine years⁴, one thousand new teachers were required annually as replacements alone. Considering wastage, training facilities were needed therefore for a minimum of about twelve hundred students per year, two hundred below the average annual attendance at county model schools in the previous ten years. If training

4. It was more likely seven years. Official records of experience were not kept until 1906.

were extended to one year in a normal school, then, if the recently erected London Normal School were taken as a unit, at least eight new normal schools would be required. The London school cost \$96,000., including grounds, buildings, and equipment. To this over \$9,000. per annum had to be added for maintenance. The minimum total cost for one year's operation would therefore be about \$840,000., an amount not much less than the legislative grant for one hundred and thirty high school and collegiate institutes⁵. And if the normal schools took over some of the background academic training of candidates for elementary school teacher training, the amount would go still higher.

That normal schools should assume some of the load being carried by high schools had been hinted at by none other than James P. Whitney, the Conservative leader, who early in 1900 criticized the government for allowing the province's high school system to degenerate into "a manufactory for teachers"⁶. But, as Tilley explained to Harcourt, Whitney's arguments were without basis in fact. Statistics for 1899 showed that out of just over six thousand high school graduates, fewer than thirteen hundred (just over a fifth) went into teaching, whereas over fourteen hundred went into mercantile life, and over nine hundred into agriculture⁷.

5. This para contains the gist of Tilley's argument in his report to the Minister, 1901. See *O.S.P.*, No. 12, Vol. XXXIV, 1902, 161-9. In 1900, the grant to 131 high schools was \$103,200 (Minister's Report, 1900, viii). Actual cost of L.N.S. up to 31 December, 1901, including site, plans, advertising, contract, wages, equipment and construction was \$96,448.47. See RG2/P2/44/11, A.W. Campbell, Asst. Commissioner, D.P.W., to Millar, J., 6 February, 1902, attaching D.P.W. Certificate of 5 February, 1902, re London Normal School.

6. Whitney, J.P., quoted in *The Globe*, 20 February, 1900.

7. See Tilley's report of 1901, *Op.Cit.*

On the basis of the foregoing evidence, therefore, with nearly one-half of the certificated teachers in the schools coming straight from the model schools, it seemed to Harcourt that he had to keep them in operation. Increasing the length of the course to eight months and appointing assistants to relieve the principals would probably meet most criticisms - Beamsville's, for example, and Welland's too. More money would be needed, but he might find this by reducing the number of model schools and increasing students' fees. There were then fifty-six model schools - fifty-seven if the bilingual model school could be opened in Ottawa the following year - with an average of twenty-one students per school. If the number of schools could be reduced by twenty to thirty-five, it would mean training thirty to thirty-five students in each, thus permitting elimination of the weak model schools. Extending the term might also eliminate weak and transient students and the number of third-class certificates might be reduced. County model schools could then take over the training of second-class certificates; the normal school could train first-class certificates, now being trained in the Normal College, and the Normal College could be left to train secondary teachers only. So the argument ran - at least in the mind of Inspector Tilley and many others.

But the problem was not that simple. McLellan and the normal school principals were constantly condemning the overcrowding in their schools. MacCabe in particular, pushed for a long list of reforms including more staff, complete elimination of outside examinations, higher admission standards of scholarship and health, and "the imperative necessity" of a ten-months' course⁸. Then there was the new principal in London who made

8. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1901, 381-6; "The Training of Teachers in Ontario", address by MacCabe, J.A..

painful comparisons with progress in the United States. Ontario, he complained, could not do in four months what the States did in two to three years. The present system was "not to our credit", he concluded shamefully⁹.

It was all very well, however, for Tilley to recommend an extension of the normal school course, for the principals to want an extension of the normal school course, and for the O.E.A. Training Department to back them with recommendations that both courses be lengthened to one year¹⁰. With a longer course, the model school student could rightly expect the duration of his certificate to be extended perhaps to five or six years, or even made permanent. The normal schools and model schools would then be giving almost the same class of certificate. Considering the short time that women stayed in the profession, that there was a small salary differential between normal and model school graduates, and that the cost of attending normal school away from home would rise, few students would want to go to normal schools. The schools would be emptied.

And that was not all. There were yet other *related questions*, more far-reaching, perhaps, which the Minister had to consider. At that time the school curriculum was undergoing a realignment aimed at rendering education more practical. It was the outcome, in part, of a drive for a larger dose of scientific and technical content in school subjects which looked back to Herbert Spencer and T.H. Huxley for its inspiration, to the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 for its initial boost, and to the 1871 Speech from the Throne for its origin in Ontario. Members assembled

9. *O.S.P.*, No. 12, Vol. XXXIII, Part IV, 1901, Report of Minister of Education, 1900, xiii.

10. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1901, 50.

for the Fourth Session of Ontario's First Parliament had been told,

Our System of Public Instruction should provide a suitable preparation for agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing and mining pursuits ... and thus be promotive of the highest material ... interests of the people. 11

Thereafter, especially with the industrial expansion of the mid-80's and the accompanying movement to the cities, the demand for this sort of curriculum re-orientation gained momentum, and a trend from the "ornamental" to the "useful" and from the "theoretical" to the "practical" set in¹².

In Ontario's elementary schools the changing emphasis made its appearance in the form of new subjects like manual training and household or domestic science. Thanks to the liberality of Sir William Macdonald, the Montreal tobacco millionaire, the efforts of Mrs. Adelaide Hoodless, the founder of Women's Institutes, and the ceaseless urgings of reformers like J.E.L. Hughes of the Toronto school system, who advocated curriculum changes more for educational and cultural reasons than for economic, plans were in operation or underway by 1902 to provide training programmes for teachers in manual training and in domestic or household science (cooking and sewing) in the three normal schools. Albert Leake, the Department's Inspector of Technical Schools, boasted that from the standpoint of quarters and appliances, the new London Normal School was probably the best-equipped manual training centre in Canada¹³.

But the fact was that vast numbers of Ontario's teachers never entered normal school. Their professional training was limited to

11. Journals of the Legislative Assembly, 1871, 2, quoted by Stewart, E.E., *Op.Cit.*, 187.

12. See Wilson, J. Donald, et al, *Op.Cit.*, 293.

13. *O.S.P.*, 1903, No. 12 (Minister's Report, 1902), 153.

model school experience, and as George Ross pointed out in 1898 when he introduced the first lecture courses in household science into the normal school, no real progress towards changes in curriculum was possible without suitably trained teachers¹⁴. John Seath re-emphasized the problem in a long, seventy-page report on manual training and household science courses in the schools in 1900, in which he recommended that training be given in the county model schools where most of the elementary school teachers started out¹⁵. But nothing really effective was done, and in the early years trained teachers had to be brought in from England¹⁶.

The problem was that a thoroughgoing programme in the model schools meant appointing special teachers and setting up specially equipped, additional rooms; thus, if Harcourt reduced the number of model schools, extended the model school programme, and included in it new courses in manual training and household science - and all three were urged upon him by his advisors - he would not only risk the danger of emptying the normal schools, he would run into exorbitant expenses. Whatever he did, therefore, it was obvious that he could not ignore the *related question* of impending curriculum reform.

To complicate life further for Harcourt yet another controversy was simmering in 1902. It concerned the future of Latin. In the high schools and in the universities where the advocates of the traditional, classical emphasis on education held sway, tempers were getting frayed over the opinions of men like Merchant and Seath that the prospective

14. *O.S.P.*, 1899, No. 1 (Minister's Report, 1898), xxxvi.

15. *O.S.P.*, 1901, No. 12 (Minister's Report, 1900), 216-286.

16. Johnson, F. Henry, *A Brief History of Canadian Education*, 86.

elementary school teacher had no need for high school Latin. Up to one-third of a student's time in his last year of high school was spent on the language, according to Merchant. Expressing his viewpoint, he wrote:

... The students that come to us are but very poorly prepared in the subjects they have actually to teach ... because a large proportion of their time in preparation is taken up with subjects which do not bear directly upon their work, and which as pursued by them have but little value from the standpoint of general culture. 17

Such viewpoints widened the gap between the classical men, whose ideas up to the beginning of the twentieth century had monopolized education, and the advocates of the utilitarian approach in the normal schools and elementary schools, who looked upon the school as a microcosm of the outside world where boys and girls learned how to live. Sooner or later Harcourt or his successors would have to bridge this gap. Harcourt who knew that he would be called upon to adjudicate could not ignore the implications for the structure of the future system of teacher education of a permanent split between the two groups.

In the end, however, the most significant *related questions* for Harcourt concerned the government's strength in the Legislative Assembly. Any venture needed not only the support of his cabinet colleagues, but, more importantly in the long-run considering the government's thin majority in the House, it required approval of the assembly before expenditures could be made. So, with an election in the offing - the last was in 1898 before Ross became Premier - the government was hardly likely to take any risks. On 1st April, 1902, just weeks before the election, Harcourt spoke

17. P.A.O., RG2/P2/42/51, Merchant, F.W., to Harcourt, R., enclosing copy of letter sent to *The Globe*, on 8 May, 1902 (or 1903).

to the General Assembly of the O.E.A. assembled in the Normal School Building. He would like to have another normal school in the north, he said; he would like a broader course too; and he wanted to extend the term. "You can render me great assistance", he told the teaching profession, "by constantly directing public attention to our education needs in these directions¹⁸". Harcourt knew who his masters were. He would wait until election day for them to speak.

They did so on May 29, 1902, and they left Ross clinging to power with a narrow majority of four. Within weeks election appeals had sliced it to one. By September there were rumours of a coalition with the Conservatives¹⁹; the government was in fear of collapse! 1902 was obviously not a year to risk disapproval of an educationally apathetic public on reforms in the province's teacher-training programmes. Not that Richard Harcourt had any plans in his pocket! As he indicated at the O.E.A. in 1902, he was anxious to move forward, but he was clearly dubious about public support for new ventures. So it was that in April, before the election, he committed the Education Department to no more than a plan for a summer school for teachers in Toronto. It would be limited in scope, inexpensive, and thus politically harmless. Apart from this nothing definite was promised for either the model schools or the normal schools in 1902.

The summer school, held in the Toronto Normal School during

18. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1902, 54, "Opening Address" of Harcourt, R.

19. *Ontario History*, Vol. LIX, No. 2, June, 1967, p. 102; see "The Gamey Affair" by Humphries, C.W.

three weeks in July, provided up-dating programmes in manual training, domestic science, nature study, music, and drawing. There were no fees and diplomas of attendance were awarded. Thus, by using an idea borrowed from the United States²⁰, Harcourt sought to cut into the mounting backlog of practising teachers who had received no tuition in handling the new subjects then being introduced into the elementary school curriculum. Though the initial summer schools were small in size - usually limited to a hundred each, and though their means were modest - instructors in the London summer school of 1903 were paid \$75. each for the three-week course, they were enthusiastically supported. Understandably, perhaps, sceptics will look askance at the elaborately contrived closing exercises, for three daily newspapers were invited to attend. There seems to have been great fanfare and the students passed a motion giving their "unanimous opinion that the work taken has been a very great benefit to all of us". The seconder came from Winnipeg²¹!

Early in February, 1903, after three by-elections had restored the Liberals to a more comfortable majority²², the Minister yielded to the insistent demands of the normal school principals for an extension in the length of the professional course. An order-in-council terminated the double sessions, held annually since 1847, with the exception of 1849 and 1875, and introduced a ten-months' course beginning in September, 1903. The government took this step "not one hour too soon", said

20. P.A.O., RG2/P2/42/50, Harcourt, R., to Merchant, F., 12 March, 1903.

21. P.A.O., RG2/P2/42/15; see accounts of closing exercises. P.A.O., RG2/P2/44 holds documents relating to subsequent courses at Chatham, Cobourg, Kingston (1904) and at Normal College, Hamilton, 1906.

22. Humphries, C.W., *Op.Cit.*, 103.

Harcourt, and thus provided much-needed time for practice teaching and revision of academic work. The latter would be "from a pedagogical point of view", he hurried to add lest anyone might think that the principle of separation of professional and non-professional courses were in jeopardy²³.

There was another problem at hand, however. Normal school enrolments slumped to 210 for the 1903-4 session²⁴ from totals of 613 in 1901²⁵ and 619 in 1902²⁶. Attempting to recapture some losses, the Minister relaxed the regulations by a last-minute concession to a limited number of students who had not taught a year. He incurred the wrath of one opposition member who described the system as "revolutionary in character", and accused the government of introducing a one-session system at a time when "the whole teaching profession and educationists of the province were satisfied with the ... two sessions". Statistical Returns were called for and the Minister had to defend even this modest change in the programme of teacher preparation²⁷.

Educational reformers now applied their zeal to winning an extension for the model schools similar to that secured for the normal schools. John Seath of the Education Department, President of the Ontario Educational Association in 1902-3, set the pace, asserting that improvement of the model schools, which trained a majority of the province's six

23. *O.S.P.*, No. 12, Vol. XXXVI, part V, 1904, Report of Minister of Education, 1903, xlii.

24. *Ibid.*, 168-170.

25. *Ibid.*, No. 12, Vol. XXXV, part IV, 1903, Report of Minister of Education, 1902, x.

26. *O.S.P.*, No. 12, Vol. XXXVI, part V, 1904, Report of Minister of Education, 1903, xii.

27. *The Globe*, 11 February, 1904, The member was W.H. Hoyle (Ontario North, C.).

thousand rural school teachers, should have top priority²⁸. Other convention speakers took up the cry.

By the end of the year the Minister seemed to be edging towards a change. Guardedly he talked about reducing the number of schools to a dozen or fifteen "well-equipped in our largest cities and towns". Then, one evening in late March, 1904, he met with the enthusiastic representatives of the Public School Department of the O.E.A.. A week later they reported that the Minister was satisfied that the model school courses should be extended. "This will be done", he was alleged to have said²⁹.

In support of their arguments for model school improvement the teachers could draw on a body of "alarming" statements of fact. In 1903, 3,250 teachers out of a total of over 9,450 had received training solely in the model schools. On a teacher-pupil ratio of forty to one - it was often higher - over 176,000 children out of a school population of about 450,000 enrolled in the schools in that year were taught by teachers with model school training or less³⁰. Added to these disquieting statistics was the further fact that about four out of five teachers were women, who were not expecting to make teaching a career, and that the fifth, the man, on the salary received, could not make a living attractive enough to keep him in the profession. Stocked with such weighty evidence of a seriously deteriorating situation a succession of speakers used the occasion of April, 1904, O.E.A. Convention to keep up the pressure for reform.

28. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1903, 76-77.

29. *Ibid.*, 1904, 46-47.

30. *Report of Minister of Education*, 1904, viii-x, see tables of statistics.

It was no coincidence that the demands for longer courses and fewer schools should reach a peak at this time. The year before, the Education Department presented to the Convention its draft of proposed revisions in the curriculum from kindergarten to university matriculation. In 1904, with a few modifications, it was to be accepted. In all probability the new curriculum would be implemented in September 1904. The draft presented an ambitious programme based on the premise that children ought to study elements of many subjects, including, of course, the practical subjects, the ones featured in the summer school programmes of 1902 and 1903, and thereby sample several types of knowledge, thus initiating new habits and new ways of thinking appropriate to each subject³¹. Such programme improvements would call for qualified teachers. Where would they come from? President Young and his colleagues at O.E.A. in 1904 did not believe that the model schools as they were then constituted could provide them³².

In the weeks that followed Harcourt seemed to be making a genuine attempt to reduce the number of model schools. To enforce an absolute reduction in the number was now within his power; yet he preferred to use persuasive methods. He started with the small schools. To the Secretary of the Whitby Public School Board, Millar wrote cautiously on his behalf

31. *Ibid.*, No. 12, Vol XXXVII, Part IV, Report of Minister of Education, 1904, xvii-xviii.

32. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1904, 97. This viewpoint was amply corroborated by J.J. Tilley in 1907 (See *Report of Minister*, 1907, 584-585). By then, under a new Minister, Tilley argued that the curriculum revision of 1904 made model school closure inevitable. Speaking of providing training "in these new subjects .. in the Model Schools", he said, "No business man would entertain such a proposition for a moment ...". The decisive factors, according to Tilley, were the need to lengthen the term, provide separate rooms for manual training and home science, furnish necessary equipment, and engage special teachers. By then, of course, the Whitney Government was planning to build new normal schools.

that it was in the interests of education "to discontinue county model schools where the attendance was less than 12". Not true, replied the Chairman of the School Management Committee. Smallness of attendance was not a valid reason for discontinuation³³. A similar letter to Port Perry deluged the Minister in petitions. Reeves, councillors, board members, all joined in. Every conceivable argument was thrust at the Minister, including the telling one aimed at the politician that "the rate-payers ... have liberally spent large sums of money on premises and equipment ... which would have been unnecessary only for the Model School³⁴". The number of model schools which since 1900 had remained at a steady fifty-four and fifty-five rose to fifty-seven in 1904 - so much for the efficacy of the Minister's efforts!

The Minister was clearly not willing to use his authority to achieve a goal approved by his educational experts, and it cannot escape notice that, as a politician and a member of the government, he was inextricably caught up in the political excitement which still followed in the wake of the odious Gamey Affair of early 1903³⁵. Harcourt had to think twice before arousing local ill-feeling and risking the government's precious majority in the assembly. Every vote was vital. There could be

33. *Ibid.*, Millar, J., to Secretary, P.S.B., Whitby, 11 June, 1904, and reply.

34. *Ibid.*, Item 12, Secretary, Port Perry Board of Education, to Minister of Education, 16 June, 1904.

35. R.R. Gamey, M.L.A., was elected Conservative member for Manitoulin in May, 1902. When the 1903 session opened, he informed an astonished House that he had been paid for a promise of support for the Liberal government. Gamey implicated J.R. Stratton, the Provincial Secretary. This was the opening charge in the so-called "Gamey affair". Later a Royal Commission cleared Stratton and labelled Gamey as a liar, but as a result there was bitter, prolonged debate in the House and across the province. For further details, see Humphries, C.W., "The Gamey Affair" in *Ontario History*, Vol. LIX, No. 2, June, 1967, 101-109.

no other explanation for the Minister's lip-service to his promise to the O.E.A. representatives that he would reduce the number and extend the course. "This will be done", he said. Thus the day for implementation of a brand new curriculum approached, and apart from an extension of the programme for the three normal schools, and a number of three-week summer courses - modest advances at the most - the programme of teacher training in Ontario was much as it had been twenty-seven years earlier. The warning given by Premier George Ross in 1898 when he pointed out the need for teachers for new programmes had not been heeded.

While Harcourt tossed and turned in Toronto in his efforts to find a solution to the general problem of the province's model schools, an episode in the development of a teacher-training programme for teachers of French/English schools was being played out in the Ottawa valley. If it had turned out successfully, it might have told of the birth of Ontario's first bilingual normal school; instead, it told only of another failure for problem-ridden Richard Harcourt.

In August, 1900, just after Tilley's discovery that the Ottawa model school was defunct, Harcourt published a circular³⁶ telling of a brand new scheme for the preparation of teachers for bilingual schools. Its design was based on the assumption that the professional and non-professional parts of teacher-training programmes should be separated. The Plantagenet High School, or any other high school, would provide the non-professional course starting in September, 1900, and in September, 1901, prospective teachers would attend a September-to-December professional

36. This circular (No. 30, dated 1 August, 1900) and other documents referred to in this section are located in RG2/P2/39/2 at P.A.O..

course, similar to that given in the county model schools, at a bilingual model school at Ottawa. Successful students were to receive a third-class certificate valid for three years in any school where the inspector certified that a French bilingual teacher was required.

To have arrived at this point was no mean feat for Harcourt and his assistants. Earlier, Millar had piled up a mountain of regulations containing legal objections to recommendations from the bilingual county boards in Prescott and Russell for a programme of this sort. But Harcourt had obviously been keen on the idea and he chose to interpret the regulations liberally. What is more he closed his eyes, surprisingly, to the excessively high costs involved. Millar had estimated that under the new scheme it would cost the government \$100. to train each bilingual teacher, whereas the complete cost to the Department at that time of a whole model school was only \$150. per annum, or \$10-\$15 per teacher trained³⁷.

Millar's involvement in the programme was incidental, it seems. Up to then he had been more or less "out of the picture" as far as the bilingual schools went. J.F. White, Inspector of Separate Schools since 1885, and later, in 1903, Principal of the Ottawa Normal School, was Ross's chief liaison with the bilingual boards. In a memorandum to White when the scheme was in its infancy, Millar said that up to then he had not given much attention to the question of bilingual teacher training "presuming that you had a general understanding with the Premier, when Minister of Education ...". Millar added, however, that he was in "full sympathy" ... with the objects that White had in mind, indicating thereby that White was a prime mover behind the whole plan³⁸.

37. *Ibid.*, Harcourt, R., to Millar, J., 20 March, 1900, and reply, undated.

38. *Ibid.*, Millar, J., to White, J.F., 29 March, 1900.

Indeed, White was keen on a separate professional school in Ottawa. In his opinion, language difficulties called for more experienced and better trained teachers in bilingual schools than in the regular schools, and he felt that teachers-in-training for bilingual schools ought to have ready access to schools where the most capable teachers could be observed. Ottawa could better supply such facilities in the Normal School and in the public and separate schools than could Plantagenet. Bearing in mind his further idea that Ottawa should train teachers for Nipissing and Algoma, as well as for Prescott and Russell, it seemed as if White had in mind the setting up of an embryo, bilingual normal school.

The Plantagenet school with an enrolment of eighteen opened as usual in September, 1900, and it was visited several times by W.J. Summerby, the Public School Inspector, who on each occasion explained about the transfer of the professional course to Ottawa in 1901. He told White later that all students "seemed clearly to understand". By the spring of 1901, however, there was utter confusion over whether the Ottawa school would open. Summerby began to waver. He suggested that the old arrangements might continue "for this year". Perhaps he knew that the Plantagenet students had no intention of going to Ottawa.

Simultaneously, a problem arose over the Ottawa principalship, the identical problem on which the founding of the Plantagenet school had foundered in the 1880's. According to White, Telesphore Rochon, the Inspector of Bilingual Training and Elementary Schools, who had had two years' teacher-training experience in Manitoba, had been appointed in September, 1900, more to fill a need for a teacher-trainer than for an

inspector³⁹. Rochon had different ideas. He thought he was going to inspect schools in the North as well as in the Ottawa Valley. According to Rochon, the following M.L.A.'s were of the same opinion: Mr. J. Loughrin (L. Nipissing), M.O. Guibord (L. Russell), and M.F.E.A. Evanturel (L. Prescott). Writing to Millar in a style clearly intended to arouse the Deputy Minister's interests in the political implications of his appointment, Rochon stated:

... I could hardly teach the Normal, and efficiently inspect the schools now under my charge while I could much easier inspect the bilingual schools of Nipissing which are about forty. Moreover I beleive (sic) myself that it is not desirable that I should take charge of the normal on account of my English speaking being defective. 40

Rochon did not want the job.

Alfred E. Evanturel, Speaker of the House, had different ideas too. On 1st June, 1901, he wrote to Harcourt complaining, "There we are without even knowing if the Plantagenet Model School is now in existence or not ...". He said the children entered school believing that it was a model school. The Minister's Circular came too late. In his opinion Plantagenet had been doing "marvelous (sic) work", while the Ottawa model has been "a complete numerical failure". He did not like the move to Ottawa because of heavy expenses involved and because parents feared for the morals of their children. He then added resoundingly:

As the representative of Prescott, I desire to place myself on record as protesting emphatically against the closing of the Plantagenet Model School ... which has done so much to improve French Canadian Teachers in the pronounciation (sic) of the english (sic) language. 41

39. *Ibid.*, see undated, unsigned summary of the situation in early 1901; calligraphy and content suggest White's authorship.

40. *Ibid.*, Rochon, T., to Millar, J., 24 April, 1901.

41. *Ibid.*, Evanturel, E.F.A., to Harcourt, R., 1 June, 1901.

Millar conceded - on behalf of the Minister of course. He wrote to Evanturel, admitting that the number of students might not justify the opening of Ottawa in September. "We will issue temporary certificates", he said, "as we did last year". He then struck back with a memo to Prescott and Russell teachers rebuking them for assuming that Plantagenet would continue to be the model school. On the same day, *The Advocate*, an Ottawa Valley newspaper, printed Evanturel's letter in full. John Tilley picked up a copy at "The Yeon House" a few days later when he went down to patch things up. He made arrangements for the Plantagenet graduates to complete their professional training at Vankleek Hill with supplementary lectures on French-teaching from Rochon and practice teaching in the local separate school. Evanturel, Rochon, Summerby, he said, "all approved strongly⁴²". Thirteen students passed.

But Evanturel had not finished. In mid-June, in a final despatch to Toronto, he exonerated everybody in Prescott and Russell for the failure of the scheme: "... if there is a complete shortage in the number of teachers in coming years", he warned, "it would be the fault of the system and no one could be blamed here⁴³". Confirmation that the Ottawa scheme was still-born came on 27th February, 1903, when the Bilingual Teachers' Association met in Ottawa and approved the following motion:

... that whereas at the last convention of bilingual teachers held in Ottawa in 1901 a resolution, stating that the French-English teachers regretted being left without adequate means of qualifying had been passed and forwarded to the Hon. Minister of Education and whereas no answer has yet been received, it be resolved that our need be again brought to the notice of the Hon. Minister. ⁴⁴

42. *Ibid.*, Tilley, J.J., to Millar, J., 5 June, 1901.

43. *Ibid.*, Evanturel, E.F.A., to Harcourt, R., 14 June, 1901.

44. *Ibid.*, See Gratton, J.D., to Harcourt, R., 12 March, 1903.

The Deputy Minister replied, "The matters referred to ... are still under the consideration of the Minister⁴⁵". It was then one and a half years since the Ottawa school was supposed to have opened⁴⁶.

Meanwhile, back in Toronto, the Minister was no nearer a solution of the general problem of what to do about the province's model schools, and educational leaders connected with the training system were growing impatient with his procrastinations. On 15th April, 1903, within a day or so of receiving the Ottawa motion pressing specifically for action in the matter of the bilingual schools, he was practically forced into explaining his general policy on model schools - by one of his own officials! Just the night before, John Seath, O.E.A. President, had addressed the annual convention on the "present plight" of the model school training system, and he had been quite candid. With obvious reference to Harcourt's earlier expressed wish to erect a fourth normal school in northern Ontario⁴⁷, Seath had stated openly and fearlessly that reform of the model schools was a "far more pressing" need, in his opinion, than increasing the number of normal schools⁴⁸. Harcourt's response the next day seemed half-hearted and inconclusive. "I sincerely wish and hope to improve the studies in the county model schools", he said and that was all⁴⁹. The Minister sounded weary of the problem.

45. *Ibid.*, Millar, J., to Gratton, J.D., 13 March, 1903.

46. Minister's Reports for 1901-1905 provide no statistics of attendance at either the Plantagenet or Ottawa Model Schools. Either the make-shift Vankleek Hill arrangements continued and/or temporary certificates were issued to teachers for the French/English schools.

47. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1902, 54.

48. *Ibid.*, 1903, 77.

49. *Ibid.*, 1903, 103.

A year later, at the following O.E.A. Conference, another official, John Dearness, Vice-Principal of London Normal School, had some practical advice for the Minister on how to go about avoiding the "delicate duty" of selecting model schools for extinction. Provide a grant of, say \$10. per student, he said, to a maximum of, say, \$500.; have this sum supplemented by the county. As a result the small schools will disappear; the term can be doubled; efficiency will improve; and costs will not increase⁵⁰. Eureka!

Seath and Dearness were high-ranking civil servants in the Education Department from whom, normally, the Minister would have expected to receive advice through official channels. To say the least, it was not customary for him to receive it from them via public podiums. It was as if both men wore two hats, an official one and an unofficial one, reserving the latter for attire among convention colleagues. Perhaps, the explanation was that they wanted to disassociate themselves from the lethargy into which, according to John Squair, the Department had slumped at the turn of the century⁵¹. More than likely, however, they were also attempting to nudge the Minister in the direction of much-needed model school reform. The fact was that Harcourt had promised much. "I hope to change them; I wish to change them; I will indicate the direction", he had told members of the O.E.A. soon after taking office⁵². Dedicated men like Seath and Dearness, frustrated by inaction, and feeling personally hurt by criticism of the Department to which they were obviously linked, would feel impelled to move forward, shake off the weariness, and provide the leadership the Department lacked.

50. *Ibid.*, 1904, 276.

51. Squair, J., *John Seath and the School System of Ontario*, 94.

52. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1900, 71.

Far more blatant than Seath's or Dearness's remarks, and far more obvious in intention it seems, were those made at the 1904 convention by J.H. Putman. His impatience had built up not over model schools, but over normal school examinations. Putman was then the Principal of the Provincial Model School in Ottawa, and had formerly been Vice-principal of the Ottawa Normal School. The story culminating in his outburst of 1904 also began about 1900. Up to then it was customary for a handful of public school inspectors to hold the final practical tests, two twenty-minute lessons per student, in each normal school. Then difficulties arose because some inspectors could not stay the full time - more likely, to judge from the circumstances, they felt their services were redundant. But the regulations did not permit Millar to dispense with them, so he used the inspectors part-time, filling in the rest of the time with teachers from the model schools. He rationalized that few students failed anyway because of their experience as teachers, and that term evaluations in practical teaching determined students' abilities far more accurately than external examinations⁵³. Thus, Millar did not flout the regulations; he merely changed his interpretation of them to achieve a different and, in his opinion, higher purpose.

A few months later, Millar boasted openly that the staffs of the normal schools and Normal College had virtually a controlling power in preparing their official reports on students' progress. They have been "saved from ... possible injustice", he said beneficently⁵⁴.

53. P.A.O., RG2/P2/44/17, Millar, J., to MacCabe, J.A., 26 February, 1900, and attached memorandum.

54. *Canadian Educational Monthly*, October, 1900, 286, article by Millar, J.: "Bad Effects of Examinations".

He was referring to the Regulations of 1901 allocating two-thirds of each student's mark in practical teaching to the internal (normal school) examiners and one-third to the external (departmentally appointed) examiners⁵⁵, a situation which caused Merchant in his annual report of 1900 to observe knowingly that as the normal school staff gave the greater proportion, they could pass whomever they pleased. He therefore advised the Minister to dispense with the external examination completely⁵⁶.

Principals of the normal schools and McLellan of the Normal College⁵⁷ naturally used official channels in this way to offer recommendations and make criticisms about the examination system. And they showed no hesitation or fear in excoriating the administration if, for example, their sense of justice and fair play did not coincide with Millar's. This happened to MacCabe in 1901, and he wrote to the Deputy Minister in a style abnormally curt for him. It was about an examination in History of Education set by one of the external examiners appointed by the Educational Council, a body comprising university men, high school teachers and a public school teacher, responsible for departmental examinations, including normal school final examinations. In no uncertain terms MacCabe told Millar plainly that, for want of time in a session of three months, the school had to follow the prescribed textbook very closely. MacCabe explained:

Why then make a paper, half of which is on topics not given in that book? Either give up naming a textbook or, if one is made, then follow it, or make the session longer and allow us to discuss History of Education in its fullest sense.

55. See table of component marks in Newcombe, E.E., *The Development of Elementary School Teacher Education in Ontario Since 1900*, (Ed.D. thesis, unpublished, University of Toronto, 1965). 57.

56. *O.S.P.*, Vol. XXXIII, Part IV, 1901, Report of Principals of Normal Schools, 1900, 185-186.

57. *P.A.O.*, P2/40/2, McLellan, J., to Millar, J., 8 July, 1902, for example.

Calmly, Millar replied that the examiners were following the regulations "laid down on page 19 of the Normal School Calendar⁵⁸".

Students also contacted the Minister directly on matters of this sort. Usually they used petitions. In 1903, for instance, the Normal College students petitioned Harcourt to cancel final examinations on the grounds that candidates were being over-examined. "From the very day we enter until the day we leave we are under examination", the petitioners complained, adding that they were also subjected to unnecessary strain by "writing six hours a day for more than a week ...⁵⁹".

But none of them, not even MacCabe, had a feeling of injustice like unto that of Dr. A. Maxwell, Public School Inspector in South Essex, and an outside examiner. He was "hurt, keenly hurt" and wished to be relieved of his services. One normal master, he claimed, had actually told him that outside examinations were "of no account". The master claimed, Maxwell said, that the normal schools could pass every candidate irrespective of the examination. "The fact that for about five or six years, not a student at the normal school has failed, is a cause of adverse comment", he said, and then added mysteriously, "How comes it to pass that at every examination since I have been an examiner, more candidates are passed than papers were sent to me?" He wonders if the whole thing is less than "a roaring farce". "Is our work just for appearance?" he asked. His nine-page letter marked "private" shows the word "acknowledged" on it⁶⁰.

58. P.A.O., RG2/P2/43/81, MacCabe, J.A., to Millar, J., December, 1901; and reply, 21 December, 1901.

59. Ibid., Box 40/4, O.N.C. students to Minister of Education, May, 1903.

60. Ibid., Box 44/22, Maxwell, A., to Millar, J., 27 October, 1902.

In 1904 it was Putman's turn to take the bit in his teeth. He chose the annual convention of the Ontario Educational Association as the place at which to do so. He stated that in his ten years' experience with eighteen-hundred teachers he could "count upon the fingers of one hand the students to whom certificates have been absolutely refused⁶¹". After Maxwell's disclosure, Putman's admission comes as no surprise. John Dearnness in London had also said almost the same thing in 1902 when he commented that "practically all attendants pass", but he had used a private letter to the Minister to do so⁶². In any case, what Putman said must have been public knowledge. The surprise at the time was that he went on to exclaim that it was "no secret that every graduating class ... contained a few who were utterly incompetent and doomed to certain failure". (Perhaps these were the ones whose papers never reached Maxwell waiting patiently for them to arrive in Essex County!) But the real shock came when Putman went on to talk about applicants who should have been rejected at entrance. "The schoolroom is no place for consumptives, confirmed dyspeptics, dull ears, stammering tongues or unsightly deformities", he added. And if this gruesome information were not enough to make his audience take notice, Putman wound up with the disclosure, startling because it was public, that one of the reasons why 'incompetents' graduated was that responsibility for their testing was divided among the normal school staff, the inspectors who examined practice teaching, and the departmental examiners of the final written work. "Each can shift responsibility on the other", he concluded in a blanket condemnation of everybody. Such an airing of departmental dirty linen by a civil servant

61. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1904, 293.

62. P.A.O., RG2/P2/44/45, Dearnness, J., to Harcourt, R., 1 January, 1902.

would hardly be tolerated in modern times.

There were other factors, however, which suggest that there was probably more of reason than either daring or spite in Putman's remarks. They involve both a possible sequel and a background to what he said. Two months after the convention of 1904 John Millar had occasion to write to Merchant in London advising him that there was no point in normal school principals meeting to discuss uniformity of examination results "in view of the provisions ... which properly leave this matter to the staff⁶³". The suggestion is that with the extension of the course to a year's duration, real attempts were being made to transfer more responsibility to the masters for determining passes and failures.

The Department, it seems, had been working towards this goal since 1903. In February of that year Millar asked Merchant of London, Scott of Toronto, and White of Ottawa - he had replaced MacCabe after the latter's death in 1902 - to give opinions on the abolition not only of external practical final examinations, but also of sessional examinations as determinants of ultimate success⁶⁴. That was four months after Maxwell's outcry and two months after Putman, himself, had also written to Millar about a final examination problem on his mind. Records show that it was at the end of December, 1902, that Putman first told the Deputy Minister how professionally abused he felt because normal school marks never corresponded to model school marks:

I have wondered again and again, during the past eight or nine years, how it could happen that certain students, pronounced incapable by Model School staff, should invariably or almost invariably receive certificates.

63. P.A.O., RG2/P2/42/7, Millar, J., to Merchant, F., 8 June, 1904.

64. Ibid., Box 42/121, Millar, J., to Principals of Normal Schools, 26 February, 1903.

Millar's reply had been vague. He hoped, he said, that "some uniform arrangement" could be reached following discussion among the principals⁶⁵. So Putman's outburst at the O.E.A. convention in 1904 was in fact an open corroboration of what he had independently and privately told Millar nearly eighteen months earlier when he chose the interregnum between MacCabe's death at the end of November, 1902, and White's official appointment, commencing at the beginning of January, 1903, to write directly to Millar about his local grievance. His timing seemed to show a nice appreciation of personal feelings and protocol. It is fair to Putman, therefore, to conjecture that after a reasonable length of time he became impatient over the apparent inaction, and that to expedite matters he spoke out.

In the absence of a direct link between his comments and the aforementioned move in the direction of enlarging normal school staff responsibilities, the conclusion must be, however, that the principals, in one way or another, had played a part in persuading the Minister to permit at least a modest advance in the fortunes of the normal schools⁶⁶. But neither the principals nor the Minister's other advisors could register even minor successes in improving the fortunes of the model schools. Pleas in this direction had been to no avail. Harcourt could not be budged. He neither improved the schools; neither did he remove them. So they continued to turn out ill-prepared teachers who added to the plight of the profession caused by massive over-production of "poor material" in previous years⁶⁷.

65. Ibid., Box 43/8, Putman, J.H., to Millar, J., 30 December, 1902, and reply, 8 January, 1903.

66. Newcombe, E.E., *Op.Cit.*, 57, shows that by 1907 external examiners were no longer used.

67. Seath's expression; see *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1903, 77.

Under such circumstances it was no surprise to Samuel Walters Dyde in Kingston that men shunned elementary school teaching, or used it as a stepping-stone into other fields. By 1904 it almost seemed to him as if pains were being taken to place "the stamp of inferiority" on public school teachers. But he did not blame the Education Department alone. He arrived at his astonishing conclusion after considering the part that the universities of Ontario were playing in the preparation of the province's teachers. He looked at the training of doctors, lawyers, clergy, and engineers, and he considered, too, courses in journalism, music and fine art. "Teachers are the only exception", he observed. In the university, he saw regular arts undergraduates being steadied and stimulated by the presence of graduates pursuing some professional work, and he saw these graduates hold on to their status as students and remain directly under the university's influence. He noted that wherever a profession was thoroughly organized, the professional training was carried on "side by side with the liberal teaching of 'Arts'". Not so with teachers; they were the only exceptions, he exclaimed, pointing out that all teacher training was given outside the universities, and that only those who looked forward to teaching in high schools got academic training there. "The others", he said, "never spend an hour within the walls"⁶⁸. Dyde did not argue in 1904 that all teachers in the province should hold Arts degrees. That was an ideal, he suggested, towards which society should move, and then added:

68. *Queen's Quarterly*, October, 1904, Vol. XII, 175-176; "Should There be a Faculty of Education in the University?", by Dyde, S.W.

... If this ideal be kept in view, fewer mistakes, fewer retreats, and fewer dislocations in our system will be made. While accommodating ourselves to the conditions, we should head in a given direction. Even if we cannot sail across the Atlantic in a day, we can nevertheless sail across the Atlantic if we sail daily towards the same point ... Hence it is of importance to keep in view that all teachers should come in contact with the university. That leaves the way open to every desirable future advance. 69

Dyde began to translate his ideas into action in the summer of 1904, concentrating on the work of the model school. Here the need was greatest and there was a school in Kingston to use as a growing point. Harcourt, he hoped, would work out a "proposed grouping of neighbouring models"⁷⁰. But that was not to be. The Minister had no intention of getting so involved. "All advances in the way of grouping", Harcourt said, "must come from your Board and it must not be felt that the department is interfering"⁷¹. Thereupon, Dyde sought the cooperation of surrounding school boards as we have already indicated. At one point he hinted darkly that if certain model schools were "wiped out", there was no guarantee that remaining schools would benefit; at another point, he suggested gaily that if they "voluntarily" joined forces, they might be able to pool the grants then spread over all⁷².

Dyde's actual plans for the Kingston Model School were quite elaborate. He invited College professors to give courses in mathematics and science, as well as in reading and literature, and, by special arrangements with the Department of Agriculture in Ottawa, he managed to secure the services of a specialist for a course of lectures and demonstrations on plants, trees and insects. He also obtained access to the Manual Training

69. *Ibid.*, 176.

70. P.A.O., RG2/P2/39/11, Pense, E.J.B., MPP, to Harcourt, R., 28 May, 1904.

71. *Ibid.*, Harcourt, R., to Pense, E.J.B., 16 June, 1904.

72. *Ibid.*, Dyde, S.W., to selected school boards in eastern Ontario, 25 June, 1904.

Department of the Kingston Collegiate Institute, to some of the classes and laboratories at Queen's University, and to two ungraded, nearby schools so that students could come face-to-face with rural school conditions⁷³.

Dyde left no stone unturned, and his conviction and enthusiasm were infectious. E.J.B. Pense, Kingston's member of the Legislative Assembly, was attracted to the scheme from the outset. Local county boards of examiners passed resolutions of support⁷⁴, which found their way to the Education Department in Toronto, and at least one local newspaper took up the cause, attempting, it seems, to pressure surrounding boards into abandoning their small model schools⁷⁵. Finally, in October, when Dyde was still worrying himself about possible university aloofness, Chancellor Sandford Fleming included the following paragraph in a circular to Queen's graduates requesting financial support for the university:

In the educational system the university is the real foundation ... the spirit of the university becomes the spirit of the high school, and the high school passes on this spirit to the public school teacher. If the public school teacher is an extra-mural student, the relation between the university and the public school is more direct. By virtue of this connection the university is the chief agency in moulding the minds of the young all over the land. To have a strong university is the only way of providing the best instruction to thousands of children who will never take a college course. 76

Meanwhile, as Dyde's experiment got under way, Richard Harcourt looked on. He was non-committal. He could not allow it to be thought

73. Ibid., For further details see circular of Dyde, S.W., to selected school boards and county councils, dated October 14, 1904.

74. Supra., see Introduction.

75. See *The British Whig*, 11 August, 1904; 20 August, 1904.

76. P.A.O., RG2/D7/N-Ru, 10, Circular from University Council to Queen's University Graduates, 17 October, 1904.

that he was encouraging the possible closing of model schools in politically sensitive rural areas. Later, at Dyde's suggestion, he sent Inspector William Spankie into the Kingston Model School to prepare a report, but when Dyde then made a plea that the Minister express the Department's "direct interest and deep concern ... in the work", Harcourt could not be cajoled into any expression of support despite Spankie's highly favourable comments⁷⁷.

It seems clear that the time was not opportune for the Minister to make any pronouncements on such a touchy question as the role of the university in teacher-education programmes. He was already in the black books of the university community. Earlier in the year he had been thrust into the middle of a distasteful feud over his earlier decision that beginning in 1905 Latin would no longer be an obligatory subject for teachers intending to qualify for second-class certificates. College professors had been on one side of the fence while Harcourt's departmental officials had been on the other. Then the climax came. One evening during the 1904 O.E.A. convention pro-Latin forces apparently "packed" a meeting to win "emphatic approval of the retention of Latin"⁷⁸, and condemn the Minister's decision. Harcourt, accused of having broken faith with the Latinists, felt he had been put in a cruel position. Now, in the late fall of 1904, when the debate was dying down and *The Globe* no longer chastised him for abandoning Latin⁷⁹, and Seath no longer

77. P.A.O., RG2/P2/39/11, Spankie, W., to Harcourt, R., Autumn, 1904.

78. *The Globe*, 12 April, 1904; see also editions of 8 and 15 April, 1904.

79. *The Globe*, 15 June, 1904.

congratulated him for his courage in not wavering⁸⁰, Harcourt had no inclination to re-open the wound by making any pronouncements on the role of university participation in programmes of teacher-training especially when there was a provincial election round the corner.

For Samuel Dyde the time must have seemed out of joint. In the fall of 1904 a deteriorating political situation cast a dark shadow of gloom over everything the Liberals did. At the Sault Ste. Marie election trial in September yet another scandal was revealed involving, this time, a score of Americans aboard the *Minnie M*⁸¹. As Dyde struggled hopefully to win support for his project, Ross grappled hopelessly to regain support for his. In late-November the Premier rebuilt his Cabinet and a day later held a massive rally in Toronto. But it was too late for fence-mending; time was running out for Ross and for the Liberal Party in Ontario too. Party morale was withering. Ross wrote later of "the insidious appeal that it was time for a change". Three weeks afterwards the Lieutenant-Governor dissolved the Legislature and on January 25th, 1905, the people voted. Two days before election day Ross issued a final appeal to the populace. Education was barely mentioned - and teacher training not at all! On February 8, 1905, after a third of a century in office and nine victories at the polls for the Liberals, power passed from them to the Conservatives. George W. Ross handed over the reins of office to James P. Whitney; and Richard Harcourt transferred responsibility for the

80. P.A.O., RG2/D7/S, 11, Seath, J., to Harcourt, R., 12 April, 1904, copy dictated by Seath.

81. *Ontario History*, Vol. LIX, No. 2, June, 1967, 125-128, "The Cruise of the Minnie M", by Brian D. Tennyson.

Department of Education to Robert A. Pyne, M.D., MPP for Toronto East, and formerly a member of the Toronto Board of Education. Heady with power - the Conservatives had carried off a handsome majority of forty - and faced with a formidable complexity of problems, Pyne had no intention of committing himself on the university issue at that early stage.

Harcourt had been less than enthusiastic about Dyde's pioneering in the field of education because he had no options open to him; now Pyne was less than enthusiastic, it seems, because he had every option open to him. Both Ministers were cautious for opposite reasons. So, for the moment, Pyne had no intentions of appearing to support Dyde's plans by unduly publicizing them. He found them "revolutionary". Pyne could not tinker with experiments; he had to devise well-defined, "certain" policy. He could not permit Dyde's experiment to divert him.

But the winter of 1904-05 must not close with Pyne's peremptory responses to Dyde, for, in the educational history of the province the Kingston experiment was more than an episode. With an audacity and an originality probably shocking to some, Dyde had tried to link the lowly model school which trained teachers for third-class certificates with one of the province's most highly esteemed institutions of higher learning, one concerned with education which came from books and not with education of young children. By practical means Dyde had sought to have the university "discharge the trust imposed on it"⁸² by introducing it to the "fag-end of humanity".

82. *Queen's Quarterly*, *Op.Cit.*, 167.

CHAPTER VI

Reshaping the System: 1905-1908

It was a matter of historical coincidence that on the very day Samuel Walters Dyde opened Robert Pyne's last letter that James Loudon, President of Toronto University, was probably signing and dating the 1904 Report of the President of Toronto University to the Minister of Education. It was also a matter of historical irony. For Pyne's letter of April 8th, 1905, discouraged Dyde from further experimentation with the ways in which Queen's University might be involved in the government's teacher-training programme, while Loudon's report of April 10, 1905, advised Pyne of the University of Toronto's anxiety to become involved in future programmes. In a surprising 'volte face', Loudon urged that it would be in the best interests of the professional training of teachers if the work of the Normal College were transferred to the Provincial University. Such a move, in his opinion, would be of "incalculable value" to students-in-training¹.

In support of his proposal Loudon reasoned only in general terms about the university's duties to the teaching profession. Two unspecified, but more cogent reasons, it is suggested, had changed his viewpoint.

1. *Report of the Minister of Education*, 1904, 271, (Annual Report of the President, University of Toronto, 10 April, 1905).

Firstly, at that time it would be common knowledge among top-level educators that the original ten-year contract between the Hamilton Board of Education and the Education Department for the operation of the Ontario Normal College was due to expire in October, 1906. A decision would have to be made by the Minister by the end of the 1905-1906 session concerning the future of the College as termination of the contract called for a year's notice. Close acquaintances like Loudon and John Seath - John Squair introduced them to each other when they joined the Joint Board of Examiners in 1891 - would surely have discussed an important development of this sort². Secondly, James P. Whitney, the professed saviour of the university, was now in power and W.R. Meredith, his former chief in the legislature when the Conservatives were in opposition, was Chancellor of the University. Under the Liberal régime, the university men, faced with rising deficits, had come to expect little in the way of financial support. Now, under the Conservatives, Meredith and other university leaders, looked to Whitney to live up to his promise of 1901 to put the university on "a sound, stable and permanent footing, and to ensure that it would not 'remain suspended between heaven and earth, like the coffin of Mohammed ...'³". Now was the time for the university to act and to offer. In view of Seath's later pronouncements, identical to Loudon's, regarding the future of the Ontario Normal College, it is fair to conjecture that Loudon, the university man, and Seath, the departmental man,

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2. Squair, J., *John Seath and the Ontario System of Education*, 89 and 91.
 3. Ontario Historical Society, *Profiles of a Province*, 1967, 118-119:
 "James P. Whitney and the University of Toronto", by Humphries,
 Charles W.

had one and the same opinion in April, 1905, concerning the role of the university in the training of teachers. The confidence of the university community in Whitney and the Conservatives was well-founded. In mid-May the government brought in generous legislation to remedy the university's financial ills. Earlier in the month, according to *The Globe*, Loudon had been working on a fresh submission to the government regarding the establishment of a chair of education at the university. There was a new sense of optimism in the editor's favourable remarks about the necessity for the chair and about the government's obvious responsibility for financing it⁴.

Loudon's sudden challenge to Millar's basic assumption that the university had no responsibility for teacher training was taken up by others. At the O.E.A. conference that spring the separation of professional and non-professional courses for university graduates was judged "ridiculous"⁵. Thirteen out of twenty-seven of the normally cautious public school inspectors voted to convert the Normal College into a normal school, and to transfer all advanced work in pedagogy to the universities. R.H. Cowley, an inspector from the County of Carleton, was more radical. He called for the abandonment of all model schools and for the association of all remaining training schools with universities⁶. Although his colleagues in the Training Department were not ready to go to that extreme *The Globe* was prepared to look at the possibility. Believing that the severance of "academic culture from pedagogical training" was a prime

4. *The Globe*, Toronto, 5 May, 1905.

5. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1905, 237-9, "The Preparation of the Teacher", Speech by Sidney Silcox, St. Thomas, later Principal, Stratford Normal School.

6. *Ibid.*, 47, Minutes of the Training Department.

cause of bad teaching, the newspaper wondered whether the model school ought to be reformed by making it more "academical instead of purely professional". "Perhaps", the editor concluded with amazing prescience, "the model schools should be reformed out of existence, and be replaced by additional normal schools until there are enough to combine academic with pedagogic work ...⁷".

Cowley, who in the following year was appointed Inspector of Continuation Classes, seems to have been a powerful driving force behind the move towards university affiliation at that time. For it was the Carleton County Board of Examiners, of which he was a member, which drew up one of the motions which Dyde used in his circular of 1904. And in May, 1905, just weeks after the independent stand he took at the O.E.A. conference in 1905, he was in attendance at a conference held in the Ottawa Normal School at which three hundred teachers from six neighbouring counties unanimously approved of the following historic motion:

That the present system of training the teachers of Ontario in three distinct and related Institutions, model schools, normal schools, and normal college, is too ineffective, without parallel in the case of other professions, and in good part accountable for lower salaries, and arrested development in the ranks of our teachers. The interests of our schools require a teachers' college in Eastern Ontario in University affiliation where all grades of teachers may receive their professional training in association with academic preparation for the B.A. degree. ⁸

By the following August, the Ottawa motion had become part of a carefully-marshalled memorandum to the Trustees of Queen's University arguing in favour of the establishment of a training College at Kingston. That Samuel W. Dyde was also alive and well in Eastern Ontario was evident

7. *The Globe*, Toronto, 3 May, 1905.

8. *The Ottawa Evening Journal*, 27 May, 1905.

from the extent to which this memorandum duplicated his *Queen's Quarterly* presentation of the previous October. But it was Daniel Gordon, the Queen's University Principal, who sent the memorandum first to Robert Pyne, the Minister of Education, and then to J.P. Whitney, the Premier⁹. The memorandum was strongly worded. Describing the Ontario teacher-training programme as "a thing of shreds and patches" not worthy to be called a system, it attacked the basic assumptions concerning the virtues of separate institutions on which the system was built, the very assumptions that John Millar, still Deputy Minister, had proudly expounded in 1893. It disapproved of the maintenance of separate training institutions for model schools, normal schools, and normal college students, claiming that they produced "three classes of teachers ... separated for life"; it condemned the division of one of these, the model schools, into over half a hundred undermanned "disconnected sections"; and it deplored the "severance" of professional studies from non-professional which shunted teachers off "into an entirely separate place as though teaching was an afterthought". The memorandum concluded that such "lack of union" together with low salaries and the fact that three-fourths of the teachers were girls looking forward to marriage and "merely occupying their posts temporarily" accounted for the absence of a professional esprit de corps and for the antagonism "felt continually among teachers of different grades". With a battery of statistics to support its case the memorandum called for the establishment in Kingston of:

9. P.A.O., RG2/D7/10, Gordon, D.M., to Pyne, R.A., 12 September, 1905; Gordon, D.M., to Whitney, J.P., 12 September, 1905.

one single training school, under one roof and one management, comprising three grades hitherto separated in different localities, affiliated with the University and officered by men representing three grades of schools. 10

The Trustees of Queen's University endorsed the ideas contained in the memorandum and resolved that a teachers' college should be established at Kingston "in close relation with the University". On October 2nd, 1905, Gordon so informed Whitney. By another interesting coincidence on the same day, Whitney announced the composition of a Royal Commission to prepare a scheme for the future government of the University of Toronto¹¹. Ironically, too, as it turned out, its report served indirectly to assist Gordon and Queen's in achieving their goal.

Although the new Commission's terms of reference made no specific mention of teacher-training facilities in the university, the scope of the enquiry was so broadly interpreted that briefs concerning the creation of a faculty or school of pedagogy were accepted. The chief recommendations came from a Committee of the College and High School Department of the O.E.A., from the University Council, from W.S. Ellis, Principal of the Kingston Collegiate Institute, and from John Seath, High School Inspector. Later developments have bestowed added significance on the last two briefs, for Ellis became Dean of Queen's Faculty of Education after the fateful departure of Cecil S. Lavell, and Seath, of course, played a crucial part in determining the destiny of the faculties of education at both the University of Toronto and at Queen's. Ellis's

10. P.A.O., *J.P. Whitney Papers*, letter of Gordon, D.M., to Whitney, J.P., 2 October, 1905, enclosed copy of memorandum.

11. Ontario Historical Society, *Op.Cit.*, 121.

argument¹² was that the university had as much responsibility for increasing efficiency in the primary schools as in the secondary schools, and he expressed intense disgust with the university's efforts so far, accusing it of not devoting "even a few perfunctory lectures" to art, history, or science of education. Pressing the university to recognize its basic obligations for the study of educational problems and methods on behalf of the profession, he advised that classroom laboratories be set up in university-controlled demonstration schools. For models, Ellis chose the School of Education at Chicago and Teachers' College at Columbia; for ideas, he apparently looked to John Dewey. Ten years earlier, the American philosopher had charged universities with the task of selecting and approving the most efficient teaching methods, and of bestowing on them, on behalf of the teaching profession, "the imprimatur ... of scientific verification¹³". Ellis's plea for educational methods that derived from university experimentation rather than government coercion clearly lined him up with the champions of Dewey's ideas on teacher training.

Seath's brief¹⁴ started out by disclosing that the government would be taking steps at the next session of the legislature to improve the training of lower grade teachers, thus providing an opportunity, in conjunction with the expiration of the agreement with the Hamilton Board at the close of the current session of the Normal College, to place the training of high school teachers and first-class public school teachers

12. P.A.O., R.G. 18, B-4-4-1906, *Report of the Royal Commission ...*, Toronto, 1906, 184-186.

13. Silberman, Charles E., *Crisis in the Classroom*, (Random House, New York, 1970), 421, quotes Dewey, J.

14. P.A.O., R.G. 18, *Op.Cit.*, 139-142.

"on a higher plane". To achieve this goal Seath came out in favour of the establishment of a Department of Pedagogy in the University of Toronto, whose courses in the theory and practice of teaching would be accepted by the Education Department, in terms to be agreed upon, as the courses for first-class teachers and high school teachers. Seath anticipated that local public and secondary schools would be affiliated with the new Department of Pedagogy in a practice-teaching system such as already existed at Columbia. To support his recommendation he listed eighteen universities in the United States and the British Isles and claimed that most had "well organized" and "well developed" courses. But, it was the practical warning and heavy innuendo in Seath's brief which should have raised eyebrows and caused excitement. After explaining that long experience had convinced him that "the complete separation" maintained for many years in Ontario between the academic and professional training of teachers had been a "grave mistake", he made the following significant statement, indicative of a policy he could be expected to advocate and urge on the Minister in future:

... the review and extension of academic work should accompany the professional course. This principle will, I believe, be observed in future in the preparation of the lower grades of Public School teachers. It is *indispensable* that it should be observed in the higher grades also 15

His words were more than a hint to future designers of teacher-training programmes in Ontario.

More subtle perhaps, but equally significant in view of later developments to be examined, were the following comments, intended, it would seem, not only for educational leaders in Hamilton who were fearful of losing the Ontario Normal College, but also for those in

15. *Idem.*, italics inserted.

Kingston who were hoping to acquire their own teacher-training facility:

... it will be admitted that *no other educational institution and no other city in the Province* can afford opportunities for the higher culture of the teacher-in-training equal to those afforded by the University and the City of Toronto. It will be of inestimable advantage to the Province if the future teachers of our High Schools and our better Public Schools have access to the many educational advantages of a metropolitan city. 16

In later years, Daniel M. Gordon, Principal of Queen's University, would have reason to recall Seath's statement and its inferences. But Seath had by no means finished. His brief went on to give notice that there was no chance, as long as he was around, of the Education Department approving of the system, then in vogue in German universities and practised in the 1890's in the School of Pedagogy in Toronto, of separating the theoretical courses in education from the practical instruction. To the Commissioners, he said:

Our system of training, in which the *theory* and the *practice* of teaching are dealt with concurrently, is manifestly superior ... Our system ... enforces the theory by its immediate application. No proposal, accordingly, should be entertained which looks to the provision of a theoretical course at the University, followed by its application elsewhere at a later date. 17

So that the Commission and the University might not be frightened away by financial implications, Seath quoted \$11,402. as the sum paid out by the Department for accommodation and salaries at the Normal College, observing that for this amount it was "altogether probable" that an efficient Department of Pedagogy could be maintained in Toronto University.

16. *Idem.*, italics added.

17. *Idem.*, italics not added.

As the work of the Commission proceeded, leaders at Queen's University and at the Normal College in Hamilton grew alarmed. One way or another the inferences made by Seath reached their ears. Principal Gordon of Queen's, referring to a Toronto news item which implied that Pyne was anticipating establishment of a chair of education at Toronto, expressed "grave" concern about losing "existing rights" if Toronto secured a chair and Queen's did not¹⁸. The Ontario Normal College despatched a deputation to Toronto, only to learn from Pyne that its members were anticipating "that much was going to be done that had not been considered", and from Whitney that they need "have no fear of injustice". Commenting on the reception of the deputation, *The Globe* stated that in early March, 1906, the question had "not been considered at all by the government"¹⁹.

The Commission reported on 4 April, 1906. In its brief reference to teacher training, the commissioners stated their belief that the "duty of the university in connection with the teaching body of ... primary and secondary schools ought to be recognized"²⁰, that in its opinion the time had come for the creation of a department of pedagogy in the University of Toronto and that courses in history, principles, and practice of education should be part of the curriculum. Having specially enquired into the work of the departments of pedagogy at Columbia University and the University of Chicago, the commissioners concluded that the work was performed most effectively when the theory and practice of education could be made to supplement each other. Following the suggestions of Seath and Ellis, they

18. *Whitney Papers*, Gordon, D.M., to Pyne, R., 21 December, 1905.

19. *The Globe*, 8 March, 1906.

20. P.A.O., R.G. 18, *Report* (and Appendices) of the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto, (Toronto, King's Printer, 4 April, 1906), LI.

recommended that the university should have power to cooperate with the Toronto Board of Education for practice teaching purposes.

In Mid-April, R.A. Thompson, second-in-command at the Normal College, made a last-ditch effort to save the institution that he and McLellan, its ailing principal²¹, had served for a decade. He was wasting his time. By then the government had made up its mind. As for the Commission, according to Thompson nobody in favour of university affiliation had even been near the Hamilton College. This was a pity, for Thompson's advice on the operation of a training facility was worth listening to. Had it been better heeded especially as it related to financial and staffing problems of the College and to the tricky question of how best to integrate theoretical courses with practical instruction, some of the later troubles, especially those in Kingston, might have been avoided²². But it was time for a change and the Normal College contract was running out. Thompson got the final task of closing up shop in Hamilton and the sum of \$1,000. for doing so²³.

Meanwhile the Education Department was suffering from a serious problem of lack of leadership. For most of the fall and during the early winter Robert Pyne had run the province's educational system without a deputy minister; in fact, during the crucial months from October, 1905, to May, 1906, when the blueprint of the province's future teacher-training system was being prepared, there was no educator named to and occupying

21. See a pitiful letter from McLellan, J.A., to Millar, J., asking for a salary advance to make the final payment "on a cottage", 9 June, 1905: P.A.O., RG2/P2/40.

22. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1906, 123-135.

23. P.A.O., RG2/P2/40, Colquhoun, A.H.U., to Thompson, R.A., 6 June, 1908.

the post of highest authority and influence in the Department. The situation, labelled by *The Globe* from the outset as critical in the extreme, was created by the sudden death of John Millar. It occurred on October 3rd, the day following Premier Whitney's naming of the members of the Royal Commission, and the day on which he informed Principal Daniel Gordon of Queen's University that the proposal, approved by the Trustees, regarding the placing of a teacher-training facility at Kingston, would be dealt with thoroughly but not immediately. "Other questions ... demand the whole of my attention²⁴", he said laconically. Ignoring the campaign which *The Globe* launched to urge on the government the pressing need to find a man to give leadership as "a practical educationist", so that, in the words of the editor, "it need not be a handicap that the present Minister is not", the government took its time in replacing Millar²⁵. A.H.U. Colquhoun, the renowned Toronto newspaperman, who just the day before Millar's death had been appointed secretary of the Royal Commission, was named Deputy Minister on 6th February, 1906, just in time for the opening of the second session of the legislature. Three and a half months later, on the 25th May, 1906, some days after the session closed, John Seath, 62, High School Inspector of twenty-four years' standing, was named to the newly-created post of Superintendent of Education. It was then seven and a half months since Millar's death.

Stern of mien, meticulous "to the last comma", practically minded and impatient with inefficiency, Seath was an administrator who tackled

24. P.A.O., *Whitney Papers*, Whitney, J.P., to Gordon, D.M., 3 October, 1905.

25. *The Globe*, 6 October, 1905.

everything with unmitigating energy and unswerving zeal. There was nothing perfunctory about his style as we have seen from his masterful presentation to the Royal Commission. Between 1874 and 1884 he had elevated the St. Catharines Collegiate Institute into one of the province's top-flight educational institutions. Afterwards, in the Education Department as a high school inspector, he was so successful in raising the educational standards of the schools that L.E. Embree, a contemporary of Seath and head of Jarvis Street Collegiate Institute, recalled how the cry of "flourishing high schools and neglected public schools" was used by opponents in the political battles which brought about Ross's downfall²⁶. Seath was a towering figure and he dominated departmental affairs for the next dozen years. Perhaps in our review of these, and of the part that he as Superintendent played in the development of teacher-training policies and programmes, we should remind ourselves occasionally that when he was a teacher at Brampton Grammar School in the late 1860's, he attended the school of Military Instruction in Toronto, and qualified himself to command a battalion. In any case Seath soon made his impress. Within a few months of his appointment, C.C. Hodgins, MPP (Middlesex, C.), writing to Whitney about departmental recognition of Western University's degrees as qualification for specialist certificates, confided that there was a feeling growing that the Minister of Education was "too much under the influence of the Superintendant (sic)". Whitney's reply was delicious. "In the first place", he said loftily, "there is no shadow of foundation for it (the allusion); in the next place

26. *The School*, May, 1919, Vol. VII, No. 9, 576-8, article by Embree, J.S., following Seath's death.

he might be under a worse influence; and in the third place the Western University should not adopt any hasty views on the subject for reasons which are obvious²⁷". Seath's salary could certainly not have given him any inflated notion of the importance the government attached to the new post created for him. The Superintendent of Education for the Province was to be paid the sum of \$3,500. per annum, the same salary that L.E. Embree²⁸ received, and \$2,000. below that of the President of the University of Toronto²⁹. Considering the salary difference, the way Whitney had 'fussed' over the appointments to the Royal Commission the previous summer³⁰, and the delay in appointing Seath, there seemed to be little doubt where governmental priorities lay at that time.

Three months before Seath's appointment, when the new session of the legislature opened in mid-February, 1906, the future shape of Ontario's teacher-training organization had been "still more or less in the air"³¹". Whitney told a deputation from Morrisburg urging him to locate one of the "proposed" new normal schools there³² that some reorganisation of the normal school system was contemplated, but he was vague and non-committal. He thought "no harm" could come of the deputation but he did not feel that the representatives could expect much³³. Rumours persisted, however, and throughout the rest of the winter and on into spring, normal

27. P.A.O., *Whitney Papers*, Whitney, J.P., to Hodgins, C.C., 14 December, 1906.

28. *The Globe*, 1 June, 1906.

29. *Ibid.*, 11 May, 1906.

30. O.H.S., *Profiles of a Province*, 1967, 121, "Whitney and the University of Toronto", by Humphries, C.W.

31. *The Globe*, 19 February, 1906.

32. P.A.O., *Whitney Papers*, Broder, A., to Whitney, J.P., 9 February, 1906.

33. *Ibid.*, Whitney, J.P., to Broder, A., 12 February, 1906.

schools were "in active demand" as *The Globe* put it. Cities and towns steadfastly despatched a succession of delegations to Toronto asking for favour when locations were being picked. In February and March alone, newspapers reported arrival in Toronto of groups varying in size from one person from Harriston to one hundred and fifty from Orangeville, including deputations from Arnprior, Barrie, Belleville, Brantford, Chatham, Cobourg, Cornwall, Galt, Guelph, Kingston, Meaford, Mt. Forest, Sarnia, and Sault Ste. Marie. Written applications were also submitted. Some exuded local pride. Renfrew spoke of its advanced modern Kindergarten, manual training and household science facilities which, the spokesman claimed, could not be found in any other model school centre³⁴. Paris, in a brief signed by a galaxy of local bigwigs, boasted about the town's suitability for nature study because of the "rich and varied flora" along the "rugged banks of the Grande and the Nith"³⁵.

Some submissions had more to do with politics than education, it seems. One from a certain R.E. Butler in Woodstock warned that local people were still upset because the normal school which Mowat had "partly promised" had been built in London. Butler wondered if it would be a "good political move" to push the matter locally, for then the Board of Trade might be encouraged to believe that he was doing his best for the city³⁶. Then there were the two Berlin deputations which arrived on the same day. One presented a petition from 6285 German residents of the counties of Waterloo, Perth, Huron, Wellington, Bruce, Grey, York, Elgin, Oxford, Welland, Haldimand, and Renfrew which spoke out in

34. P.A.O., RG2/D7/N-Ru/10, brief dated 16 February, 1906.

35. Ibid., Series H1/9, undated.

36. Ibid., Series D7/10, Butler, R.E., to Pyne, R., 15 February, 1906.

support of Berlin's request for a normal school to encourage the speaking of German. The other deputation urged a provision of facilities for the training of teachers of German³⁷. By then, early April, the arrival of delegations in Toronto was commonplace, for *The Globe* reported unenthusiastically that the "usual consideration was promised" to the delegations from Berlin. Perhaps that was why the spokesmen for the German population did not let the matter drop. Just as the session was ending, the Warden in Berlin wrote to Whitney, appealed to his ego, and hinted at possible political rewards. Reminding the Premier that Berlin was still looking forward to having one of the normal schools, Warden M. DeBus wrote saying:

If you can see your way clear in this matter the Waterloos will be ours as long as you wish to remain at the head of the Government. Our people here, feel that you (once the Incompetent) have done more in one session than all the Hardys and Rosse's (sic) put together during their term of office. 38

By then the government was moving towards a decision. In April, when Robert Pyne announced plans to create the new post which Seath was to occupy, he advised the House that the government would build new normal schools but had not yet decided how many or where³⁹. Soon afterwards, members approved a first grant of \$100,000. for construction purposes⁴⁰ and within a week John Seath was at his new desk calling for private reports from John Tilley, the Model School Inspector, and from local inspectors on where the schools should be located. There was an immediate flurry of activity. From Tilley's standpoint Hamilton was the "most suitable place". Kingston was next if it were thought advisable

37. *The Globe*, 5 April, 1906.

38. P.A.O., RG2/H1/9, DeBus, G.M., to Whitney, J.P., 15 May, 1906.

39. *The Globe*, 7 April, 1906.

40. *Ibid.*, 14 July, 1906.

to utilize the assistance which Queen's had been giving to the County Model School for some time. Stratford, Peterborough and Lindsay followed. As for Guelph and Owen Sound, he had no opinions. Barrie and Orillia were "quite too small". Chatham, he ruled out. He did not support Berlin's claim because "the Germans do not wish their children to become teachers".

The most significant part of his report was a note appended to it, presumably Seath's, stating that "the utilization of Queen's should not be considered", and that each normal school should be self-sustained as far as the composition of its staff went⁴¹. Seath's views that normal schools and universities should be kept apart seemed unmistakable.

Seath wasted no time in submitting his report to the Minister⁴². It showed that he had studied the criteria with his inimitable meticulousness, including the location of existing normal schools, the placement of the model schools to be retained including a bilingual training school, the statistics of attendance at model schools east and west of Toronto, the density of population, the access to locations by rail, steamboat and other facilities, the size of local school systems, the efficiency of local inspectors and staffs, and the existence of "a liberal and progressive education" in the local communities considered. On the assumption that the three old normal schools could hold 200 pupils each, Seath proposed four new ones to hold 150 each. His short list contained the following selections with preference for the first-named of each pair: one school east of Toronto to be located at Kingston or Peterborough; three schools west of Toronto to be located at Hamilton or Guelph,

41. P.A.O., RG2/H1/9, Report of Tilley, J.J., 20 June, 1906.

42. *Ibid.*, Seath, J., to Pyne, R., 6 July, 1906.

Stratford or Berlin, Owen Sound or Chatham. For the east he thought Kingston was "the more suitable" but that Peterboro "might do". He preferred Stratford to Berlin, for although the former was near to London, it was an unusually good railway centre. As for Berlin, it had never been a good model school centre, for the reason that "the Germans do not encourage their children to become teachers". Seath obviously approved of Tilley's reasoning.

The Superintendent's report showed praiseworthy concern about taxpayers' dollars and reflected an astute insight into political angles. He recommended an annual allocation of \$1,500.00 to cover the use by each of the new normal schools of fifteen to twenty rooms in local schools for practice-teaching purposes, but he warned the Minister as a consequence that there would probably be difficulties in Hamilton which had always had \$4,500.00 for the Normal College, and in London which had \$1,500.00 for only ten rooms. He also saw fit to warn the Minister that there might be difficulty in securing a site in Hamilton as the intention of the government was known there. He suggested that a trustworthy local real-estate agent might act for the government in the matter of purchase, without the principals in the transaction being disclosed. As for the new localities, he thought the Minister might like to tell the local member "in a non-committal way" that the government was thinking of erecting a normal school in his town or city, and would like to know what the inhabitants were prepared to offer "in the matter of a site or free water-supply".

A week later, following the arrival in Toronto of the last delegations from Lindsay and Stratford⁴³, the Ontario cabinet met and made its

43. *The Globe*, 12 July, 1906.

decision. On July 13, 1906, Whitney gave the following statement to newspapermen regarding new locations:

At the meeting of the Cabinet today it was decided that the four normal schools for which provision was made at the last session of the Legislature should be located as follows: at Peterboro, Hamilton, Stratford and North Bay, conditional in each case upon a proper site being furnished by the municipality. This carries out the intention of the Government and of the Legislature with reference to this subject. It is understood, however, that so soon as the finances of the province will permit the government hopes to be able to create additional normal schools. 44

The Globe commented dryly that all the places mentioned by Whitney were included in constituencies "represented in the legislature by Conservative members". Hamilton was the only location the newspaper liked. Kingston, it said, was the "worst case of omission". Elsewhere, *The Globe* reported that Whitney and Pyne had already gone aboard *The S.S. Caronia* at New York bound for a six-weeks' vacation in England. Attorney-General J.J. Foy was left behind in Toronto to deal with any problems that might arise in the wake of the announcement of July 13th.

By the autumn of 1906 a pattern had emerged in the Whitney Government's programme of teacher training. In November Pyne announced completion of preliminary plans for the establishment of a new faculty of education in the provincial university. It was to provide a professional course of one year's duration for first-class public school teachers and high school assistants and specialists, following completion of preliminary academic qualifications at high schools or universities. At the same time the three existing normal schools, soon to be augmented by three more in old Ontario, and one in new Ontario, would provide a re-organized one-year professional

44. *Ibid.*, 14 July, 1906. See RG2/P2/44/PTC/2 for Order-in-Council, 16 July, 1906, confirming Whitney's statement.

course leading to a second-class certification for public school teachers. A few remaining model schools would be retained and made "thoroughly efficient". The Minister claimed proudly that "in a couple of years" the province would have a "complete and modern system ... for all grades of teachers⁴⁵".

Pyne made it clear, however, that government planning had kept in mind especially the pressing problem of the province's rural schools. The plan to reorganize teacher training, including abolition of the model schools was, in fact, part of a larger government scheme. It covered improvements in school accommodation as well as the establishment of minimum salaries for teachers, and was designed especially to help relieve the "distress" of rural schools where immature, young girls with third-class certificates or lower were generally employed because they were willing to underbid for lower salaries. The result was, Pyne admitted, that conditions in them were little, if at all, better than they had been twenty to twenty-five years earlier just after the model schools were first opened.

But the government's new plan for the future of teacher training went further than breaking up the province's model school system. It also rejected the idea that the professional education of teachers was not a function of universities; in fact, the thesis was now maturing that university involvement was but the end-result of a process of inevitable educational development which, presumably, men like Millar had not quite appreciated. The Toronto faculty, said *The Globe*, was "a step forward ... for which the past quarter-century has been a necessary preparation".

45. *O.S.P.*, 1907, No. 12, (Minister's Report, 1906): see "The Recent Amendments to the Public School Act" (memorandum from the Minister of Education), pp. 174-181.

Seath, too, seemed to believe this. "The educational faculty in this Province is the result of evolution", he echoed⁴⁶.

Unbelievably, Kingston, a pioneer in the work of a model school reconstruction, and Queen's University, an energetic proponent of university participation in teacher education, had been assigned no part to play in the new scheme of things. Surely there was some explanation for its being passed over. Did the government have something up its sleeve? If so, Seath did not seem to be aware of it, for he included Kingston on his short list of locations for the new normal schools. Certainly to Dyde and his supporters Whitney's public announcement of July, 1906, must have come as a crushing confirmation of Pyne's earlier rejection of his plans for Kingston's Model School.

An article in *Queen's Quarterly* that summer by Rev. E.P. Crummy, a local pastor and a Queen's trustee, attempted to resurrect Dyde's idea. "Nothing less than the training that can be provided by a department of education in the university can adequately supply the demand", Crummy cried as he called for provision by each of Ontario's four universities of minimum two-year, post-matriculation, professional courses for prospective elementary school teachers⁴⁷. But with Public Works Department architects busy with blueprints for four new normal schools, and with Education Department officials drawing up agreements with boards in Peterboro, Hamilton, Stratford, and North Bay for practice teaching arrangements⁴⁸, Crummy's ideas sounded unreal and remote. To Seath, the

46. *The Globe*, 3 October and 17 October, 1907.

47. *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, July - September, 1906; "Normal Colleges for Ontario" by Crummy, E., 37-39.

48. P.A.O., RG2/H1, see item 5 for sample agreement with Peterboro Board of Education.

hard-headed, government administrator, faced with the practical task of producing a thousand new teachers a year, Crummy's inaccurate statistical projections must have seemed ridiculous, and his suggestion of elementary school teacher-training facilities at Western and Ottawa Universities as well as at Toronto and Queen's, unthinkable.

If Principal Daniel Gordon of Queen's expected some sign from Premier Whitney during the long winter of 1906-07, he waited in vain as events tantalizingly unfolded before him. In December, the Governors of Toronto University authorized the establishment of the Faculty of Education⁴⁹, and appointed 41-year old William Pakenham, Principal of Toronto's Technical High School, formerly a graduate of Ottawa Normal School, Registrar of the Educational Council, and Chairman of the Provincial Board of Examiners, as Dean at a salary of \$2750.00 per annum. The appointment was to begin on 1 January, 1907⁵⁰, a sensible ten months before the inauguration of the faculty in October. In mid-January *The Globe* announced that Pakenham had been given "a free hand by the Governors" in selecting his staff, and that the Toronto Board of Education had accepted "without demur" the University's offer to pay a reasonable sum for use of the high schools and some public schools for practice teaching purposes. For Principal Gordon, to say the least, life was frustrating, for in the same edition, the newspaper announced the award of contracts, valued at nearly a quarter of a million dollars, for the building of the four new normal schools⁵¹. So when February came and went and the

49. P.A.O., RG2/P2/22/4: see a general information statement prepared for the President, undated.

50. Minister's Report, 1907, 951, See Financial Statements of the Faculties of Education.

51. *The Globe*, 19 January, 1907.

Provincial Treasurer's statement released to the press showed no appropriation for a department of pedagogy at Queen's, Gordon rushed off two letters to Whitney within the space of two weeks. "The matter will not be neglected", Whitney replied reassuringly⁵². He was true to his word⁵³, and it was a joyful Gordon who reported to the Queen's Trustees in mid-April that the University was to receive financial support for the establishment of a faculty of education in the amount of \$5000.00 a year for three years⁵⁴. Queen's was jubilant but it had no more than six months to organize.

Early in July, 1907, Cecil Fairfield Lavell, educated at Queen's, Cornell, Columbia, and in Italy, recently Professor of History in Trinity College, Hartford, and formerly a high school teacher in St. Thomas, Ontario, was appointed Dean of Queen's University new Faculty of Education⁵⁵. From the ten months permitted to Pakenham to prepare his embryonic faculty of education for presentation, Lavell's time had been cut to three. Starting from scratch, it was his job in the short time left, to appoint staff, prepare programmes, arrange accommodation and equipment, secure practice schools and teachers, and organize arrival and enrolment of students. In those early months all seemed well on the surface despite the onset of difficulties which in the end proved insurmountable for Lavell; in fact, in mid-July, 1907, *The Globe* reported happily to its readers that at both Toronto and Queen's preliminary arrangements were almost complete and ready for opening in October⁵⁶. Commenting upon the complexities involved

52. P.A.O., *The Whitney Papers*, Gordon, D.M., to Whitney, J.P., 28 February, 1907; Whitney to Gordon, 1 March, 1907; Gordon to Whitney, 13 March, 1907; Whitney to Gordon, 20 March, 1907.

53. *Ibid.*, Whitney, J.P., to Gordon, D.M., 15 April, 1907.

54. Queen's University Archives, *D.M. Gordon Papers*, Series II, Sec. A., Folder 5, Principal's Statement for the Trustees, 18 April, 1907.

55. *Ibid.*, Sec. B., folder 6, memo re Hector Anderson, 13 July, 1907.

56. *The Globe*, 22 July, 1907.

in appointing staffs to the faculties, and contemplating the role of the Education Department, the newspaper observed blithely:

It is reasonable to assume that the department must have been consulted at every stage of the preparation, and that its approval must have been secured for all the arrangements, including the personnel of the teaching staff as well as the coordination of subjects 57

In this connection, there was more irony than the newspaper dreamed of in its advertisement announcing that Queen's University Faculty of Education would begin operations on October 1st "under the regulations of the O.E.D.⁵⁸".

The two faculties, one in Toronto and one in Kingston, opened on schedule, but planning was not so advanced as *The Globe* liked to think. Pakenham in Toronto had to lead his two hundred students into temporary quarters in St. Margaret's College, a girls' school, while Lavell had to house his thirty-six students in accommodation shared with other faculties. But, amid the splendour of the inaugural ceremonies at both centres, these seemed to be temporary set-backs. Instead, *The Globe* talked about Toronto University occupying a place alongside the leading educational centres of Europe and America⁵⁹, while, at Queen's University, Seath spoke graciously and abundantly of the University as a "powerful function in the educational future of the Province⁶⁰". And at both inaugurations great play was made of the advances being made in the progress of the science of education for which the last quarter century was "a necessary preparation". By then, in Hamilton, the Ontario Normal College had closed its doors. Its business had moved away, and J.A. McLellan, its formal principal and the dominant figure in teacher education in the quarter century just mentioned, had gone

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, 7 September, 1907.

59. *Ibid.*, 3 October, 1907.

60. *Ibid.*, 17 October, 1907.

into retirement. He did not survive to see the universities take over the work he had begun.

In the meantime, while Dean Cecil Lavell raced against the clock to complete arrangements for the opening of the Queen's Faculty of Education, John Seath made seemingly leisurely preparations for the comparatively distant opening of the new normal schools chosen by the cabinet. By September, 1907, he introduced into the existing schools a revised programme of studies⁶¹ containing the liberal dose of academic content he had hinted at in his brief to the Royal Commission. His plan was for the experienced staffs, augmented at each school by new appointments, to smooth out the wrinkles and ready the programme for presentation to the new schools when they opened in 1908 or 1909. Aimed at the eighteen-year old, middle-school student who could pass a toughened-up departmental entrance examination⁶², the programme would lead to the award of an interim second-class certificate to be made permanent after two years' successful teaching.

While testing and shaping the new programme, Seath also planned to try out the staffs to be assigned to the new schools then being built in Hamilton, Peterborough and North Bay. Intent on appointing "the strongest men available", he warned the Minister that the principals of these schools would probably not be drawn from existing staffs at Toronto, Ottawa or London, which were already "suffering from the weakness of a number of the present men", and that the first appointments to the new schools would be looked on "as an earnest of the government's policy"⁶³. Seath chose well.

61. P.A.O., RG2/P2/44, *Draft Syllabus of Studies and Regulations for the Normal Schools at London, Ottawa, Toronto, Session 1907-08.*

62. *Ibid.*, See Circular 26, August, 1908.

63. P.A.O., *Whitney Papers*, Seath, J., to Minister of Education, 2 May, 1907, unsigned.

Of the six persons he recommended for appointment in 1907, one was a collegiate institute principal, one was a Normal College instructor, and four were inspectors. Three took over the new normal schools when they opened in 1908, while a fourth went to London to replace Merchant when he became Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools.

While Seath completed arrangements for the opening of the new schools, Pyne rounded out the government's teacher-training plans by securing legislation to dissolve the county boards of examiners and permit retention of some of the former model schools⁶⁴. He kept about a dozen of the latter in operation in 1908 and used them as before, but now under direct government control, to deal with the problem of the under-qualified teachers in poor areas. To supplement the work of these schools he called into service other types of emergency schools so that as far as possible, every school had a teacher with at least some preliminary professional training. These included summer model schools - the one operated at Gore Bay in 1908 seems to have been among the first⁶⁵; English-French model schools, including one finally set up in Ottawa in 1907⁶⁶; and specially designed, professional summer schools set up initially in 1907 to offer courses of either model or normal school standard to members of Roman Catholic religious communities who wished to qualify under special legislation of 1907 called for by the Privy Council decision of the previous year⁶⁷.

64. Newcombe, E.E., *Op.Cit.*, 66-67.

65. P.A.O., RG2/P2/44/12, Broderick, G.E. (Principal), to Colquhoun, A.H.U., 16 July, 1908.

66. Ibid., P2/39/12; see agreements between Education Department and Ottawa Separate School Board. Another for the north was set up in Sturgeon Falls in 1910. In later years there were others established in Sandwich, Vankleek Hill, and Embrun.

67. Ibid.; Item 5 contains Seath's correspondence concerning the training of the Christian Brothers in Ottawa.

Closing down forty model schools, doubling the number of normal schools, and opening training facilities in two universities, all in the space of a year, constituted a large undertaking by any standard. It marked a turning-point in the educational history of the province. The model school system had been launched thirty years earlier to meet a pressing need for teachers with at least a modicum of professional training, when the Mowat Government turned down Ryerson's plea for three more normal schools. Ryerson had warned the government that because of the anticipated academic backwardness of prospective candidates, new schools would be expensive to run⁶⁸. The result was that he frightened the politicians off. As R.S. Harris has noted⁶⁹, Ontario then turned aside from the development of the academically oriented normal school⁷⁰. Cheap-to-operate model schools were called into operation instead, and the existing normal schools were shunted away to quiet sidings off the main track, where they waited patiently on the model schools. The addition of the London Normal School changed very little as far as policy went. It achieved for the west of the province what Ottawa had achieved for the east. It did, however, indicate the direction in which the Ross administration might have moved had it felt politically more secure and had it valued teacher training more highly, and thus it added strength to the already firm notion that institutions of teacher training ought to be government operated, centrally controlled, and devoted to professional studies.

68. *O.S.P.*, 1873, No. 34, Vol. V, Part III: Ryerson, E., to Provincial Treasurer, 19 October, 1872.

69. Harris, R.S., *Op.Cit.*, 76.

70. Interestingly enough in view of Seath's later brief to the Royal Commission, it did so with his hearty approval. See *Canadian Educational Monthly*, January, 1879, 23, article by Seath, J.

Consequently when the Whitney Government adopted the recommendation of the Royal Commission regarding university participation in teacher-training programmes, while simultaneously doubling the number of normal schools, it seemed to be working towards two policies. On the one hand, by handing over to two traditionally freedom-loving universities the administration of professional programmes which up to then had been controlled by the Education Department, the government was apparently turning towards decentralization. On the other, it seemed to be re-asserting its faith in the soundness and security of a policy of central control of teacher-training institutions, especially if the new normal schools turned out to be compact, highly controlled, minutely programmed replicas of those already in operation. The coexistence of two such divergent, if not irreconcilable policies, which the Education Department would now be called upon to implement simultaneously, seemed to have created a teasing problem of administration. It was filled with promise from the standpoint of university accomplishment in the field of teacher training; yet it was fraught with potential strains and tensions as far as relations between their respective responsible officials in the Education Department and in the faculties were concerned.

The next chapter will examine in some detail the operation of one of the new faculties of education to see how these relations and the government's policy of decentralization worked themselves out in the years after 1907. Initially, however, consideration will be given to the impact of Seath's revised programme of studies on the province's seven normal schools.

CHAPTER VII

The System Under Strain: 1907-1920

The revised programme of studies for normal schools tested out in Toronto, Ottawa and London in 1907-08¹ contained nothing startlingly new; in fact, when, with very few changes, it was introduced into the new schools in 1908 and 1909 it dropped a blanket of uniformity across all seven, including Hamilton, Peterborough, Stratford and North Bay, which the accompanying regulations, adhering rigidly to traditional concepts of centralization and authority, held in place for years to come. In length the new programme was weighty and depressing. It covered thirty-three pages and seemed to be typical of the departmental documents which wearied Squair and his colleagues in those days². Interminable descriptions embraced the 'why', 'what', and 'when' of innumerable professional courses³. In addition there was a course officially described by the

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1. P.A.O., RG2/P2/47, contains a copy of the Order-in-Council of 4 December, 1907, approving of *Draft Syllabus of Studies and Regulations for The Normal Schools at London, Ottawa, and Toronto, Session 1907-08*.
 2. Squair, J., *Op.Cit.*, 113.
 3. These were: The Science of Education, including Applied Psychology, the Kindergarten, Child Study, General Method; Specific Methodology, including Language and Composition, Reading, Spelling, Literature, Grammar, Hygiene, Geography, Nature Study and School Garden, Elementary Science, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Writing and Bookkeeping, Art Work, Manual Training, Household Science, Music, Hygiene, First Aid, Physical Culture, School Law and Regulations, Morals and Manners; School Organization and Management; Supervised Observation; Supervised Practice Teaching.

Minister as "thoroughly academic"⁴ which, in practice, turned out to be little more than a review from a teacher's standpoint of the subjects prescribed for admission to normal school⁵. Nearly half the space in the printed syllabus of studies was given over to descriptions of courses in specific methodology. There were more than a score of subjects involved so that by 1910 the Department found it necessary to lay down the number of hours per year to be allocated to each - and to each of the other subjects of the programme for that matter.

It seems almost a logical development to find the normal school staffs who had helped prepare the new programme turning next to the production of uniform teachers' hand books detailing the content of normal school courses, including methods of teaching public school subjects⁶. Surprisingly, however, even the reports of the Inspector of Normal Schools soon became stereotyped. By 1914-1915 after successive visits to each of the normal schools, Inspector F.W. Merchant had fallen, ironically, into the formality of repeating the following word-for-word description of the quality of lesson topics that students in each normal school were given to teach:

Fair - The lesson topics assigned are not always found to be satisfactory. There is a tendency among some critic teachers to over-emphasize the formal side of education. The topics are, also, frequently too difficult for the pupils.⁷

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4. *Report, Minister of Education*, 1908, xiii.
 5. See Cann, M.M., *An Historical Study of the Office of the Co-ordinator of Teacher Education in the Canadian Provinces* - Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1957, 64.
 6. See Newcombe, E.E., *Op.Cit.*, 58; he reports that the work on these began in 1911.
 7. P.A.O., RG2/H1/Vol. 21, Report of Inspector of Normal Schools, 1914-15.

Uniformity also tended to reach into practice teaching arrangements made by each of the normal schools. None of the new ones was provided with its own attached model school; instead, all followed the pattern in vogue in London of using affiliated local schools for practice teaching purposes. In Toronto and Ottawa, too, similar agreements were drawn up with local boards to set aside certain schools for use by students who could not be catered for in the older, overcrowded model school⁸. Similar agreements were made later with rural school boards to eliminate the diversity which Merchant reported had crept into the plans made by the seven schools to provide more realistic practice teaching experiences for students⁹. Altogether about twenty agreements covering affiliated rural schools were made in 1916 in order to ensure uniformity of treatment of critic teachers, provision of equal opportunities for students, and equalization of payments for services provided.

A year later, Merchant launched a full enquiry into the relative cost and efficiency of the old provincial model schools and affiliated public schools¹⁰. He demonstrated that the expense of the Toronto Normal Model School was 7.9 times that of an affiliated model school with the same accommodation. He proved, too, that the ratio for the Ottawa Normal School was identical. Seath weighed the facts and concluded that the old Normal-Model Schools at Ottawa and Toronto were "a net and unnecessary cost to the province of nearly \$36,000.00", and should be abolished, despite inevitable objections likely to arise in both cities where, because of the \$20.00 fee, they had become "class schools" attended by

8. P.A.O., RG2/P2/43 and 45; see agreements for Toronto Normal School (1908) and Ottawa Normal School (1909).

9. P.A.O., RG3, *W.H. Hearst Papers*, (Special Series): Normal Schools, Merchant, F.W., to Seath, J., 5 January, 1916.

10. *Ibid.*, Merchant, F.W., to Seath, J., 26 April, 1917.

children whose parents had attended them¹¹. At the same time, incidentally, and again in 1918¹², Seath called for the "immediate provision" of new buildings for the "unsanitary" normal schools at both Ottawa and Toronto, pointing out that the sale of the existing sites would more than defray the cost of new buildings and new land. His pleas were to no avail. The model schools in Toronto and Ottawa were not closed down until the opening years of the Second World War, and the Ottawa Normal School still occupies the same building.

The traditional chain of authority linking the Minister through the principals to individual students in the normal schools was preserved in the new order; it was held tautly in place by regulations specifying their duties and conduct. Thus the regulations helped to maintain the central base of authority without which the characteristic uniformity of the system might have crumbled. The early instructions remained on the books telling the student that he must attend "regularly and punctually"; that he was subject to "such discipline and direction as the Principal may prescribe"; and that he could stay only at approved boarding houses. Further, in 1908, in order to upgrade his academic and professional standing, the regulations warned him that he could be dismissed by the principal "at any time" if he were "unduly deficient in scholarship or natural aptitude"¹³. The record indicates that this rule was enforced locally and in at least one case arising in Ottawa was upheld in Toronto despite an

11. *Ibid.*, Seath, J., to Minister of Education, 28 April, 1917.

12. P.A.O., *H.J. Cody Papers*, V: (Education), Seath, J., to Hearst, W.H., 25 March, 1918.

13. P.A.O., RG2/P2/44. See *Draft Syllabus*---

appeal to the Deputy Minister and an accusation levelled against the Principal of the Ottawa Normal School that he had acted in a "kaiser-like" manner¹⁴. In fact, it is suspected, that the application of the regulation might have been too rigid, for in 1919 following Merchant's recommendations, H.J. Cody, then Minister of Education, changed the regulations so as to relieve the pressure of courses and examinations which experience had shown "to be too great"¹⁵.

As for the former regulations controlling relationships between men and women students, although these had disappeared by the time the normal schools were reorganized, legacies of the old Victorian proprieties survived. Ottawa students in 1912, for example, had to petition the Deputy Minister in order to obtain consent to include "simple forms of dancing from nine to 11:30 p.m." at an "at-home" they were planning. More surprising perhaps was that Colquhoun was away at the time and a reply went back to Ottawa from the Secretary of the Department of Education telling the students that a decision on their petition would have to await the Deputy Minister's return¹⁶. The Deputy had not delegated such a responsibility and thus the chain of command remained intact. Such rigidity seemed to typify the day-to-day operations of the affairs of the Education Department and demonstrated the extent to which regulation and protocol permeated seemingly minor activities.

In matters of moment relating to high policy therefore, one could expect to find the Minister clinging tenaciously and jealously to his powers,

14. P.A.O., RG2/P3/M-1, 1917, Fetterly, H.B., Principal, Cornwall High School to Colquhoun, A.H.U., 24 December, 1917.

15. P.A.O., *H.J. Cody Papers*, V: (Education), Box 63, Folder 2, Merchant, F.W., to Cody, H.J., 25 April, 1919.

16. P.A.O., RG2/P2/43/24, petition dated 23 October, 1912, and reply: Secretary, Department of Education, to White, L., 2 November, 1912.

unwilling to share them or see them eroded in any way. Such was the case, for example, when President Falconer of Toronto University suggested in 1914 that local "irritations" could be removed by partial combination of university-prepared matriculation examinations and departmental, normal school entrance examinations. Impossible, Colquhoun shot back and then stoutly asserted:

The Minister cannot transfer to any authority, or allow any other authority to share with him in the responsibilities for the qualifications of the teachers in the Public and Separate Schools. 17

Under the conditions described it would seem as if the Whitney Government at any rate had closed the door to any extension of university involvement in teacher-training programmes. Whether or not it would remain closed for long would depend, in part, on the departmentally assessed comparative efficiencies of the faculties and the "re-organized" normal schools to meet the need for qualified teachers, and on the relative rates with which candidates, first-class and second-class, respectively, were attracted to them. The diagram reproduced on the next page shows graphically the supply situation up to 1915. It indicates that, by then, second-class teachers who made up 68% of the total population of elementary teachers had more than doubled in number since 1908 when the new schools opened. It also indicates that by then, too, though the number of lower grade certificates below third-class was still well over a thousand, it had been appreciably reduced since reaching a peak in 1911-12.

This was the time, understandably, when debate over the reform of the county model schools reached its climax. In the years immediately

17. P.A.O., RG2/P3/8 - 35 of 1914, Colquhoun, A.H.U., to Falconer, A., 21 March, 1914.

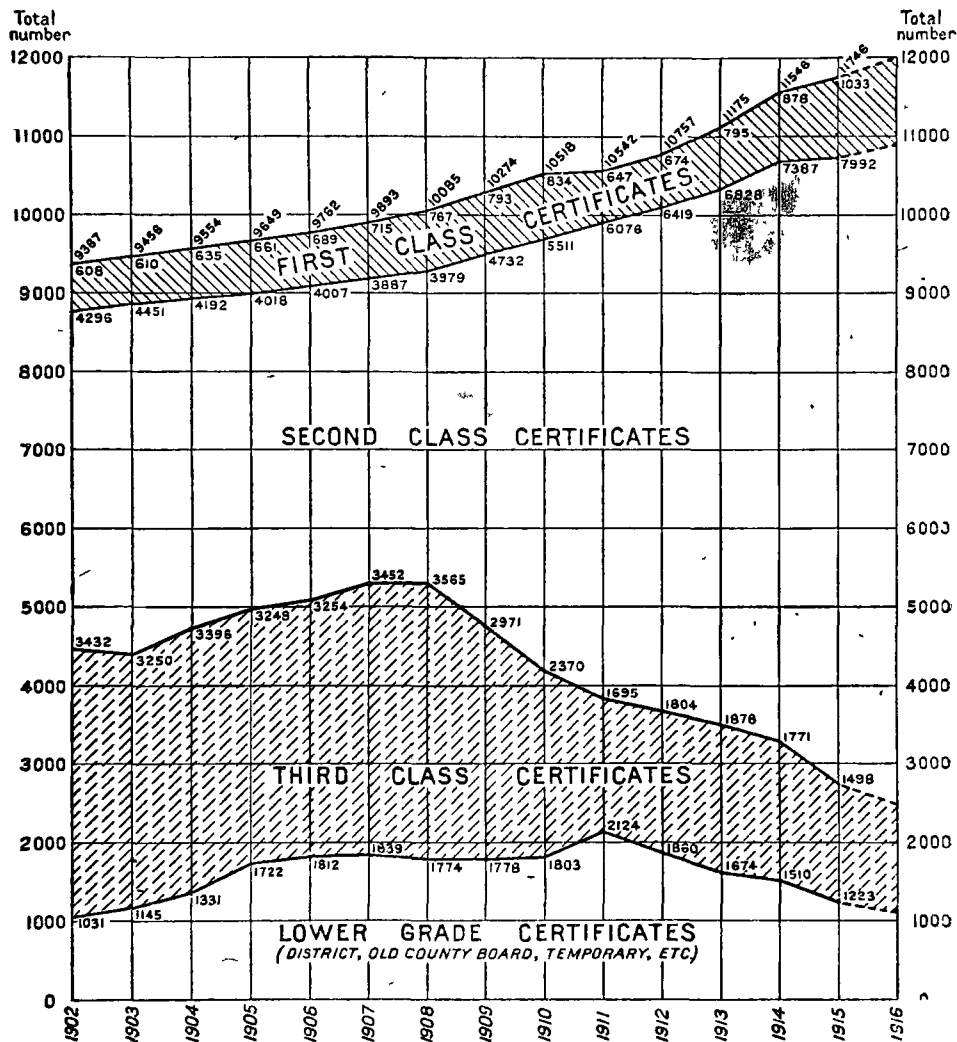


Diagram showing the number of teachers holding First Class, Second Class, Third Class and Lower Grade certificates in the Public and Separate Schools of Ontario between the years 1902 and 1916.

following their abolition in 1908, the number of lower grade certificates remained high and opposition members¹⁹ and newspapers²⁰ made political hay of the government's embarrassment. Colquhoun even came to the rescue on one occasion. "No one is doing a service to education who encourages a town or village to believe that it has suffered a wrong by losing a Model School", he said in a 1909 address remarkable for its political overtones. "Agitations of this kind are contemptible", he said scathingly²¹. The debate smouldered for a couple of years and then finally flared up in 1912 with the announcement of the high figures of the previous year. In late February, the whole opposition assaulted Robert Pyne in a long two hours' debate. Tempers frayed and W. McDonald (Centre Bruce, L.) in a fit of frustration and anger created an uproar in the chamber. He wanted a model school in Bruce or Grey, he said, to avoid trustees' having to take teachers straight from the high school at Chesley, and he compared his county's lack of educational facilities with North Bay's which had a big normal school but "only twenty seven pupils". "Of all the God-forsaken places to put a normal school - at North Bay!" he exclaimed²². The following year the figures began to drop and with them debate on the future of the model schools cooled down²³.

19. P.A.O., RG2/P3/1/8-30, 1911, see Devitt, J.H., to Pyne, R.A., 6 May, 1911; see also Item 50, Donovan, A.E., to Pyne, R.A., 8 April, 1911.

20. *The Globe*, for example, in issues of 26 February, 1908; 17 March, 1908; 19 February, 1909; 11 February, 1910; 18 February, 1910; 16 February, 1911.

21. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1909, 126, "An Address" by Colquhoun, A.H.U..

22. *The Globe*, 1 March, 1912.

23. Autumn and Summer Model Schools survived until 1926: see *Report, Minister of Education*, 1926, 66; English-French model schools lasted a few years longer.

From concern about the number of third-class certificates, interest could now be expected to shift to comparisons between the number of teachers with second-class certificates trained in the normal schools, and the number with first-class certificates trained in the universities. If the latter increased, and presumably it would as candidates for elementary school teaching took advantage of expanding opportunities for academic advancement in the high schools, the big question for the planners of future teacher-education programmes was whether or not the universities, the exclusive suppliers of first-class teachers, would be allowed to take over the field to the ultimate exclusion of the normal schools. The normal school 'second' was not a prerequisite for the university 'first'; thus, as more candidates qualified academically for the higher grade certificate, fewer would take professional training in normal schools. If normal school depopulation with its consequent loosening of direct central control over teacher-training institutions were to be avoided, steps would have to be taken to ensure either that the universities were not left with sole responsibility for preparing first-class teachers, or that their teacher education programmes were so circumscribed that they had little leeway to build a tradition of independence in programme direction and organization. Which step might be chosen, if either, would depend on at least two related factors: first, the responsiveness of the universities to government wishes regarding programme structure and organization; and second, the assessment by government educational experts of the ability of the universities to prepare effective teachers through the professional programmes they offered. We shall now turn to an examination of these two factors by looking particularly at the experiences of one of the two faculties of education during

the period of its comparatively brief existence beginning in 1907. We have selected the Queen's University Faculty of Education in the belief that its experiences, particularly those involving its relations with the Education Department, were a strong determining influence in the major re-organization of 1920.

The programmes provided by both Queen's and Toronto Faculties of Education beginning in 1907 were for candidates who had graduated in Arts or Agriculture from any University in the British Dominions, or who had passed a departmental entrance examination in specified Upper School subjects and had reached the age of eighteen. The courses offered were of three kinds: General, Advanced and Special, enabling candidates to qualify as first-class elementary or secondary school teachers. Under certain conditions they could take both of the first two courses and obtain dual certification. The third course was open only to honours graduates of recognized universities in accordance with the regulations of the Department. All courses led to interim certificates, issued on the recommendation of the faculty by the Minister of Education, and made permanent following two years of successful teaching²⁴.

24. P.A.O., RG2/P2/22/4 contains 1907 course descriptions. All students took courses in History of Education and Educational Systems; the Principles of Education; Applied Psychology; School Administration; School Law; School Management; General Method; Special Methods in the following subjects of high and public schools: English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Latin and one from a choice of four supplementary groups: (i) Biology, Physics, Chemistry and Mineralogy, (ii) French and German, (iii) Greek and French, (iv) Greek and German. They then concentrated on elementary and high school work in their academic and professional studies as well as in observation and practice teaching. In addition to courses leading to Interim First-Class, High School Assistants' and Specialists' Certificates, both faculties offered courses for Public and Separate School Inspectors, and for B.Paed. and D.Paed. degrees.

The warning signs of problems ahead for Queen's University were there before the Faculty of Education opened in October, 1907. Seath's opposition to the establishment at that time of a separate teacher-training faculty in a university outside Toronto was of long standing. His brief to the Royal Commission in 1905 had advised against such a move, and since then he had been elevated to a position of considerable authority in the administration of the province's educational system. Then, in the summer of 1907, just weeks before the opening, Cecil Lavell, the newly appointed dean, assessed the faculty's prospects and in what must surely have been an ill-timed article in *Queen's Quarterly*²⁵, hinted openly, naively perhaps, at expected difficulties in relations with the highly centralized and conformist Education Department. He spoke optimistically, almost gratefully, but behind the hope and the gratitude his fears seemed to lurk. "We must go slowly", he warned, adding that Queen's ability to make a unique contribution to the development of teaching personalities would "outweigh a hundred times all the lectures on methods". These were fateful words and in using them he revealed his hand and his philosophy. With such belittlement of the practical approach to professional training, albeit mildly and innocently expressed, he drew the battleline between the method-minded, efficiency-oriented John Seath, Superintendent of Education, and the idealistic, liberal-minded Cecil Lavell, Dean, Queen's University Faculty of Education.

In his official report on the operation of the first session of the faculty, Principal Daniel Gordon of Queen's skirted diplomatically

25. *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 2, September - November, 1907, "Queen's Faculty of Education" by Lavell, C.F., 134-137.

around the problems which first oppressed responsible university administrators during that trying summer of 1907. When the year was almost over, Gordon was content to observe that the faculty had been organized just in time for opening; that forty-two students had enrolled; and that courses in the foundation subjects, methodology, and in observation and practice teaching had been provided leading to interim certificates for public and high school teachers. "It has been necessary", he said blandly and in the choicest of understatements, "to confer with the Department in regard to the appointment of instructors as well as the details of the curriculum and regulations"²⁶.

In point of fact, according to his daughter, Wilhemina, Gordon's teacher-training experiences during 1907-08 were "a chronic source of worry" to him²⁷. So they were, too, for Lavell within two years of his appointment, at the end of a miserable, frustrating chain of events, was driven to resignation from his deanship. It all began with Lavell's appointment²⁸. Gordon reported later that in late April, 1907, the Minister of Education wrote to him about the regulations for making appointments. In Gordon's opinion these did not affect "the freedom of the university in the election of professors", although Pyne did emphasize that the dean should be "an educationalist of ability and wide experience of our school system". Somehow, in the days that followed, the Minister's

26. Q.U.A., *D.M. Gordon Papers*, Series II, Sec. A., Folder 5, "Principal's Report, 1907-08", 18 April, 1908.

27. Gordon, W., *Daniel M. Gordon: His Life*, (The Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1941), 228.

28. Unless otherwise indicated, events which follow are based on documents in the *D.M. Gordon Papers* in Q.U.A., specifically in Series II, Sec. B., Folder 6, prepared for internal record purposes only: a memo re Hector Anderson, by Gordon, D.M., 13 July, 1907; and a memo re Faculty of Education, by Dean Lavell, 1909.

advice did not receive the attention it merited, for following personal enquiry and advertisement, the university committee charged with recommending a dean, settled on Hector Anderson, a teacher in Hillhead High School, Glasgow, Scotland. To be safe, however, the university despatched Professor Knight to Toronto to consult with Seath although, according to Gordon, Seath had said earlier that he did not wish "to seem to interfere in the University's liberty of choice". It was clear, however, that Seath expected to be consulted, for he did object; whereupon the University turned to Lavell, appointed him and on the advice of Knight that Seath would not object, appointed Anderson to the position of Second Professor. On 2 July, 1907, Anderson was notified by cable to this effect. It was an expensive and embarrassing cable.

Immediately after his appointment, Lavell held what he called a "somewhat disturbing" conference with the Superintendent, at which Seath appeared to be irritated by Lavell's being appointed without his sanction, but more so by Anderson's appointment as Associate Professor; in fact, Lavell reported later, the Superintendent was "immovable" in his opinion that Anderson's appointment would not be accepted. Lavell's interpretation was that the Department expected to be consulted "in every detail of the organization and conduct of the faculty", and that the university could henceforth look forward to "frequent and a violent use of the veto power". Before leaving Toronto, "to avoid danger", Lavell won Seath's approval of the appointment of O.J. Stevenson, Principal, St. Thomas Collegiate Institute, as a replacement for the unknowing and ill-starred Anderson.

The Minister now exerted his authority. On 5 July, he told Gordon point-blank that Queen's appropriation would not be granted unless wholly satisfactory conditions were created in regard to staff and

curriculum. Seath followed up with a note to Gordon in which he flatly contradicted Knight and refused to be bound by the latter's report of their interview. Thereupon Knight rushed to Toronto with Professor McIntyre to iron out the obvious misunderstanding. To even the balance Seath had Colquhoun join the group. Then he brought out the Minister's letter to Gordon and pointed out that he, Seath, had agreed to Lavell's appointment only on condition that the second-in-command was thoroughly familiar by long and varied experience with the Ontario school system. Anderson obviously did not have that qualification. If Lavell had had it, then Anderson's appointment would have been acceptable. On this basis, Seath was understandably intransigent and there the matter stood. A few days later, Gordon wrote to Anderson offering him an alternative appointment in the University or monetary compensation²⁹. Later at a meeting between Gordon and Anderson in Aberdeen, Anderson chose the latter and from his standpoint, at least, the matter was closed. Meanwhile, though Stevenson was duly appointed second-in-command, Queen's Faculty of Education was off to a bad start. Whether it was due to misunderstanding or misinterpretation, to professional pride or personal pique, or simply to thoughtlessness, the events created unforgettable tension and discord. Indelible impressions were left in people's minds and no one benefited - except perhaps Hector Anderson in Scotland who got another job easily and \$50.00 compensation to boot³⁰!

The Anderson case was but the beginning of Lavell's problems as dean. Later, in the summer of 1909 when it was all over, he wrote up

29. *Ibid.*, Gordon, D.M. to Anderson, H.J., 12 July, 1907.

30. *Ibid.*, from an addition to Gordon's memo of 13 July, 1907, made later.

the full story for Gordon and posterity³¹. It appears that he became embroiled next in difficulties over practice-teaching arrangements. Although, apparently, in 1907-08 these were to be taken care of by the staff of the Kingston Board under an arrangement made before Lavell's appointment, Seath, it seems, was not prepared to use the services of the local school inspectors. Lavell strangely consented to bring about the resignation of one of them. But W.G. Kidd, the one whom Lavell naively chose to ease out, was an old-hand: he had been an inspector since Millar's early days. There was understandable resentment which, according to Lavell, led to "political agitation" and Lavell had to back off. J.R. Stuart, a younger inspector in Stratford of whom Seath approved, was brought in and appointed supervising principal, a newly created post in the Kingston schools, at a salary of \$1500. to be paid out of Queen's appropriation. But the matter did not end there, for Lavell then got involved in the jockeying of staff of the Central School, Kingston, to make way for a new principal. To facilitate the manipulations Queen's funds were raided again, and not for the last time, apparently, for when Inspector Kidd finally did leave, Queen's "practically" consented to pay his retiring allowance!

Lavell's attention was directed next to the staff of the Collegiate Institute in Kingston. His record stated that Seath wanted all of the teachers to be "beyond criticism"; so the Education Department had the school inspected. When four teachers were found wanting, Seath "absolutely required the reorganization of the staff at Christmas". Lavell got

31. *Ibid.*; events that follow are based on Lavell's memo of 1909.

himself embroiled again when the Minister of Education threatened to cut off the grant to Queen's for 1908 and for the balance of 1907 if the required reconstruction was not carried out forthwith. Lavell reported that in early December he met with Kingston Board's Finance Committee and explained that impending doom hung on the Board's decision. In the end four teachers were ousted and compensated for loss during the remainder of the year. Again Lavell had to commit the university to further expense. Somehow Lavell and Ellis then worked out a 'modus vivendi' whereby vacancies on the staff were filled with teachers acceptable to both. Lavell liked to think that "a permanent principle" had been established. It is worthy of note, however, that in an agreement between Queen's and Kingston Board drawn up in May, 1909³², the latter saw fit to include the following provisions which clearly indicated where the Board Members, at least, thought sovereignty lay:

That power to appoint all teachers in the schools who are paid for by the Board shall remain with the Board ...

That, if the Faculty of Education wants teachers at salaries higher than those in the Board's schedule, the university shall pay the difference.

From then on, things seemed to go from bad to worse, leaving behind a trail of bitter resentment in Kingston which so poisoned relations between the Faculty and the Board and its teachers that no series of compensations could sweeten them. Wilhelmina Gordon later recalled the tension and the friction arising out of jurisdictional disputes among the Education Department, the University Senate and the Kingston Board

32. *Ibid.*, Series II, Sec. C., Folder 13; see Minutes of Board of Trustees, Queen's University, 16 June, 1909.

of Education:

Often no two had similar views of the objects and method of education; yet the School Board controlled the schools where the students must have practice In the selection of these (teachers) the University Senate, which included men who knew how to teach, were not consulted. It was not easy to decide on the best way to pay for this work; the Board of Education, sometimes including Queen's professors, readily provided friction and its members were apt to publish their views in the local newspapers. ... 33

If relations between the Faculty and the Board were bad, those between the Faculty and the Education Department were worse. To Seath, the exemplar of efficiency, Lavell was a fumbler whose handling of staffing questions looked inept; to Lavell, who could not persuade himself to be greatly ashamed of his administrative ability, Seath was an authoritarian whose handling of curriculum questions was uncompromising. According to Lavell, the programme and regulations for the faculty were drawn up by Seath in consultation with Dean William Pakenham of Toronto before Lavell's appointment, and presented to Queen's as a "fait accompli"; in fact, the curriculum for Queen's was the one for Toronto printed "as it stood" and repeated in 1908 with no change and at the last minute, despite joint appeals made by the two deans in the fall of 1907. This must have been the curriculum which the Governors of Toronto University adopted in June 1907, a month before Lavell's appointment, and which according to E.E. Newcombe, who made a study of the calendars of the two faculties, underwent no changes from that of the old Normal College, including organization of reference books, courses, examination papers, pass standards, and observation and practice teaching

33. Gordon, Wilhemina, *Op.Cit.*, 227-228.

arrangements³⁴.

Seath and Lavell obviously had irreconcilably opposite views on the curriculum. Seath idolized practical efficiency. According to Lavell he expected deans and professors to have practical knowledge of the whole field of education; he expected instructors to know by practical experience the problems of the public and secondary school teachers; and he expected students to have academic and professional knowledge of public and secondary curricula so that they could teach any subject. Lavell, on the other hand, felt that the encyclopaedic approach to curriculum which demanded a complete review of the academic content of all subjects of both the elementary and secondary courses of study was "essentially bad". In his opinion it benumbed critical ability, dissipated students' energies, and created "rebellious distress". Lavell asserted, in fact, that the Queen's curriculum, which he was powerless to change, would be condemned as unscientific "by any competent educator in America outside Ontario"³⁵. He preferred a system of electives. Professional training, he felt, should be "organic and practical in the best sense", like that of Teachers' College in New York which covered in two years what Ontario covered in one. Cecil Lavell had clearly changed his mind about American education. Twelve years earlier, when he was a student studying mediaeval history at Cornell, he had confided to Principal Grant of Queen's that he would not stay in the United States "a single month longer" than he could help³⁶. If he could

34. Newcombe, E.E., *Op.Cit.*, 63.

35. Lavell gave his summation of the issue which divided him and Seath in his memo of 1909 in *D.M. Gordon Papers*, Series II, Sec. B, Folder 6.

36. P.A.C., *G. M. Grant Papers*, Lavell, C.F., to Grant, 19 April, 1895, Item 3, 3306-3313.

not teach at Queen's, which he did later of course, he would go off to Italy to study. He did that too. Lavell had a mind of his own. In John Seath, however, he had met his match!

In the fall of 1908, the Education Department moved to tighten its grip on the operation of the faculties. Departmental regulations which both Toronto and Queen's had to comply with in 1907-08 before receiving appropriations were spelled out more precisely. In October Queen's was required to accept the following duties and conditions concerned with relations between the Department and the Faculty³⁷:

- submission to the Minister for approval on or before August 1st each year of course details, including names and qualifications of faculty;
- submission to the Minister in June each year of a report "in a form to be approved by the Minister" on the results of examinations and term work;
- appointment by the University of the Superintendent as "ex officio" member of Queen's Faculty of Education;
- submission to the Minister on October 1st each year of a general report of the Faculty along lines approved by the Minister;
- submission to the Minister by the Board of Trustees of a detailed statement of receipts and expenditures for the Faculty; and
- agreement by the University that the aforementioned conditions were to remain in force until cancelled by one year's notice given on the first of October of any year by either party.

37. P.A.O., RG2/P2/22/6, Minutes of Finance and Estate Committee, Queen's University, 13 October, 1908.

From Lavell's standpoint the situation was growing intolerable. His account of events said that he grew anxious and discouraged over the "indefinite continuance" of a curriculum he felt was fundamentally wrong, and over an official supervision which was "a perpetual contradiction to the statement that the professional training of teachers in Ontario is now in the hands of the Universities". Lavell claimed that after Christmas Seath became "more hostile" over their curriculum differences, so that when Pakenham advised Lavell to submit to the inevitable and agree again to the printing of the 1909 calendar, he seriously considered resignation. It was at this point, apparently, that Stevenson, Lavell's second-in-command divulged that he might have an opportunity of moving to the Toronto Faculty of Education at the end of the year. To Lavell this was almost the last straw!

It was some time in the new year, 1909, that Seath visited Queen's and, according to the dean, criticized everything: Lavell's administration; his failure to provide instruction in personal hygiene; poor attendance classes in physical training; Lavell's failure to supervise practice teaching; his inability to answer letters promptly; and so on. Lavell felt that Seath was then looking for an open break. The Superintendent apparently wanted no less than a dean with personality, enthusiasm and tact, who had administrative ability and a thorough knowledge of Ontario, and who, at the same time, was a well-qualified professor of education with first-rate university background, special training in pedagogy, and practical experience. Lavell did not feel qualified to fill such a post; in fact, he charged that there was no institution in Canada capable of training such a man. On a later visit to see Seath in Toronto, the inevitable break came and Lavell handed in his resignation.

Some months later Seath confided to the Minister:

Dean Lavell turned out to be one of the worst educational failures I have known of. It is to his credit, however, that when confronted with the situation, he resigned his position. 38

In the same breath, the Superintendent claimed not to recall the circumstances of Lavell's appointment, insinuating thereby, rather peevishly perhaps, that it had been none of his responsibility. Had it been, it is questionable if he would have chosen a university man. More than likely he would have picked another William Pakenham or a W.S. Ellis, the Principal of Kingston Collegiate Institute, who now replaced Lavell as Dean of the Queen's Faculty of Education, undoubtedly with Seath's approval. For Seath, it seems, did not hold a very high opinion of the ability of university men to provide professional training for teachers. Once when John Squair expressed doubt about the usefulness of such training, Seath jumped on him, lumped all university men together and in one all-embracing condemnation, exclaimed, "Squair, you're wrong, you often are. You're like the rest of your colleagues of the University. They're a poor lot. Still, I will say, you have some sense, and that's more than I can say for most of them"³⁹.

After two frustrating sessions and the resignation of the dean, Seath now gave serious consideration to the wisdom of maintaining the faculty at Queen's. He took the matter up with Pyne in November of the third session. Toronto's Faculty of Education, he explained, was as

38. P.A.O., *Whitney Papers*, Seath, J., to Minister of Education, 12 November, 1909.

39. Squair, J., *Op.Cit.*, 114.

efficient "as can be expected", whereas Queen's was "badly managed and unnecessarily expensive". He could indicate on the basis of current annual grants (Queen's: \$9,000. per annum and Toronto: \$15,000. per annum) and current enrolments (Queen's: 38 and Toronto: 139) that it cost the taxpayer three times as much to train a Queen's graduate as a Toronto graduate. The reason, Seath claimed, was that the Toronto Board of Education paid salaries which were "respectable", whereas the Kingston Board's were not, and Queen's had to supplement them. He summed up the situation in these words:

Viewed purely as a Provincial question from the point of view of economy, the expenditure at Queen's is quite unnecessary. ... To put the matter briefly, ... if the Faculty of Education at Queen's were abolished, the Province would have better results at far less cost. It is manifest, therefore, that if the Faculty of Education is maintained at Queen's it will be a recognition of the position of Queen's, not a public necessity. 40

Seath wanted to find out what plans the government had in mind. Would the government continue to maintain the faculty? If so, would it bear all expenses? Would it pay the cost of an observation school similar to Toronto's? Then came the crucial question:

Will the Government support me in demanding that, no matter how it is to be secured, Queen's must maintain a thoroughly efficient faculty?

With this question Seath laid bare his deep suspicions and fears that his political masters, faced by unpopular decisions, could be influenced by non-educational motives to make thoughtless sacrifices or slip into easy compromises, leaving advisors, like Seath, and their commitments, high and dry.

40. P.A.O., *Whitney Papers*, Seath, J., to Minister of Education, 12 November, 1909.

41. *Idem.*

How Pyne reacted is a mystery. The grant to Queen's continued beyond the three years approved originally in the estimates of 1907, but no effort was made to provide permanent accommodation for the faculty, let alone the experimental, on-campus observation and practice teaching school which the new dean wanted so badly⁴². The government would neither nourish nor extinguish the ailing institution. With its enrolments sagging dismally in the following years to an all-time low of twenty in 1912, relief was hardly justified; yet, no one would administer the 'coup de grace'. Whitney had made too many promises of support for that. Any claim advanced by the University would be "considered fairly ... on its merits and not lightly dismissed", he had said in 1905 when Queen's was pressing for the establishment of a teacher-training facility. Then, again, in 1912, five years after the establishment of the faculty of education, Queen's, he said, would receive "her fair share of assistance" from the province for the work she was doing⁴³. And so the faculty limped along.

In March, 1913, Dean Ellis died and it was necessary to appoint a successor. The whole question of the future of the faculty came up for review and was discussed by Seath and university officials. Here was another opportunity to phase out the institution. It would have been comparatively easy, for all instructors other than the dean were on annual appointments, but the university was anxious to continue and the Education

42. Q.U.A., *D.M. Gordon Papers*, Series II, Sec. A, Folder 5, Principal's Report, 1911-12, referring to Ellis's report on 26 March, 1912.

43. P.A.O., *RG3/Hearst Papers*: Queen's University, see Memorial of the Board of Trustees, 16 December, 1915.

Department was ready to comply. There is therefore no reason to doubt the university's claim that it was through Seath's direct assistance that Queen's officials were put in touch with H.T.J. Coleman, Pakenham's assistant in Toronto, and that the vacant deanship was offered to him. Coleman, apparently, was then about to take a position in another Ontario university teaching a subject outside education. Knowing this, the Education Department and Queen's encouraged him by assurances of support, including, allegedly, "a very definite hint" that the Province would help the University erect a building to house the faculty of education⁴⁴. But that was not to be.

Principal Gordon put forth a strong case early in 1915⁴⁵. Enrolment had doubled at Queen's and accommodation was at a premium following the occupancy of the entire Arts Building by the army medical corps. The faculty of education had one small office; the students had no seating accommodation; and the Kingston practice-teaching staff were practically cut off from the university. Seath supported Gordon's case in a logical, impartial presentation⁴⁶. He was swayed by the rising enrolment figures. Toronto with three hundred and fifty students was overcrowded; Queen's with seventy-five could take more, but hardly under existing circumstances. He argued that the Minister accepted the Queen's courses without discrimination, and that, therefore Queen's was just as entitled

44. P.A.O., RG3/*Drury Papers*/General Correspondence: Queen's, 1920; see memo accompanying letter from Taylor, R.B., Principal, Queen's University to Drury, E.C., 10 February, 1920.

45. P.A.O., RG2/P3/1915/U-607, Gordon, D.M., to Pyne, R.A., 8 February, 1915.

46. Ibid., Seath, J., to Pyne, R.A., 12 February, 1915.

to a building and a University School of its own as Toronto and that the whole cost of training at Queen's should also be a charge on the province, as it was in Toronto, and not a drain on Queen's private resources. Then, Seath concluded, student attendance could be divided, and to ensure that the province got a just return for its expenditures, both faculties could be more tightly controlled through inspections of their work carried out by competent officers of the Department. A few weeks later Deputy Minister Colquhoun advised Gordon that the government could not make a definite decision on his proposal during the current year⁴⁷. It was then early March, 1915, and there the matter rested. No buildings were erected then or later for the Queen's Faculty of Education and it had the dubious honour of being the province's only teacher-training institution without a home of its own. It was simply a case of discrimination.

Meanwhile Dean Coleman sent in his annual reports telling the Minister that his wishes were being carried out faithfully with no exceptions. By then the Minister's demands on the faculties had been extended further to include submission of copies of final examination papers, as well as general certificates indicating that students had taken a prescribed number of practice and observation lessons and had been in regular attendance⁴⁸. By then end-of-year reports, signed by all faculty members on the order of the Minister, had apparently reached the level of including administrative minutiae - such as the following extracted from a Toronto Faculty Report of 1915:

47. Ibid., Colquhoun, A.H.U., to Gordon, D.M., 2 March, 1915.

48. Ibid., Colquhoun, A.H.U., to Coleman, H.T.J., 21 April, 1915.

The record of attendance is indicated by numerals in the proper column in the mark sheets. All irregularities not indicated there are explained by illness, domestic bereavement, or duties as substitute teachers under the regulations. 49

Meanwhile real troubles were brewing for Queen's. From about 1914 on, opinions began reaching Seath's desk from experienced men in the field and from students too that the tuition in the faculties was not all it should be⁵⁰. Men like J.H. Putman, Inspector in Ottawa⁵¹, and R.H. Cowley, Toronto's Chief Inspector⁵², believed that the normal schools were turning out better-quality teachers than the faculties. Putman's candid comment was that the graduates of the normal school previously trained in the model schools and with a year's experience were the best beginning teachers in the province.

Seath did not seem to be unduly impressed until evidence mounted that comparisons were unfavourable to the faculties because they were "not in an efficient condition". He decided to take a look for himself; in fact, he carried out a personal tour of inspection in both universities. When he visited the Queen's Faculty of Education in 1916, there were forty students in attendance and prospects for future increases were meagre. At Toronto, he found 289, grouped regularly in classes of seventy, often ninety, sometimes one hundred and eighty. If money were to be made available for new buildings, he concluded, it ought to be spent in Toronto and not in Kingston, where he doubted even the wisdom of continuing the

49. Ibid., Box U-610, Sandiford, P., Secretary, Council of the Faculty of Education, Toronto, to Colquhoun, A.H.U., 31 May, 1915.

50. P.A.O., RG2/P2/22; see item 1.

51. Ibid., Putman, J.H., to Seath, J., 5 March, 1914.

52. Ibid., Cowley, R.H., to Seath, J., 5 March, 1914.

legislative grant. Although at both faculties he criticized methods courses given by university men who had no relation to the classes and to the critic teachers in the schools, he levelled his biggest guns at the faculties' coverage of public school courses, particularly at Queen's which he simply condemned as "inadequate". The fact was, he pointed out to the Minister later, the faculties attempted to cover in less than seven months courses leading to high school as well as first-class public school certification, whereas the normal school took nine months over the programme leading to second-class certification.

There was only one remedy for shortness of time and the concurrent study of too many subjects: an immediate lengthening of the course with an intensive study of a smaller number of subjects. This, in fact, was the proposal he made to the two deans. Although Lavell might have appreciated Seath's slight gesture in the direction of the "selective" as opposed to the "encyclopaedic" approach to curriculum construction, neither Pakenham nor Coleman liked the idea of beginning their courses in September and continuing them through to June. Seath confided to the Minister that in his judgement most of the objections were "of little weight", emphasizing that if the deans did not take up the proposal, their courses would not be acceptable to the Education Department. The defects in the public school courses could be postponed, he told the Minister, until the future of the faculties was "more definitely settled"⁵³.

53. P.A.O., RG2/P3/M1 - 1918, Seath, J., to the Minister of Education, undated, but undoubtedly of Spring, 1917. The copy in the *D.M. Gordon Papers*, Q.U.A., is different in some respects, indicating that Seath's original was amended before a copy was sent to Queen's.

In Kingston there was a delay in meeting Seath's proposal. The University claimed later that it was hampered by burdens imposed on it by the war, regarding buildings, staffs, etc., and could not make the change "overnight as it were". Delays within the Department itself also allegedly held up the completion of course revisions. Dean Coleman, however, seems to have been willing enough to meet the departmental demands "though his own judgement went strongly against them"; in fact, he gave up much of his vacation in 1917 to prepare an entirely new calendar⁵⁴.

But he was not fast enough for Seath who had committed himself. In July the following letter went out to Queen's Board of Trustees over the signature of the Minister of Education⁵⁵. It was a letter of considerable moment in the history of Queen's University:

July 23rd, 1917

... Although as Minister of Education I am directly responsible to the Public for the progressive efficiency of Elementary and Secondary School Systems of this Province, I have encountered difficulties during the last few months in securing from the Universities concerned those modifications of their present provisions for the professional training of teachers which the experience of my Department has shown to be necessary. Accordingly I hereby notify the Board of Trustees of Queen's University that at the close of the coming session of the Faculties concerned this Department will withdraw from the Agreements at present in force.

In explanation I may add that I have taken this step in order that I may have a free hand in securing such provision for the professional training of the higher grades of teachers as is necessitated by the responsibilities of my office.

54. P.A.O., RG3/*Drury Papers*/General Correspondence: Queen's University, 1920; Taylor, R.B., to Drury, E.C., 10 February, 1920; see attached memo dated December, 1919.

55. Q.U.A., *D.M. Gordon Papers*, Series II, Sec. C, folder 13, Pyne, R.A., to Queen's Board of Trustees, 23 July, 1917, extracted from Minutes of Board of Trustees, 17 October, 1917. (Content suggests that a similar letter probably went to the University of Toronto.)

Queen's Board of Trustees did not get around to studying Pyne's letter till mid-October when a deputation under Gordon's chairmanship was appointed to wait upon the Premier. What happened precisely in the months that followed is not clear, for at the end of the calendar year, 1917, Gordon retired for reasons of ill health, handing over the principalship of Queen's University to the Rev. Bruce Taylor, and before the end of the scholastic year, Pyne also retired, handing over his portfolio to Rev. H.J. Cody. A draft of a letter from Gordon to Pyne⁵⁶ outlining customary arguments for the retention of a faculty of education at Queen's indicated that the deputation's mood was a conciliatory one, though it gently rapped the government not only for its behaviour concerning the publication of calendars for the Queen's faculty "quite unworthy of being issued in its name", but also for dictating to the faculty in "minutest matters". Gordon argued that cold arbitrariness, desire for complete control, needless interference and bureaucratic dictation would wreck any plan of coordinate jurisdiction, and he pleaded for some better method of harmonious cooperation. As for the immediate problem, Gordon explained that Queen's had lengthened the course by six weeks; restricted the high school course to graduates; included instruction of up to four hours per week in the subjects demanded by the Elementary Certificate in Physical Culture; and made arrangements with the local board for changes in the presentation of certain subjects in the Collegiate Institute so that in future these would be given by heads of departments. As all of these changes met

56. *Ibid.*, See Section B, folder 6; see undated drafts in Gordon's hand.

the recommendations of Seath in his written report, the university was surprised at the contents of the Minister's letter. Whether or not Pyne actually received the letter that Gordon drafted was not too significant in view of succeeding events; its significance lay more in its indication of Queen's continued interest in the faculty of education and of the efforts that it had made to meet the Superintendent's demands.

From this time on, the direction of Seath's thinking grew bolder and clearer. In March, 1918, surprisingly, he addressed himself directly to Premier W.H. Hearst providing him with a thoroughly complete list of "necessary educational reforms". It read like a series of final wishes. There were sixteen all told, placed in order of priority: first, second, and third. Among the top-order reforms was the following historical suggestion, and the first hint of what was to take place two and a half years later, when Seath had left the scene, and a new party, a new government and a new Minister were in power:

The establishment of a Provincial College of Education to be controlled wholly by the Government and probably to be affiliated with the University of Toronto for the purpose of degrees in Pedagogy; said College to replace the Faculties of Education at Toronto and Kingston. 57

Hearst's reply was definite, even abrupt. It began mildly enough by gently reproaching the Superintendent for by-passing the Minister⁵⁸, but then it stated forthrightly that the Council was "strongly opposed at present" to the establishment of the Provincial College of Education as

57. P.A.O., *H.J. Cody Papers*, V: Papers Relating to Education, Seath, J., to Hearst, W.H., 25 March, 1918.

58. Seath's action is inexplicable; the next day, after interviewing Hearst, he did tell Pyne what he had done; see Seath, J., to Pyne, R.A., of 26 March, 1918, in *H.J. Cody Papers*, Vol. V.

suggested. Hearst did not turn the suggestion down completely, but he said that if an answer was required at once, it was "no" and that the government was satisfied with the existing arrangements⁵⁹.

Events that followed revealed Seath as the fearlessly intent administrator he is reputed to have been. Undaunted by obstacles and rebuffs and determined to achieve goals he considered eminently worthwhile, at the end of April he mustered the strongest departmental team of inspectors available and sent it into the two faculties. His reasons, he explained to the Minister, were that his earlier approval of the programmes of the faculties, which the deans had revised during the summer of 1917, was interim in nature. Now before it was too late, these approvals had to be confirmed so that legislative grants could be authorized and each faculty's examination results accepted. Referring specifically to the Queen's faculty he told Pyne that at first he had been unable even to grant interim approval "owing to the inefficiency of the proposed organization". It was as a result only of "drastic measures" - he was probably thinking of the Minister's letter sent to Queen's in July - that Dean Coleman experienced "a change of heart" thereby enabling Seath to recommend acceptance of a *modus vivendi* until the future status of the faculty was settled. The members of the inspectoral team would be F.W. Merchant, Director of Industrial and Technical Education, J. Waugh, Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools, and A.H. Leake, Inspector of Manual Training and Household Science. He could not have found a more influential, prestigious group of men⁶⁰.

59. *Ibid.*, Hearst, W.H., to Seath, J., 26 March, 1918.

60. P.A.O., RG2/P3/M1-1918, Seath, J., to Minister of Education, 2 April, 1918.

Queen's Faculty of Education, with an enrolment of forty-five and a staff of fifteen, was inspected during the last week in April, 1918, and the first week in May; Toronto's, with an enrolment of 271 and a staff of eighteen, followed in the second week of May. The inspectors' final report following their visit to Kingston covered just over seven pages plus six for appendices⁶¹, more than double the length required for Toronto's report and appendices⁶². The inspectors examined everybody and everything with the exception of three foundation courses at Toronto: School Management, History of Education, and Science of Education, which had been completed by the time of the visit.

At Queen's, apart from the teaching ability of the senior staff and a couple of university professors, the inspectors found little to please them. They criticized over-emphasis on the lecture method and overwhelming reliance of students' note-taking. The teaching of Science, Household Science, as well as Physics, Chemistry and Advanced Botany seemed to be specially defective, for there were no experiments or demonstrations provided, teaching aids being limited to charts and illustrations. In the High School, too, the science equipment was inadequate; in fact, in teaching force and in organization, the school failed to approach the ideal as a representative school to be attended by teachers-in-training. Lesson planning, methods of providing for lesson criticisms, and the system of lesson assignments were all individually condemned, and so too was the lack of coordination between the high school and the faculty whose individual timetables were not synchronised so as to make it possible

61. P.A.O., RG2/P3/U-607 of 1917; see report of inspectors, May, 1918.

62. Ibid., file U-610 of 1917; see report of inspectors, May, 1918.

for students to be present in the high school without missing assigned classes in the university. Victoria School, the public school used for practice teaching, the inspectors said, was an exceptionally fine one, but here, as well, methods of assigning and criticizing lessons were defective.

Merchant and his colleagues suggested a number of remedies but hurried to point out that the reconstruction they had in mind would be warranted only if student attendance was greatly increased. They recommended a minimum enrolment of one hundred, and admitted therefore that it would be necessary to distribute students between Toronto and Kingston, a difficult task, for the statistics presented by the inspectors showed that only a relatively small proportion came from the east. If, however, these enrolment conditions could not be met, then, in the opinion of the inspectoral committee, Queen's would have to be abandoned.

The comparison between the reports on the Queen's faculty and the Toronto faculty was obvious. In the latter the inspectors found the equipment "in every department" to be "first-class", and apart from the inadequacy of methods of criticizing students' teaching, the inspectors were generally satisfied. Queen's, it seems, had one advantage over Toronto, but it was rather grudgingly admitted by the inspectors. At Kingston, students were surrounded "by what is usually described as the University atmosphere", whereas in Toronto, the university contributed but "little to their social and intellectual life".

What happened following submission of the inspectors' reports is misty. It is known, of course, that Rev. H.J. Cody, the eminent Toronto churchman and scholar, and a member of the 1905 Royal Commission, replaced Pyne in mid-May, and there is evidence that the report on the Queen's

faculty was sent down to Kingston in June, where in August it found its way, in part, into the local newspapers⁶³. Meanwhile, in mid-July, 1918, Principal Taylor saw Cody who was then "surveying the field and reaching out for a policy". Cody spoke of his intention of leaving the faculties where they were and of training public school teachers in a new institution in Toronto⁶⁴.

But it was not before the second week in September that the Kingston Board learned officially that the Queen's Faculty was to be operated in the year 1918-19, and not terminated as it was anticipated. Taylor, apparently, had succeeded in working out some "arrangement" with Cody when he saw him in July. To the Board, however, he reported that the changes that members had read about in the local press in August referring to university professors taking over lectureships from high school staffs in several departments, including methods in Science, English, French and Mathematics, were not the work of the university. "We did not know if the faculty would be continued", he said. He then reminded the members that the future organization of the faculty would have to be in accordance with the inspectors' report; if it were not, there would be no faculty and Kingston would lose, he pointed out⁶⁵. The trustees were sympathetic, and because they were fearful that Kingston might lose the faculty, they accepted the new agreement which Queen's offered them. It had been sweetened by a proposal to improve communications by installing both a secretary and a telephone in the collegiate institute at Queen's expense. "Go to it and demonstrate to

63. Kingston *Daily British Whig*, 14 August, 1918.

64. P.A.O., RG18, D-2-5-1923, *Report of Special Committee on the Organization of the University of Toronto*, 1007; from deposition of R. Bruce Taylor.

65. Kingston *Daily British Whig*, 13 September, 1918.

the Minister that Queen's must have a faculty of education", said one trustee. "Queen's is now on trial"! said another⁶⁶.

One's sympathies naturally go out to the teachers of the Kingston Collegiate Institute who in August discovered what the departmental inspectors thought of their work. Take, for example, the case of W.J. Saunders, the Science teacher, who in ten years, allegedly, had not received "one word of adverse criticism". Under Lavell and Ellis he gave his lectures in the local collegiate institute; then, under Coleman, he had instructions to transfer to the university in order "to popularize the faculty". The move necessitated his carrying his specimens and apparatus back and forth between the collegiate institute and the university. Suddenly, following receipt of the inspectors' report, Saunders discovered from Taylor and Coleman that his work was "forty years behind the times". Later he saw the report himself and concluded that "it was the system" and not Saunders, the teacher, who was criticized. "I have been condemned in the eyes of the Kingston Board ..., by many friends ... and my fellow teachers. No self-respecting person could long continue to serve under such conditions", he complained to the Minister. He saw himself as a scapegoat for a faultily designed and faultily operated system⁶⁷.

Despite the government's cool reception of Seath's idea about setting up a Provincial College of Education, events of the year 1918-1919 appear only as successive reprieves, for in October, 1918, Seath seemed to be moving ahead as if he were in the process of gathering preparatory

66. Kingston *Daily Standard*, 18 September, 1918.

67. P.A.O., *H.J. Cody Papers*, V: Saunders, W.J., to Cody, H.J., 9 December, 1918.

facts. He wanted information from Dean Pakenham about the financial impact of a possible withdrawal from Toronto of the programme leading to public school certification; he also wanted more specific information including the names of staff whom Pakenham would keep under such circumstances. It looked as if the new plan might entail complete separation of high school and public school courses as well as elimination of the faculties. What is more it looked as if Seath had every intention of hurrying ahead with his plan⁶⁸.

A month later, Deputy Minister Colquhoun instructed Waugh and Merchant to inspect the Toronto and Queen's faculties "as early as practicable next week"; at the same time he notified Pakenham and Coleman that he wanted from them a statement showing what changes they had made "to meet criticisms of Inspectors ... as a result of their visit ... last April"⁶⁹. By the end of December the inspectors' reports were in. For the Toronto Faculty, they recommended that the courses "be accepted by the department". For the Queen's Faculty they reported that they could not recommend acceptance as the physics and chemistry classes "were not in operation" at the time of their visit. The report⁷⁰ showed that the inspectors again ran into the incessant problem associated with university-operated teacher-training programmes, the one that Seath faced in 1916, that Merchant and his colleagues faced in 1918, and the one that Lavell, Ellis, Coleman and Pakenham had faced since the beginning of the faculties: namely, the

68. P.A.O., RG2/P3/U-610 of 1918, Seath, J., to Pakenham, W., 31 October, 1918. (Also contains Pakenham's reply.)

69. Ibid., file U-607, Colquhoun, A.H.U., to Waugh, J., 25 November, 1918.

70. Ibid., See Report of Waugh, J., and Merchant, F.W., on Queen's Faculty of Education, 30 December, 1918.

problem of the university professors who took no part in practice teaching supervision. To Waugh and Merchant they were "a decided weakness" in the system, firstly, because such professors could not adapt their instruction to meet the needs of their students, and secondly, because the opportunity was missed for a more intimate association between the university staff and the practice teaching staff in the schools.

Early in 1919, Superintendent John Seath took ill. He was away from the Department for about six weeks and then almost exactly a year after submission of his recommendation regarding the College of Education, he died. Cody saw him shortly before, and afterwards told the members of the O.E.A. at their annual convention in April that the superintendent's last thoughts were on some changes or modifications that he wished to see made in the training of the province's teachers. It was fitting, therefore, that at the same convention the Minister should refer to recent legislation providing for the establishment of a College of Education for the professional training and instruction of teachers. In fact, the School Law Amendment Act of April, 1919, to which he was referring, was an enabling act clearing the way for the government to make plans, when it wished, for a College affiliated "with any university" and at the same time "under the management and the control of the Minister along with normal schools"⁷¹. Cody was not prepared to say when the government would act; instead, amid the applause of his listeners and in

71. P.A.O., *H.J. Cody Papers*, Box 63, Folder 3; see brief attached to copy of bill 158 to enlighten Cody on its contents.

words which Seath would undoubtedly have found apt in view of his experiences with the Queen's Faculty of Education, he confined himself to the following statement concerning the responsibilities of the state towards teacher preparation programmes:

... But it is, I think, unwise that any state should divest itself of its duty of training teachers for its own schools. No matter what agency it may use for the training of teachers, the state is ultimately responsible and it cannot pass over its responsibility. The real problem is to find out what is in the best interests of efficient teaching and of the schools Other interests are of secondary importance. 72

For Queen's Faculty of Education "the writing was on the wall". In June, 1919, Principal Taylor saw Cody again and estimated that by then the policy "had shaped itself". Cody, Taylor reported later, had decided to remove the faculties and to begin a "large teachers' training institute in Toronto"⁷³.

Perhaps the evolution of Cody's policy discouraged Coleman and his faculty people in Kingston, and that is why they became slipshod. For the first time, in July, 1919, the Registrar of the Education Department complained to the Minister about the state of Coleman's annual report. Like a classroom teacher comparing the work of two small boys, the Registrar reported that Pakenham's report conformed "to the requirements" in every way, whereas Coleman's had "several omissions". For some of the Queen's courses, there were, the Registrar reported, no sessional marks; for another group of subjects someone had failed to enter the totals; in some cases students were recommended who were not qualified by

72. *O.E.A. Proceedings*, 1919, 141.

73. P.A.O., RG18, D-2-5-1923, *Op.Cit.*, 1007.

age. Finally the Registrar recommended that four candidates who had failed in Physical Culture be passed, on the grounds that the question paper in Anatomy was "too technical" having been set by a medical man. The Registrar and Dean Pakenham had looked into it⁷⁴! Cody agreed and the Registrar had to write to Coleman reprimanding him, and advising him no such omission would be "allowed" the following year⁷⁵. Apparently, there was to be yet another session. Meanwhile, Coleman learned from the Toronto newspapers that his four failures had been passed. He accepted the criticisms, gave excuses and explained that the sessional mark problem arose because he was dealing "with lectures over whose time one has only a limited control"⁷⁶.

In the fall of 1919, the next year of trial for Queen's Faculty of Education, the Conservatives went to the polls, and after fourteen years in office suffered a major set-back. Hearst and Cody were turned out of office; E.C. Drury and R.H. Grant as Minister moved in. They took over the reins of government on 14 November, 1919, a crucial time in the history of teacher education. Drury a graduate of Guelph Agricultural College himself, had had four children pass through normal school into teaching. He could be expected to know something about teachers, their needs and their aims.

Queen's, undaunted, took advantage of the installation of the new government to present its case anew. In December, two briefs were prepared, one requesting an increased grant for the university, including

74. P.A.O., RG2/P3/U-607 of 1919, Croskery, R.A., to Cody, H.J., 14 July, 1919.

75. Ibid., Croskery, R.A., to Coleman, W.J., 21 July, 1919.

76. Ibid., Coleman, W.J., to Croskery, R.A., 22 July, 1919.

the faculty of education, and the other dealing exclusively with reasons why the latter should be retained⁷⁷. The briefs showed Queen's to be opposed to the establishment of one large training institution in Toronto because of its centralizing feature which ignored the lessons of the old Normal College, and placed teachers "almost as much apart as are priests trained in seminaries". Instead, Queen's sought retention of a faculty of education with the following features built in; the faculty's own practice school at an estimated cost of \$150,000.; lecturers appointed jointly by the arts and education faculties; and provision of rural school practice teaching experiences within walking distance of the University. The most far-reaching idea, however, was that all grades of teachers be trained in the same classrooms, thus demonstrating a oneness in the teaching profession which in the past in Ontario had been "hindered ... by rigid separation between different classes of teachers". Queen's held that second-class teachers could be stimulated by the university environment, with its libraries, museums, scientific equipment, public lectures and other functions, and by its groups of students with all sorts of intellectual and practical interests. In the opinion of the university, the presence within its walls of groups of teachers-in-training gave education a proper place among University studies.

In late February, 1920, following submission of the briefs, Principal Taylor and W.S. Nickle, a Queen's trustee, saw the Minister of Education in Toronto and told him of the growing uneasiness of the Queen's

77. P.A.O., RG3/*Drury Papers*/General Correspondence: Queen's University, 1920; see memoranda of December, 1919, attached to letter from Taylor, R.B., to Drury, E.C., 10 February, 1920.

community over the impact on university enrolment of any government plan to establish a central teacher-training institution. They explained that it might draw away Queen's students for academic as well as professional studies. The Minister was reassuring. He emphasized that whatever was done would not be to the disadvantage of Queen's. Queen's, he reaffirmed, would be treated "on exactly the same plane" as Toronto⁷⁸.

Principal Taylor's discussions with Minister of Education Grant in February, 1920, proved to be the culmination of Queen's final efforts to save its faculty. That the faculty had been less than a success in the eyes of the Education Department was beyond dispute. It was evident to John Seath from the early years when life seemed to be a succession of uneasy encounters with Dean Cecil Lavell. But then and later, the government turned a deaf ear to the Superintendent's insistent pleas for decisive action, and it was not before 1917 at the earliest when Pyne came close to closing the faculty, that government began at last to appreciate that something had to be done. Then there were inevitable delays arising from a change of government, two changes of Ministers, the re-assignment of departmental responsibilities after Seath's death⁷⁹, and still more briefs submitted by Queen's. Three more years elapsed, more than enough for successive, adverse reports of departmental inspectors to extinguish any lingering hopes for a late-blooming success or for further reprieves for the Queen's faculty. By February, 1920, when Taylor and Grant talked, its doom was sealed.

78. P.A.O., RG 18, D-2-5-1923, *Op.Cit.*, 1007.

79. S.A. Morgan, Principal, Hamilton Normal School, was appointed Director of Professional Training Schools on 1 August, 1919, to take over Seath's responsibilities for teacher training. The office of Superintendent of Education held by Seath since 1906 was abolished in 1919.

From the evidence examined it is concluded that the reorganization which Grant and his officials worked on in 1920, and which led to the decision to centralize high school teacher training in Toronto and to segregate it from elementary school teacher training, was the outcome in large part of an official dissatisfaction with the location and performance of the Queen's Faculty of Education. Had it achieved success, it is believed that no such fateful reorganization would have occurred. Because it had not, but because the performance of the Toronto Faculty in departmental eyes had proved at least adequate in comparison, Grant had to wrestle with the practically insoluble problems of determining, first, how to terminate support for an unwanted teacher training facility in one university without giving umbrage, while continuing to finance a similar facility in another university; and second, how to tighten government control over the operation of the latter without having it relinquish its university affiliation. Seath had tried to solve these enigmas in March, 1918, when he called for the establishment of a College of Education in Toronto controlled "wholly by the Government" and linked to the University. He had wanted the best of both worlds. Now in 1920 Grant looked for the same.

The final chapter will review events of that year to ascertain how Grant went about achieving such a pair of desirable but elusive goals. The present chapter will conclude first, however, by considering the reasons for the Queen's Faculty's lack of success, which, it is held, led to its closure and to the 1920 limitations placed on the involvement of universities in teacher training.

In the first place, the Whitney Government's original plan in 1906 had been to establish one faculty or school of pedagogy in the University of Toronto for the training of high school and first-class elementary school teachers. Such a move had been recommended by the Royal Commission, by President Loudon of the University of Toronto, by John Seath and others. At that time it would have been impossible for the universities to take over all teacher training, and the recommendation for the University of Toronto to take over the responsibilities of the Normal College was probably timely. But Dyde's extraordinary interest in teacher training was strongly supported by Principal Daniel Gordon and Queen's Trustees, and the latter won Whitney's ear with the result that a second faculty of education was hurriedly, if not mistakenly, set up in Queen's University in 1907. Our research has uncovered no evidence that preliminary investigations were carried out by the government before the decision was made regarding the suitability of Queen's for the location of a second faculty of education, or that sufficient planning was made after the decision to ensure its efficient launching. In fact, in retrospect, the timing of the whole project by the Whitney Government seems difficult to understand, for it required little foresight to appreciate that unless careful plans were laid, unnecessary difficulties would arise in the administration of an institution subject to decision-making powers at three levels of government: provincial, municipal, and university. And they arose in abundance as we have seen. There were serious financial problems, staffing difficulties in the faculty and in the local high schools and elementary schools, accommodation worries, enrolment shortages, practice teaching deficiencies, differences of opinion over programmes, contrary viewpoints over basic philosophy, and personality clashes. It

was not that they could have been completely eliminated, or even accurately foreseen, but that from the early stages they were poorly considered, if at all. It is fair to conclude that the Whitney Government believed, naively perhaps, that once the gesture of government financial support had been made, it was only a matter of the experts in the Department and the university professors planning the operation of a faculty of education.

One ought not be too surprised by such apparent lack of foresight. The larger faculty in Toronto was established on the recommendation of a Royal Commission set up to examine not the training of teachers but "a scheme for the management and government of the University of Toronto". Teacher training was not even referred to in the Commission's terms of reference - it seemed to be an interjection, an aside, an incidental aspect of the Commission's work, and though it took some commissioners to far-off Chicago and New York, it never got them to the nearby Ontario Normal College where they might have benefited from its ten years' experience.

Under such circumstances, it is really no surprise that the Queen's faculty, hastily put together, was soon in difficulties and that Seath had to point out to the Minister that its maintenance could be justified only on political grounds. It was quite too small; it was ill-equipped; it was inadequately accommodated; and it was financially deprived; yet it was allowed to drag along inadequately for a dozen years before any government acted decisively on the advice Seath had given from the beginning. Opportunities to end its sorry plight passed and the procrastinations and vacillations of government provided fertile ground for the growth in the Department of a resistance to the idea of university involvement in

teacher training. If Seath's advice to the Royal Commission had been followed in the first place, and if the first experiment in Ontario of university involvement in teacher training had been limited to the larger scale and more efficient operation in the Toronto faculty, the first government experience with university participation in the training of the province's teachers would undoubtedly have been more rewarding.

CHAPTER VIII

The Reorganization of 1920

The actual decision to terminate the life of the Queen's Faculty of Education was made, it seems, on Wednesday, 12th May, 1920, by A.E. Ross and A.M. Rankin, Conservative M.L.A.'s for Kingston and Frontenac, respectively. They were interviewing the Minister of Education who was then working on his Department's estimates. Grant made a proposal which Ross interpreted as a choice for Kingston between "a very substantial gift" towards the rebuilding of the city's General Hospital and acceptance of financial aid for the Faculty of Education. Recalling a phone discussion with Ross later the same day, Principal Taylor said that the two men "had to choose on the spot". It was a matter of "balancing the one thing against the other", he said, and they took the hospital support, which came to the sum of \$400,000. in five payments¹. Later that week when news of the grant was made public, *The Globe* described it as a reimbursement "for the loss of the faculty". There was no question of the Kingston representatives having to make a choice; in fact, the newspaper wondered

1. P.A.O., RG18, D-2-5-1923, *Minutes of Special Committee ... into the Organization and Administration of the University of Toronto*, 17 January, 1923; MinuteBook, Vol. 5, 1008.

whether or not Toronto would receive a similar "balm"². What took place in the Minister's office on that Wednesday morning can only be surmised.

That same day, as well as telephoning Taylor, Ross wrote to George Y. Chown, the Queen's Registrar. He told him that Grant was aware that the Queen's authorities had "refused to drop assistance to the faculty"; in fact, Grant told Ross so, but the latter assured the Minister that the hospital's need was "more pressing"³. Thus as Taylor put it later, Queen's lost the faculty without any opportunity of arguing its case, as they would have done, strenuously, if they had thought that both faculties were not to be treated alike. At that point, however, it seemed likely that Taylor and his colleagues were not unduly disturbed about the politicians' decision. The grant to the hospital was "generous" in Taylor's view and it would help put Queen's struggling faculty of medicine on its feet⁴.

The following Saturday, 15th April, 1920, the Minister announced that with the end of the current session the education faculties at Toronto and Kingston would "pass out of existence". Thereafter, according to *The Globe*, "all teachers" were to receive their training in the various normal schools of the province. The change, the Minister was reported to have said, would result in the Department having the curriculum for the training of teachers "entirely within its control". He thought this would be "more convenient and probably more efficient", and he also expected that there would be some saving of money⁵.

2. *The Globe*, 17 May, 1920.

3. P.A.O., RG18, D-2-5-1923, *Op.Cit.*, 1013.

4. *Ibid.*, 1017.

5. *The Globe*, 17 May, 1920.

The day after the report in *The Globe*, Grant addressed the House and cleared up an apparent confusion. It was the public school teachers alone, those seeking first-class certificates, who were to be trained in the normal schools. By inference, high school teachers were to receive their professional preparation in the new institution, but the Minister still did not commit himself to its precise nature. The "whole situation had to be looked at", he said, adding reassuringly however that "efficiency would come first and the question of expense second". He then told the House that Queen's "relinquishment" of its faculty of education had come about because the numbers of teachers-in-training there did not warrant "a full faculty". As for the connection between Queen's loss of its faculty of education and the granting of funds to support its faculty of medicine, Grant explained that pending a decision as to whether a full faculty would be established, Queen's "requested \$400,000. in aid of medical education". As the government could not grant expenditures on both, Grant said, the university decided "in favour of medical education". Dr. Ross of Kingston was in the House when Grant spoke and *The Globe* reported that he expressed his "concurrence in the statement made by Grant"⁶.

At that time the strongest reaction to the Minister's announcements came from students. A deputation of ninety from Toronto converged on Queen's Park on 27th May, 1920, and presented a memorandum to the Minister opposing discontinuation of the Toronto Faculty. In what *The Globe* called a "restrained and fair" tone, the deputation deplored the plan because it was likely "to accentuate the division of our common

6. *Ibid.*, 19 May, 1920.

school system into elementary and secondary education" and was therefore harmful to the continuity of that system⁷. A few days later, another group, this time from Queen's University, presented its protest and expressed a similar belief in the vital unity of a public and secondary educational system linked to the universities. The deputation elicited a statement from the Minister of Education that the matter was still under consideration, as well as confirmation that any government policy would deal with Toronto and Queen's "on the same basis"⁸. Rumours that the University of Toronto Schools might also disappear with Toronto's Faculty of Education aroused a third delegation, a group of one hundred and fifty parents and well-wishers. They, too, presented objections to the Minister⁹.

Sometime during June, 1920, certainly by early July, there were indications that if the government had plans to set up an institution in Toronto under its own direct control and separate from the universities, it had changed its mind. The evidence of Sir Robert Falconer, President, Toronto University, when he appeared before the Special Committee on the Organization of the University of Toronto, 1922-23, suggests that the University was instrumental in persuading the government so to do. "We in the university do not believe it is a good move ... to separate at least the highest classes of teaching from the university", he said,

7. *The Globe*, 28 May, 1920; one of the leaders was S.A. Watson, father of Patrick Watson, the controversial TV personality of the late 1960's. S.A. Watson later became Principal of Ottawa Teachers' College.

8. *The Star*, 2 June, 1920.

9. *The Globe*, 11 June, 1920.

adding that the university "fought strongly against the idea of an independent institution separate from both universities¹⁰".

In any case, by the end of June, 1920, Taylor in Kingston must have had more than an inkling that things were not working out as he had expected; he must have thought that he was either under a misapprehension or was being deceived. In the middle of the month he received a "formal notice" from Grant that the government had in hand arrangements for a training institution to be styled the Ontario College of Education. It was to take the place of the arrangement hitherto existing between the Department and the faculties. To Taylor, the notice confirmed that both faculties would "cease to exist" and that the Department was taking over "wholly itself" the training of teachers¹¹. Two weeks later, however, "a most neighbourly letter" arrived from Falconer. It disclosed that the government was removing the training of first-class teachers from Toronto University which Falconer said, "leaves us with a very curtailed Faculty, and one of the conditions of the retention of the Faculty is that the Government shall call it the Ontario College of Education¹²".

Just over a week later, on 8 July, 1920, the Minister announced that the new arrangements for the training of public and high school teachers were almost complete. All former provisions for their training at faculties of education were cancelled; professional courses for first-class public school teachers would henceforth be organized at normal schools in London, Hamilton, Toronto and Ottawa; and a new institution called the

10. P.A.O., RG18, D-2-5-1923, *Op.Cit.*, 1026.

11. *Ibid.*, 1009.

12. *Ibid.*

Ontario College of Education would be set up at the University of Toronto. Its costs were to be borne by the province; students' fees would be approved by the government; and its certificates were to be issued by the Minister. Later that month, William Pakenham, Dean of the former Faculty of Education, was confirmed as Dean of the new College of Education¹³.

By that time, an agreement between the Board of Governors of Toronto University and the Department of Education had been drawn up. It was dated 30th June, 1920, two days after Falconer's letter. Taylor spoke of it before the Special Committee in January, 1923, stating that he knew nothing about the agreement until he read Bill 236¹⁴. This was a piece of legislation which "ratified and confirmed" the agreement of June, 1920, between the Governors of the University of Toronto and the Minister of Education, but which did not have its first reading until 3rd May, 1922. The agreement¹⁵ said that the College was to provide graduate courses in education, courses for high school assistants and specialists, and "such other courses for certificates of the department of education as may be required by the Minister and agreed to by the Governors". It was under this latter provision that high school and specialist courses were organized to include supplementary public school courses, including first-class public school certificates, so as to provide, it was thought, a way by which College graduates could prepare

13. *C.A.R.*, 1920, 595/6, 601.

14. *P.A.O.*, RG18, D-2-5-1923, *Op.Cit.*, 1006.

15. "An Act to Amend the University Act", Sec. 5, ratified Order-in-Council, 109/187, approved 18 January, 1921; see NS203 in *P.A.O.*, RG3: Prime Minister's Office.

for public school work and thus for higher professional posts, such as inspectors, directors, and training school instructors. The agreement called for government approval of all courses and regulations affecting the training, conduct and health of students; government approval of personnel appointed to the staff; university willingness to have the College visited and inspected by the Province's Director of Professional Training Schools; submission to the government annually, before 31st December, of estimates of College expenditures for approval by the Legislative Assembly as part of the departmental estimates; approval by the government of all fees; and the issuance of teaching certificates exclusively by the Department of Education upon the report of the Dean.

In the years that followed, Queen's did not forget how it lost its faculty of education and how Toronto, in the opinion of Queen's at least, kept its faculty under a different name. It was not that Taylor and his colleagues at Kingston wanted to reverse government policy, or to accuse anyone of bad faith¹⁶; they wanted to put the record straight so that, if and when the time came, they would have a good claim for restitution. The point was, they maintained before the Special Committee of 1922-23 as well as before the Royal Commission on University Finances of 1921, that they had been under a misapprehension, thinking all along that the two faculties would be treated alike as Grant said they would be in February, 1920, not long after he was appointed to his new post, and

16. P.A.O., RG18, D-2-5-1923, *Op.Cit.*, 1011-1012.

as he repeated often later; in fact, the Queen's officials inferred, they had not been treated alike, for the Ontario College of Education was, it appeared, no different from the old faculties of education. Insistence on this point by Taylor and W.E. McNeill, Chown's successor, led the Special Committee to compare the function and operation of the College and the former faculties. Chairman E.C. Drury and the members questioned Falconer and Pakenham at some length¹⁷ in an effort to determine what similarities and differences there were, if any, thereby enabling the Committee to give Queen's suspicions an airing while the members, at the same time, formed some opinion about what happened in Grant's office on 12th of May, 1920.

In giving evidence before the Special Committee Dean W. Pakenham held that the Minister had "as much control of the College of Education as the Normal School at Stratford". In financial matters, for example, the bursar of the university prepared a statement of receipts and expenditures, including fees, which was taken to departmental officials, discussed, approved, carried to the Council, and then to the House as part of the Education Department's budget. The Minister controlled even the items to be spent upon supplies in the classroom¹⁸. The chief difference between the College and a normal school was that in the case of the College, the Minister worked through the Board of Governors of the University, and not through his own officials. This meant that he had the right to ensure that his wishes were carried out by sending an

17. *Ibid.*, 1014-1026.

18. *Ibid.*, 1022.

inspector to the College to examine the work¹⁹. Falconer agreed with Pakenham that control of the College by the Department was "more direct" than it had been of the former faculty, or, to put it another way, the College was "actually more independent of the University than it was before"²⁰. Appointments to the staff, for example, were made by the University but only after the dean had secured departmental approval. The same applied to the courses of study. "If I am not mistaken", Sir Robert said, "the courses do finally go through the Senate, but the Senate never exerts any control"²¹. Premier Drury summed up the situation succinctly. To him there were two institutions, the University and the College, and they were separated except for the one fact that "the same governing body was responsible for administration"²².

From the viewpoints of Pakenham and Falconer there were advantages in the unusual arrangement which had been worked out. Firstly, by operating through the Board of Governors, the Minister secured the use of the University's buildings, library, convocation hall, Hart House, playing fields and laboratories, and he secured from the University, its degrees, graduate degrees, and cooperation of professors in training for these graduate degrees²³. Secondly, despite the independence and the departmental control, the relationship between the University and the College hopefully did something for the students by giving them "status

19. *Ibid.*, 1020.

20. *Ibid.*, 1026.

21. *Ibid.*, 1025.

22. *Ibid.*, 1019.

23. *Ibid.*, 1020.

... that they would not otherwise have²⁴". To Falconer, particularly, such status seemed important, and he summed up the attitude of the university by telling the Special Committee that he and his colleagues wanted to keep "at least one part of the teaching profession in connection with the university". They looked upon the O.C.E. students "as students of the university", he confided, and they did not wish the College "to be distinct from the university"²⁵". It seemed that Queen's representatives were not convinced. McNeill remembered only too well how Dr. Seath had "absolutely prescribed" Queen's courses long before 1920, leaving Queen's to print them²⁶; perhaps, too, he and Taylor had refreshed their memories about the strictness of departmental control in the early years by re-reading Lavell's account of his experiences as dean. Be that as it may, the Special Committee's opinion was that the College of Education was "quite different from the quondam faculty of education in the University of Toronto". The members were also convinced that Queen's accepted the grant to its Medical Department on the understanding that the Faculty of Education was to be discontinued²⁷. Or, to put it more bluntly, as Chairman E.C. Drury did;

Rightly or wrongly the Counsels of your supposed representative were accepted, and I think accepted in all good faith in the disposal of the funds available ... In the meantime ... you have had your cake, and a very substantial piece, and have eaten it. 28

24. *Ibid.*, 1026.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, 1025.

27. *Ibid.*, see Report of the Committee, 13.

28. *Ibid.*, Minutes ..., 1016, 1024.

CONCLUSION

In Ontario in 1900, at the beginning of the period chosen for study, the Normal College in Hamilton, three normal schools, and fifty or more county model schools made up the province's teacher education system. Government-controlled and directed, it was designed to place a professionally trained teacher in every classroom in the province. Except for the preparation of first-class public school teachers in the Normal College, the system operated on the assumption that training institutions for the preparation of secondary school and elementary school teachers should be separate from each other. It also assumed that the academic institutions from which they came should be separate. Thus, after providing the academic background required for the certification of high school teachers, the province's universities had no connection with the professional training which followed.

In Ontario in late 1920, at the end of the period under scrutiny, the Ontario College of Education in Toronto for the professional training of high school teachers, seven normal schools, a dozen or so model schools, including a few preparing teachers for bilingual schools, made up the teacher education system. In name the College was part of the University of Toronto, but in practice it occupied a position relative to the government little different from that of a normal school. The system operated on the assumption that high school teachers and elementary school teachers should be trained in separate institutions and that the institutions where candidates received their preparatory

academic courses should be separate from those in which they received professional training.

Thus, although the composition of the system underwent some change between the beginning and the end of the period, there was little real difference in its basic structure. The Ontario College of Education had replaced the Ontario Normal College - although to all intents and purposes they were equally under government control - and a smaller number of government-owned normal schools had replaced a large number of government-supervised model schools. But the same basic assumptions applied; in fact, the separation between high school and elementary school training was more clear-cut in 1920 than it had been in 1900.

During the intervening years there were two major transformations in the system - one, in part, towards a greater university involvement, which tended to direct the system away from centralized, government control, and one away from university involvement with a return in the direction of centralization. It has been our purpose to examine these changes and the events connecting them by following lines of enquiry defined in our introduction, and by resolving questions posed there. We now propose to summarize our findings.

No evidence emerged that the basic structure of 1900, including the assumptions on which it was based, had called forth any serious criticisms. There was an occasional solitary voice heard in the education department, like that of James McLellan, the Principal of the Normal College, who once called out for the sort of "in-the-round" approach to teacher training which Robin S. Harris hoped to find emanating from the

School of Pedagogy when it was in the Toronto Normal School. But his voice was a murmur and after the abortive Training Institute experiments of the 1880's, and the unsatisfactory School of Pedagogy episode when high school teachers were trained in the Normal School, high school teacher training settled down until the expiry of the agreement between the Hamilton Board and the Education Department.

As for the possibility of a link-up between the teacher training schools and the universities before 1900, it was again the occasional voice, like Sam Hughes's, which drew attention to the gulf separating them. The government tried to interest the University of Toronto in teacher training in the late 1880's but the University was, to put it mildly, lukewarm and the effort premature. It was not until the closing years of the century, after universities in the United States and in Great Britain had shown increasing interest in teacher education, that Ontario began to take seriously the question of possible affiliations between institutions of teacher training and universities. Following Hume's appeal in Halifax for university involvement and Hodgins' report of his study of the British experience, a participant spoke out with some heat at the Ontario Educational Association meeting in 1900 in favour of university affiliation with teacher training institutions. But there was no great stir, certainly no clamour, for a move in this direction at the opening of the twentieth century.

In fact there seemed to be little possibility at that time that the province's teacher education system was about to change with any rapidity in any direction. The chief forces at work preserved the status quo. Government control of the system, originating with Ryerson, imposed

a multiplicity of rules and regulations which Deputy Minister John Millar, a stickler for their rigid observation, applied with constant, cold dispassion, aimed at impersonal equality which avoided political embarrassment for his masters. At the same time, public disinterest in the system gave the government no incentive to change traditional Liberal policy of keeping educational costs down; in fact, with the move towards industrialization of the cities and a marked withdrawal of males to other callings in the late 1880's and in the 1890's, trustees seemed to be little concerned as to whether elementary schools had qualified, experienced and efficient teachers in them or not. The organization of teacher education suffered from an inertia which even the building of the new London Normal School did little to alleviate.

Harcourt's years as Minister of Education (1899-1905) were unexciting ones from the standpoint of teacher education. He was willing, even eager, to move ahead with model school reform, but he did nothing about the inadequacy of the courses they provided, or the increasing number of female teachers they turned out to fill at cut-rate salaries the positions vacated by male teachers. The fact was that after the election setbacks for Ontario Liberals in 1898 and 1902, Harcourt dared not spend the large sums which his chief expert on model schools, J.J. Tilley, advised him would be necessary to phase them out and replace them with normal schools. Harcourt and the Ross Government simply could not run the risk of losing the votes of a public, disillusioned by electoral corruptions and disinterested in teacher education anyway. So Harcourt lengthened the normal school course but made no commitments about radical revisions in teacher education programmes, choosing instead to go ahead with the curriculum revision of 1904 without ensuring that qualified

teachers were available to handle it.

For his inaction regarding model school improvements, Harcourt was witness to the spectacle of his own people, from head office and the normal school, openly advising him on policy. This they did in the meeting-halls of the Ontario Educational Association. These spring get-together's in Toronto of Ontario's teachers not only provided annual opportunities for the Minister to explain policy, to excuse himself for lack of it, or to encourage teachers to carry his messages to an apathetic public; but also they gave civil servants, like Seath, the high school inspector, and Dearness or Putman of the normal schools, opportunities to speak out on teacher education problems, urge the Minister to act, and thus ease their consciences before their professional colleagues. And it was entirely possible, too, that Dyde at Kingston in 1904-1905 was urged into action by the increasing publicity given to model school reform at O.E.A. in preceding years, and that he, in turn, through his contacts with eastern Ontario educators, like R.H. Cowley, the Carleton inspector, inspired more radical criticisms of the teacher education system and thus encouraged the new government to act.

In contrast with the modest changes in teacher training during the Harcourt years, the developments affecting both the universities and the model schools during the opening years of Ryne's term of office (1905-1918) as Minister of Education, were sudden and dramatic. They were occasioned by the installation of the Whitney Government at a time when the general swing in the Canadian economy which began in the late 1890's was making itself felt, and higher federal subsidies and increasing yields from direct taxes were fattening provincial revenues. Research reveals,

however, that a cluster of forces was at work in 1905 and 1906 which, given the practical opportunities and need for reform, determined its nature. These forces, released by Whitney's promises to assist the University of Toronto, and drawn out by the knowledge that the agreement between the Normal College and the Education Department was about to expire, moved against a background of broadening university involvement in teacher training in the United States and in Great Britain. History has bestowed the initiative, however, on President James Loudon who, early in 1906, offered on behalf of the University of Toronto to take over the teacher training duties of the Ontario Normal College. Thereafter, a mounting number of teachers and their leaders, *The Globe*, and ultimately the Royal Commission on the University of Toronto, ably advised by John Seath, pressed the government to accept the offer. Finally, the Trustees and Principal Gordon of Queen's University, with growing support from eastern Ontario, including working teachers in Ottawa and district, moved in behind Samuel Dyde to spearhead a successful plea for establishing teacher training facilities in Kingston as well as in Toronto.

To work out the details of the Whitney Government's plan for the reform of the province's teacher training institutions, Pyne called on the incalculable energy and skill of the highly esteemed educator and administrator, John Seath. His outstanding advocacy of reform and his decisively worded brief in favour of university involvement before the Royal Commission make a contrast between his understanding of his role as the Minister's advisor and that of John Millar, his predecessor, and thus sharpen comparisons between the Harcourt years and Pyne's opening years. Millar was the consummate civil servant who applied the

regulations meticulously or diplomatically remained uninvolved when expected to do so. A centralizer by association and an authoritarian by circumstance and position he could define policy better than decide it. Seath, on the other hand, was a policy-formulator at heart. A centralizer by disposition and choice, and an authoritarian by personality, he tended to dominate any organization of which he was a part. Though, in matters of teacher education in so far as they applied to university control, he did not always get his own way, he was relentless, unforgiving and unforgetting in pursuing it, and thus he left an indelible stamp on the province's system. His influence was great and it extended beyond his death.

The realignment of 1907-1908 introduced radical changes in the organization of the province's teacher-training system and imparted to it a twist in policy which headed it ambiguously in opposite directions. The development makes for further interesting contrasts. One direction, reflecting the Whitney Government's concern for tighter centralized control, involved the abolition of the numerous county model schools and their replacement by four strategically placed, government-owned normal schools, staffed and operated by civil servants. Research does not show that these staffs played anything but a minor role in problems affecting the control of teacher training schools in the years that followed. The headquarters in Toronto exerted a tight central control over the system, thus imposing a broad uniformity and standardization which became the hallmark of its efficiency. In contrast, the other direction at which the government seemed to aim involved a process of decentralization. It was demonstrated by the transfer of the training facilities available

at the Normal College from a single Collegiate Institute in Hamilton under a government-appointed principal to two separate faculties of education under university jurisdiction. Under the administration of John Seath, a firm advocate of centralization, the strains and tensions which developed in the following years from this attempt to hand over even a limited autonomy to the universities, made for difficulties which ultimately ruined the venture and led to the reorganization of 1920 and the curbing of earlier decentralizing tendencies.

These strains emphasized the difficulty of the role imposed on Seath, the high-ranking civil servant. He was called on to advise and administer a government-controlled system of teacher education which placed him, because he was the province's foremost professional educator, between Robert Pyne, Minister of Education and politician with whom final decisions rested, and the freedom-loving university community which was expected to implement those decisions. For Seath the situation was especially agonizing as he did not approve of extending the system to include Queen's University in the first place. Before the Royal Commission of 1906, and earlier in departmental internal correspondence, he advised against a second faculty of education, only to see the Whitney Government yield at the last minute to the repeated entreaties of Principal D.M. Gordon and his supporters to establish a faculty at Queen's. From then on, in spite of Seath's advice to the contrary, first the Whitney Government and then Hearst's maintained the faculty to the point where, in Seath's opinion, it was not a viable entity.

The difficulty of Seath's role and the real motives for retaining the Queen's faculty were laid out clearly in Seath's correspondence with

Robert Pyne in 1909 when he advised the Minister that its maintenance reflected "a recognition of the position of Queen's, not a public necessity". Then, in one sentence, he summed up the apparent agony under which he laboured by asking the Minister whether or not the government would back him in demanding that the Queen's faculty be "thoroughly efficient". For as long as Pyne and Principal Gordon were around, the replies, first of Whitney and then of Hearst, were consistent: Queen's would have its "fair share" for the work it was doing. The situation thus revealed the nature of the limitations placed on Seath's role by political masters who, from his standpoint, denied him access to legitimate educational reforms notwithstanding carefully gathered evidence and ample documentation of comparative costs and enrolments to validate his arguments and recommendations.

The resignation of Principal Gordon in December, 1917, and the appointment of Principal Bruce Taylor, and the appointment of Rev. H.J. Cody the following May to replace the retiring Minister of Education Robert Pyne were significant events in the history of teacher education in Ontario. These were important changes in leadership. Following them Seath's ideas on restructuring the system were more favourably received by his political superiors. Now his plan to establish a provincial college of education in Toronto to replace both faculties of education, to be affiliated with the University of Toronto, the plan rejected initially by Hearst, moved ahead as Cody, a protagonist of strong and centralized government over teacher education, secured passage of enabling legislation. Seath, himself, relentlessly pursued his objective by inspections of the faculties and other administrative prepara-

tions for possible changes, carried out with such swiftness that it seemed almost as if there were no alternatives to the course of action he had in mind. But Seath's ideas also passed the ultimate test. They proved their lasting strength and his own enduring influence over future decisions, by surviving his death and a change of government to be implemented in the end by Robert Grant, Minister of Education in E.C. Drury's United Farmers' Government.

In the controversy centred on John Seath over university involvement in teacher education and the future of the faculties, the behaviour of certain university personnel contrasted sharply depending on their roles and their perceptions of them. Under the weight of government control and day-to-day departmental regulation, including imposed curricula, personal supervision, program inspection, and budget control, behaviour varied according to individual motives. Daniel Miner Gordon, Queen's principal and the prime mover behind the drive in 1905-1906 which persuaded the Whitney Government to establish the Queen's faculty, helped keep the institution in being by his quiet diplomacy and gentle conciliatory approach. He managed to cope with Seath's arbitrariness and dictation "in minutest matters", especially in the early years, describing them as time spent "conferring" with the department, despite the fact that the problems involved were a chronic source of worry to him. Gordon's presence alone was significant, for when he was replaced upon his retirement, the government's attitude to the continuation of the faculty, as well as Seath's, hardened.

Gordon's role contrasted with that of Cecil Lavell's, Queen's idealistic first dean. Impatient with restriction and thus vulnerable to criticism, he reeled and writhed in misery under departmental supervision. He wanted a free hand to implement a non-conformist approach to curriculum studies, including the introduction of student electives, which Seath refused to condone and support with public funds. Perhaps Lavell could have survived, had his administrative skill been more acceptable to Seath and had he been more accommodating and compliant - like the more experienced Dean William Pakenham of the University of Toronto's faculty of education, who had worked in the department and knew the ropes, and counselled Lavell to yield to the inevitable rather than fight a losing cause. But Lavell preferred to leave the subservient role to others rather than head a faculty he could not lead. So he resigned.

While the Queen's principals, first Gordon and then Bruce Taylor, struggled to retain the University's faculty of education, the Presidents of the University of Toronto, James Loudon and then Robert Falconer, emerged from the controversy, if not victorious, then at least more successful. Loudon's contribution was brief, being confined to the initial recommendation announcing the change of heart towards teacher education which led to the University's taking over the Normal College. Falconer's great contribution came at the end in the final juggling over the structure and role of the College of Education when, he claimed, the University "fought strongly" against the establishment of an institution separated from the University, and thus lacking in status. As for Bruce Taylor, a significant part of his role came after the 1920 settlement, when before the Royal Commission of 1921 and the Special Committee of

1923, he made desperate efforts to put the record straight as far as Queen's was concerned. Doggedly pursuing his goal, he attempted to ensure that Queen's would ultimately obtain some restitution for the loss of its faculty of education.

In the end, however, though the nature of the over-all settlement of the controversy reflected the basic ideas of the professional educator, John Seath, and though some of the vital details resulted from the strategy of the university leader, Robert Falconer, the process of clearing the decks for the Drury Government to act was the work of politicians A.M. Rankin and A.E. Ross of Kingston and district. Oblivious of far-reaching implications for the future of teacher training and for education in Ontario of the decision they made in Robert Grant's office on a May day in 1920, they accepted a "generous" government offer in favour of medical education in Kingston in place of funds for the faculty of education. As a result they helped dispose of the institution whose existence Seath had opposed from the beginning and struggled to close to the end. Thereby the two men permitted the government to concentrate the work of the Queen's faculty and that of its Toronto counterpart in one institution more directly under the Minister of Education and located near the centre of provincial government.

There was little real opposition to the reshaping of the system. Momentary cries of anguish emerged from *The Globe* in support of faculty of education veteran graduates who deplored the division of teacher education into two sections, elementary and secondary, but criticism faded with the summer of 1920 and did not reappear with the reopening of the new College of Education in the fall. No evidence was found of an outcry

from the recently formed teachers' organizations, either the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation founded in 1919¹, the slightly older Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario with its 5,000 members founded in 1918, and the younger Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation founded in 1920, or from teachers-at-large assembled at Toronto in the spring of 1921 for the sixtieth anniversary of the Ontario Educational Association. The opinion of the assembled teachers was not offered, and neither was it sought apparently². As for the general public we are told by Thomas Marshall, the Liberals' education watchdog in the early 1920's,

... the nature and character of the training imparted at these institutions (normals and faculties) has been rarely or never a topic of public discussion, has aroused little or no public interest, and, generally speaking, may be described as a subject about which the general public is profoundly ignorant. 3

It is our conclusion that the controversy over the role of the faculties in the provincial teacher education system which ended in the 1920 settlement was, for the most part, an internal one limited to the university community and to departmental officials directly involved. It originated in the last-minute decision made by the Whitney Government in 1907, against the better judgement of John Seath, to set up a second faculty in Queen's. It was aggravated by the Seath-Lavell encounters of

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1. In 1920 O.S.S.T.F. was busily engaged in a massive salary campaign centred in Toronto. See Cochrane, H.E., (Ed.), *Centennial Story: The Board of Education for the City of Toronto, 1850-1950*, (Toronto, Thomas Nelson and Sons (Canada), 1950), 134-135, 177.
 2. "Why has such a serious step been taken without even asking the opinion of the bodies of teachers who have attended these schools"? one anonymous writer, "A graduate of the F. of E.", asked in a letter to *The Globe*, 24 May, 1920.
 3. *The Globe*, 12 May, 1920.

the early years and subsequently by the failure of the Whitney Government either to give the Queen's Faculty the support it needed or to terminate its existence. The turning-point came when the faculties showed reluctance to make adjustments in their internal organizations to meet Seath's standards for the professional training of first-class certificates in the faculties, specifically in the summer of 1917 when following his own tour of inspection there was reluctance on the part of Dean Coleman of Queen's, and, surprisingly perhaps, some hesitancy too on the part of the genial Dean Pakenham in Toronto, to extend the length of the faculty year to coincide with the normal school year. Pyne's letter of July, 1917, advising Queen's of the government's withdrawal from the agreements to support the faculties of education, the extension of the faculty year in 1917-18, the efforts reported by Newcombe⁴ to provide parallel courses for first-class candidates in the faculties and in the normal schools starting in 1917, Seath's recommendation to Hearst to create a provincial College of Education, the sudden double set of inspections of the faculties in 1918, and the enabling act of 1919, followed each other in rapid succession, and can now be seen as leading up to the 1920 re-organization. The inference is, therefore, that if Seath had had his way in the beginning or at any of the early stages in the history of the faculties, the 1920 realignment and the return in the direction of the basic assumptions propounded by Millar in the 1890's might have been avoided.

4. E.E. Newcombe, *Op.Cit.*, 91.

Instead, the Drury Government's rearrangement of university teacher-training facilities concentrating them in the Ontario College of Education called for an agreement which left the University of Toronto with little, if any, real authority or influence over the College's programmes or administration⁵. Dean William Pakenham, giving evidence before the Special Committee in 1923, made that clear. Indeed, it appears that the 1920 affiliation with the University was, to a great extent, a means to bestow prestige on the college, so as to retain status for its secondary school teachers-in-training, grant post-graduate pedagogy degrees to certificated teachers who studied there, while ensuring that as a teacher-training institution it was operated according to government wishes. With such objectives in mind the government sent prospective first-class elementary school teachers to normal schools for their training, thus separating them from high school candidates, and driving deeper the wedge between the two branches of the teaching profession at a time when it was establishing separate organizations of a professional nature.

At the same time, by insisting on the university degree as the minimum academic qualification for admission to the College of Education the new regulations seemed to postpone indefinitely the possibilities for the development of concurrent courses for undergraduates who might seek simultaneous training for a degree and a teacher's certificate.

5. The agreement remained in force till the 1960's when, after Dean D. Dadson took over O.C.E., a new agreement was worked out. It was signed in 1966. In 1961, President C.T. Bissell of the University of Toronto had criticized the "undue isolation" of the College from the University. (W.G. Fleming, *Ontario's Educational Society/V*, 84 and 95).

The implication is that the new arrangement perpetuated Ontario's traditionally exclusive interest in purely consecutive courses dating back to the time when the normal school first became professionally oriented.

Official explanation of the changes made in 1920 was prepared by S.A. Morgan, Director of Professional Training⁶. In the Minister's Report he expressed hopes that, for reasons of convenience and economy, the transfer of the professional training of first-class candidates to the normal schools would give more prospective teachers the chance to take the course⁷, and that as a result the College would be able to fulfil more adequately its function of providing special opportunities for students wishing to carry out advanced educational research. Thus, as the report put it, the government expected the new College to become an educational centre where teachers could receive special training in leadership, for which, up to then, they had been accustomed to visit the United States.

The official report was restricted to future developments and did not deal with past events. Thus it passed over the deficiencies of the former faculty system which have been described and which the settlement sought to eradicate and prevent from recurring by a return to a

6. *Report, Minister of Education, 1920*, 113-114; see "Report of Director of Professional Training Schools", January, 1921.

7. Enrolment at the O.C.E. dropped from 423 in 1919 to 68 in 1920, with the removal of an estimated 350 non-graduates: *Report of Royal Commission on University Finances, 1921*, App. 1, 25: Schedule of Registration of Students. In the 1920 to 1921 session of the seven normal schools, 125 candidates enrolled for first-class certificates: *Report, Minister of Education, 1920*, xvi.

programme of tighter, centralized control. Neither did the report refer to what might have developed if the professional training of elementary teachers had been left in the university. It is not known whether or not the Minister conjectured that, under the former system, if future candidates obtained higher academic qualifications, the number seeking first-class certificates might have overcrowded the prestigious faculties at the expense of normal school enrolments. On the other hand he does seem to have conjectured that going away from home to the faculties would discourage an increasing number of available candidates from obtaining higher professional qualifications and leave them content with second-class normal school certification. For he seems to have regarded provision of first-class certification in the normal schools as a means of encouraging more candidates to opt for higher academic and professional qualifications. Thus, between the choice of leaving things as they were, which meant drawing away from the normal schools the top-grade elementary certificates and narrowing the gap between elementary and secondary school teaching, and the alternative choice of reshaping the system, which meant removing the top-grade elementary certificates from the university and widening the gap, the Minister chose the latter⁸.

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8. As a result third-class certification was discontinued in 1926, and second-class certification in 1936. The following statistics apply:

<u>Year</u>	<u>1st-class</u>	<u>2nd-class</u>	<u>3rd-class</u>
1877	250	1304	3926
1920	1303	9544	1160
1925	1810	11900	846
1935-6	6662	9435	308

See *Report, Minister of Education, 1921* (90): 1926 (76); 1936 (92).

As a result the route for high school graduates into elementary school teaching via professional courses offered in a university was closed off, and the effort, gentle though it was, towards total university education for elementary teachers which Samuel Dyde had pleaded for fifteen years earlier underwent a setback. The result was that professional training for elementary school teachers would not likely come under the aegis of the university until such time as elementary school teachers were required to hold a university degree to become certified. In 1920, when barely one percent of elementary school teachers held degrees, that day was remote⁹.

And so the 1920 settlement with its curtailment of university involvement in teacher education in Ontario marked a halt in the decentralization tendencies introduced in 1907, and a return towards the earlier assumptions on which teacher education was based in 1900. The

9. Not long afterwards (1927) the University of Ottawa Normal School opened to begin taking over the work of the English-French Model Schools. Its name was misleading. It was maintained and controlled by the government and staffed by civil servants until integrated with the University's Faculty of Education in 1969. In 1920, out of 11,803 teachers employed in the public schools of the province, 119 held university degrees (*Report, Minister of Education, 1920*, 115). In subsequent sample years up to 1935, numbers of degree-holding teachers in elementary (public and separate) schools compared with total numbers employed were as follows:

1922	182	14872
1927	252	16346
1932	325	17340
1934-5	536	17335

(*Report, Minister of Education, 1935*, 76).

government used the opportunity to demonstrate unmistakably that its interest in and concern for teacher education was paramount. And with the settlement it imposed, it confirmed its right and its intention to exert tight control over the professional training schools concerned therewith.

Thus the changes which began in 1907 and headed teacher education towards the growth and expansion of university-based professional training facilities were slowed down in 1920. The implications were that the tempo would not pick up again and quicken until the government broke the monopoly bestowed on the College of Education in that year¹⁰, and until it required candidates for elementary school certification to hold university degrees¹¹.

10. This did not happen till the 1960's.

11. See Introduction P1; this requirement will go into force throughout the province in September, 1973.

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