

In the Middle of Ontario's Normal Education:  
The Staff of State Sponsored Social Activism,  
1847-1860

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## Abstract

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The Toronto Normal School employed 33 individual teaching staff during its founding decade (1847-1857). In that role, they occupied a unique position, as direct intermediaries between political authority and the teacher on the ground, in the new administrative grid of education in Upper Canada. The recent digital turn in historical research has provided the tools necessary to efficiently explore numerous, disparate corpora – enabling the recovery of these actors from historical anonymity. Historians have begun to explore the role of middle actors as this area of study offers the opportunity for new perspectives and, presciently, insights into the development and functioning of power structures in modern bureaucratic organizations.

Examining historical newspapers, commemorative books, and other documents, this thesis assembled numerous fragmentary references to create biographical sketches of staff members. In doing so, it has highlighted several individuals of keen interest for further, focused historical investigation. Foremost among these, Dorcas Clark, Headmistress of the Girls' Model School, emerged as a figure of accomplishment, mobility and impact whose story reflects the kind of agency available through employment with Toronto Normal. Clark, like many others in this study, was hired as part of a pattern of promotion from within observed amongst the Normal staff of this period. This trend accords with observations made by other historians studying the development and entrenchment of the power of middle actors within organizations. This thesis

further observed that the Normal staff provided an archetype for the ‘good’ teacher which gave further definition to the rather vague statements of educational authorities on the subject.

This thesis demonstrates that the Normal staff frequently succeeded in building relationships with and a positive reputation within the educational marketplace in Toronto. This may have disassociated some of the educational ideas it was promoting from the political divisiveness associated with the system’s political leadership. This thesis also suggests that the Normal was seen, notably within marginalized communities in the colony, as a lever of power and point of access to participate in the drive for social change that was at the heart of the Reform program.

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## INTRODUCTION:

“ITS IMPORTANCE LIES NOT IN ITS ANTIQUITY....”

“...Its importance lies not in its antiquity but in its success. That success was not immediate nor rapidly attained. It was achieved rather slowly and by great effort. Often it was recognized more readily by later generations than by contemporaries. And, partly because of these very facts, the success of Normal School teacher-training in this Province is of profound significance.”<sup>1</sup>

Forty years after Dr. J. G. Althouse (Chief Director of Education for the Province of Ontario) paid this centennial compliment to Toronto Normal and the system it inspired, scholars remained curious and doubtful. With schooling having shifted from limited to practically universal (not to mention its cardinal status within the cabinets and budgets of Western governments), could there really have been “...no feature of the system of education founded by Dr. Ryerson which had a more important bearing upon Elementary and High School education than the establishment of the Toronto Normal School”<sup>2</sup>? As Bruce Curtis remarked in 1988: “...the [Toronto Normal] School never trained more than a small fraction of the teaching labour force. From 1847 to 1870 a total of 6,069 teachers had been admitted to the institution, while in the latter year alone there were 5,165 active teachers in Ontario.<sup>89</sup> Not all graduates of the Normal School entered teaching, and the continuing recall of Normal School certificates pushed others out of the occupation.”<sup>3</sup> Undoubtedly, the speakers in 1897 and 1947 were sympathetic and

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<sup>1</sup> J. C. Boylen et al., eds. *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, (Toronto : School of Graphic Arts, Training and Re-establishment Institute, 1947), 13, accessed January 20, 2021, URL: <http://archive.org/details/torontonormalschool00schouoft>.

<sup>2</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration (October 31st, November 1st and 2nd, 1897): Biographical Sketches and Names of Successful Students 1847 to 1875*, (Toronto: Warwick Bro’s & Rutter, 1898), v, accessed November 29, 2020, URL: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/aeu.ark:/13960/t70v93615>.

<sup>3</sup> Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871*, Studies in Curriculum History (London, Ontario: The Althouse Press, 1988), 246. End note 89, p.263: “89. *Annual Report of the Chief Superintendent on the Normal, Model and Common Schools for the Year 1870.*” Despite this doubt, the editorial space committed to the subject by Curtis in this work (and by other scholars following its publication) leaves a sense that there is something yet to be revealed which has remained elusive to numerous examinations of the Normal.

motivated to take a positive view. The statements reflect the celebratory tone of the circumstances they were delivered in, an outpouring of belief more than observation. As John Calam reminded in 1984: “In North America, supporters of public education express their faith in superlatives.”<sup>4</sup> The numbers do not lie; the Normal system struggled to meet demand (leading to its eventual demise). Nonetheless, scholars have continued to be drawn back to the Normal as a subject (this attention itself is suggestive of significance), and it has continued to find a reason to be mentioned in most studies of Education in Ontario. Moreover, many of their impacts are known. So why return to this subject? Beyond detailed studies of its curricular strictures, stated mission, and meticulously recorded physical architecture;<sup>5</sup> the Normal has more to offer. As an institution, it fostered and hosted a professional community whose stories can provide insight into the complex network of provincial educators and their ties to a broader international class of Western School Promoters, which drove and structured the growth of schooling to today. These historical actors often remain anonymous due to difficulty finding them within the historical record. However, in the nascence of this Digital Age, we finally have some of the tools necessary to complete the kind of investigations which reveal these people and the ecosystem of practice and power which arose among them.

A Normal School was the star institution in teacher training for over a century in Ontario, North America, and the northern transatlantic world. In Ontario, almost six decades since their redesignation as Teachers’ Colleges have seen them feature in historical studies of educational reform, social control, power, bureaucratization, and systematized inequality. Among the schools

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<sup>4</sup> John Calam, “Teaching the Teachers: Establishment and Early Years of the B. C. Provincial Normal Schools,” *BC Studies*, no. 61 (Spring 1984): 30, doi: <https://doi.org/10.14288/bcs.v0i61.1176>.

<sup>5</sup> Yew-Thong Leong, “Frederick William Cumberland and the Toronto Normal and Model Schools Building,” *Bulletin (Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada)* 9, no. 3 (1984): 10–12, accessed January 26, 2021, URL: <https://DalSpace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/71794>.

in what is now Ontario, the pioneering and persistent Toronto Normal was the state's enduring first foray into teacher preparation.<sup>6</sup> An institution for 'adult education' (treated in many ways as part of what we might today call a community of post-secondary educational institutions), scholars have doubted whether it provided the same level of 'higher' educational attainment as the universities and other institutions with which it shared the historical educational market.<sup>7</sup> Whether meagre or masterful academically, the middle actors of Toronto Normal's staff were charged to deliver a formal program of pedagogical instruction. "The term 'normal' meant according to rule, with the focus on ensuring a focus on method rather than the needs of the children being taught."<sup>8</sup> Those learning in the Normal's halls, it was hoped, were to become models of thought and behaviour whom reformers and school promoters would convince a broader populace to follow. They were to be both tools and active participants in the School Promoters' campaigns for social and moral reform. The state sponsorship and state control the Normal offered formalized their activism as a government initiative.<sup>9</sup>

The origins of 'Normal Schooling' are generally attributed to France and the work of Jean-Baptiste de La Salle and his contemporaries from the 1680s through the 1790s. More importantly for this study, the Normal idea would begin germinating in the English-speaking world in the

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<sup>6</sup> Julian Kitchen and Diana Petrarca describe the history of teacher preparation in this period as "...a story of reform, and the limits of reform, in the preparation of teachers for a diverse and changing world" (Julian Kitchen and Diana Petrarca, "Teacher Preparation in Ontario: A History," *Teaching and Learning* 8, no. 1 (2013): 56, accessed February 9, 2020, doi: <https://doi.org/10.26522/tl.v8i1.426>).

<sup>7</sup> David Diener, "The Intellectual Climate of the Late Nineteenth Century and the Fate of American Normal Schools," *American Educational History Journal* 35, no. 1/2 (2008): 71, accessed February 9, 2020, URL: <https://search-ebscohost-com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login.aspx?direct=true&db=eue&AN=43778277&site=ehost-live>.

<sup>8</sup> Kitchen and Petrarca, "Teacher Preparation in Ontario," 57.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 123; Curtis, *Building the Educational State*, 220. Axelrod notes: "At various times, education was assigned a principal role in advancing the progress, righteousness, morality, patriotism, unity, security, and prosperity of Canadian society." Speaking more directly to the situation in the era of Toronto Normal's founding, Bruce Curtis: "The security of the political order demanded that both what teachers *were* and what they might say be regulated by the educational authority."

early half of the nineteenth century. The 1820s and 1830s saw the establishment of various teacher training schools in Vermont, Massachusetts, and Scotland.<sup>10</sup> Normal Schooling took lasting root in British North America with the establishment of the Toronto Normal School in 1847. The challenge it, and those that came after, faced was the fulfillment of multiple, ambitious mandates during their existences. From the outset, they were expected to produce highly competent, deeply dedicated individuals who were enthusiastic about and capable of translating the insights of novel theories of the mind into concrete day-to-day practice in the classroom.<sup>11</sup> In Ontario specifically, they were also keenly concerned with establishing control over the definition of a ‘qualified’ teacher and regulating both the teacher’s message and behaviour in the classroom.<sup>12</sup> The Normals were often – but not always – challenged by the gaps in their students’ knowledge base, being forced to expand their curricula to ensure all had sufficient training in the subjects they would eventually be expected to teach. At their core, they sought to raise teaching’s status to that of a respectable ‘profession,’ and they provided specific, skills-based training with that in mind. Their pedagogical training existed in the context of a transatlantic intellectual opposition between proponents of a more traditional ‘well-rounded liberal education’ (provided

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<sup>10</sup> Tedd Levy, “First in His Class: The Many Contributions of Samuel Read Hall,” *OAH Magazine of History* 6, no. 2 (1991): 39, accessed August 4, 2021, URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25162822>; Diener, “The Intellectual Climate of the Late Nineteenth Century and the Fate of American Normal Schools,” 61; J. Donald. Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet, eds., *Canadian Education : A History* (Scarborough, ON.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 38; Albert Herman Miller, “The Theory and Practice of Education in Ontario in the 1860’s,” (Doctoral thesis, University of British Columbia, 1968), 275, Fn.2, accessed March 10, 2021, doi: <https://doi.org/10.14288/1.0104337>. While the Normal School at Lexington, Massachusetts (1839) is often considered to be the ‘first’ such school, Samuel Read Hall opened a teacher training seminary in 1823 in Concord, Vermont which was considered in later years (by no less than a contemporary and fellow school promoter Henry Barnard) to have represented the first Normal in all but name. Likewise, Herman Miller pointed to the Montreal Normal School, opening in 1836 and closing in 1842, as the first government controlled Normal in North America. Regardless of this technical debate of ‘firsts,’ it is clear that institutional teacher training, in theory and practice, was an idea on the ground throughout these two decades in the British North America and the United States. In Britain, David Stow led the opening of the Glasgow Normal School in 1837. While the American schools held influence in Upper Canadian educational thinking, Stow’s approach has been credited significantly in relation to the popularization of this kind of schooling in the British North American colonies.

<sup>11</sup> Marianne A. Larsen, “Pedagogic Knowledge and the Victorian Era Anglo-American Teacher,” *History of Education* 31, no. 5 (2002): 463, accessed January 3, 2021, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00467600210153636>.

<sup>12</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*, 218 & 221.

particularly by universities and colleges in the early to mid-nineteenth century) and those exploring an education defined more by scientific, technical training.<sup>13</sup>

The eventual end of the Normals would come as the culmination of a slow process in which universities and colleges would eclipse them. Moving into the twentieth century, universities and colleges began to accept the idea and reality of ‘scientific pedagogy,’ as evidenced by the University of Toronto opening its first School of Pedagogy as a department explicitly associated with the Normal School in 1891.<sup>14</sup> Despite this, Ontario’s Normal Schools continued in service well into the modern era, being rechristened as Teachers’ Colleges in 1953. In the following decades, due to a combination of demand for teachers, educational restructuring in Ontario, and the increasing need for teachers to have higher academic attainments in addition to pedagogical training, the Normals were slowly integrated into more general faculties of education in the province’s universities and colleges.<sup>15</sup>

Traditional histories of education examined the roles played by male educators, the benefits authors perceived in the spread of mass, state-controlled school systems, and attempts to redefine teaching as a respected ‘profession.’<sup>16</sup> The growth in revisionist histories during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s questioned and expanded those narratives. New subjects like the roles of women and the family in schooling and teaching came to the fore, and historical figures were

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<sup>13</sup> Diener, “The Intellectual Climate of the Late Nineteenth Century and the Fate of American Normal Schools,” 65, 68-69, 71-72.

<sup>14</sup> Elizabeth Smyth, “‘It Should Be the Centre... of Professional Training in Education’: The Faculty of Education of the University of Toronto: 1871–1996,” *Tidskrift: Journal of Research in Teacher Education (Tidskrift för lärarutbildning och forskning)* 3–4 (2003): 138–139, accessed August 4, 2021, URL: <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/26541>.

; Diener, “The Intellectual Climate of the Late Nineteenth Century and the Fate of American Normal Schools,” 68–72; Larsen, “Pedagogic Knowledge and the Victorian Era Anglo-American Teacher,” 459–460.

<sup>15</sup> W. G. Fleming, *Education: Ontario’s Preoccupation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 43 & 46; Kitchen and Petrarca, “Teacher Preparation in Ontario,” 62.

<sup>16</sup> Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, “Revising the History of Teachers: A Canadian Perspective,” *Interchange* 17, no. 2 (1986): 135, accessed July 4, 2021, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF01807475>; Chad Gaffield, “Back to School: Towards a New Agenda for the History of Education,” *Acadiensis* 15, no. 2 (1986): 176, accessed July 4, 2021, URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30302798>.

placed in broader social contexts. Investigations regarding the economic status, ethnicity, gender, and religious affiliation of the many interested groups participating in state schooling brought new voices and perspectives into the discourse. New questions about power, control, and the purposes and impacts of schooling were raised (particularly regarding a sense of ambiguity surrounding whether and how school impacted students' lives long-term).<sup>17</sup>

Out of this, specific conceptual frameworks began to develop. On the one hand, there was the idea of 'social control' (emphasizing how the educational and societal elite built and wielded the school system in an attempt to engineer the social relations of their communities in line with their own moral and philosophical vision). On the other hand, was a body of work highlighting the role of the community in driving educational development and change (focusing on state reaction to public opinion, highlighting moments of conflict between central and community authorities, and underlining who different programs came to serve).<sup>18</sup> These influential research currents continued and were modified by new interpretations in the 1990s and early 2000s. Many works focused on the educational experiences of diverse, often marginalized communities, with particular emphasis on the tragic history of residential schools and Indigenous experiences in education. Relationships of power and governance, the connections between schooling and systemic social inequality, individual experience in and out of the classroom, and the variety of responses to the school movement from all sectors of society have been recurring and central themes that animate the historical conversation.<sup>19</sup> Most recently, emphasis has been increasingly placed on mobilizing new historical sources to recover the voices of the students; of children

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<sup>17</sup> Danylewycz and Prentice, "Revising the History of Teachers," 135–136, 138 & 142; Gaffield, "Back to School," 171 & 176.

<sup>18</sup> Gaffield, "Back to School," 173–75.

<sup>19</sup> Paul Axelrod, "Historical Writing and Canadian Education from the 1970s to the 1990s," *History of Education Quarterly* 36, no. 1 (1996): 27–29, 32 & 38, accessed January 21, 2020, doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/369299>.

rather than the adults overseeing them. An interest in memory has combined with continued investigations into identity, inequality, power, and individual experience to deepen and revisit our understanding of both community and state schooling. And, of particular interest, the reshaping of identity, the impact of geographical space, and educational experiences beyond the classroom have come under investigation.<sup>20</sup>

Toronto Normal, specifically, has held a longstanding place in histories of education in Ontario, going back to John George Hodgins' *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>21</sup> Albert Herman Miller's 1968 Ph.D. thesis, presented at the University of British Columbia, gave direct and detailed attention to Toronto Normal's early background in Chapter X, "The Training and Certification of Teachers."<sup>22</sup> Miller relied on historical document collections compiled by John George Hodgins, the commemorative materials cited in the opening of this work, examinations and regulations from the school, and a handful of other sources (including the *Journal of Education*). This work examined the Normal's founding and the system of certificates it issued, detailed the rules and practices set down for its students, and overviewed the evolution and extension of the system from Toronto across the province through Model and new Normal Schools. Notably, Miller touched on the biographical details and contributions of a handful of Normal Staff: Thomas Jaffray Robertson, John Herbert Sangster, and William Carlyle.<sup>23</sup> His conclusions described rigid, authoritarian rule by Ryerson

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<sup>20</sup> Penney Clark and Amy von Heyking, "Back to School? Historians and the View from the Classroom," *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 30, no. 1 (2018), 25, 29–31, 37, accessed February 9, 2020, URL: [https://historicalstudiesineducation.ca/index.php/edu\\_hse-rhe/article/view/4522](https://historicalstudiesineducation.ca/index.php/edu_hse-rhe/article/view/4522).

<sup>21</sup> John George Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada from the Passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791 to the Close of Rev. Dr. Ryerson's Administration of the Education Department in 1876, Volume VII: 1847, 48*, (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1900), accessed July 11, 2023, URL: <https://archive-org.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/details/documentaryhisto07ontauoft/page/n5/mode/2up?view=theater&ui=embed&wrapper=false>.

<sup>22</sup> Miller, "The Theory and Practice of Education in Ontario in the 1860's," 275.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 275, 278 & 297.

and a school focused foremost on encouraging conformism,<sup>24</sup> observations common to many historical narratives examining the Normals.

Addressing the Vancouver, rather than Toronto, Normal School, it is also worth briefly mentioning “Teaching the Teachers: Establishment and Early Years of the B. C. Provincial Normal Schools” by John Calam (an article published in *BC Studies* in 1984). Calam relies on a variety of Annual Reports from British Columbia’s public school system (including entries from 1885 to 1910 and reports from the Principal of the Normal itself), legislation pulled from collections of statutes, articles from three British Columbian newspapers, textbooks, and collections of correspondence from the Principals of the Vancouver and Victoria Normals. Calam’s work examined the institutional evolution of the west coast Normals in light of their responses to their communities and highlighted the school staff’s role in these developments. In conclusion, Calam suggested that the Normal experience for British Columbia’s educational reformers was being swamped and swallowed by their practical and bureaucratic requirements as Normal staff. He suggests that the importance of the west coast Normals might, in reality, be as the lodestones for provincial pride rather than particular successes or failures in their educational work.<sup>25</sup>

In 1988, Bruce Cutis’ *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871* – among its numerous recurring references to the Normal – dedicated almost the entirety of its sixth chapter, “Training the Good Teacher,” to the institution.<sup>26</sup> Curtis’ work examined the correspondence between department officials and between those officials and members of the public, as well as a

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<sup>24</sup> Miller, “The Theory and Practice of Education in Ontario in the 1860’s,” 294, 296–97. A key quote from page 294: “The purpose of the Normal School was not to develop thoughtful, mature and independent educators, but well-trained conformists. To conform was the essential characteristic for success.”

<sup>25</sup> Calam, “Teaching the Teachers,” 59 & 61–62.

<sup>26</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*, 217.

handful of other source documents (notably the notebooks of Normal student Maria Payne).<sup>27</sup> Curtis examined the Normal's efforts to centralize educational authority, the principles the institution tried to instill in student teachers, and criticisms of the program. He took a particular interest in "Moral Regulation in the Normal School,"<sup>28</sup> recounting conflicts between students and the headmasters over school regulations (particularly gender segregation) and discussing the increasing presence of women in the teaching force. Curtis' conclusions reaffirmed that the professionalization of teaching (which for him appeared to have involved the destruction of any free market for the profession) was of great significance and described the role of the teacher as the local embodiment of central educational authority.<sup>29</sup>

Throughout these and other works examining Normal Schools, the Normal Staff appear as recurring but rarely central characters. Elizabeth Smyth stated in the opening of her 2003 study of university pedagogical programming that "...the history of the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto (and Ontario teacher education in general) is largely uncharted..."<sup>30</sup> Few studies beyond those described above have approached teacher training programs and institutions in a direct and personal manner. Instead, largely depersonalized analyses of Ontario's teacher

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<sup>27</sup> In this chapter, Curtis uses his secondary sources sparingly (making barely a dozen references to other literature in the 142 footnotes for this chapter). In terms of primary sources, Curtis' work in this chapter is overwhelmingly drawn from/around PAO RG2 C6C (now RG 2-12) "Department of Education incoming general correspondence". He also draws a number of times from related records groups including PAO RG2 C1Y, C2, C1T, C1X, & H3 – mostly containing replies to letters from C6C or related documentation. There are only about 40 references to other sources; listed in no particular order: Egerton Ryerson, *Special Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*. (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1847); J. G. Hodgins(ed)*Historical and Other Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Educational System of Ontario*. (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1911-12) II & III; Vic.,c.XLVIII, 'An Act for the Better Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada;'" J.G. Hodgins, (ed) *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada*, (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1984-1910) VII; 'General Regulations and Instructions Framed under the Common School Act of 1846;,' *The Educational Manual for Upper Canada 1856; The Educational Manual 1861; Annual Report of the Chief Superintendent on the Normal, Model and Common Schools for the Year 1870*; David Stow, *The Training System*. (Glasgow: Blackie, 1840); *Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*. (Toronto: Warwick, 1898), & PAO MU975, Education Paper Collection, 1860-69, Notebooks of Maria Payne.

<sup>28</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*, 245.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 257–58.

<sup>30</sup> Smyth, "It Should Be the Centre... of Professional Training in Education," 136.

training initiatives as pieces of the overarching Ryersonian programme of the mid-1800s are typical. This study sought to join the few by telling the – often semi-biographical – stories of individuals who formed the Toronto Normal’s staff.

In sifting for their traces, this work has begun to paint not portraits of the Normal staff but the landscape of a Normal community. Its agency and impact have existed in concert with Egerton Ryerson's plans and power rather than as a simple extension of them. The Normal staff appear as middle actors, uniquely positioned as a direct point of contact between the vision of educational leaders and the needs of student teachers. In taking this approach, this study has begun recovering a class of knowable professionals from historical oblivion. Additionally, it proposes that part of what remains intangible about the Normal story is that the space of human interactions and relationships of power which developed within and around the Normal – as a result of its internal community – remains relatively unexplored by historians.

## CHAPTER 1

THE MIDDLE SPACE, GOVERNMENTALITY, AND DISCLOSURE: THEORY AND  
METHODOLOGY

The field of spatial history focuses on human cognition in relation to space, particularly regarding the idea of ‘place’ and the scale, duration, construction, and emergence and collapse of relationships between ‘places’ at different times.<sup>31</sup> Societies and individuals often create or construct ‘places’ through the intellectual imposition of non-physical structures to divide and regulate physical geography. Beyond this, people regularly create and define their sense of the space in which their lives occur through reference to non-physical structures (for example, social and professional hierarchies). As Alison Prentice recognized, the actions of individuals within that environment also colour and contribute to the creation of those structures.<sup>32</sup> Kate Brown, in studying the striking similarities between Billings, Montana and Karaganda, Kazakhstan, focuses on how seemingly passive conceptualizations and constructions of space (like the division of land into square grid plots) play a foundational role in the production of power.<sup>33</sup>

Bruce Curtis identified the imposition of an administrative grid as a foundational aspect of the educational reforms of the 1840s in Upper Canada. That grid, Curtis argues, was designed to make the state’s teacher the dominant authority within the non-physical structure of the school district. Curtis further discusses the interconnections of this administrative grid with the role of

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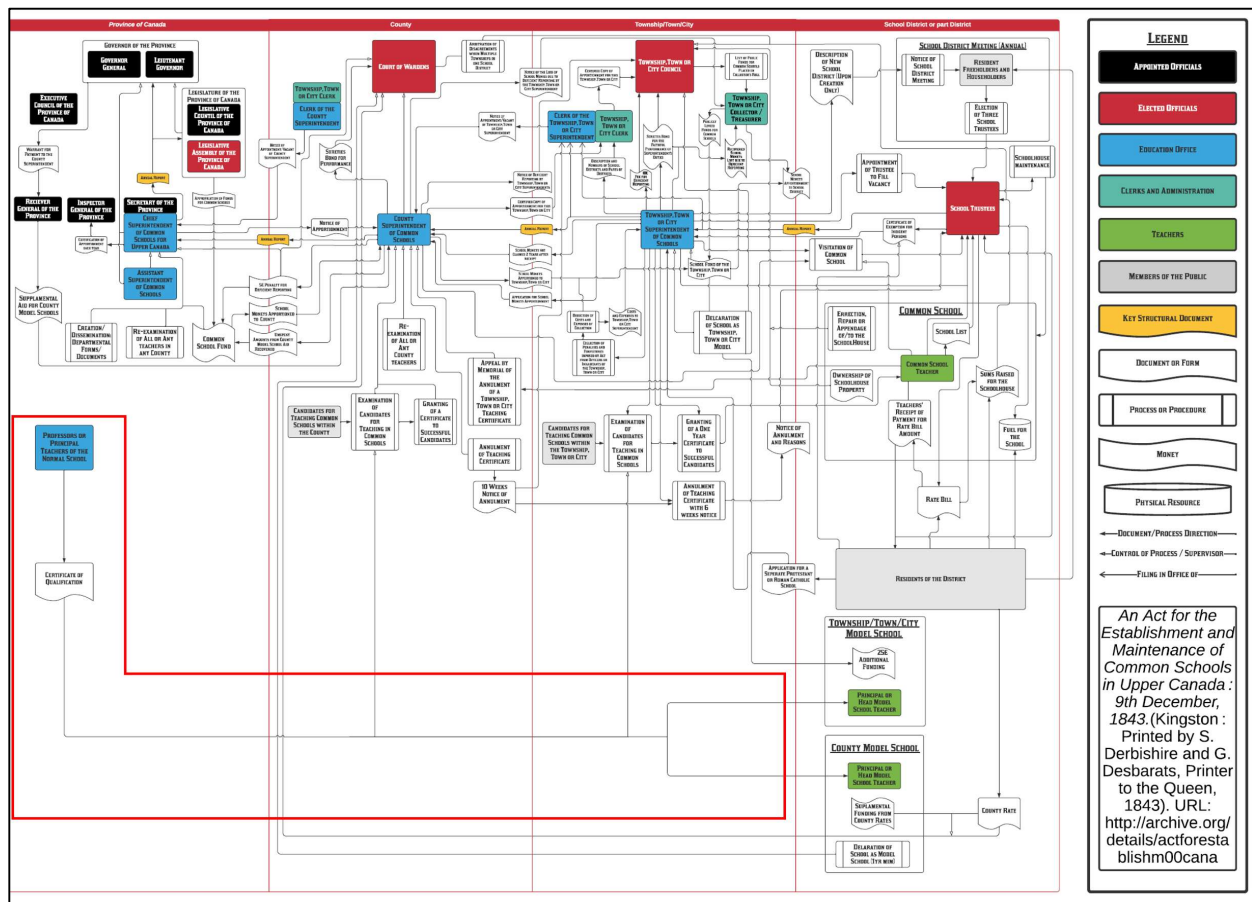
<sup>31</sup> Ruth Mostern, “The Spatial History of State Power: A View from Imperial China,” in *The Routledge Companion to Spatial History*, Ian Gregory, Don DeBats, and Don Lafreniere, 1st ed., (London: Routledge, 2018), 462–463, accessed January 24, 2021, URL: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315099781-27>.

<sup>32</sup> Alison Prentice, “From Household to School House: The Emergence of the Teacher as Servant of the State,” *Material Culture Review / Revue de la culture matérielle*, 20 (1984) : 20, accessed October 30, 2022, URL: <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/MCR/article/view/17206>. “On the grounds that the physical environment in which schooling took place necessarily affected (and was affected by) the teacher’s work, it is worth examining in some detail.”

<sup>33</sup> Kate Brown, “Gridded Lives: Why Kazakhstan and Montana Are Nearly the Same Place,” *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 1 (2001): 17–48, doi:<https://doi.org/10.2307/2652223>.

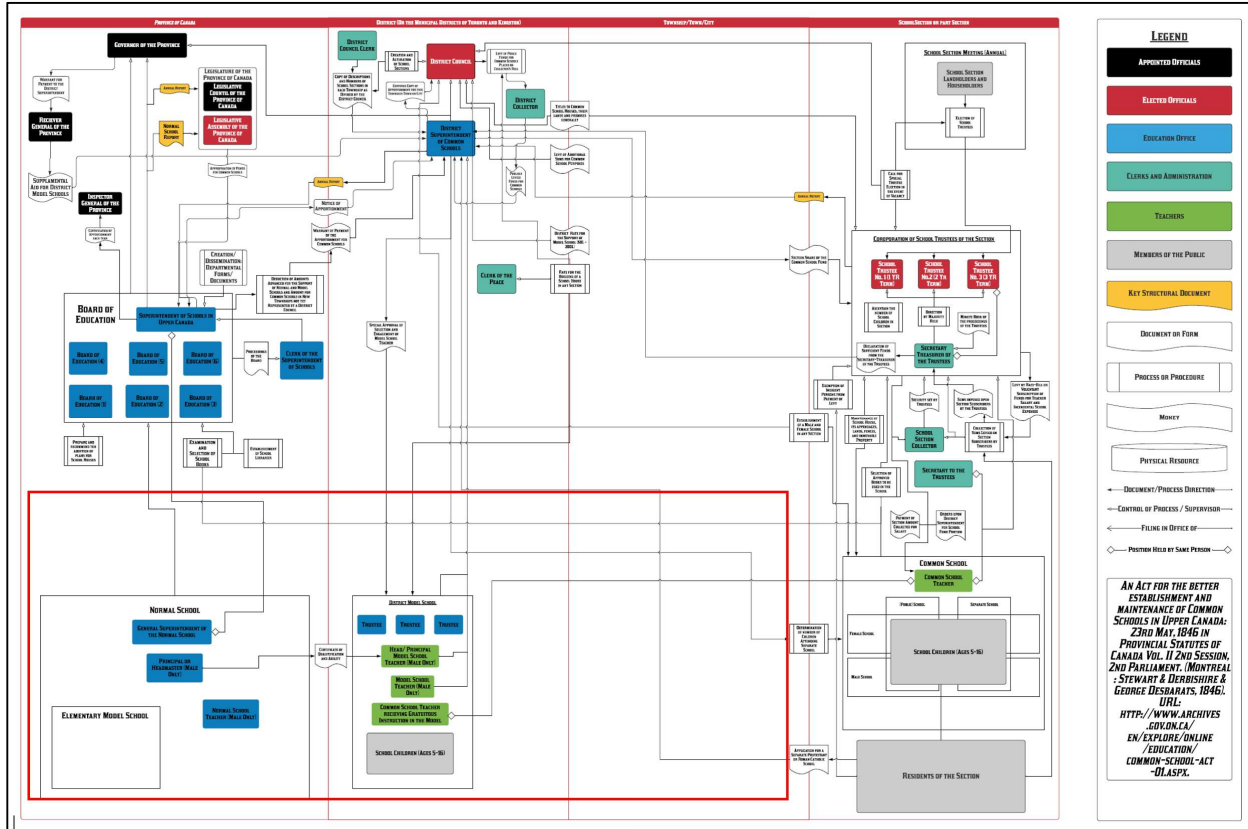
the Normal School in producing the state teacher and the bureaucratization of education.<sup>34</sup> Just as teachers became boxed into their districts, enabling legislation imposed a conceptualized order of relationships which regulated the educational bureaucracy. This created a new and complex non-physical space which would restrict and define the exercise of power by individuals and institutions alike. Trying to come to grips with the Normal's place within that space, I reviewed the Common School Acts of 1843 and 1846. I attempted to visualize the non-physical space they created in the form of an organizational chart (see Diagrams 1 & 2 on pages 12 and 13).

Diagram 1: Organizational chart depicting the Common Schools Act of 1843



<sup>34</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*, 70, 87, 219, 222–23.

Diagram 2: Organizational chart depicting the Common Schools Act of 1846



As emphasized by the red boxes in Diagrams 1 & 2, the Normal School stood somewhat apart from the rest of the growing bureaucracy while also enjoying direct connections to elite political authority and the rank-and-file student teacher. These connections involve far fewer specified intermediaries (forms, processes, and other educational offices) than most others in the system. Evidently, in design, the Normal was a middle. A place defined (at least in part) by its essentially linear and unencumbered connection of the organizational top to the organizational bottom. Within the Normal's sphere, the staff were the only intermediaries filtering between the colony's political leaders and the colony's nascent teachers. In the middle of the grid, the middle of social change, the middle of the historiography, and the middle of the nineteenth century.

“In modern liberal government, individual conduct and comportment have become directly implicated in the operations of power. Government focuses on the 'conduct of conduct,' and the state has been de-centred. The totality of subjugated voices exists as the population of

the governed. ... Population,' he [Foucault] argued, is the pivot on which turned the transition from rule based on sovereign authority to a 'governmentalized' rule which decentres the state under liberalism. It allows us to think the shifting coalitions that constitute the new social movements and the struggles of the governed.” – *Bruce Curtis discussing the Foucauldian concepts of Governmentality and Population (2002)*<sup>35</sup>

Foucault’s Governmentality suggests a way to conceptualize and interpret the advent of modern society. Notably the transition from medieval to current power structures and how the modern state projects power. It also encourages the examination of networks of power. In this case, the network of power created by modern bureaucracies and the implications of diffused influence and individual power within those systems. To ask about the impact of those in the middle is to investigate this diffused influence and to engage with the revelation of individual power in the modern bureaucratic state. In trying to understand that system of power, we are confronted with the challenge of understanding the individuals wielding it.

This study examined the Toronto Normal School from the beginning of its first session on November 1<sup>st</sup>, 1847, until the close of its 18<sup>th</sup> in October 1858. These years were a foundational period for Normal Schooling in Ontario (with the Toronto school operating as the sole Normal until the Ottawa School was founded in 1875<sup>36</sup>). Specifically, I have focused on the school’s staff (those who taught the students who would graduate as trained teachers). This approach recognizes the power accorded to individuals through modern bureaucracy and understands that those individuals represented a living, evolving, and determining factor in the experiences of those who attended over the years. This study contributes to a growing body of ‘histories of the middle’ that attempt to capture the experiences of historical actors positioned between elite leadership and a broader public clientele within organizational power structures.

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<sup>35</sup> Bruce Curtis, “Foucault on Governmentality and Population: The Impossible Discovery,” *The Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers Canadiens de Sociologie* 27, no. 4 (2002): 506, accessed July 19, 2021, doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3341588>.

<sup>36</sup> Miller, “The Theory and Practice of Education in Ontario in the 1860’s,” 300.

Some of these works have used their middle subjects primarily as a new viewpoint to observe historical change. Eric Allina's 2012 examination of middle managing officials in the Portuguese Mozambique Company's colonial administration focuses on that group's understanding of and response to colonial labour conditions. Following correspondence and discussions between colonial administrators, Allina's work seeks to reveal more about imperial attitudes toward colonial workers. In particular, the article examines discourses on slavery and Africans' rights by reaching beyond the statements and sentiments of imperial policy-makers. "These 'men in the middle' were exposed to the pressure inevitably generated at the point where the often-lofty demands and expectations of colonial policy and politics met the grittier human experience of practice."<sup>37</sup> Allina's work also highlighted the fact that, despite the barriers of geographic distance, colonial administrators remained plugged into the international conversation.<sup>38</sup> By contrast, Joakim Johansson's 2003 study of policy change in the Swedish Employers' Confederation during the early to mid-1980s centres itself on the real impact of particular mid-level officials in launching and controlling reform in their organization. By examining the Confederation's archives, Johansson's article examines communications and interactions between specific cultural camps and individuals within the Confederation. His work details how the Confederation's own propaganda and persuasion resources were used to influence internal debate and how particular individuals leveraged their positions and informal networks to support their agenda. "A closer look at the policy-making process within SAF [the Swedish Employers' Confederation], however, reveals that the mid-level officials were controlling a dangerous weapon that could compensate for the lack of formal positions within the organization:

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<sup>37</sup> Eric Allina, "'No Real Freedom for the Natives': The Men in the Middle and Critiques of Colonial Labor in Central Mozambique," *Humanity: An International Journal of Human Rights, Humanitarianism, and Development* 3, no. 3 (2012): 339, doi:10.1353/hum.2012.0024.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 351.

the flow of decision-relevant information.”<sup>39</sup> Differing still, Olav Fagelund Knudsen and Maurice A. East collaborated in 1985 to investigate the personal characteristics of Foreign-Policy Makers’ impacted Norway’s international affairs in the 1960s and 1970s. Working from interviews with many former officials, they observed that smaller organizations with more informal professional relations, internal recruitment, and less formally regulated collaborations with external partners appeared to increase the importance of critical individuals in determining policy.

“...[T]he style of leadership in a bureaucracy may – and in this case apparently did – have important consequences for the way the bureaucracy works and the way individuals function inside it. ...[O]ne consequence may be to produce increasing numbers of ‘politicized bureaucrats’ – people whose private loyalties and inclinations tended to get into their work.”<sup>40</sup>

Historians have come to this topic at a prescient time. Modern organizations are increasingly seeking to understand better how to manage change and initiative in their work. For some, the organizational middle has appeared as a critical element in that discussion. In 2001, the Director of leadership studies and development at George Washington University’s Center for Excellence in Municipal Management, Matthew R. Fairholm, wrote about an innovative approach to public service reform that capitalized on the power of the middle. “Given that middle managers occupy strategic positions in their organizations and that they represent the long-term interests in and of the organization, middle managers ought to be viewed as the logical agents for leading long-term change.”<sup>41</sup> Fairholm states that middle leaders typically address a “...complex of forces...” particular to the internal organizational environment using their informal sway and trust

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<sup>39</sup> Joakim Johansson, “Mid-Level Officials as Policy Makers: Anti-Corporatist Policy Change in the Swedish Employers’ Confederation, 1982-1985,” *Scandinavian Political Studies* 26, no. 4 (2003): 320, accessed April 16, 2022, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2003.00091.x>.

<sup>40</sup> Olav Fagelund Knudsen and Maurice A. East, “Leeway for Personal Impact: The Case of Foreign-Policy Making in Norway,” *Scandinavian Political Studies* 8, no. 3 (1985): 208, accessed April 16, 2022, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.1985.tb00321.x>.

<sup>41</sup> Matthew R. Fairholm, “Leading from the middle: The power and influence of middle leaders,” *State and Municipal Management, The Public Manager* 30, no. 4 (2001): 18, accessed February 9, 2020, URL: <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A84343681/AONE?u=otta77973&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=df5eab4c>.

relationships among workers.<sup>42</sup> This opposes our typical conception of formal decision-making mechanisms and, as Fairholm also points out, can result in middle actors becoming gatekeepers, controlling the flow of information between top and bottom.<sup>43</sup> These observations point to crucial areas for examining the middle of historical organizations. That is, we must examine the networks middle actors participated in and how organizational practice differs from the organizational plan (and what is done in those areas where the formal plan does not comment). Fairholm reports that middle managers today claim to rely more often "...on contacts with colleagues and friends to get things done. These networks are their method and means to implement new ideas (or in some cases block them). The "official" boxes in the organizational chart become less important than the lines of communication that are informally established."<sup>44</sup>

By examining the Normal School as a point in the middle and the staff as middle actors within the educational system, this study makes strides toward a clearer understanding of how the growing educational bureaucracy (or at least this small corner of it) fits into the well-documented tensions between the community and political power bases in education. In addressing itself to the individual agents in this middle, it uncovered clues about how they could exert power, shape implementation, and contribute to the longer-term outcomes (reaching beyond a single electoral cycle or generation of legislative compromises). Notably, it reveals networks within colonial Toronto's educational community worthy of further investigation. Moreover, especially in school systems, understanding the input of individual effort and agency is critical. Therein, individuals in the middle can influence a far-reaching and foundational process for both individual lives and collective development in modern societies.

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<sup>42</sup> Fairholm, "Leading from the middle," 18.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

Theories of middle management have, historically, struggled to understand the flexible, informal nature of the middle's power. Several theories have taken different views over the years. F. W. Taylor's organizational theory (known as Taylorism) saw the middle manager as a "functional supervisor" whose role was limited to ensuring their subordinates conform to a model based on the best exemplar of the role they were meant to fulfill; "...there was no possibility of making a contribution."<sup>45</sup> H. Fayol's theory considers a balance between formal and personal authority in managing and notes that an ideal, though arduous, strategy for management might be to encourage and take advantage of initiative by allowing for a margin of decision-making freedom for each of their subordinates.<sup>46</sup> E. Mayo's theory emphasizes the role of the group and the creation of an informal organization within the formally structured one. It presents the dichotomy of informal leaders within small working groups and the administratively defined middle manager.<sup>47</sup> Ch. I. Barnard's theory then emphasizes the beneficial symbiosis formal and informal organizations can have, recognizing the concept of feedback as a source of power and an important communication function for the middle manager and the importance of the middle manager in ensuring unity of purpose in decision-making across organizational levels.<sup>48</sup>

This study approached its subject: the staff members working at Toronto Normal between 1847 and 1857, with all these aspects in mind. The questions asked in this approach were often simple but no less penetrating. Seeking identification, this study asked: who were these staffers? What background of experience did they bring to their role? What was said of their work and their lives outside of it during their tenure? What connections did they have to the wider

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<sup>45</sup> Leticia Bañares Parera and Ana M. Fernández-Vallejo, "Changes in the Role of Middle Manager: A Historical Point of View," *International Journal of Information and Education Technology* 3, no.3 (2013): 362, doi:10.7763/IJET.2013.V3.298.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 363.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 364.

community and each other? These questions reveal recruitment patterns, features prized in teaching styles, the ‘who’ of an Upper Canadian community of educational institutions and professionals, and interest in the Normal as a potential lever of power. Moreover, it partially recovers a class of knowable historical professionals. Enabled by the growing strength of the digital tools at our disposal, we can know and ask more about the lives of those in an era foundational to the process of Confederation.

Fundamentally challenging in this study was the historical obscurity of most of these individuals. Fleeting documented, if recorded at all (even before trying to seek testimony about their impact); the historical record speaking to the inner life of the Normal – the voices of the students, the content of day-to-day life, the interactions of its staff – is highly fragmented and often lacking. This study used instances in which others – mainly newspapers – found it worthwhile to record the Normal staff’s activities; it was complimented by a couple of moments in which the Normal documented itself. By assembling these disparate, small pieces of evidence (which have not readily presented themselves to historians working through the archival records of the Education Department), it strives to create a more accessible picture of individual staff members. We must recognize then that this captures the public face of this group primarily, allowing only some inference about the internal or underlife of the school. Much may prove unknowable. Future re-examination of the professional and private interactions between individual Normal staff and their superiors and students (which we know exist to some degree in the Education Department’s files thanks to previous studies) would be a welcome compliment to the findings presented here. Likewise, this study leaves room to draw on the ever-expanding wealth of digitized colonial newspapers that it could not address. The results drawn from the handful consulted here inspire confidence that even repeating its inquiry on more sources will likely yield new and valuable results in making the educational marketplace of Upper Canada

visible. The repositories accessed, and the active decision-making employed in navigating the data they provided (as discussed below) are recorded in the Appendices to this study.

The increasing prevalence of digitized materials and the general ‘digital-turn’ among humanists in the last two decades empower the researcher while simultaneously raising warnings about the potential for misuse by those who do not work to understand them. Ian Milligan, in the opening of a 2013 *Canadian Historical Review* article on the subject, said:

“It all seems so orderly, advanced, and comprehensive. Instead of firing up the microfilm reader to navigate the *Globe and Mail* or *Toronto Star*, one needs only to log into online newspaper databases through a library portal. A keyword search for a particular event, person, or cultural phenomenon brings up a list of research findings. While date-by-date searching is also available, it seems clunky and slow; keyword searching, however, offers something new, something potentially transformative. ... Previously impossible or implausible research projects can now be approached, especially when they involve wide swaths of social or cultural terrain.

Researchers cite what they find online. This is a problem, as this research process is built upon an often-misunderstood foundation.”<sup>49</sup>

I did cite what I found online, but I also worked to understand the online research process that brought those results to my attention. To organize and make my efforts transparent,<sup>50</sup> I have appended one-page briefs on the databases used in this thesis as Appendix A. These include notes on coverage/contents, the company overseeing the database, relevant articles from the terms of use, and information on Optical Character Recognition practices, standards, and error rates (where available). In addition – in the interests of both a degree of reproducibility (to the extent that updates to the database, as time goes on, do not modify the results) and transparency – Appendix B contains an annotated record of keyword searches performed in each database. This reproduces the Boolean search terms used, any filters or restrictions applied, the number of total

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<sup>49</sup> Ian Milligan, “Illusionary Order: Online Databases, Optical Character Recognition, and Canadian History, 1997–2010,” *Canadian Historical Review* 94, no. 4 (2013): 541, accessed July 12, 2023, doi:10.3138/chr.694.

<sup>50</sup> A lack of transparency being one of Milligan’s chief and introductory anxieties; Milligan, “Illusionary Order,” 542.

results for each search, descriptive annotations providing additional information about individual searches (including my perceptions of Optical Character Recognition accuracy and my evolving thinking regarding my search strategy), and descriptions of non-keyword-based readings of these databases which I undertook.

In crafting keyword searches, I have paid specific attention to account for false negatives, that is, articles that were missed because the particular search term was unreadable or misread by the Optical Character Recognition software. False negatives are one of the key limitations Milligan highlights. I have followed his advice in addressing the issue: using multiple search terms to create overlapping searches to provide the best possible results (short of reprocessing these scans with purpose-built Optical Character Recognition software to improve accuracy).<sup>51</sup> I have also tried to improve my results by using less digitally-optimal research methods within these databases: including date-by-date searching and microfilm-style issue-to-issue reading of select sources during certain key periods.

As a part of transitioning to a digital source base, it was necessary to consider available source types and optimal source types for uncovering the kind of evidence required for this study. With the need to gain information on a broad group of Normal staff members (many of whom were not likely to appear frequently or as central figures in the historical record) in mind, I sought out sources which captured a broad picture of Toronto as a community, and which emphasized providing information on daily life and key institutions throughout the city. While I have incorporated other kinds of documents (including government publications, annual reports, and commemorative pamphlets), my study came to rely on newspapers and city directories as foundational sources. City directories provide a clear and notably broad (but not necessarily

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<sup>51</sup> Milligan, "Illusionary Order," 563-564.

comprehensive) base of information about the constituent institutions of a community in the year they were published. Including details about the Normal School and other educational and community institutions throughout the city, these sources provided a solid base to build a more complete picture of this decade-long history. Newspapers held several key advantages, including having a large number of issues of Canadian periodicals – including sources for the relatively early period with which my study is concerned – digitized to date. Also, newspapers often capture a broad swath of public life, including the activities (at the very least, in the form of an obituary or death notice) of many individuals not captured elsewhere in the historical record.

Beyond his discussion of digital methods, Milligan warns that “...the *Star* and the *Globe* have become the two newspaper databases extensively used to the detriment of all others.”<sup>52</sup> He warns that the increasing use of these databases is disproportionately skewing our research results. In the decade since the end of the period Milligan studied, digitization has continued at a record rate. While ProQuest maintains the massive *Globe* and *Mail* collection, and both the *Globe* and *Star* are important sources, several other digitized newsprint sources are available, and several have also been used in this study. Moreover, the fact that *The Globe* provides a large amount of useful information is not diminished by the fact that it is a regularly used source. There is likely much more information available on the Normal Staff throughout the millions of pages of newsprint digitized or soon to be digitized. This project is a starting point, and further inquiries will continue to benefit from the ever-expanding field of digitized content, which could be sifted to find relevant information on these individuals.

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<sup>52</sup> Milligan, “Illusionary Order,” 543.

## CHAPTER 2

ORGANIZING A NORMAL CAMPUS: THE DEPARTMENTS AND RHYTHMS OF  
TEACHER-TRAINING

“The word *Normal* signifies ‘according to rule, or principle,’ and is employed to express the systematic teaching of the rudiments of learning. ... A Normal School ... is a school in which the principles and practice of teaching according to rule, are taught and exemplified.”<sup>53</sup> – *Egerton Ryerson; address at the opening of the Toronto Normal School, November 1, 1847*

Toronto Normal School employed 261 teaching staff during its first century of operations.<sup>54</sup>

At that time, they were organized into four departments within the overall campus: the Normal School itself, the Boys’ Model School, the Girls’ Model School, and the Kindergarten department. That campus was also a physical space which moved and expanded. By 1856, it encompassed a 7.5-acre square, 2.5 acres occupied by school buildings, yards, and a gymnasium, and 5 acres of botanical and agricultural space to support the Normal’s agricultural education program.<sup>55</sup> Only the first three departments (Normal, Boy’s Model and Girls’ Model) fall within the focus of this study. However, the Kindergarten department also appears to have several points worthy of study. Established in 1885 (following the opening of early kindergartens in Toronto in 1882) to help train teachers in this more age-specialized field, women predominantly staffed it, and the head was titled Director instead of Headmaster, Headmistress (these used in the Normal

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<sup>53</sup>As quoted in the commemorative history produced for the 1947 centennial of the school: Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 23.

<sup>54</sup> This number is based on the keystone sources for this study, the commemorative books published as part of the 1897 Jubilee and 1947 Centennial celebrations. Each of these books contained a commemorative listing of the ‘staff’ from the school’s first session onwards. These books list only the teaching staff, excluding all those in maintenance roles (and John Rintoul) and revealing one unexpected if unsurprising line of division and erasure in the Normal’s memory of itself. Despite this categorical omission, I have no reason to suspect further intentional omission from the teaching staff lists themselves (these records even making a point to include individuals who spent less than a session in the school’s employ) and I have used them as a point of both departure and structure for my investigation.

<sup>55</sup> C\*, “Education in Canada,” *The Connecticut Common School Journal and Annals of Education* 3, no.8 (1856): 225, URL: <https://login.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/education-canada/docview/125266305/se-2?accountid=14701>.

and Models), Principal (Normal), or the gender-specific Directress. Employment terms also displayed a mixture of extremely long serving and middling length terms of staff appointment (see Diagrams 17, 18 and 19 on pages 177–179 in Appendix C). Significantly, in his 2018 study of special education teachers in Toronto and Vancouver between 1910 and 1945, he concluded: “More than one special educator stayed for many years in special classes, with their long tenures likely enhancing the quality of instruction. Special education teachers build special education from the bottom up, developing it in ways that converged with and diverged from what the other experts of the day envisioned for the field.”<sup>56</sup> One must wonder to what extent those with extremely long tenures in the Normal played a similarly formative role in directing the growth of that institution.

Of the 261 teaching staff listed in the 1947 materials, 112 (roughly 43%) were employed in the first 50 years of operations and 33 (or approximately 13%) in the first decade.<sup>57</sup> Until 1897, we enjoy greater specificity in employment timelines (with the commemorative book giving the month each individual began and ended their employment in a given year). From 1897 to 1947, we only know the year in which employment began and ended for each individual. Working with what we have then, a rough overview (rounding any partial term of employment up to one full year and crediting each individual with the entire year in which they began and ended their work at the school – regardless of whether they were employed for the whole of that duration) suggests that teaching staff were employed in the Normal School for an average of 8 years. As averages often do, this number belies a diverse and complex set of experiences (exemplified most simply

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<sup>56</sup> Jason Ellis, “Exceptional Educators: Canada’s First Special Education Teachers, 1910–45,” *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d’histoire de l’éducation* 30, no.2 (2018), 59, accessed July 7, 2023. doi: <https://doi.org/10.32316/hse/rhe.v30i2.4627>.

<sup>57</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 199–201; Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 70–76. To the counts from these sources, I added 1 to account for the largely forgotten and minor role played for a few months at the outset by John Rintoul across the Atlantic in Ireland.

in the dichotomy between employment terms of mere months at the low end and decades at the high end). Employment in the Normal School, then, often enough, represented an impactful commitment of time in one's life. A much more robust tool than the average, in this case, we can also plot an employment timeline. When populated with the data from the two commemorative books, the timeline reveals changes in staff structure (see Diagrams 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 on pages 167–176 in Appendix C) and 'generations' of teaching staff over time at the Normal. It can also help us to situate individual staff and their terms of employment in time relative to one another and to the ongoing evolution of the institution of which they are a part (for a more detailed timeline of Normal staff employment during the period under study see Diagrams 3, 4, 5, and 6 on pages 163–166 in Appendix C).

The Normal School first appeared on paper in the Common School Act of 1843, referenced (in passing and notably contingent upon the follow-through to create the institution) in Articles 62, 65, 67, and 69.<sup>58</sup> The Act of 1843 also created model schools (essentially a lesser form of teacher's apprenticeship) which provided the first concrete teacher training program in the colony.<sup>59</sup> These Model Schools were Common Schools which were selected (ideally due to the

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<sup>58</sup> *An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada : 9th December, 1843.* (Kingston : S. Derbishire and G. Desbarats, Printer to the Queen, 1843), 21–23, accessed February 25, 2020, URL: <http://archive.org/details/actforestablishm00cana>.

<sup>59</sup> L. J. Dupuis, "A History of Elementary Teacher Training in Ontario" (Master's thesis, University of Ottawa (Canada), 1952), 22, accessed January 28, 2020, URL: <https://search.proquest.com/docview/874289896/citation/70761FFE786435FPQ/1>. Model Schools were in fact envisioned from the outset as adjunctive to a Normal School by their enabling legislation. Both the acts of 1843 and 1846 provided that once established, the Normal School would become the guide for the Models, with their lead teachers being required to obtain a certificate of qualification from the Normal School in order to hold their position: *An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada : 9th December, 1843*, Article LXII, 21 & *An Act for the better establishment and maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada: 23rd May, 1846* in Provincial Statutes of Canada Vol. II 2nd Session, 2nd Parliament. (Montreal: Stewart & Derbishire & George Desbarats, 1846), *Article XXXIX*. URL: <http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/education/common-school-act-01.aspx>. However, the Normal School on which they were expected to depend was not quick in its coming and the Models, operating on their own, were found to provide few insights to observing teachers. The Model was generally considered outdated soon after it was deployed: Dupuis, "A History of Elementary Teacher Training in Ontario," 23.

accomplishments of their teachers) as an example to be observed (free of charge) and emulated by teachers of other Common Schools in a given county.<sup>60</sup> These institutions did not, however, breed success. As of 1846, the Chief Superintendent's annual report only notes support payments being made to three Models; in London, Johnstown, and Dalhousie (and it is noted that – no cause being given in the report – the London school was closed that same year).<sup>61</sup>

The Common School Act of 1846 is more concrete. It addressed establishing a Normal School to teach "...the science of education and art of teaching..." through Articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 36, 39, and 44.<sup>62</sup> These built upon the initial form from 1843, fleshing out an essential structure for the institution and providing funding for its creation. It envisaged a Normal School controlled by the Board of Education and, more directly, the Chief Superintendent of Schools for Upper Canada (Egerton Ryerson), who took on the additional mantle: General Superintendent of the Normal School.<sup>63</sup> This Act also acknowledged the presence of a Headmaster in the School and required any staff teacher in the Normal to be male.<sup>64</sup> Finally, the 1846 framework envisioned the Normal's association with an Elementary Model School.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Dupuis, "A History of Elementary Teacher Training in Ontario," 23; *An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada: 9th December, 1843*, Article LXIII, 21.

<sup>61</sup> Egerton Ryerson, *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada* (Montreal: Lovell & Gibson, 1847), 225, accessed August 12, 2021, URL: <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.22059/2?r=0&s=1>.

<sup>62</sup> *An Act for the better establishment and maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada: 23rd May, 1846* in Provincial Statutes of Canada Vol. II 2nd Session, 2nd Parliament. (Montreal: Stewart & Derbishire & George Desbarats, 1846). URL: <http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/en/explore/online/education/common-school-act-01.aspx>.

<sup>63</sup> *An Act for the better establishment and maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada: 23rd May, 1846*, Article II (7).

<sup>64</sup> *An Act for the better establishment and maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada: 23rd May, 1846*, Articles XXXIX & XLIV.

<sup>65</sup> *An Act for the better establishment and maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada: 23rd May, 1846*, Article V.

### *The normal school*

Described by *The Globe* at the end of 1856 as "...the school of instruction by lecture...",<sup>66</sup> the Normal School was the principal department of the campus, aimed at teaching subject material and the philosophy and theory of teaching to students. It was the fundamental institution envisioned within the legislated framework of education as early as 1843, and it began operating in earnest on November 1, 1847. Housed in the Old Government House in Toronto until the end of 1848, the Normal operated directly across from the Upper Canada College establishment.<sup>67</sup> In 1856, the Normal was described as the school serving teachers-in-training between 16-18 and 30 years of age. "...[T]he teachers-in-training are instructed in the principles of education and the best methods of communicating knowledge to the youth placed under their care – are "taught how to teach;..."<sup>68</sup> Normal departments in Canada have also often been remembered for their strict control of individual behaviour:

"The normal school's behavioural code was similarly severe and extended beyond the classroom. Punctuality, compliance to authority, evening curfews, regular church attendance, and gender segregation were obligatory. Typically, the McGill Normal School in Montreal permitted no 'intercourse between male and female pupil-teachers while in school, or when going to, or returning from it.' Students periodically circumvented, or even resisted, such uncompromising regulations. An 1853 petition at the Toronto Normal School criticized the 'outrageous' and 'needless restrictions' on student life, but the agitators, threatened with suspension, apologized for their defiant behaviour."<sup>69</sup>

The Normal Department in Toronto experienced four readily apparent employment generations before 1897, beginning with a notably stunted 'first' generation in 1847 and 1848. Also notable, teachers-in-training studying in this first session had previous experience, which

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<sup>66</sup> N.a., "Normal and Model Schools," *The Globe*, December 13, 1856, accessed February 11, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1511654094/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/51>.

<sup>67</sup> Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 26.

<sup>68</sup> N.a., "Normal and Model Schools" (1856).

<sup>69</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 47.

likely helped facilitate progress at this stage – especially regarding the lesser emphasis on teaching methods in the first few months.<sup>70</sup>

The following years would see a much surer ‘founding’ from the second generation and the ongoing expansion of staff and their roles to 1860. For this generation, employment terms remained relatively short (the majority being significantly less than eight years) except for the constant leadership of Headmaster Thomas Jaffray Robertson, whose particularly lengthy Normal career oversaw a rapidly changing institutional structure and staff pool. One marks a transition to a third generation beginning in 1857 but more firmly breaking from the previous in 1860. The third generation, from 1860 to 1885, is defined by a staff pool which is – conversely – marked by notable stability. While the Normal Department experienced a sudden leadership change with Robertson’s death in 1866, employment terms for the new Headmaster, John Herbert Sangster, and others trended much longer (many a decade or more). Additionally, career mobility within the institution becomes increasingly possible with the expanded staff pool and certain employees are seen to pursue rising career paths over time (indicating greater staff retention in the institution given the possibility of upward mobility). Substantially, during the third generation, the staff pool came to include two new positions (dedicated mathematical and science masters) upon the inauguration of the third Headmaster Reverend (Rev.) Henry W. Davies, D.D.’s administration. Finally, the government under the then recently appointed Minister of Education George Ross decided to reorganize the Normal staff in 1884-1885, creating another noticeable transition that saw four retirements, several promotions, the combination of the writing and drawing master

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<sup>70</sup> Egerton Ryerson and John George Hodgins, eds., “Editorial Department: Model School.” *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 1, no. 3 (1848): 91. Accessed April 1, 2021. URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06242\\_3](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06242_3).

positions under John Henry McFaul, and the disappearance of the teacher of elocution and science master positions.<sup>71</sup>

### *The model school*

During the fourth month of the Normal's First Session, on February 21, 1848, the attached Model School – described as "...the school of instruction by practice..."<sup>72</sup> – began operation. This marked a dramatic expansion of the Normal campus and its operations (though the school remained relatively small overall) and was accompanied by the first staff expansion. The February 1848 edition of the *Journal of Education* gave notice of these changes:

"Arrangements have been completed for opening the Model School on the 21<sup>st</sup> February; when the Students in the Normal School will have the additional advantage of witnessing examples and engaging in exercises of practical teaching – thus reducing to practice the instructions which they receive in the exercises and lectures of the Normal School. We may also remark, that a Music Master has been employed to teach the Normal School Students Hullah's System of Vocal Music."<sup>73</sup>

To house the Model classes, the stables of Old Government House were renovated and repurposed. As described in the 1947 centennial history: "There [in the Model] the teachers-in-training observed classes being taught and instructed classes themselves. Counsel and criticism were given in connection with these periods of practice-teaching."<sup>74</sup> In addition to hosting a rotation of candidates from the Normal program who would practice teaching there, the Model would quickly become an important elementary institution in the city in its own right. Students

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<sup>71</sup> Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 70–76; N.a., "FALSE CHARGES REFUTED: Hon. G. W. Ross Vindicates His Administration. Ontario's Normal Schools Are Not Used to Further Party Ends. The Public Service and Not Private or Political Advantage is the Sole Aim of the Minister of Education," *The Globe*, December 22, 1893, accessed January 4, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1649230017/abstract/EFCF16A066224219PQ/56>.

<sup>72</sup> N.a., "Normal and Model Schools" (1856).

<sup>73</sup> Egerton Ryerson and John George Hodgins, eds., "Programmes of Lectures in the Normal School for Upper Canada," *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 1, no. 2 (February 1848): 59, accessed April 1, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06242\\_2](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06242_2).

<sup>74</sup> Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 24.

instructed by the Normal teachers-in-training were between 5 to 16 years of age in the early years.<sup>75</sup> Within three years, its initial enrollment of 120 students became a group of around 600 students.<sup>76</sup> This institution also appears to have been considered to represent a rupture with the Model Schools which predated it. As late as 1867, *The Globe* still referred to the Toronto Model as “...the only one of the kind in the Province...”<sup>77</sup>

During the First Session, the Normal and Model were only open to male applicants. However, the public was asking (according to Ryerson) about possibly training female teachers in the institution as early as March 1848.<sup>78</sup> From the start of the Second Session that May, both men and women were admitted for Normal and Model training. From 1852 the Model School was divided into a Boys’ and a Girls’ department, each with its own Headmaster/mistress and separate teaching staff. This division persisted until 1902 when the Girls’ Model disappeared from the staff listings (indicating its disestablishment as a separate entity, with no new Headmistress appointed afterwards). By the end of the decade under study, the practice pursued in the Girls’ Model had evolved significantly, including gymnastics replacing calisthenics to address physical education, the inclusion of “plain needle work” in the upper-level classes, and

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<sup>75</sup> N.a., “Normal and Model Schools” (1856).

<sup>76</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, “Editorial Department: Model School,” 91; Robert W. Stuart Mackay, *The Canada Directory: Containing the Names of the Professional and Business Men of Every Description, in the Cities, Towns and Principal Villages of Canada : Together with a Complete Post Office Directory of the Province, a Directory to Public Offices, Officers and Institutions; A Variety of Statistical and Commercial Tables, Exhibiting the Population, Trade, Revenue, Expenditure, Imports, Exports, Public Works, Etc., Etc., of Canada, and a Variety of Other Useful Information. Brought down to November, 1851*, Montreal: John Lovell, 1851, 421, accessed July 19, 2021, URL: <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.29570>. Ryerson also claimed in this article that applications had exceeded the school’s capacity (over 140).

<sup>77</sup> N.a., “Model School for Upper Canada: Annual Public Examination,” *The Globe*, June 21, 1867, accessed January 4, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1518936014/abstract/EFCF16A066224219PQ/42>.

<sup>78</sup> Egerton Ryerson and John George Hodgins, eds., “Editorial Department: Female Department in the Provincial Normal School,” *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 1, no. 3 (1848): 91, accessed April 1, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06242\\_3](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06242_3).

the replacement of mathematical subjects (“Book-keeping and Mensuration”) with “Domestic Economy” in the lower-level classes.<sup>79</sup>

The Model School seems to have experienced similar ‘generations,’ despite significant differences in the character of the staff pool, throughout the first 50 years. The Normal’s and Model’s first staff generations were both short-lived. Mainly targeted at onboarding individuals with experience in Ireland’s school system, it is the hiring one Robert Bell out of the Normal’s graduate pool which emerges as the first in the pattern that would come to characterize Normal hiring moving forward. As we will see, many of the Normal’s most long-serving, influential, and acclaimed staffers would be hired from the ranks of its own graduates. Fascinatingly, as Knudsen and East remarked, the hiring or appointment of key staff from within an organization’s own junior ranks appears to be one key process in the growth of power in the organizational middle.<sup>80</sup> From 1848-1858, the Model (and later Boys’ Model) experience was characterized by shorter employment terms and an expansion/evolution of its staff composition. Of course, there is the division and establishment of the Girls’ Model, which differed somewhat in that it experienced no major staffing disruption in 1857-1858. Instead, it experienced a broadly stable founding period (1852 to 1864-1865). Also, in contrast to the pattern of absentee or short-lived initial heads in the other departments, the initial hire, Dorcas Clark, was particularly long-serving.

Moving forward from their foundations, the Boys’ and Girls’ Models experienced largely stable staff attrition and renewal from 1858 and 1864, respectively, until the end of the 1880s. This period is neither characterized by bursts of numerous short-term staff nor dominated by long-term, solidified staff groups. Instead, a mix of short, medium, and long-term staff appointments resulted in a combination of new and veteran presences in most years. Moving into

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<sup>79</sup> C\*, “Education in Canada,” *The Connecticut Common School Journal and Annals of Education*, 225.

<sup>80</sup> Knudsen and East, “Leeway for Personal Impact,” 208.

the 1890s and beyond to the next century, the Models seem to come into greater alignment. A mix of employment terms continues; however, they tend to lengthen during this period: resulting in a more solidified staff composed of medium and, more often, long-term appointments.<sup>81</sup>

The end date of this study's period marks the inauguration of a new Normal-era. As of 1856, the Normal School year was regulated into two semi-annual sessions from May 15<sup>th</sup> onwards five months, and from November 15<sup>th</sup> onwards five months with a one-month vacation between each.<sup>82</sup> In 1857 a Model Grammar School was established to extend Normal-style practice into the training of teachers for the next educational level, the Grammar School system. The plan was to establish this as yet another wing of the Normal campus (much in the same vein as the Model School). Initially, the financial apportionment for this project was kept relatively small (£1000), as was the anticipated class size (50 teachers-in-training).<sup>83</sup> The buildings for this new department were the work of "...Messrs. Cumberland and Storm [architects]. The building will be in the Italian style and attached to the Normal Schools by a passage for the housekeeper. It will cost about L5,000, and will accommodate 100 pupils, with some additional room for the Normal Schools. It is intended to select pupils from all the different counties in the Province."<sup>84</sup> This represented a significant expansion of Normal facilities. The purpose of the Model Grammar School was described as "...[furnishing] Grammar Schools with masters educated in the best methods of teaching classical and mathematical subjects."<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 70–76.

<sup>82</sup> N.a., "Normal and Model Schools" (1856).

<sup>83</sup> N.a., "Normal and Model Schools" (1856).

<sup>84</sup> N.a., "Building Operations in Toronto: University Buildings the Observatory Osgoode Hall Grammar School St. James' Cemetery Chapel Other Buildings Nordheimer's Music Hall Romain's Buildings Sherbourne House Private Buildings," *The Globe*, June 30, 1857, accessed February 11, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1511673257/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/56>.

<sup>85</sup> N.a., "Building Operations in Toronto."

Such institutional expansions often correlate with major changes in staffing patterns. For example, the shift to a third generation of teachers in the Normal beginning in 1857 and the opening of the Model Grammar School (a project seeking to expand the Model portion of Normal training into the realm of the more advanced Grammar – later evolving into high – schools) that same year.<sup>86</sup> Likewise, it appears that the disruption in 1885 is parallel to a similar expansion in the form of the Kindergarten department coming into being.<sup>87</sup>

This school and its many generations of staff and students did not exist in a vacuum. Rather, their activities took place within a vibrant and growing colonial city. Though relatively defined compared to its meaning today, the Normal and the Ryerson-era educational system were challenged to serve an increasingly diverse society. The Normal did not appear to approach this in the same way other schools did (with the creation of separate schools divided along religious, linguistic, and racial lines), rather: “...all the major [Christian] denominations were represented among the students, and educational backgrounds varied...[I]nstitutions like the normal and grammar schools of the province were characterized by the diversity and transience of their student bodies, and this was a fact that could not be ignored.”<sup>88</sup> Likewise, underlying and growing economic and social class divisions had impacts beyond the Normal itself. In their efforts to train student teachers, Normal staff needed to prepare students for a world where conditions varied drastically. In the same community, one might find both modern, well-outfitted facilities where normal graduates would work amongst their peers and “...other schools that were

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<sup>86</sup> Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 42–43.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>88</sup> Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly, eds., *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past* (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 127; Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 93. Regarding such divisions, Axelrod writes: “French, English, and Scottish influences, reflecting the national origin and educational backgrounds of most university teachers, infused both curriculum and pedagogy. In this intellectual universe, knowledge and religion were inseparable.”

overcrowded, poorly ventilated, and under-supplied.”<sup>89</sup> Indeed, even amongst the “adult education” institutions and initiatives available in Toronto, the Normal was but one member of a growing educational community which included a pre-existing roster of educational institutions that would continue to multiply and grow along with the Normal once it joined their ranks in 1847.

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<sup>89</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 53.

## CHAPTER 3

## THE WHO BEHIND THE NORMAL

“The mind of the teacher will be to a considerable extent impressed on that of the pupil, and the influence of a talented teacher and a good man, long settled in a country district, has been known deeply to affect the attainments and character of the inhabitants for many years.”<sup>90</sup> Thirty-three teaching staff and seven support staff occupied the Normal campus from 1847 to 1857, forming the social web which underpinned its activities. To draw useful knowledge from this study, I sought to strike a balance between the examination of individuals and observations about the group as a collective. The most straightforward information to gather regarded those staffers already somewhat prominent in the historiography (primarily Headmaster Robertson and his successors in that position).

*Headmasters: what it meant to lead the normal*

“Certainly it has been difficult to detach the creation of the Ontario school system, one which was as seminal for Canada as certain eastern state systems were for the American republic, from this one man, who thought of himself as its founder and regarded it as his great life’s work. But the tendency to focus on Ryerson, and on some of the more notorious religious and political controversies in which he was involved, has until recently led to the relative neglect of both other debates arising out of the public school movement and of other Upper Canadian educators whose role in this history is less well known.”<sup>91</sup>

Today, the notion of a headmaster is often equated with the concept of a school principal. While the position of headmaster would become that of a principal at Toronto Normal in later years, the position in the 1847 – 1857 period evoked the Victorian concept of head teacher.

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<sup>90</sup> N.a., “Education--Normal Schools,” *The Globe*, December 16, 1848, accessed February 26, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507541442/citation/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/9>.

<sup>91</sup> Allison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada*, Canadian Social History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 14, accessed July 12, 2023, URL: [https://books-scholarsportal-info.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks0/gibson\\_crkn/2009-12-01/6/418479](https://books-scholarsportal-info.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/uri/ebooks/ebooks0/gibson_crkn/2009-12-01/6/418479).

Headmasters were expected, while taking a certain degree of overall leadership, to occupy ‘the podium’ before a class and to have a continued involvement in school life at the granular level (as opposed to the administratively oriented semi-detachment which is often the mark of the modern principal).<sup>92</sup> Given – unique to the Normal – Ryerson’s intimate involvement in daily affairs, we are left to question to what degree a headmaster might truly have enjoyed the free exercise of power or discretion in their work. Susan Huston and Allison Prentice observed that Ryerson, in his correspondences with Headmaster Robertson, would take an interest in details as minute as the spelling in prospective students’ application letters. They also noted that Ryerson handled communications with parents and friends and took a direct interest and hand in the students’ affairs. They report the general perception that the Chief Superintendent was ‘in charge’ of Normal life.<sup>93</sup> Despite this day-to-day involvement, Ryerson’s handling of most supervision work was in line with understandings of the role of headmaster at that time. The Superintendent’s supervisory role would not shift to the headmaster until the position’s later transition to ‘principal.’<sup>94</sup>

Ryerson’s first choice for the position of Headmaster of Toronto Normal was John Rintoul, A.M., Esquire. Recommended by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, Rintoul had spent twelve years leading the Irish Model Schools and instructing “...the Teachers in the

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<sup>92</sup> “With the development of the graded school in mid-nineteenth century America, the head teacher moved physically from the podium at the front of the classroom into a separate, non-classroom space, acting as an overarching authority to the whole and managing the operation of multiple cellular class rooms.” Kate Rousmaniere, “The Great Divide: Principals, Teachers, and the Long Hallway between Them,” *History of Education Review* 38, no. 2 (2009): 20, accessed April 19, 2022, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1108/08198691200900010>.

<sup>93</sup> Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, Ontario Historical Studies (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 164.

<sup>94</sup> “Supervision was originally the job of the superintendent, but in the expanding school systems of early-20th century America, the role of supervision was passed onto the newly authorised principal who acted as evaluator of a teaching corps that was seen as inexperienced, ill-informed, and primarily female.” Rousmaniere, “The Great Divide,” 21.

practice of School Teaching in the Government Normal School in Dublin....”<sup>95</sup> Rintoul’s work for Toronto Normal involved acquiring material and equipment that would form the basis of the curriculum. Rintoul compiled, working with the Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Dublin Normal, a catalogue of scientific instruments to teach Chemistry and Natural Philosophy and, subsequently, received £400 from the Canada West Board of Education to purchase them and a number of schoolbooks.<sup>96</sup> The Irish Commissioners recommended Rintoul with the knowledge that Ryerson sought to replicate their system in Canada West.<sup>97</sup> Ryerson’s intention to model curriculum and the Toronto Normal on the Irish system is well-known to scholars.<sup>98</sup> He and the Canada West Board were so committed to retaining Rintoul that, in response to months of delays to Rintoul’s Atlantic crossing and the Normal’s opening (due to Mrs. Rintoul becoming ill), they offered to “...pay the expenses of Mr. Rintoul’s passage to Canada, and back to Dublin again after the close of the Session of the Provincial Normal School;...”<sup>99</sup> so that he might retain his position and bring his family over later. Ultimately, when it became clear Rintoul could not be hired, Ryerson and the Board again sought the recommendation of the Irish Commissioners and

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<sup>95</sup> Province of Canada, Legislature, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Sixth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada: From the 2nd Day of June to the 28th Day of July, 1847, Both Days Inclusive, and in the Tenth and Eleventh Years of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Parliament, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session. Montreal: Rollo Campbell, (1847), 162. Accessed January 17, 2021. URL:

[https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_6\\_2/3?r=0&s=1](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_6_2/3?r=0&s=1); J. Donald Wilson, “ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9 (1861-1870), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1976, para.2, accessed January 4, 2021, URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/robertson\\_thomas\\_jaffray\\_9E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/robertson_thomas_jaffray_9E.html).

<sup>96</sup> N.a., “Normal Schools,” *The Globe*, June 30, 1847, accessed February 11, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507539591/citation/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/3>.

<sup>97</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Sixth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1847), 162.

<sup>98</sup> Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton eds., *Egerton Ryerson and his times* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978), 115; Miller, “The Theory and Practice of Education in Ontario in the 1860’s,” 275. Miller also notes that J. George Hodgins, Ryerson’s clerk and second in the Education Office spent a year in Dublin learning their Normal method as well. Fn.1, p.275 in Miller reads: “J. C. Boylen et al. (eds.), *Toronto Normal School* (Toronto: School of Graphic Arts, 1947), p. 28.”

<sup>99</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Sixth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1847), 162.

consequently offered the position to Thomas Jaffray Robertson, Chief Inspector of the National Schools of Ireland, on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1847.<sup>100</sup>

By reason of his proximity to Ryerson's daily activities, of his position, or of his long, foundational tenure at the school, Thomas Jaffray Robertson, Normal Headmaster (1847 – 1866), has appeared repeatedly in studies of the early Department of Education.<sup>101</sup> He has also merited a short 1976 entry in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography penned by J. Donald Wilson.<sup>102</sup> Born in March of 1805 in Dublin, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, he was the youngest son of Charles Robertson, a painter of portrait miniatures, and Christiana Jaffray, about whom we have no information.<sup>103</sup> Robertson spent the first half of his life in Dublin. He received his early education and garnered some academic success (receiving several prizes) studying at the Frinaiglian Institute, about which little is known. Following his 1820 graduation, Robertson attended Dublin's Trinity College, distinguishing himself with honours in both science and classics. However, he was unable to complete his studies due to illness.<sup>104</sup> Robertson's career in

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<sup>100</sup> N.a., *Past Principals of Ontario Normal Schools*, n.p., 1905, 4, accessed January 14, 2021, URL: <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.77333>; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 11; Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Sixth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1847), 162.

<sup>101</sup> For example: Curtis, *Building the Educational State* and Harry Smaller, "Gender and Status: The Founding Meeting of the Teacher's Association of Canada West, January 25, 1861," *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 6, no. 2 (1994): 201-218, accessed January 14, 2021, doi: <https://doi.org/10.32316/hse/rhe.v6i2.1203>.

<sup>102</sup> Then, an Associate professor of history of education at the University of British Columbia: "Contributors - Volume IX," University of Toronto/Université Laval, Dictionary of Canadian Biography, accessed January 14, 2021, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/contrib/9>; Wilson, "ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY."

<sup>103</sup> Wilson, "ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY," para. 1; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 10; T. Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, "miniature painting," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, September 13, 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/art/miniature-painting>. Wilson notes Charles as simply a portrait painter, but in the commemorative report of the 1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee celebrations, David Fotheringham's biographical sketch of Robertson (from which Wilson seems to take his information) notes him to be a "Miniature Painter." Painted Miniatures were a luxury product – being small but vivid and detailed portraits commonly kept in locket or covered "portrait boxes" – produced by artists with a certain amount of specialized skill for the delicate work. Charles Robertson worked in the twilight of that luxury goods industry (which flourished between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries); painted miniatures would be rendered obsolete by far cheaper and simpler black and white photographs in the latter half of the nineteenth century. *Miniature painting* is also known as *limning*.

<sup>104</sup> Wilson, "ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY," para. 2.

both Ireland and North America was tied to schooling. Returning to Frinaiglian in 1827, he taught classics until moving into a governmental role as an employee of the Irish Office of Education in 1828.<sup>105</sup> He climbed the ranks of this organization, being appointed Inspector of the National Schools (May 1832).<sup>106</sup> Normal student and later colleague David Fotheringham reported that Robertson travelled throughout Ireland for this position and that those experiences instilled in him a strong belief in the Irish clergy's "...generosity, hospitality, and consideration...."<sup>107</sup>

In 1838, Robertson was promoted to Senior Assistant to the General Superintendent of the National Schools.<sup>108</sup> Soon after, Robertson would also marry his wife, Amelia Nelson.<sup>109</sup> In 1845, Robertson was promoted again (first provisionally in July, with his posting being formally confirmed in December of that year) to the office of Chief Inspector of the National Schools of Ireland.<sup>110</sup> He would not remain long in that role, being offered the headmastership of the new Normal School in Upper Canada on July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1847.<sup>111</sup> Robertson's transition was a hasty one, the Normal opening exactly four months after he was offered the position on November 1<sup>st</sup>. Upon his arrival in Canada, Wilson notes that Robertson was perceived as forceful and resolute; a perception which he would seem to have maintained throughout his time in Toronto, with David

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<sup>105</sup> Wilson, para. 2.

<sup>106</sup> N.a., *Past Principals of Ontario Normal Schools*, 10.

<sup>107</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 10 & 12.

<sup>108</sup> N.a., *Past Principals of Ontario Normal Schools*, 4; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 10.

<sup>109</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 10–11; N.a., "Died," *The Globe*, June 16, 1906, accessed January 4, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1354076797/citation/358AC3C4F3EE4179PQ/13>. Amelia was the daughter of a Dublin solicitor, Richard John Nelson. The *Globe* death notice quoted here notes that Richard John Nelson as being of "Bellevue, Queen's county, and Dublin, Ireland." I have not been able to find a Bellevue, Queen's County in Upper Canada as yet, but it would be very interesting if Robertson's father-in-law had also crossed the Atlantic.

<sup>110</sup> Wilson, "ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY," para. 2; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 11.

<sup>111</sup> N.a., *Past Principals of Ontario Normal Schools*, 4; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 11; Wilson, "ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY," para. 2.

Fotheringham recalling in 1897: “In appearance, Mr. Robertson was tall, erect and well filled out.”<sup>112</sup> Robertson taught a “...variety of subjects (including Philosophy of Grammar, Parsing, Geography (Mathematical, Physical, and Political), the Art of Reading, Linear Drawing, Lessons on Reasoning, History, Trigonometry (“with a view to Land Surveying”)) for a total of five hours per day....” with significant interest in “...grammar, physical geography, and ancient and modern history.”<sup>113</sup> Robertson would also provide the occasional short lecture on Teaching method.<sup>114</sup>

The Robertsons initially resided on the second floor of the school buildings themselves (echoing the boarding practices his soon-to-be pupils could often encounter in the colony at that time).<sup>115</sup> When recounting the institution’s history, Toronto Normal’s centennial materials identify his tenure as “...a period when knowledge and skills were synonymous with education.”<sup>116</sup> Wilson characterizes Robertson as a strict disciplinarian focused on instilling habits and methods rather than in the nuances of child psychology in education.<sup>117</sup> An emphasis on order and hygiene and a disdain for memorization were also noted. Wilson underlines that Robertson authored three textbooks (published by John Lovell) and, in analyzing said textbooks, notes that the “...prefaces reveal his opposition to rote learning and his belief in what he called the ‘conversational-method.’”<sup>118</sup> Toronto Normal’s centennial history shares with us Baltimore’s Commissioner of Public Schools’ impressions of this conversational method from a visit to the Normal in 1862: “...[The Commissioner] observed the recitation of the class in history. It was so

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<sup>112</sup> Wilson, “ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY,” para. 3; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 11.

<sup>113</sup> Wilson, “ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY,” para. 3; Ryerson and Hodgins, “Programmes of Lectures in the Normal School for Upper Canada,” 59.

<sup>114</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, “Programmes of Lectures in the Normal School for Upper Canada,” 59.

<sup>115</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 11; N.a., *Past Principals of Ontario Normal Schools*, 4.

<sup>116</sup> Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 43.

<sup>117</sup> Wilson, “ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY,” para. 4.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, paras. 3–4.

well done that he asked the teacher what text-book she used. She replied that she used all the books in history she could procure, and from them prepared herself for a conversational lecture with the class.”<sup>119</sup> In Wilson’s assessment, Robertson sought to cultivate an understanding of the fundamental principles behind any subject foremost and “...his students found him an earnest instructor and a kind friend.”<sup>120</sup>

While observing several of the other most successful Normal staffers, we see that many aspects attributed to Robertson’s teaching style are also attributed to those individuals. The personability and method which emphasized engagement with students foremost. This might speak to the general teaching ideal, Robertson’s influence on the meaning of teaching ability in the Toronto Normal’s lexicon, or the sales pitch put forward about this new class of professional teachers at the time. At the 1897 Jubilee, former student and staffer Catherine Fish (née Johnson) described Robertson as “...the highly cultured and earnest teacher...,”<sup>121</sup> and William Carlyle reflected that: “As a teacher, he sought to reach the understanding and succeeded, his patience never failing him.”<sup>122</sup> Meanwhile, A. S. Allan noted that he “...seemed to me always so stern, and I was afraid of him, although I cannot say that I disliked him.”<sup>123</sup> From a story related by Mrs. G. Riches in the 1897 materials, we also know that Robertson could be known to approach discipline with some wit and creativity. In response to a Halloween cavalcade involving the deposit of a head of cabbage at his door, Headmaster Robertson responded with a dinner invitation. The five female student teachers in question saw being welcomed to the Robertson family table as a point of great excitement, and Mrs. Robertson and the rest of the family were

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<sup>119</sup> Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 43–44.

<sup>120</sup> Wilson, “ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY,” para. 4.

<sup>121</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 23.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 26–27.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

participants in humiliating the offenders by serving a dinner of cabbage and some laughter from the hosts. Reminiscing on it with good humour, Riches remarked: “Our punishment was certainly unique and as certainly effective.”<sup>124</sup>

Robertson’s incorporation of his family life into his teaching is unsurprising:

“...the family provided many Victorians with an archetype – emotional, organizational, and ideological – with which to interpret their experience of social change. Their anxiety about that change is well revealed by the energy and dismay with which many reformers responded to the spectacle of an unprecedented number of other people’s children surviving – and thriving – unrestrained in society at large. Not surprisingly, the solution they devised was the creation of surrogate institutions for the lower classes appropriately analogous to the middle-class family life.”<sup>125</sup>

The information uncovered on Robertson and other staffers reflects this parental tendency and attitude towards pupils despite the beginnings of the move away from this and towards an “adult” education which better resembled the Normal’s design. As scholars have commented:

“Ryerson’s commitment to the new family ideal and to the idea that students should live in the relative seclusion that he associated with private family life seem to have been a response rather to the feeling that both the society and the new educational institutions that he was building were too large and complex to be familial as he understood the term. Unlike Trinity, the Normal School could never be a family; real families and the inward-turning family ideal seemed more appropriate answers to the heterogeneous realities of the emerging mass society, as Ryerson saw it.”<sup>126</sup>

Robertson undertook numerous duties for the Department of Public Instruction while headmaster of the Normal School. Initially, a large amount of Robertson’s time was occupied teaching in the Normal. Moving into the 1850s, though, the Normal staff would begin to expand and Robertson’s teaching role would begin to take up less time (only lecturing 16 hours a week on the subjects of Reading, Geography, History, Grammar, and the Science of Education in the

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<sup>124</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 33–34.

<sup>125</sup> Katz and Mattingly, *Education and Social Change*, 83–84.

<sup>126</sup> Katz and Mattingly, *Education and Social Change*, 129.

syllabus for the Tenth Session, 1853).<sup>127</sup> This allowed Robertson to take up other roles, notably Inspector of Grammar Schools.<sup>128</sup> In 1850, Ryerson's Education Department also undertook a provincial tour to provide several teachers' institutes – two-day sessions featuring lectures, model lessons, and the reading of papers on methods – in twenty of the Province's counties.<sup>129</sup> From May 30 to August 16 (the Normal session being delayed to September 1 to accommodate), Robertson and Second Master Henry Youle Hind completed this tour which proved (in large part for lack of good organization of participants, a uniform level of qualification amongst them, and well-developed curricula) wholly unpopular.<sup>130</sup> These institutes were not attempted again until 1873, when the initiative was more successful.<sup>131</sup> This did not, however, immediately end the Normal masters' role in outside lecturing to promote the Normal.

During its 1850 season, Robertson offered a weekly course of nighttime lectures at the Toronto Mechanics' Institute.<sup>132</sup> This represented an organization with some influence in the city and its educational community at that time. Formed in 1831 as the York Mechanics' Institute and reconstituting itself (to address a growing pool of physical and financial assets at its disposal) as the Toronto Mechanics' Institute in 1838, this organization pursued adult education in Toronto for a decade and a half before the Normal's formation.<sup>133</sup> By 1845, the Institute could claim a regular

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<sup>127</sup> Province of Canada, Legislature, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No. 8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada: From the 25th February to the 16th August, 1858, both days inclusive, in the Twenty-First and Twenty-Second Years of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria*. 6<sup>th</sup> Parliament, 1<sup>st</sup> Session. Toronto: Rollo Campbell, (1858), 386. Accessed July 21, 2021. URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_16\\_8/2](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_16_8/2).

<sup>128</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 11.

<sup>129</sup> Miller, "The Theory and Practice of Education in Ontario in the 1860's," 311–12.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 312.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 313.

<sup>132</sup> Toronto Mechanics' Institute, *Lectures on the following subjects, will be delivered during the present season, commencing on the evening of Friday, November 15, 1850, at Eight o'clock, and continued on each succeeding Friday evening, at the same hour* (Toronto: Carter and Thomas, 1850), accessed March 10, 2021, URL: <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-OHQ-EPHE-S-R-82&R=DC-OHQ-EPHE-S-R-82>.

<sup>133</sup> Toronto Mechanics' Institute, *Constitution and Rules of the City of Toronto Mechanics' Institute, Together with a Catalogue of the Books in the Library* (Toronto: The British Colonist Office, 1842), 3, accessed March 10, 2021, URL: <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-37131055334064D&R=DC-37131055334064D>.

membership of 111 and anticipated continuing growth for the following year.<sup>134</sup> It also hosted a growing library that included news publications from Upper and Lower Canada and the nascent *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* once the Normal began operations.<sup>135</sup> Robertson's 1850 lecture series addressed "The Science and Philosophy of the English Language" and was offered beginning on November 20, 1850, once a week at 8 pm, free to the Institute's Members as well as "...Ladies of their families...."<sup>136</sup> Robertson would also later be appointed by the Council of Public Instruction to a Committee of Examiners for masterships of Grammar Schools, serving with Normal colleague Rev. William Ormiston; Principal of Upper Canada College, Frederick W. Barron; and, Headmaster of the Model Grammar School, George R. R. Cockburn in 1857.<sup>137</sup>

Robertson was also a significant community figure in his leisure time. He was an avid yachtsman, with Wilson calling it his "...main leisure-time activity....," and Fotheringham noting that "...during the months that were open for that exercise, he wore the bronzed and breezy face of a sturdy sailor;...."<sup>138</sup> He also helped found the future Royal Canadian Yacht Club in 1852 and won their first racing trophy, the Queen's Cup.<sup>139</sup> Robertson would remain a leading member of the Club into the final years of his life.<sup>140</sup> Early on in Toronto, Robertson also attracted a couple

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<sup>134</sup> William Edwards, *Toronto Mechanics' Institute: The Annual Report*, n.p., 1845, accessed March 10, 2021, URL: <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-1845-MECHANICS-INSTITUTE-SB&R=DC-1845-MECHANICS-INSTITUTE-SB>.

<sup>135</sup> Toronto Mechanics' Institute, *A Course of Lectures Will Be Delivered in the Hall of the Institute, during This Season, Commencing on Friday November 16, 1849 At Eight o'clock. P. M.* (Toronto: Carter and Thomas, 1849), accessed March 10, 2021, URL: <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-OHQ-EPHE-S-R-75&R=DC-OHQ-EPHE-S-R-75>.

<sup>136</sup> Toronto Mechanics' Institute, *Lectures on the following subjects* (1850).

<sup>137</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 341.

<sup>138</sup> Wilson, "ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY," para. 5; Toronto Normal School, *1847-1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 11.

<sup>139</sup> Wilson, "ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY," para. 5.

<sup>140</sup> N.a., "Royal Canadian Yacht Club," *Spirit of the Times: A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage*, April 20, 1861, accessed January 4, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/126134353/citation/D52356A0CD2049E0PQ/21>; N.a., "On-Dits in Sporting Circles," *Spirit of the Times: A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature and the Stage*, March 17, 1860, accessed January 4, 2021. URL:

of notably positive pieces of personal press. In 1850, Robertson's testimony to the character of a young man suspected in a robbery (concerning the not insignificant value of £250) was sufficient to convince the court to let him go free, conditional upon his continuing availability for further questioning if needed.<sup>141</sup> In April 1858, there was a suspicious fire on Church Street. Coverage featured Robertson as a somewhat heroic figure, playing a key role in saving life and property from the blaze: "Mr. Harrington – Was asleep in the front room on the second story. Was awakened by a cry of fire recognized the voice as that of Mr. Robertson of the Normal School, who helped him to save his horse, cow, carriages, and other property. Has no knowledge of how the fire occurred."<sup>142</sup>

Robertson was married to Amelia Nelson of Dublin, and they had six children.<sup>143</sup> His eldest and namesake, Thomas Jaffray Robertson, was by 1897 a Barrister-at-law, residing in and at one time the Mayor of Newmarket.<sup>144</sup> Thomas also appeared in press coverage of the Normal campus as one of the students attending the Model Grammar School. At that, he appeared as a star pupil: providing recitations at the second annual examination in 1860, leading the presentation of the gift from the pupils' committee to the Headmaster, and receiving the first prize in general scholarship. He was named "Dux of the whole school" as well as receiving prizes for quarterly examination papers (in the subjects of Classics; Ancient History, Geography, and Antiquities; Modern History and Geography; Geometry and Trigonometry; Arithmetic and Algebra; Drawing; the Best French Essay; and he also "...leaves school with certificate of distinction..." in the

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<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/126144372/abstract/D52356A0CD2049E0PQ/19>. Robertson is listed as a Captain amongst the officers of the club in both 1860 and 1861.

<sup>141</sup> N.a., "Police Intelligence," *The Globe*, August 31, 1850, accessed February 11, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1510599974/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/21>.

<sup>142</sup> N.a., "The Late Fire on Church Street," *The Globe*, April 29, 1858, accessed February 11, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1513623587/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/65>.

<sup>143</sup> Wilson, "ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY," para. 6.

<sup>144</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 12.

Gymnastics and Drill Class.<sup>145</sup> Another son, Llewellyn H. Robertson, was by 1897 a Real Estate Agent and had likewise been a notably successful student at the Model Grammar School.

Llewellyn gave a recitation at the second annual examination in 1860. He received prizes for quarterly examination papers in Classics, Modern History and Geography, Drawing, and a poem, “The Loss of the *Hungarian*.”<sup>146</sup> Son Frederic C. Robertson was by 1897 Chief Auditor of The Pullman Palace Car Co. in Chicago and in the Model Grammar won prizes for General Scholarship; for quarterly examination papers in Classics, in Ancient History and Geography, in English, and in Drawing; and was recognized as first amongst his grade “...passing with honour from Class I to II...” in 1860.<sup>147</sup> By 1897, his daughters Amelia, Clementina and Isabel are noted as marrying a doctor, a Barrister at law and a Queen’s Counsel (likewise indicative of their social standing), respectively.<sup>148</sup>

Robertson’s health began to fail during the winter of 1865-1866, leading him to take a leave of absence which was renewed once it became clear he would not return for the summer of 1866.<sup>149</sup> Thomas Jaffray Robertson died on September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1866. He was 62 and was buried in St. James’ Cemetery in Toronto, where he had lived and worked for almost 20 years.<sup>150</sup>

Charles Lowey, the first Headmaster selected for the Model School, was also a former “Dublin master.”<sup>151</sup> In a similar fashion to Rintoul’s short tenure, Lowey only served a few months beginning in February 1848. We know very little about Lowey; however, in a speech

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<sup>145</sup> N.a., “Model Grammar School: Second Annual Examination,” *The Globe*, July 27, 1860, accessed February 11, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1513742652/abstract/76B1A4EF3D0C4247PQ/19>.

<sup>146</sup> N.a., “Model Grammar School: Second Annual Examination.”

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 12.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>150</sup> N.a., *Past Principals of Ontario Normal Schools*, 4; Wilson, “ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY,” para. 6; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 11; Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 44.

<sup>151</sup> McDonald and Chaiton, *Egerton Ryerson and his times*, 115.

given as part of the 1897 Jubilee celebrations, David Ormiston described him as "...a teacher from one of the eastern counties, who was supposed to be the best qualified for the position at the time; a man of kindly disposition and agreeable manners who would doubtless have been a success in the new work...."<sup>152</sup> Lowey died on August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1848, at the age of 39, barely seven months into the Model's existence.<sup>153</sup>

Following Lowey's short tenure, Archibald McCallum (sometimes spelled Macallum) became headmaster of the Model School in October 1848. McCallum had been a student of the Normal's first session immediately preceding his tenure, and he was 15 years Lowey's junior.<sup>154</sup> Nonetheless, he became highly influential in this role. He has – similar to Robertson – received some biographical attention through the Dictionary of Canadian Biography project.<sup>155</sup> He was born in Scotland in 1824, emigrated to Upper Canada with his family at six (settled in East Hawkesbury) and received his first formal education at the Normal (when he would have been 23).<sup>156</sup> The Education Department itself did not issue teaching certificates until it gained that power through the School Act of 1850. Having taught successfully in the Normal for many years, when Department certificates were issued, McCallum received certificate no.1, first class, issued by Ryerson and reported in the Annual Report of 1852. Though that report does take explicit pains to point out that "...the order does not indicate any distinction of merit in the teachers," it

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<sup>152</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 19.

<sup>153</sup> N.a., "Died," *The Globe*, August 5, 1848, accessed February 28, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507562428/citation/8E41B2BA2D4442B6PQ/24>.

<sup>154</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 101 & 200.

<sup>155</sup> Freda F. Waldon, "MACALLUM, ARCHIBALD," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10 (1871-1880), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1972, accessed January 12, 2021, URL:

[http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/macallum\\_archibald\\_10E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/macallum_archibald_10E.html).

<sup>156</sup> Waldon, "MACALLUM, ARCHIBALD," paras. 1–2.

seems nonetheless a mark of their decisive service as part of the Normal staff that he and several Normal colleagues were among the first placed on the register.<sup>157</sup>

McCallum also occupied a minor teaching role at the Normal, teaching the subject of Book-Keeping as early as 1851. By 1853, he was recorded in the Chief Superintendent's Annual Report as lecturing three hours a week on Book-keeping and the Use of Globes.<sup>158</sup> In 1854, McCallum also appeared in the social-intellectual circles of the city, listed as a member of the Canadian Institute, along with many then and future Education Office and Normal colleagues (including Barron, Fripp, Hind, Robertson, Robins, Sangster, John George and Thomas Hodgins, and Ryerson) as well.<sup>159</sup>

Student and, later, fellow staff member David Ormiston remembered McCallum in 1897: "A man of great tenacity and persistency in accomplishing what he undertook and considered to be right, but yet so unwilling to give offence or hurt the feelings of others, that at times he appeared to yield, but only for a little until he could accomplish the desired end without alienating the sympathy or affection of those he felt constrained to oppose."<sup>160</sup> At the same event, Catherine Johnson (by then Catherine Fish), another pupil and colleague, remembered him as "...the kind-hearted and sympathetic Archibald McCallum."<sup>161</sup> Following his decade-long term as Headmaster of the Model, McCallum moved to Hamilton Central, a posting which was also highly important to the overall program of educational reform. Ormiston noted that it was "...the

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<sup>157</sup> Province of Canada, Legislature, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada: From the 5th September, 1854, to 30th May, 1855, both days inclusive, in the Eighteenth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria*. 5<sup>th</sup> Parliament, 1<sup>st</sup> Session. Quebec: Rollo Campbell, (1855), 226. Accessed September 13, 2021. URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_13\\_2](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_13_2).

<sup>158</sup> Province of Canada, Legislature, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 386.

<sup>159</sup> James Johnston, "Alphabetical List of Members of the Canadian Institute," *The Canadian Journal* 2, no. 6 (1854): 146–148, URL: [https://www.canadiana-ca.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_04982\\_18/20?r=0&s=1](https://www.canadiana-ca.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/oocihm.8_04982_18/20?r=0&s=1).

<sup>160</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 19.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

largest and best public school in the Province....”<sup>162</sup> McCallum had actually initially been offered this position in Hamilton during the school’s establishment. However, “[community] opposition delayed the construction of the school for years. Its opening, in fact, had so deeply divided the community and predictions of its failure were so widespread that Archibald Macallum, principal-designate, refused to take up his position because he felt the contending factions would bring about its ruin.”<sup>163</sup> Instead, at that time, McCallum’s junior, John Herbert Sangster, took up that role (later returning to a particularly successful career in the Normal when McCallum went to Hamilton). Following over a decade in Hamilton, McCallum continued his work in that city by transitioning into the role – as would several other Normal staffers in their later careers – of School Inspector.<sup>164</sup> During these years post-Normal, McCallum also pursued higher educational attainments, studying at the University of Toronto and gaining a BA (1864), MA (1866), and LLB (1877).<sup>165</sup> McCallum died in 1879, shortly before his 55<sup>th</sup> birthday, and David Ormiston described this as a death “...at a comparatively early age.”<sup>166</sup>

In 1852, Robertson and McCallum would be joined by a third “head,” Dorcas Clark (sometimes spelled Clarke), Headmistress of the Girls’ Model School. Clark was one of the most fascinating individuals encountered in this study and one who merits far more sustained historical investigation. Clark studied as one of the Normal’s female students during the early 1850s, graduating from the Normal’s Fifth Session (November 1849 – May 1853) and becoming a publicly distinguished part of the Normal community at that time.<sup>167</sup> In her graduating Public

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<sup>162</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 19.

<sup>163</sup> Katz and Mattingly, *Education and Social Change*, 296.

<sup>164</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 19.

<sup>165</sup> Waldon, “MACALLUM, ARCHIBALD,” para. 2.

<sup>166</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 19.

<sup>167</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 15, 106 & 199. This source disagrees on the exact start, with the listing of former and current staff on page 199 claiming that Clark began in her position in November 1852. One “Mrs. Nasmith” – a former “pupil” in the Girls’ Model who spoke for the unveiling

Examination in April 1850, Clark received the gift of a book from Lord Elgin (James Bruce), Governor General of the Province of Canada, as one of the most advanced of the Normal pupils in the field of Agricultural Chemistry. Clark (whose name, despite an alternate spelling, is still readily recognizable in the article) tied for second place with one Finlay McNabb of North Elmaley, County of Lanark.<sup>168</sup> These prizes were a subject of unique and sustained interest as a part of the Public Examinations – with the Governor General being recorded as having made a speech underlining the specific importance of scientific agricultural education during the event – and this accolade could reasonably be expected to have brought attention to Clark’s talents. Once the Education Department began issuing certificates, Clark was granted certificate no.4, first class, at the close of the Ninth Session (November 1852 – May 1853).<sup>169</sup>

Clark was appointed Headmistress in 1852 and remained in that role for over a decade until 1865.<sup>170</sup> During that time, she was presented as a key asset to the Education Department at public events. Particularly, at the 1863 Annual Public Examinations, Ryerson singled her out for particular praise: “...Mrs. Clarke, who he found had gone on improving from year to year, after he had fancied there was no room for further advance, and he hoped she would be long spared to

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of Clark and Mary Adams’ portraits during the Jubilee ceremonies – claimed that Clark began as Headmistress in January 1852. I did not find much else on Nasmith in the Jubilee book, so perhaps we should understand her as a child in the Model class. We do not know if this is her own reminiscence or simply a presentation she gave. Were this her own experience however, and were we to assume her memory reliable, we might wonder whether those hiring for the Normal gave her a short trial period before officially appointing her to the new position.

<sup>168</sup> “N.a., “Normal School Examination,” *The Globe*, April 18, 1850, accessed February 11, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1510598048/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/17>.

Another key staffer, David Fotheringham, would also win the Governor General’s prize for Agricultural study during the October 1854 examination. Fotheringham did not receive the prize directly from Elgin, as Clark did, though. He served briefly both as a Teacher in the Model School and its Third Headmaster. N.a., “Normal School Examination,” *The Globe*, October 13, 1854, accessed February 11, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1511589083/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/35>; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 117 & 200.

<sup>169</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 226.

<sup>170</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 199; Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 342.

continue her useful and meritorious labours.”<sup>171</sup> At the same event, the pupils of the first division addressed Clark with gratitude and praise, noting particularly: “...we have ever found you the same eager for our advancement in knowledge, self-denying in your labours for our benefit, and ever kind and considerate towards us both in and out of school.”<sup>172</sup> When her portrait was unveiled at the 1897 Jubilee, one Mrs. Nasmith (noted as a former pupil of the Girls’ Model) said of her career: “...during that time, by her energy and capability, she helped largely to build up the reputation which the institution so deservedly enjoys.”<sup>173</sup> She was remembered as a teacher who focused on more than the academic achievements of her students. Clark was described at the Jubilee as paying attention to her students as people, teaching “...respect for authority, regard for the feelings of others, and absolute sincerity in word and action.”<sup>174</sup> Likewise, she was remembered as one who expected her students to work hard but remained sympathetic to their failings.<sup>175</sup> She appears, like other foundational head teachers in the Normal of this period, to embody the kind of morally conscious exemplar envisioned in the Ryersonian idea of the teacher that the Normal School would produce. Clark is also notable as a first and leading female figure appearing early in the Normal’s history. Nasmith’s presentation at the Jubilee was quite conscious of this as well:

“In her time, Toronto University had not opened its doors to women; they could not even attend a High School; had it been otherwise, there is no doubt that some of her scholars would have won honors in these institutions, for she gave freely of her time and strength, both before and after school hours, to bring her backward pupils up to the required standard, or to help her ambitious ones to higher attainments. Having herself encountered and overcome difficulties in preparing for teaching, she was able to encourage those in like straits, and delighted to tell how, in many occupations of a busy life, she yet found time to fit herself for her beloved profession.”<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> N.a., “Annual Examination of the Model School,” *The Globe*, June 27, 1863, Accessed January 4, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1516468946/abstract/EFCF16A066224219PQ/38>.

<sup>172</sup> N.a., “Annual Examination of the Model School.”

<sup>173</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 15.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

Of additional interest, Clark had a daughter – Helen Milliken Clark – who attended the Normal and taught in the Girls’ Model during her mother’s tenure. Helen received her First Class, Division A teaching certificate (no.445) in the 16<sup>th</sup> session.<sup>177</sup> Helen appears to have taught alongside her mother in the Girls’ Model (perhaps replacing Catherine Johnson as second in seniority in that division) from 1855 until 1865.

Clark was still alive in 1897 but did not travel to attend the Jubilee celebrations. She was living in San Francisco, California, at that time and sent a letter to the Jubilee celebrants. Clark appears to have proceeded to California immediately or very shortly after her resignation as Headmistress in 1865 (accompanied by her daughter Helen – though no information about what employment she took up there has been found).<sup>178</sup> Interestingly, in her letter to the Jubilee, Clark reminisced that:

“On reaching this coast, my credentials from the Toronto Normal School introduced me to the leaders in the school department of San Francisco, who at once ranked me with the highest class of educators, bestowing on me gratuitously a first-class State certificate and a life diploma. Of course, I was fully aware of the fact that all these marks of respect were not personal, but arose from their desire to do honor to the institution of which I was for the time a representative.”<sup>179</sup>

These remarks certainly support the traditional narrative of Toronto Normal as an internationally renowned institution from its very early years. It is also interesting that her work in the Normal appears as a lever which Clark used to garner significant professional mobility. And there seems to be little doubt that her credentials did impress upon arrival in California as her first

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<sup>177</sup> Province of Canada, Legislature, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.10, to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada: From the 26th February to the 10th June, 1857, both days inclusive, in the Twentieth Years of the Regin of Our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria*. 5<sup>th</sup> Parliament, 3<sup>rd</sup> Session. Toronto: Rollo Campbell, (1857), 178. Accessed September 13, 2021. URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_15\\_10](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_15_10); Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 123.

<sup>178</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 123.

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*, 17–18.

appointment was as “...associate Principal of the Baptist College, Petaluma....”<sup>180</sup> Soon after, she returned to Normal teaching, joining the San Jose State Normal staff to teach history and math. Her final career development came in 1888 when she “...was elected Vice-Principal of the Girls’ High School in San Francisco, [a position] which she held until she retired, having devoted fifty-five years to educational interests.”<sup>181</sup>

Her death was noted in *The Globe* in November of 1902 at the age of 87. The death notice underscored continued energy in her final years: “Until the last she was mentally alert and physically able to direct her little household.”<sup>182</sup> As well, and quite interestingly, 52 years later, *The Globe* still found the prize received during her graduating exam worthy of note: “More than half a century ago she took the Lord Elgin medal in Toronto for chemistry, mathematics and agriculture, a noted achievement when educational opportunities for women were limited.”<sup>183</sup>

While the information gathered about these foundational “heads” speaks little to their day-to-day agency on the Normal Campus, their various moments of celebrity suggest they may have formed an alternate face of the institution. Distancing the Normal somewhat from the periodically controversial figure of Ryerson; the competence they projected may have assisted in stabilizing the Normal. Their burgeoning connections to numerous social and educational organizations throughout the city (which we also see with multiple other Normal staffers) would undoubtedly have spread awareness of this institution even further within the ranks of the professional community. As well, the association of personability and comments on their effective engagement with student teachers suggest something about the teaching ideal, the “ability” that

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<sup>180</sup> N.a., “AN AGED TEACHER’S DEATH: Mrs. Clark, at One Time in the Provincial Model School,” *The Globe*, November 5, 1902, accessed January 18, 2021. URL: <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1353738683/citation/94D4406F43204628PQ/1>.

<sup>181</sup> N.a., “AN AGED TEACHER’S DEATH.”

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*

the Normal was striving for that, an ability to build relationships with different individuals (something that would assist not only in teaching but also in community relations and in navigating tensions between central and local authorities) was central to that somewhat intangible “teaching force” the Normal hoped to develop. As opposed to the obvious control and leadership exercised by Ryerson’s office – which we might broadly associate more with the image of the modern-day principal – the headmastership may have served a less obvious network role which grounds itself in a burgeoning mastery of the “...regular dynamics, rhythms, and relationships of school culture...”; enjoying, as a result, a formative influence over individuals and practices alike.<sup>184</sup>

*Second master: an unstandardized role*

Headmasters/mistresses were, from the outset, supported by Second Masters. This right-hand role was never formally distinguished in the position titles for either of the models, though there were at certain times clear senior second teachers in the models working with their “heads.” Henry Youle Hind was the first to hold the Second Master position in the Normal. He has received detailed biographical study in Canada as a Western explorer and scientific authority

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<sup>184</sup> Rousmaniere, “The Great Divide,” 17; McDonald and Chaiton, *Egerton Ryerson and his times*, 132; Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario*, 138 & 149–51. Rousmaniere states: “The principal’s office is the adult realm of the school, driven by seriousness, responsibility, and predictability, following – or intending to follow – standard procedures. Life and spontaneity and personal relations do exist here – we are dealing with humans after all – but the guiding rational behind the entire space is one of accountability and responsibility to and from adults. For teachers and students alike, the principal’s office is the negative space of the school: the place where the regular dynamics, rhythms, and relationships of school culture do not happen. The principal’s office holds a distinct cultural authority, separate from any others in the school, and universally marked as an inauspicious, sombre place of bad news.” This description of the principal’s office contains significant similarities to our understanding of Ryerson and the ways he saw and pursued his role as a Chief Superintendent including: his focus on administration as an activity in and form of the education of the people and addressing hundreds of complaints and engaging with the public in lengthy (often foundational) debates over educational policy. Indeed, in her article Rousmaniere also highlights paperwork as a key piece in the principal’s life; and we note that Ryerson (with the help of only 30 others) was processing 38,000 documents a year in 1858.

during the confederation era.<sup>185</sup> Hind was born in 1823 in St. Mary's Gate, Nottingham. His father, Thomas, was a leading lace manufacturer in that city, and his mother's (Sarah Youle) family was involved in the timber trade. Thus, his early life was comfortably within the prosperous middle class. Still, it is also noteworthy that said life was situated in a town at tension between the working and upper class (with W. L. Morton describing: "...the temper of its working class was radical, with a tradition of riot from 1776 to the 1840s.<sup>10</sup>").<sup>186</sup>

Hind received initial education at the Free Grammar School of Nottingham (attended mainly by children whose parents had some standing in the city and focusing on classics, mathematics, and penmanship). In that school, Hind would meet headmaster William Butler (a Cambridge graduate), who raised the quality of the school and left an important impression, with him becoming a leading student in the class.<sup>187</sup> His family fell on hard times with the collapse of the lace market in 1837, but Hind nonetheless continued his education with two years of commercial college in Leipzig, then four in private lessons with Butler before himself attending Caius (and then Queen's) College within Cambridge University. Hind left Cambridge without obtaining a degree, however, and instead spent time in France and later travelled to the Province of Canada via the Southern United States.<sup>188</sup> Shortly after arriving in Toronto, Hind began to appear in the public space through the publication of an article about a weather phenomenon; he also made a direct impression on Ryerson, leading to his appointment as Second Master.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Including an entry in the Dictionary of Canadian Biography: Richard A. Jarrell, "HIND, HENRY YOULE," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13 (1901-1910), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1994, accessed January 12, 2021, URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hind\\_henry\\_youle\\_13E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hind_henry_youle_13E.html).

<sup>186</sup> W. L. Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, Canadian Biographical Studies (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 3, 5 & 6-7. Endnote 10: "J. D. Chambers, 'Nottingham in the Early Nineteenth Century,' *TTS*, XLVII (1943), 29-40."

<sup>187</sup> Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 8-9.

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, 11-12.

His was initially primarily a teaching role under Robertson (often denoted in earlier years as a “Lecturer” in different scientific subjects, for example, in “Agricultural Chemistry, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy”<sup>190</sup> or “Chemistry and Natural Philosophy” or “...mathematical master, and lecturer in chemistry and natural philosophy;...”<sup>191</sup>), and between them, they provided all of the Normal’s initial programming. Hind lectured four hours daily on subjects including Mathematics (Geometry, Algebra, and the Science and Practice of Arithmetic), Electricity (including “Machine and Galvanic Electricity, &c.”), Magnetism (including Heat, Mechanics, and Statics), and Agricultural Chemistry (described in the *Journal of Education* as “...comprehending the nature of the substances which enter into the composition of Vegetables, the sources from which those substances are derived; the origin and composition of soils; the conditions necessary for producing luxuriant vegetation, &c., &c.)”<sup>192</sup> In the Public Examination of students in May 1852, Hind examined pupils on several of the subjects above, as well as Mensuration and Natural Philosophy.<sup>193</sup> Hind would also find his partner in Toronto, marrying Katherine Cameron (daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Cameron, C.B.) at York Mills in 1850, with whom he had seven children.<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> N.a., *Scobie & Balfour’s Canadian Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1848, Being Leap Year. Containing Full and Authentic Commercial, Statistical, Astronomical, Departmental, Ecclesiastical, Educational, Financial, Military, Naval, and General Information* (Toronto: Scobie & Balfour, 1847), 80, accessed July 19, 2021. URL: <https://www-canadiana-ca.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/oocihm.42184/89?r=0&s=1>; R. D. Wadsworth, *The Family Christian Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1848: being Bissextile or Leap Year, and, Till the 20th Day of June, the Eleventh Years of the Reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. Compiled with a View for Use both in Families and Counting-Houses* (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1847), 44, accessed July 19, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_00084\\_2/2](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_00084_2/2). Mathematics not included in the title in the Christian Family Almanac.

<sup>191</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, “Programmes of Lectures in the Normal School for Upper Canada,” 59; Mackay, *The Canada Directory*, 421.

<sup>192</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, “Programmes of Lectures in the Normal School for Upper Canada,” 60.

<sup>193</sup> N.a., “Normal and Model Schools,” *The Canadian Agriculturist and Transactions of the Board of Agriculture of Upper Canada* 4, no. 5 (1852): 157, accessed September 23, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_04016\\_41](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_04016_41).

<sup>194</sup> Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 16.

Robertson's and Hind's lack of a formal degree when they were appointed is noteworthy. Morton opines that this was part of a common trend in the Victorian era where a variety of educational and worldly experiences could be a substitute for formal recognition of attainment: "His [Hind's] studies, leading to no degree, and with perhaps no formal study in chemistry and geology, may today seem lacking in direction, although Hind, like other eminent Victorians without degrees, was beyond question a well-educated man."<sup>195</sup> While recognizing that this may have been a common experience at the time, it is interesting to note that this forms part of a trend in Normal hiring where 'experience' was prized and prioritized (given the hiring of many staffers from the internal pool of students rather than from neighbouring higher educational institutions). We are also aware of tension in this new role. Praise for Hind at the School's 1847 opening is reported to have overshadowed Robertson, and later in 1851, their superiors considered making Hind equal rather than subordinate to Robertson (Hind was also later known to have difficulty working under supervision).<sup>196</sup>

In addition to teaching, Hind became active in several of the city's notable educational clubs. In the 1849-1850 season, Hind would join Egerton Ryerson in providing almost a third of the Mechanics' Institute's lectures (seven of the twenty-four: four from Ryerson (including the "Introductory Lecture" free to all members and non-members male and female) and three from Hind; these men giving more lectures than any other invited speaker that year).<sup>197</sup> Hind continued as the most frequent individual lecturer the following year with four of the nineteen lectures scheduled and, in that year, was joined by Robertson (presenting his lectures on the science and philosophy of English) in the schedule.<sup>198</sup> Hind continued to publish as well, putting forward his

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<sup>195</sup> Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 11, 13-14.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 & 16.

<sup>197</sup> Toronto Mechanics' Institute, *A Course of Lectures*, (1849).

<sup>198</sup> Toronto Mechanics' Institute, *Lectures on the following subjects* (1850).

Normal *Lectures on Agricultural Chemistry* in 1850 (Morton noting distribution of at least 385 copies) and an essay, *A Comparative View of the Climate of Western Canada*, in 1851.<sup>199</sup> On May 2, 1851, at the Mechanics' Institute's season-closing "Annual Soiree," Robertson and Hind were also both given a platform from which they spoke to "...upwards of 300 ladies and gentlemen..." including at least one figure of celebrity ("...George Thompson, Esq., M.P., of England, (whose reception in Canada has been of the most enthusiastic character,)..." in the city.<sup>200</sup>

Hind was also an important member of the Canadian Institute – a society "...for the encouragement of Literature, Science and Art..."<sup>201</sup> – within which (apart from his own contributions and impact therein) he had the opportunity to interact with others from many of the colony's educational bulwarks. Founded in 1849, Hind would become a member and active participant following its reorganization in 1851, perhaps forming connections with many of the city's professionals attending the meetings.<sup>202</sup> For example, speaking as one of the Institute's lecturers in 1852, Hind shared the evening with Professor Henry Holmes Croft of King's College and John Cherriman and John McCaul of University College.<sup>203</sup> Hind was also elected a member of the Institute's council (and second vice-president in 1852).<sup>204</sup> He was also involved in publication through the Institute, being editor of *The Canadian Journal* from 1852 to 1855, a role

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<sup>199</sup> Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 15.

<sup>200</sup> Toronto Globe, "Speech of George Thompson, Esq.," *The Liberator*, May 2, 1851, accessed January 4, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/91149998/abstract/D52356A0CD2049E0PQ/6>.

<sup>201</sup> N.a., "The Canadian Institute," *The Canadian Agriculturist and Transactions of the Board of Agriculture of Upper Canada* 4, no. 5 (1852): 158, accessed September 23, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_04016\\_41](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_04016_41).

<sup>202</sup> Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 19.

<sup>203</sup> N.a., "The Canadian Institute," 158; G. M. Craig, "CROFT, HENRY HOLMES," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 11 (1881-1890), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed November 16, 2021, URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/croft\\_henry\\_holmes\\_11E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/croft_henry_holmes_11E.html); Suzanne Zeller, "CHERRIMAN, JOHN BRADFORD," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13 (1901-1910), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1994, accessed November 16, 2021, URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cherriman\\_john\\_bradford\\_13E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/cherriman_john_bradford_13E.html).

<sup>204</sup> N.a., "Annual General Meeting, December 11th, 1852," *The Canadian Journal* 1, no. 5 (1852): 97, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_04982\\_5](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_04982_5); Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 19.

which helped put forward Hind's and his colleagues' voices to the wider community in Toronto (an activity which dovetailed with the growing intellectual fervour of the city in the 1840s and 1850s and a strategy which we observe amongst several of the Normal's staffers).<sup>205</sup>

Hind began lecturing "...in organic chemistry at the Medical Faculty of the University of Trinity College" while still a master at the Normal in 1851. This led to his appointment as Professor of Chemistry there – Trinity requiring him to end his other engagements (including the Normal) in 1852) – and then his appointment to the faculty in 1853.<sup>206</sup> Trinity also granted Hind an honorary Master of Arts, his only formal degree.<sup>207</sup> Moving forward, one of Hind's Canadian Institute colleagues (Sandford Fleming) would lead him to begin a career of expeditions beyond the colonial metropolises starting in 1856 (a trip to survey a railway line near the Saugeen river).<sup>208</sup> After just over a decade in Toronto, Hind would be commissioned for the Red River expedition to the Prairies at age 35 (leaving Toronto July 23, 1857), for which he would garner his greater fame.<sup>209</sup> It is fascinating to note, however, that Morton describes his time in the Normal School as "...perhaps the happiest, if not the most exciting, five years of his life."<sup>210</sup>

In contrast to the findings for Hind, Charles Lowey's initial second in the Model school – one Robert Bell – did not appear to have attracted particular celebrity which I could identify during this project. A difficult individual to identify in the records (likely due in large part to the commonality of his name and lack of other identifying information to search with), he is listed as

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<sup>205</sup> Katz and Mattingly, *Education and Social Change*, 170; Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 22–23.

<sup>206</sup> Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 19.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid. Interestingly, Morton also observes "Trinity College, later to be rich and respected, was then new, small in faculty and student body, and poor. Such a college had to make academic bricks with what clay and straw could be assembled. For the circumstances, Hind was fairly well qualified."

<sup>208</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 30–31 & 36; Donald Jones, "The Expedition to Discover the Rest of Canada," *Toronto Star*, August 11, 1990, 1, accessed June 6, 2021, URL: <http://www.proquest.com/docview/436252723/abstract/58344F425C82455EPQ/3>.

<sup>210</sup> Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 14.

a student of the First Session in the 1897 Jubilee materials, having studied alongside Archibald McCallum and John Herbert Sangster (two of the most impactful and successful staffers in the founding of this institution).<sup>211</sup> Bell was employed from the Model's outset, February 1848, until the end of the first session in April. Beyond these three months, he is listed as residing in Whitby in 1897, with no further detail given.<sup>212</sup>

Replacing Hind after a short interlude,<sup>213</sup> Rev. William Ormiston worked as Second Master from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> sessions (1853 – 1857). Born in Scotland in 1821, he travelled to Upper Canada with his family at thirteen. Settling in Darlington Township, Ormiston would begin his career teaching school there in the 1840s.<sup>214</sup> He graduated from the University of Victoria College in Coburg, later teaching there as the Professor of Theology and Moral Science as part of the staff of Principal Egerton Ryerson.<sup>215</sup> Having joined the Normal, Rev. Ormiston would receive praise alongside Robertson for the conduct of his teaching. In 1855, *The Massachusetts Teacher* highlighted both as "...distinguished for their scholarship and ability before engaging in the school at Toronto, and they have shown themselves fully equal to the duties they are now called to discharge."<sup>216</sup> Interestingly, their scholarly accomplishments appear to be treated equally despite Ormiston having an actual degree while Robertson did not. The same article singled Rev. Ormiston out (for an informal speech) as the most engaging speaker

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<sup>211</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 100–101.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>213</sup> There are two such brief gaps in the continuity of the second mastership in 1852-1853 and again in 1857. During research, I was tempted to identify two other short-serving staffers as temporary Second Masters (Herbert G. R. Fripp and Archibald MacMurchy) given their tenures aligned with these gaps and their vaguely defined roles; however, no evidence in this direction was uncovered.

<sup>214</sup> "Reverend William Ormiston, c. 1865," Whitby Public Library, Archives, accessed February 26, 2021, URL: <https://vitacollections.ca/whitbynews/48927/data>.

<sup>215</sup> N.a., *The Canadian Mercantile Almanack for 1847, being the third after leap year and the tenth year of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria*. Toronto: Scobie & Balfour, 1846, 23-24 (Appendix), accessed September 21, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_00216\\_5/121?r=0&s=1](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_00216_5/121?r=0&s=1).

<sup>216</sup> WM. H. Wells, ed. "Popular Education in Upper Canada—Normal School at Toronto," *The Massachusetts Teacher* 8, no. 11 (1855): 323, accessed March 10, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/136917586/abstract/D52356A0CD2049E0PQ/13>.

during meetings of the New York State Teachers' Association: "Whenever we have occasion again to refer to a speaker who illustrates the *vehement* in style, we shall name the Rev. William Ormiston."<sup>217</sup> This praise speaks to a positive public image of the Normal put forth through Rev. Ormiston and echoes the attention-grabbing quality of the Second Master, which caused tension between Hind and Robertson previously. Also, Rev. Ormiston was notably connected to one of his students and later colleagues at the Normal, his brother David Ormiston.<sup>218</sup> Amongst his regular duties, Rev. Ormiston served with Robertson, Frederick Barron and G. R. R. Cockburn as a member of the Committee of Examiners for masterships of Grammar Schools in 1857.<sup>219</sup>

It is also known that Rev. Ormiston had a distinct impact on the formation of another famous educator, John Jessop, the First Superintendent of Education in British Columbia and a Father of Confederation for that Province. Jessop attended the Normal in 1855 while Rev. Ormiston was Second Master. He had a friendship with Second Master Ormiston and fellow-student David Ormiston, both of whom reportedly supported Jessop with financial assistance during the early years in British Columbia.<sup>220</sup>

Rev. Ormiston would leave the Normal for the Church, working as a Minister of the United Presbyterian Church in Hamilton until 1870, when he moved to New York.<sup>221</sup> In New York, he ministered for the Collegiate Dutch Reformed Church and later moved to New Jersey (becoming

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<sup>217</sup> Wells, "Popular Education in Upper Canada," 323.

<sup>218</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.10, to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1857), 178.

<sup>219</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 341.

<sup>220</sup> George W. Spragge, "An Early Letter From Victoria, V.I.," *Canadian Historical Review* 29, no. 1 (1948): 54, accessed February 26, 2021, doi: <https://doi.org/10.3138/CHR-029-01-05>.

<sup>221</sup> "Reverend William Ormiston, c. 1865," Whitby Public Library, Archives.

a trustee at Rutgers).<sup>222</sup> He died in 1899, having moved to California for his health just over a decade prior.<sup>223</sup>

Rev. Ormiston would be briefly replaced by Frederick W. Barron, who held the second master-ship for a mere three months during the 18<sup>th</sup> session in 1857; (perhaps as a temporary measure as part of the transition following Rev. Ormiston's exit from the position). Barron was a successful educationalist throughout the early period of the Normal. During the Normal's opening year in 1847, Barron was Principal of Upper Canada College with an M.A. and, in that role as Principal, was also serving as part of the Council of the University of King's College.<sup>224</sup> Barron was also, notably, a member of the Canadian Institute (listed in 1854), wherein he would have crossed paths with many past and future notable Normal staffers, including the former Second Master, Henry Youle Hind.<sup>225</sup> Barron worked closely with Ryerson's Education Office throughout the decade, serving as a member – alongside Normal Headmaster Robertson and Second Master William Ormiston – of the committee of examiners for masterships of county grammar schools. By 1858, G. R. R. Cockburn of the Model Grammar School had also joined this committee.<sup>226</sup>

There is a vacancy of three months in the Second Master's role after Barron's tenure in that position. With the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> session, however, Walter A. Watts entered the role, which he only held for two sessions (19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>, late 1857 through 1858). Bruce Curtis opens

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<sup>222</sup> "Reverend William Ormiston, c. 1865," Whitby Public Library, Archives.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> N.a., *The Canadian Mercantile Almanack for 1847*, 19; George Brown, *Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory: 1846-7, Containing The Names, Professions and Addresses of the Householders in the City of Toronto, Alphabetically Arranged; The Names of the Landholders in the Home District, by Townships, Stating the Concessions and Numbers of Their Respective Lots; Together with a Large Amount of General Information*, (Toronto: George Brown, 1846), 25, accessed September 13, 2021. URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_00012\\_1](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_00012_1).

<sup>225</sup> Johnston, "Alphabetical List of Members of the Canadian Institute," 146–148.

<sup>226</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 401; Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 319.

the sixth chapter of *Building the Educational State* with a direct, if brief, examination of Watts, identifying (mainly by observations about him shared in correspondence between his superiors) the characteristics the Normal sought in its teachers: “The case of Watts demonstrates the characteristics sought by educational administrators in the ideal teachers. These included a forceful development of the self, a ‘watchful eye’, attention to detail, enthusiasm, and the ability to develop the capacities of students.”<sup>227</sup> However, Watts stood as the contradiction to this ideal; he found wanting in the role by his superiors. Curtis’ observations remind and reinforce the idea that the ideal teacher carried a force of personality, examples of which the stories of the most successful staffers herein demonstrate. Likewise, it contrasts the last Second Master to appear in the period under study, John Herbert Sangster.

John Herbert Sangster began what would turn out to be one of the longest and most successful careers of any Normal staffer as a student in its First Session alongside Archibald McCallum and Robert Bell.<sup>228</sup> In 1849, he took up his first role as a staff Teacher in the Model (which he held until the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> session in 1853).<sup>229</sup> When the Education Office began issuing teaching certificates at the close of the Ninth Session 1852-1853, Sangster would be granted the no.2 certificate, first class.<sup>230</sup> In 1853, Sangster took up the role of Headmaster of the new Hamilton Central School, a position which had been rejected by McCallum (to whom it was initially offered) due to the deep division the school’s construction had caused in the community.<sup>231</sup> Sangster would resign his position in Hamilton in 1858 (to be replaced by McCallum, who would accept the position – leaving the Model School – this time around).<sup>232</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*, 218.

<sup>228</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 100–101.

<sup>229</sup> Mackay, *The Canada Directory*, 421.

<sup>230</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 226.

<sup>231</sup> Katz and Mattingly, *Education and Social Change*, 296.

<sup>232</sup> Waldon, “MACALLUM, ARCHIBALD.”

Sangster returned to the Normal in the Second Master role that same year during the 19<sup>th</sup> session.<sup>233</sup> This overlaps with the majority of Watts' tenure, and we are left to wonder whether Sangster was initially brought in to shoulder some of the extensive subject matter duties (including sciences, mathematics, and agricultural education) for Watts. Sangster ultimately supplanted Watts and served as Second Master until 1866, when he took over the Headmastership following Robertson's death. He remained in that post until 1871. Sangster's time as Headmaster falls outside the period of study, but it is worth noting that he was considered to be highly successful in that role, with Ryerson stating in 1867 – shortly after Sangster's appointment – that "...he was happy to know that at no former period had the school been in a greater state of efficiency."<sup>234</sup>

Rev. R. P. McKay (a student of Sangster's) remembered him as a man who exemplified independent thought and perseverance in education, as well as noting his reputation as a prodigy who found time on top of his professional work to study Botany, Chemistry, and Medicine: "Dr. Sangster not only worked himself, but I can testify that he made his students work. I can well remember how he used "to pile Ossa on Pelion and never relent," while the students sometimes despaired. But I am quite sure that the example of his own indefatigable application led many a student to similar effort such as they otherwise would not have put forth."<sup>235</sup> McKay described how Sangster underscored the significance that a teacher's work could have on the moral success or failure of their pupils as "...a living power..." that remained in McKay's mind after leaving the Normal.<sup>236</sup> This sense of vigour and rigour in Sangster's teaching was echoed by A. S. Allan

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<sup>233</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 341.

<sup>234</sup> N.a., "Model School for Upper Canada: Annual Public Examination."

<sup>235</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 13.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

(another of Sangster's pupils): "Those who were fond of mathematics felt safe, but those who were not were in dread of being struck by his "lightning."<sup>237</sup> Like many of his Normal colleagues, Sangster was also a member of the Canadian Institute (listed in 1854).<sup>238</sup>

The final 'right hand' staffer in this study's period of interest was a teacher in the Girls' Model School. Catherine Johnson was one of the first women to join the ranks of the Normal staff, supporting Headmistress Dorcas Clark in the opening of the Girls' Model School in November of 1852. We know that Johnson was a successful Normal student before this opening. Reported as a student from the County of York, Johnson distinguished herself as 5<sup>th</sup> place (of 12) essayist in the competition for the Governor General's Prizes for Agricultural Chemistry at her graduation exam in May that year. First place in the same group would be another future Normal staffer, S. P. Robins.<sup>239</sup> Johnson received certificate no.5, first class, at the close of the Ninth Session.<sup>240</sup> I have uncovered little more about Johnson in the documentary record beyond this. However, she does reappear at the 1897 Jubilee. At that celebration, Johnson – then married and going by Catherine Fish – made a speech in which she specifically recalled her time at the Normal School and her thoughts about herself and work as a staff member:

"With Mrs. Clark I had the happiness of opening and for some years teaching in the Girls' Model School. On my retiring, two new teachers were engaged. Dr. Ryerson, in speaking of the fact to me, playfully remarked, "You see it takes two to fill the vacancy." ... I often now wonder how I had the courage to apply for the situation, never having had any experience in teaching, and being comparatively young in years. Well do I remember with what trembling at first did I behold our Chief, coming in with some of the foremost men and women in the work of education in other lands, but I soon learned to trust these as my best friends."<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 39.

<sup>238</sup> Johnston, "Alphabetical List of Members of the Canadian Institute," 146–148.

<sup>239</sup> N.a., "Normal and Model Schools" (1852), 157.

<sup>240</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 226.

<sup>241</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 24.

Evincing a great pride in her accomplishments and deep initial uncertainty, Johnson displays a complex relationship with her time at the Normal. Certainly, her reminiscence suggests a keen awareness of her place – existing adjacent to and in connection with the pre-eminent power-holders of her newly assumed profession – in the educational world. Likewise, it is interesting that she perceived herself as “comparatively young in years,” suggesting that the average staffer was older than herself when she joined. In continuing her speech, Johnson also had some clear memories and strong feelings about the role her work played in animating gender politics in the community: “We were all, I think rather fond of our work in this department [mental arithmetic], and it was a source of much criticism at our public examinations, by some university students and others, who confidently asserted those questions could not be performed in the head without having been previously worked out and committed. The girls were too clever for them in that line.”<sup>242</sup>

While scholarly work has rightly questioned the extent of the real change behind the idea (often put forward by Normal supporters) that the institution played a fundamental role in raising women’s place in the world, it remains pertinent that Johnson herself viewed (likely with some mix of retrospection and remembered sentiment) certain efforts as resistive to normative views of women at the time. Her reminiscence here suggests that there was a competitiveness with the universities and that, in at least a muted way, Johnson equates success in that competition with subverting her critics’ views of women more broadly. None of which is to suggest that Johnson was some kind of radical, ahistorical, or politicized figure. Her views on gender roles were firmly placed, at least at the public scale and by 1897, within the range of the Victorian norm:

“All education, I think, should aim at preparation for life work. To my mind, after the ordinary English branches have been mastered, every child should be taught that which he feels will best fit him for his future. Home training for the girls, I am afraid, is sadly

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<sup>242</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 24.

neglected in these days. If mothers would have their daughters capable of presiding over and making happy the inmates of homes of their own, they should see to it that while mental culture is not neglected, practical home work should go hand in hand with it.”<sup>243</sup>

Nonetheless, Johnson’s enduring sense of self and her agency is evident in her speech. She remembers this period of her career as one in which her work impacted the life of her society and within which the question of her qualification and value was present in her mind.

In examining this collection of second masters (and right-hand teachers, where there was no officially separate title), one striking feature in this period was a sense of uncertainty. It is evident that these individuals occupied a role of seniority – despite its association with intensive subject duties – much like the headmastership. By that same token, those more long-standing and forceful in the role could find themselves in a position of distinct tension with the Headmaster leading to frustrations. Evidently, those in the second masters’ office had networks and public presences that may have lent reach to the Education Office. It also presented individuals with an opportunity that could lead to further advancement within and outside the institution.

#### *Subject masters: a variety of experiences*

Scholars have often remarked on a lack of academic rigour in the Normal. Likewise, the workload and multiple duties of the few masters at the outset (as well as the fact that the educational background of key staffers, as previously discussed, did not always mean that they had successfully obtained degrees from the institutions they were advertised to have attended) certainly leaves room to doubt whether the student teachers were learning much more than their own future pupils might. In a move that would appear to respond to the problem of needing specialized knowledge, several individuals I have grouped together as “Subject Masters” were

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<sup>243</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 24.

hired from time to time throughout the founding period. While this trend technically begins with hiring several Music Masters to teach that highly specialized subject, I have grouped the discussion of those individuals separately as certain observations about the publicity they might have brought to the Normal deserve direct attention.

The first non-music Subject Master to be hired appears to be James Samuel Stacy, who was hired as the Teacher of Writing in the Normal School and in the Model School.<sup>244</sup> Minimal information was uncovered for this individual. He held his position in the Normal from the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> session in 1849 into the 8<sup>th</sup> session in 1852. This role was not a constant one, with no replacement for Stacy until 1854 and a further lack of occupants in the role later. Of note, however, is a comment by the *Canadian Agriculturalist* covering the May 1852 Public Examination of the Normal: “The specimens of writing [from the student teachers] exhibited displayed great improvement under the able teaching of Mr. Stacy.”<sup>245</sup> Certainly a feather in Stacy’s cap, we could also speculate – given the off-and-on nature of hiring for this position – that this kind of Subject Master might only be brought in during periods where the Normal and Education Office’s core staff felt there was a particular lack in their own capacities (and would only keep these individuals on until such a time as they felt more capable and able to take back the role). This could also be of particular prescience given the difference in tenure between Subject Masters teaching more common subjects like writing in contrast to those teaching highly specialized artistic subjects like music or drawing.

In that same vein, the next subject to receive the attention of its own master was Drawing. The first to hold this position, William George Richardson Hind (brother of Second Master Henry Youle Hind), would later be recognized as one of Canada’s most prolific and important

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<sup>244</sup> Mackay, *The Canada Directory*, 421.

<sup>245</sup> N.a., “Normal and Model Schools” (1852), 157.

painters whose work displayed originality and serves as an important visual record of the landscape in those times. All the same, his work did not have a lasting celebrity from then to now, instead being rediscovered in 1967 in a moment of centennial interest in Canadian figures.<sup>246</sup> William was Henry's youngest sibling (10 years younger) and was reportedly prone to drinking and struggling to succeed in Nottingham when it was decided he would join Henry in Toronto sometime in 1851.<sup>247</sup> Details on William's education in art are vague – suggesting study in Nottingham, London, and elsewhere in Europe – however, likely much like Henry, his experience was considered sufficient to garner appointment as the Normal's Drawing Master (notably, being only 18 years old at the time).<sup>248</sup>

William Hind began his work at the Normal during the 7<sup>th</sup> session in 1851 (sharing a tenure in the institution with his brother) and continued in the role until the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> in 1857. Historians have noted that during his time at the Normal, William also "...maintained a studio in Toronto and exhibited paintings at the Upper Canada Provincial Exhibition of 1852."<sup>249</sup> This likely helped buoy his and the Normal's reputation in the city. No information has been found on the reasons for William's departure from the Normal in 1857, but it may have had to do with intentions to retrain as he would return to England in 1860 "...presumably to familiarize himself with the latest developments in British art."<sup>250</sup> William would later return to Canada and famously join his brother as an expedition artist on several journeys.

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<sup>246</sup> Jones, "The Expedition to Discover the Rest of Canada," 4.

<sup>247</sup> Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 17.

<sup>248</sup> Harper, J. Russell Harper, "HIND, WILLIAM GEORGE RICHARDSON," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11 (1881–1890), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1982, para. 2, accessed April 10, 2023. URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hind\\_william\\_george\\_richardson\\_11E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hind_william_george_richardson_11E.html); Morton, *Henry Youle Hind, 1823-1908*, 17.

<sup>249</sup> Harper, "HIND, WILLIAM GEORGE RICHARDSON," para. 2.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

William Hind would be replaced as Drawing Master by John Bentley, about whom very little information was uncovered during my research. Bentley held this position from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Session in 1857 through to just before the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> in 1859, and he reportedly provided his subject-specific training in the Model Grammar and Boy's and Girls' Models as well (a practice there is no reason to believe Hind would not also have pursued previously).<sup>251</sup> Following Bentley, there was a gap of four months where no Drawing Master was listed in the Normal until the appointment of Alphonse Coulon (discussed later) during the 22<sup>nd</sup> Session in 1860.

In 1852 another evolution in the Normal's curriculum would bring students out of the classroom, and another Subject Master, Henry Goodwin, Teacher of Gymnastics and Calisthenics in the Normal (and, as time went on, in the Boys' and Girls' Model and the Model Grammar School).<sup>252</sup> Goodwin would teach male and female classes with sessions as of 1857, one hour once a week.<sup>253</sup> Save for a two-month break at the end of 1853, Goodwin's tenure is one of the longest in the Normal's early history, lasting about a quarter century until 1877. Goodwin was a member of the Militia in Toronto. No information about his early life was uncovered, but his earliest noted rank was Captain in 1860. Much of the descriptive information recovered for this individual came from later years outside this study's main period of interest. In the second annual public examination of the Model Grammar, Captain Goodwin distributed prizes as instructor for Fencing and for Gymnastics (demonstrating a broadness to his capacities and perhaps duties as part of the physical education at the Normal campus as time went on).<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 341–342.

<sup>252</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 341–42.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 386.

<sup>254</sup> N.a., "Model Grammar School: Second Annual Examination."

At a public examination of the Model School in June 1863, gymnastics and drill performances made a significant impression: "...the young ladies belonging to the school went through a series of drill exercises, under the direction of Capt. Goodwin, altogether, not alone by the skillfulness of their manoeuvring or their steadiness of march, impressing the lookers on with the conviction that few regiments, even of the boldest dragoons, could have withstood their charge. The boys then came in for their turn, also exhibiting great perfection in their training."<sup>255</sup> Following this strong showing, Ryerson was certain to lay praise reinforcing Goodwin's and thereby the Normal's reputation in response, communicating that: "Few persons had done more for the benefit of the youth of Upper Canada than Captain Goodwin, and he hoped he would long enjoy his present health and vigour to continue his instructions."<sup>256</sup> That was one hope that Goodwin certainly fulfilled. On January 27, 1865, Goodwin was promoted in the militia to the rank of Major.<sup>257</sup> By 1866, Goodwin was organizing a "Normal School Drill Association" (it is unclear whether this was an extracurricular club, simply the physical education course, or something in between) including 70 members, which was inspected by Goodwin's military superiors and found to be in good order.<sup>258</sup> Goodwin would receive brief mentions in 1867 and 1871 as part of the coverage of the public examinations of the Model, the tone continuing to be positive.<sup>259</sup> In 1872, the visit of Governor General Lord Dufferin elicited several events, including a tour and presentations at the Normal School. A presentation of callisthenics and drill by the pupils of the Girls' Model was recorded in some detail and saw Goodwin associated with

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<sup>255</sup> N.a., "Annual Examination of the Model School."

<sup>256</sup> N.a., "Annual Examination of the Model School."

<sup>257</sup> Globe Correspondent, "LATEST FROM OTTAWA: Gazette Appointments--Militia Orders--Retired--Serious Accident," *The Globe*, August 4, 1873, accessed January 4, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1519777430/abstract/EFCF16A066224219PQ/46>.

<sup>258</sup> N.a., "City News," *The Globe*, June 14, 1866, accessed January 4, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1518930004/abstract/EFCF16A066224219PQ/41>.

<sup>259</sup> N.a., "Normal School Examination," *The Globe*, June 17, 1871, accessed January 4, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1519673568/abstract/EFCF16A066224219PQ/44>.

the approbation of the Governor General: “Lord Dufferin complimented Major Goodwin on the excellent training of his squad, thanked the young ladies for their trouble, and said they would be quite a formidable troop to meet, and he should not like to charge them.”<sup>260</sup> Throughout this coverage over many years, the emphasis on the performances of the female sections is notable. Likely in part stemming from Victorian notions of femininity and the emphasis on perceived female health in those times, one is nonetheless left to wonder what the women of Toronto made of this commentary. Goodwin was put in charge of the Militia stores for Toronto at some point (it is unclear if he held this responsibility before joining the Normal or gained it during his tenure). In light of his ‘good service’ to the Militia, he was specially permitted the promotion to Lieutenant-Colonel upon his retirement from that branch of service in 1873.<sup>261</sup> He continued his role at the Normal for another four years and was remembered fondly by A. S. Allan at the 1897 Jubilee as “...the genial old Drill Instructor....”<sup>262</sup>

Several “Model School Teachers” are also listed. It can be difficult to know what to make of their role; however, this does not mean their participation was unimportant or that the role could not lead them to significant advancement. Several of the individuals we have already mentioned held this position. Another is Sampson P. Robins, who is recorded attending the Normal’s 7<sup>th</sup> Session in 1851-1852.<sup>263</sup> Reported as coming from Northumberland County, Robins (typically listed as S. P. Robins) won the first prize (consisting of a book set) in competition for the Governor General’s Prizes for Agricultural Chemistry in the spring 1852 public examination.<sup>264</sup> The report in the *Canadian Agriculturalist* also gives us some slight biographical detail, noting

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<sup>260</sup> N.a., “THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL: Visit to the Normal School. Lord Dufferin on Canadian Education,” *The Globe*, October 17, 1872, accessed January 4, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hmpglobeandmail/docview/1519731488/abstract/EFCF16A066224219PQ/45>.

<sup>261</sup> Globe Correspondent, “LATEST FROM OTTAWA.”

<sup>262</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 39.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>264</sup> N.a., “Normal and Model Schools” (1852), 157.

that Robins and the second-place winner were both – to their knowledge – sons of Canadian farmers. The efforts of Robins, Catherine Johnson, and their competitors brought a special comment from that publication as well: “We have attended these examinations from the first, in the capacity of an examiner, but on no previous occasion do we remember the candidates evincing so correct and extensive a knowledge of the subjects brought before them; a circumstance alike creditable to themselves and teacher.”<sup>265</sup>

After the examination, Robins received certificate no.3, first class (he would shortly be followed by his brother, Samuel Robins, certificate no.80, third class in the next session).<sup>266</sup> Robins appears to have, like other staffers, begun teaching while Samuel was still attending the school. Samuel only taught for a few years at elementary and high schools in Bowmanville before his ‘sudden’ death in 1856.<sup>267</sup>

Despite only being listed as a Model School teacher, S. P. Robins seemingly had a much wider role as a Normal Master. Recorded immediately after his graduation in the Syllabus of Lectures for the Tenth Session in 1853, Robins apparently provided 5 hours of weekly instruction on Spelling, Writing, and Arithmetic.<sup>268</sup> This later uncredited role providing Normal Lectures and his Model duties would reflect the kind of involvement and success for which Robins was headed. Robins would, like several others we have discussed, teach at the Normal at the same time his brother (the Jubilee materials note that he spent two years after the Normal as Principal of the Brantford Central School before becoming involved in the setting up of the McGill Normal School in Montreal).<sup>269</sup> By 1897, Robins had risen to the rank of Principal of McGill Normal

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<sup>265</sup> N.a., “Normal and Model Schools” (1852), 157.

<sup>266</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 226.

<sup>267</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 115.

<sup>268</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 386.

<sup>269</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 110.

School in Montreal and bore the title of “Dr.”<sup>270</sup> Speaking at the Jubilee, William Carlyle provided striking remembrances of Robins as one of the most skillful teachers he had encountered:

“Mr. S. P. Robins taught me how to teach. I had not, before meeting him, seen his equal as a teacher. I have never since. ...Mr. Robins taught me the science of teaching through means of the practice of the art. The masters of the Normal School operated upon me. They taught me the academic work as I might in turn teach it to others. Mr. Robins operated upon boys and demonstrated to me how to reach the understanding of children with instruction that at times escaped my own grasp in the higher institution. He taught me the lessons he taught the boys while teaching me to teach. In all my teaching since and inspection of the teaching of others, his teacher’s technique has been my ideal and standard. At any moment I can recall him in those old gallery-rooms filled with boys. Short in stature and then also slim, inciting them to greater effort. Nearsightedness causing him to peer into their exercises, adding earnestness of manner to an intensely earnest and sympathetic face, while upturned to his were the anxious faces of the pupils awaiting look of approval or hint of direction. No goody, goody talk. No coddling of the boys. He treated them as little men and they responded as men. That voice so pure, so flexible, that exact enunciation, and that clear flow of connected thought dealt out in easy steps of correct thinking that the pupils might keep step with him and arrive with him at the same conclusion, still hold me as with a charm. I have witnessed his work in the class-room, when his indescribable tact aroused his pupils to such continuous mental application that I could have begged him to slacken his hold of the class and relieve the tension of intellectual effort, worthy of grown men.”<sup>271</sup>

Carlyle paints a strong image of Robins’ teaching style. It is fascinating to note the themes that jump forward from the description: skill with the material, an ability to communicate material across experience levels, personability, and intensity (though as a function of flow).

Similarly, David Fotheringham, later briefly the Third Headmaster of the Boys’ Model, began his Normal career as a student graduating in the Twelfth Session (1854) with certificate no. 238, second class.<sup>272</sup> Fotheringham, like so many others on the staff, also distinguished himself during his graduation examination by winning the second prize in the examinations for

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<sup>270</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 41.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, 27–28.

<sup>272</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 373.

the Governor General's Prizes for Papers in Agricultural Science.<sup>273</sup> During the 1897 celebrations, colleague David Ormiston described Fotheringham as "...a Scotchman or more correctly an Orkney man, possessing the characteristics of the inhabitants of these small northern Isles, one of which is determination to succeed in whatever he undertakes."<sup>274</sup> Fotheringham continued his Normal education beyond this second class certificate, graduating a second time during the Fifteenth Session (1855-1856) and receiving certificate no. 354, first class (alongside future Normal colleague and successor as Boys' Model Headmaster, James Carlyle, certificate no.353, first class).<sup>275</sup> Following this second graduation, Fotheringham began working as a Model Teacher, occupying that position for 15 months before taking up his brief term as headmaster. Of his teaching style, David Ormiston reminisced in 1897: "He was a strict disciplinarian and was sure to have the school where he presides in first-class order. I sometimes thought he was just a little too strict to have every small matter of detail carried out."<sup>276</sup> After his headmastership, Fotheringham would teach until 1871, when he became the Inspector of Public Schools for North York and, afterwards, took up the work of the South York Inspectorate as well. One comment made by Ormiston in closing his reminiscence on Fotheringham in 1897 is rather irreverent, carrying a sense of jovial, wry familiarity that stands out within the celebrations: "May his portly figure never grow less."<sup>277</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 376.

<sup>274</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847-1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 19-20.

<sup>275</sup> Province of Canada, Legislature, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Fourteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada: From the 15th February to the 1st July, 1856, both days inclusive, in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Years of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria*. 5<sup>th</sup> Parliament, 2<sup>nd</sup> Session. Toronto: Rollo Campbell, (1856), 434. Accessed September 13, 2021. URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9\\_00955\\_14\\_2](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00955_14_2).

<sup>276</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847-1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 19-20.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-20.

Then there is the curious case of Archibald MacMurchy, whose time at the Normal was very short but about whom information was relatively available. One of the shortest serving Normal staffers ('A. MacMurchy' is listed simply as "Teacher" in the 1947 Centennial Anniversary Book), he became one of Toronto's more prominent and influential local educators.<sup>278</sup> Following his death in April 1912, MacMurchy was memorialized in detail by one of his former students and colleagues in the mathematics department at the University of Toronto, Professor Alfred Baker. He reports that MacMurchy was born in 1832 in Clachan, Scotland, on the Kintyre peninsula and that his early years there made him a fluent first-language Gaelic speaker.<sup>279</sup> He emigrated to Upper Canada in 1840 as part of a large, multi-generational family that settled to the North and West of Toronto. MacMurchy is reported to have completed his early education at one "Rockland Academy," which may refer to the school (which trained several notable Upper Canadians) of William Wetherald, a self-taught educator and Quaker. Wetherald was known for strict discipline combined with an abiding interest in the growth of each student and a notably personal relationship with each student.<sup>280</sup> Following this, MacMurchy worked as a teacher in (today) Erin, Ontario, and by the 1850s, had risen to some success in the profession. From 1854-1856, MacMurchy was engaged as a student at the Toronto Normal School (graduating with certificate no.264, first class, at the close of the Thirteenth Session (1854-55)) and subsequently became a headmaster, founding the first public school at Collingwood.<sup>281</sup> After this, MacMurchy

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<sup>278</sup> Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 73.

<sup>279</sup> Alfred Baker, *Memoir of Archibald MacMurchy, M.A. LL.D.*, n.p., 1912, 3, accessed December 8, 2021, URL: <https://www-canadiana-ca.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/view/oocihm.71363/1?r=0&s=1>.

<sup>280</sup> Kathleen M. S. Hertzberg, "WETHERALD, WILLIAM," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 12 (1891-1900), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1990, para. 4, accessed December 8, 2021, URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wetherald\\_william\\_12E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/wetherald_william_12E.html); Baker, *Memoir of Archibald MacMurchy, M.A. LL.D.*, 3-4.

<sup>281</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly. *Appendix, No.2, to the Fourteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1856), 433; Toronto Normal School, *1847-1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 119; Baker, *Memoir of Archibald MacMurchy, M.A. LL.D.*, 4.

works in some capacity on staff at Toronto Normal. Baker suggests that he taught in the Model School for a couple of years,<sup>282</sup> however, that same author's assertion that MacMurchy attended Normal School in 1856 (half a year after he is recorded as receiving his first-class certificate) calls that into some question. MacMurchy's staff role is not clearly defined in the 1897 or 1947 commemorative materials, listing him simply as "Teacher" for four months in 1857 with no further clarification.<sup>283</sup> Shortly after that, MacMurchy was appointed to the staff of the Toronto Grammar School as a mathematical master and pursued a university education (obtaining a B.A. and then M.A. in the 1860s). He also appears to have served in the volunteer militia associated with the University of Toronto during the Fenian Raids.<sup>284</sup>

MacMurchy enjoyed a highly respected career as an educator for decades, remaining associated with the Grammar School until the turn of the century and being appointed by the Home District School Board as the head of the Jarvis Collegiate Institute (later Toronto Collegiate Institute) in 1872.<sup>285</sup> He played a central role as the head of this institution throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century (even turning down the principalship of Upper Canada College in 1881), served as a member of the University of Toronto Senate for six years, and authored several textbooks and publications.<sup>286</sup> Regarding Baker's memorial, its most intriguing

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<sup>282</sup> Baker, *Memoir of Archibald MacMurchy, M.A. LL.D.*, 4.

<sup>283</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 201; Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 73.

<sup>284</sup> Baker, *Memoir of Archibald MacMurchy, M.A. LL.D.*, 4–5; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 119.

<sup>285</sup> H. E. Turner, "GRASETT, HENRY JAMES," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11 (1881-1890), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, para. 3, accessed November 15, 2021, URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/grasett\\_henry\\_james\\_1808\\_82\\_11E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/grasett_henry_james_1808_82_11E.html).; Baker, *Memoir of Archibald MacMurchy, M.A. LL.D.*, 4. This appointment coming during the tenure of Henry James Grasett on the Home District School Board; Grasett being, himself, formerly a member of the Council of Public Instruction during MacMurchy's Normal years.

<sup>286</sup> Baker, *Memoir of Archibald MacMurchy, M.A. LL.D.*, 5. Regarding his publications, Baker claims: "Dr. MacMurchy was joint author of Smith & MacMurchy's elementary and advanced arithmetics and author of a Collection of Arithmetical Problems. The years following his retirement from the principalship produced his valuable Hand-Book of Canadian Literature. For many years he edited the *Canadian Educational Monthly*."

statement comes in his summation of MacMurchy's work: "As a teacher Dr. MacMurchy was singularly skillful and singularly successful. ... He made the old Toronto Grammar School the mathematical school of the Province. Analytical geometry was taught there when analytical geometry was a second year honour subject in the University."<sup>287</sup> MacMurchy also appears as another in the tradition of masters (though not having been her teacher directly) marrying Normal students. Majory Jarden Ramsay is recorded in the 1897 Jubilee materials as a graduate of the Sixteenth Session (May 1856 – November 1856, receiving a First Class, Division A teaching certificate, no. 447, along with Helen Milliken Clark and Alexander Campbell at that time) who proceeded to teach in Whitby for a period afterwards. She was also noted as having been (she was deceased by the time of the Jubilee) MacMurchy's wife.<sup>288</sup>

### *Music masters: normal spectacle*

As noted previously, among the subject masters, there were also Music Masters – the first subject-specific position to be added to the Normal staff – who were particularly notable for their place within Normal publicity as a spectacular attraction. The first of these, J. H. Robertson, taught briefly from January to April 1848 and beyond that remains anonymous to this study. Another individual, J. P. Clarke, teaching from February to June 1848, appears to have assisted or at least taught in parallel to J. H. Robertson and later William Townsend (who would replace them both afterwards). We see little named coverage of Clarke in association with the Normal, but he was known in Toronto's newsprint at the time and likely would have leant some celebrity to the nascent institution.

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<sup>287</sup> Baker, *Memoir of Archibald MacMurchy, M.A. LL.D.*, 5–6.

<sup>288</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 124; Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.10, to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1857), 178.

In 1847, Clarke was listed as a Professor of Music residing at 62 Church St.<sup>289</sup> *The Globe* tells us that Clarke had a Bachelor of Music degree from King's College and was the Conductor of the Toronto Philharmonic Society for at least one performance that year.<sup>290</sup> Reportedly, a well-received performance with a large audience: "Yesterday evening (Friday) the Philharmonic Society gave their Concert of Sacred Music, for the Relief Fund of the Irish and Scotch. The large Hall of the University in the Old Parliament Buildings was filled to overflowing by a most delighted audience; between four and five hundred persons were present."<sup>291</sup> We learn from this same report that Clarke has some prior experience teaching music. The performers included Clarke's "pupil," one "Miss Staines," who is praised as a highly promising vocalist.<sup>292</sup> Clarke was likewise praised for his particular skill and original work in another, longer report on the concert from a few days later: "We were disappointed with the opening symphony by Mozart: the composition was by no means one of the happiest of the great Master;... Not so, we are happy to say, was the anthem by our Townsman, Clarke, - "*Arise. ' O Lord God*" – the trial composition of the learned Bachelor. We are happy to be able to say that it is a work of the author, and was well given by those who sustained the different parts."<sup>293</sup> Clarke reappears in the news in 1848, in connection with the 'friendly society' the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, volunteering to provide his services in support of a "...Lecture on the SHAMROCK..." in Toronto.<sup>294</sup> The most that has appeared in this study regarding J. H. Robertson's or J. P. Clarke's briefing teaching at

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<sup>289</sup> Brown, *Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory* (1846), 13.

<sup>290</sup> N.a., "Toronto Philharmonic Society: The Concert," *The Globe*, April 21, 1847, accessed February 26, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507550095/citation/C1D440E8600A4200PQ/13>.

<sup>291</sup> N.a., "Philharmonic Concert," *The Globe*, April 24, 1847, accessed February 26, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507559516/abstract/C1D440E8600A4200PQ/14>.

<sup>292</sup> N.a., "Philharmonic Concert."

<sup>293</sup> N.a., "Concert for the Benefit of the Irish and Scottish Relief Funds," *The Globe*, April 28, 1847, accessed February 26, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507551884/abstract/C1D440E8600A4200PQ/15>.

<sup>294</sup> N.a., "Under the immediate Patronage of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, N. B. and I. O. O. F.: T. P. B. at Home, For an Hour, in Ould Ireland," *The Globe*, July 8, 1848, accessed February 28, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507543362/citation/1E0E74E0277840EEPQ/80>.

the Normal is an anonymous remark in Ryerson's & Hodgins' *Journal of Education* report on the First Public Examination of the Normal and Model describing: "...a scientific knowledge of Sacred Music under the instruction of a Professor of experience and skill specially engaged...."<sup>295</sup>

One William Townsend succeeded these two as Music Master and served in the role from the 2<sup>nd</sup> session to the 5<sup>th</sup> session (1848 – 1850). At the beginning of Townsend's tenure reporting on the October 1848 Public Examination, *The Globe* would take note of the music course, commenting: "Music is certainly an important branch of education, not solely from the pleasure afforded in the performance, but from the softening and harmonizing influence it has on the mind."<sup>296</sup> The results of Townsend's efforts also attracted *The Christian Guardian's* attention and praise: "This delightful part of the exercises attracted a great many visitors, particularly Ladies, and the Lecture Room was crowded in every part."<sup>297</sup> Given the highly positive reception of the musical performance at this examination, it is tempting to suggest that Townsend was a more successful music instructor than his predecessors (additionally supported by his far longer employment term). Equally possible, however, as the Normal staff moved into the second session, the students and program began to hit their stride more effectively (especially as the routine of the school regularized). We are also left to ask whether there is something to be said about the crowd-pleasing potential of the Musical curriculum, adding a level of additional

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<sup>295</sup> Egerton Ryerson and John George Hodgins, eds., "Editorial Department: First Public Examination of the Students in the Provincial Normal School," *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 1, no. 4 (1848): 126, accessed April 10, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06242\\_4](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06242_4).

<sup>296</sup> N.a., "The Normal School," *The Globe*, October 14, 1848, accessed February 14, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507562358/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/7>.

<sup>297</sup> Ryerson, Egerton and John George Hodgins, eds., "Editorial Department: Normal School Examination, Second Session – October, 1848," *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 1, no. 10 (October 1848): 316, accessed April 26, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06242\\_10](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06242_10).

entertainment value to the Public Examination, which may have helped to attract (intentionally or unconsciously) positive attention to the Normal's activities.

Little more was found about Townsend, and the end of his employment was followed by a three-month gap (likely due to a gap between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Sessions in 1850). One Patrick Walsh was the Music Master in the Normal and Model School during the 7<sup>th</sup> through 9<sup>th</sup> Sessions (1850 – 1852).<sup>298</sup> No information was uncovered for this individual. Walsh and his predecessors appear to have focused their curriculum on 'Hullah's system of Vocal Music.'<sup>299</sup> There is some confusion in the records following Walsh's departure. One Elon Tupper appears to have been the successor, working from January 1853 until the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> Session at the end of 1854. No information has been recovered about this individual. There is also a gap between Walsh and Tupper, during which no Music Master is listed. There is, however, an H. G. R. Fripp listed rather indistinctly as "Teacher" from November 1852 (9<sup>th</sup> Session) to May 1853 (opening of the 10<sup>th</sup> Session). He was listed as a member of the Canadian Institute (along with numerous others associated with the Normal and Education Office) in 1854.<sup>300</sup> Information recovered related to Fripp, however, suggests that his training was in Music, and it is possible that he provided some assistance or was temporarily engaged in the Music Master role. Fripp has an advertisement in *The Globe* in 1855 offering what appear to be private lessons in "...Music, the Organ, Piano Forte, &c...."<sup>301</sup> Later, in 1860, we find one who appears to be Fripp listed as a Brother in the Toronto Masonic Lodges, holding office as their Organist.<sup>302</sup> He also appears to have a potential

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<sup>298</sup> Mackay, *The Canada Directory*, 421.

<sup>299</sup> N.a., "Normal and Model Schools" (1852), 157; Ryerson and Hodgins, "Programmes of Lectures in the Normal School for Upper Canada," 59.

<sup>300</sup> Johnston, "Alphabetical List of Members of the Canadian Institute," 146–148.

<sup>301</sup> N.a., "Mr. H. R. Fripp," *The Globe*, August 30, 1856, accessed January 4, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1511650022/citation/EFCF16A066224219PQ/6>.

<sup>302</sup> George P. Ure, *The Hand-Book of Toronto; containing its Climate, Geology, Natural History, Educational Institutions, Courts of Law, Municipal Arrangements, &c. &c.* Toronto: Lovell & Gibson, 1858), 173, accessed July 8, 2021, URL: <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.37020>.

connection with one of the Normal's Support Staff (John Murphy) as co-members of the Committee of the Metropolitan Choral Society.<sup>303</sup>

It is difficult to know what to make of these subject masters. The information presented for each varies in content; however, for many, there is a clear function as part of the Normal's positive public-facing presence during Public Examinations and other events. Music Masters, in particular, may have leant entertainment and a specific kind of local celebrity to the School. Overall, however, there is still much to uncover about these individuals. A lack of identifying information made the search difficult. Additional, focused research into individuals using name variations and using some of the further coordinating information gathered here may reveal much which remains just out of reach of the strategy applied in this study.

### *Support Staff*

Amongst the many staff members of the Normal School, a particular sub-group which has received scant attention in this study is the support staff who facilitated the operations of the physical Normal campus. Their absence stems partially from the fact that their existence was only discovered after work had commenced. These individuals do not appear in the staff lists at the genesis of this project. Additionally, from a philosophical perspective, including these individuals seemed incongruous to the purposes of this study. As suggested by their absence from the staff lists, these positions are fundamentally different. With no teaching role and, therefore, little direct or intended involvement in the moulding of student teachers' minds, these individuals appear separate. Largely unsought in my work, these individuals did nonetheless appear several times in the source base.

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<sup>303</sup> George P. Ure, d.1860, 193.

First within this cadre is one John Murphy appearing as Janitor of the Normal and Model Schools beginning in 1848.<sup>304</sup> He continued in this role until 1851, when he became the Messenger for the Normal School, having been replaced in the Janitor role by Thomas Johnston and with a new role for the Superintendent of Grounds filled briefly by Patrick Scully.<sup>305</sup> Scully was quickly replaced by William Mundie in 1852 (working until around 1858), about whom the sources are somewhat more forthcoming. Ryerson's Annual Report to the Legislative Assembly notes that Mundie was specifically selected to plan and create the extensive gardens (used as an agricultural education tool) that came with the new Gould St. buildings in 1852. He is praised in the Annual Report for 1851 for his initial work clearing land for the gardens. His qualifying experience as a "landscape and practical gardener" living in Hamilton is also highlighted. Interestingly, at the Normal, Mundie also had a working connection with "Professor Buckland, Secretary, Provincial Agricultural Association" through correspondence about his work on the Normal grounds.<sup>306</sup> With the expanded Gould St. campus came an expansion of the staff supporting the Normal, with James Ryan appearing as a Furnace Man for the school in 1852. I encountered little more about the support staff during this period until the appointment of James Forsyth as a Gardener for the Normal in 1855 and finally the appointment of a second Furnace Man, Thomas Gray, in 1856.<sup>307</sup> We are left to wonder, looking towards further inquiries, whether more information is available about these individuals and, more importantly, whether there is anything to be learned from them. Perhaps, they could provide more of a window into the

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<sup>304</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 342.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*; Mackay, *The Canada Directory*, 421. Though there is some uncertainty and Murphy may either have adopted a dual role in 1851 or have returned to the Janitor role sometime after 1851 (since he is listed in 1857 as continuing to occupy, and as having occupied since 1848, the Janitor role).

<sup>306</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 217.

<sup>307</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 342.

underlife of the school. While their observations are likely unavailable, the particulars of their duties, pay, and social circumstances of the individuals holding these positions might be knowable. From those details, we might learn more about the underlife of the school. In particular, about class divisions within the campus hierarchy and moments of resistance to authority which caused strain on the physical resources of the Normal School.

## CHAPTER 4

## THE NORMAL IN A BROADER WORLD

“They should go forth bearing those influences which are calculated to raise a type of manhood and of womanhood whose very lives would be a benediction to others and a credit to those teachers who trained them. . . . How important therefore, that we, as teachers and educators should realize the responsibility that rests upon us, that we should remember, that the boys and girls in our public schools, the young men and the young women in our high schools, our normal schools, our colleges and universities, will soon be out into the broad, busy world, engaged in its conflicts and that upon the face, heart and soul of these pupils and students will lie reflected the image of the teacher”<sup>308</sup> – *Charles A. Barnes, M.A., Inspector (Public Schools, Lambton No. 1) speaking at the 1897 Normal Jubilee on the life of Rev. Henry W. Davies, M.A., D.D. (former Normal Headmaster, 1871-1884)*

The Normal and its staff were one outcome of prior educational developments in Upper Canada. Legislatively, the colony’s education system dates to the passage of the 1807 District School Act establishing state support for Grammar Schools in each District of the colony.<sup>309</sup> The passage of the colony’s first Common School Act (1816) marked it globally as an early adopter of state-funded educational institutions embracing all social classes.<sup>310</sup> Upper Canada’s common schooling movement originated with incoming Loyalist settlers following the American Revolutionary War.<sup>311</sup> This initial thrust was minimal in its interventions and did not make meaningful progress toward unifying the fragments of schooling in the colony. In the 1820s, funding decreased (1820), trustee powers were curtailed (1824), and uptake in school attendance – though not negligible – was slow: “By the mid-1820s, only 7,000 students were officially registered in common school, and only 300 (all boys) in grammar schools.”<sup>312</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 14.

<sup>309</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 10 & 15.

<sup>310</sup> Anthony Di Mascio, *The Idea of Popular Schooling in Upper Canada: Print Culture, Public Discourse, and the Demand for Education* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012), 3.

<sup>311</sup> Di Mascio, *The Idea of Popular Schooling in Upper Canada*, 63.

<sup>312</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 15; Di Mascio, *The Idea of Popular Schooling in Upper Canada*, 67–68.

Nonetheless, growing interest throughout the British Empire and the larger transatlantic world in avenues of advancement for the middle class in burgeoning industrial and global society (particularly adult education initiatives like Normal Schooling) continued to feed interest in education in Upper Canada.<sup>313</sup> Concurrently, Upper and Lower Canadian civil conflict in 1837 and 1838 saw changes which renewed state interest in centralizing initiatives like school administration. The Act of Union (1841), implementing the Durham Report's (1839) recommended unification of the two colonies, was followed swiftly by an attempt to establish a new, centralized school system through a new Common School Act (1841).<sup>314</sup> In the newly formed Province of Canada, however, the vastly differing educational needs of its pre-existing colonial communities stymied a broad approach and, two years later, another Common School Act (1843) reoriented, addressing Upper Canada (now Canada West) alone.<sup>315</sup> This act also established requirements to record and report to central authorities actions taken and decisions made at the local level (laying the groundwork for the centralization and disempowerment of local authorities undertaken by the following Common School Act of 1846).<sup>316</sup>

Ryerson and the other reformers behind the Normal legislation argued that it was a lack of trained and competent teachers which made the institution necessary. "There cannot be good Schools without good Teachers; nor can there be, as a general rule, good Teachers, any more than good Mechanics, or Lawyers, or Physicians, unless persons are trained for the profession."<sup>317</sup>

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<sup>313</sup> Wilson et al., *Canadian Education : A History. Ed.*, 38; Ryerson, *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*, 157.

<sup>314</sup> James Maurice Stockford Careless, "Province of Canada (1841-67)," *Historica Canada, The Canadian Encyclopedia*, accessed August 13, 2021, URL: <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/province-of-canada-1841-67>.

<sup>315</sup> Dawn Wallin, Jon Young and Ben Levin, "Understanding Canadian schools: An Introduction to Educational Administration. (6th Edition)," University of Saskatchewan, sec.2.3, accessed July 12, 2023, URL: <https://openpress.usask.ca/understandingcanadianschools/front-matter/acknowledgements/>. Lower Canada (now Canada East), likewise, returned to charting its own educational path.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> Ryerson, *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*, 156.

However, in *Building the Educational State*, Bruce Curtis called this idea into question, asserting that the free market was providing individuals whose attainments and skills met the Education Office’s “conception of competence” at the time.<sup>318</sup> Curtis and other scholars have identified control and monopoly over the educational market as the real concerns behind the claim of incompetence linked to the Normal’s necessity. “The security of the political order demanded that both what teachers *were* and what they might say be regulated by the educational authority.”<sup>319</sup>

Until the reforms of the 1840s, certification of teachers was left to local school Trustees (who were also in charge of hiring said teachers for their schools). This led quality control, hiring, and the motivations behind each to be indistinguishably merged.<sup>320</sup> As late as 1839, the system of certification remained a target for reformers. A provincial commission that year underlined detrimental impacts on the colony’s teachers and called for change. Change followed in the 1840s, though historians highlight its halting, conservative nature.<sup>321</sup> The Common Schools Act of 1843 provided some guidance on what certifying authorities were to expect of candidates: County, Township, Town and City Superintendents were instructed to examine moral character, learning and ability. Furthermore, though it did not come into effect until 1846, this Act also prohibited anyone who was not a “natural born or naturalized subject” of the British Monarchy from becoming a certified teacher.<sup>322</sup> This was, in part, a piece of the growing ‘Loyalist cult’ in the colony and throughout the British Empire in response to its territorial expansion at this time.

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<sup>318</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*, 221.

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>320</sup> Ruth A. Childs and Barbara Bower, “Teacher Testing and Certification: An Historical Perspective from Ontario,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 38, no. 3 (2006): 279, accessed February 9, 2020, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620600984206>.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, 280.

<sup>322</sup> *An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada: 9<sup>th</sup> December, 1843*, Articles XIV (7), XXXII & XXXVII, 5, 11 & 12.

Teachers were increasingly expected to instill a commitment to a British identity and past in their students over the nineteenth century.<sup>323</sup>

Many aspects of the day-to-day administration and delivery of education were left entirely to the principal's and teachers' (or more often solely the teacher's) discretion during the nineteenth century.<sup>324</sup> The concept of examination also seemed to leave a broad latitude for interpretation. The 1843 act granted County Superintendents discretion to re-examine all teachers in their County to assess how fit they were to continue in that role.<sup>325</sup> It also stipulated an appeals process through which teachers whose certificates had been annulled by Township, Town or City Superintendents could appeal the decision to the County Superintendent.<sup>326</sup> In light of these developments, it was incumbent on the Education Office to establish some standard of assessment. What emerged was a vague idea of learning, ability, and moral character, which should define the competent teacher.

Regarding the requirement for learning, established historiography refers mostly to academic and pedagogical accomplishment. Right from the outset, the expectation was clearly that the teacher would carry a broad subject base in their minds. Until the 1870s, education in Ontario was primarily concerned with “real solid knowledge,” the memorization of factual subject matter. As a result, the teacher was expected to have a wide range of subject competencies which, it was hoped, they could draw on from memory.<sup>327</sup> In his Annual Report for

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<sup>323</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 56.

<sup>324</sup> Gregory Kenneth Russell Stott, “‘In Reply to Your Advertisement . . .’: Local Influences on the Hiring of Teachers, Arkona, Ontario, 1882–1884,” *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d’histoire de l’éducation* 20, no. 2 (2008): 5, accessed February 9, 2020, URL: [https://historicalstudiesineducation.ca/index.php/edu\\_hse-rhe/article/view/364](https://historicalstudiesineducation.ca/index.php/edu_hse-rhe/article/view/364).

<sup>325</sup> *An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada: 9th December, 1843*, Article XXXVI, 12. The Chief Superintendent of Common Schools could also require the County Superintendent's to undertake such a process at any time.

<sup>326</sup> *An Act for the Establishment and Maintenance of Common Schools in Upper Canada: 9th December, 1843*, Article XIV (8), 5.

<sup>327</sup> Wilson et al., *Canadian Education : A History*, 314–15; Ryerson, *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*, 166.

1846, Egerton Ryerson noted that teachers needed the capacity to teach Reading, Writing, English Grammar (comprised of numerous fields including correct spelling, pronunciation, syntax, and prosody – the last having to do with poetic intonation and rhythm), Arithmetic (including its practical applications), Geography and Book-Keeping.<sup>328</sup> Despite such broadness, this subject base remained concerned with remedying basic skills deficiencies in many subjects during the Normal's opening decade.<sup>329</sup>

If the above represents the learning portion, then the ability portion is the part with which Normal School training would be significantly interested. At the outset, concepts including the aptitude to teach, quickness, and general teaching ability dominated the discourse about the 'good' teacher.<sup>330</sup> Historians have also noted that the early Normal hoped to disseminate a "German model" which attempted to supplant memorization of dogmatic principles as teaching in favour of a demonstrative and explanatory approach, unpacking the reasons behind principles and rules in the subjects taught.<sup>331</sup> References to ability remain particularly vague for much of the earlier period, but it is clear that this metric relates to ideas surrounding an in-born capacity to teach, a certain style of communication with students, and the deftness and experience with which a teacher handled their classroom. Many of the most successful teachers described above were noted to possess this kind of ability with their students. It appears from observing those individuals that an ability to make genuine connections with students, inspiring them and eliciting from them a level of personal loyalty was crucial. Bruce Curtis highlights that many within the teacher training system of Normal and Model Schools would, especially moving into the 1850s

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<sup>328</sup> Egerton Ryerson, *Special Report of the Measures which have been adopted for the establishment of a Normal School; and for carrying into effect generally, the Common School Act (9th Vict. Cap. XX) with An Appendix* (Montreal: Lovell & Gibson, 1847), 176 & 192, accessed July 12, 2023, URL: <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.93409>.

<sup>329</sup> McDonald and Chaiton, *Egerton Ryerson and his times*, 121.

<sup>330</sup> Childs and Bower, "Teacher Testing and Certification," 281.

<sup>331</sup> McDonald and Chaiton, *Egerton Ryerson and his times*, 121.

and 1860s, view ability as a charismatic and moral force which could be deployed in place of (or in addition to) corporal punishment. The idea that an able teacher could completely understand the mind of their students was also a key theme.<sup>332</sup> We should consider for a moment that “ability” could also refer to the question of the physical health and the idea of a disability (in the modern sense) impeding the teacher. In a recent 2018 study, Jason Ellis completed an examination of special education teachers in which he highlighted that often oblique references to “ability” in Ontario teaching manuals from the turn of the century.<sup>333</sup> While the evidence we have uncovered so far does seem to point towards “ability” being a metric related to the personalities of these individuals, and no evidence regarding disabilities among these individuals, we should remain wary. This was not something I explicitly searched for in the research and it is perhaps prescient that some of the Normal’s most successful staff like Robertson and Hind could be considered notable for their physicality (being a seasoned yachtsman and an overland explorer respectively).

Expectations concerning moral character are easier to pin down. For many in colonial society in this period, morality was synonymous with Christian principles. The concern and need for the teacher to set a ‘moral’ example in this sense would persist well into the Confederation period (becoming increasingly important, above even intellectual attainments, in some jurisdictions as time went on).<sup>334</sup> Significantly, for Ryerson and his supporters, this idea was characterized by a non-sectarian Christian approach (that is, one which ignores denominational differences in favour of shared principles).<sup>335</sup> This more flexible idea of the ‘moral’ or ‘right’

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<sup>332</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*, 217–18.

<sup>333</sup> Ellis, “Exceptional Educators,” 58.

<sup>334</sup> Stott, “In Reply to Your Advertisement . . .,” 7–9.

<sup>335</sup> Ryerson, *Special Report of the Measures which have been adopted for the establishment of a Normal School*, 72.

way of things was consistent with attempts by reformers to avoid the kinds of locally specific, infinitely divisive conflicts that had animated schooling pre-1841.<sup>336</sup>

Ryerson highlighted several other behaviours as essential to moral character in a set of instructions issued to teachers in 1846, including cleanliness and neatness, consistency, honesty, deference and obedience to authority, and decency.<sup>337</sup> For many, including the Irish Schools that Ryerson sought to emulate, morality was intimately tied to students' effective and timely integration into society. Writing on the subject of educational morality and gender roles in Ireland, Gerard Fealy and Judith Harford note that “[e]ducation was the most powerful means of socializing males and females into their expected roles in society....”<sup>338</sup> District Superintendents were also instructed in 1846 to place greater significance on testimonials from religious authorities than on an attestation of moral character provided by any other authority in support of a prospective teacher.<sup>339</sup>

As John Calam notes in his study of Normal Schools in British Columbia, nobody in British colonial society questioned the underlying ideas behind Normal Schooling.<sup>340</sup> The Normal staffer’s role mirrored that of other teachers, lecturers, and pedagogues but also demonstrated a uniqueness from them. John Calam termed them simply the Teachers of Teachers.<sup>341</sup> The sources use both Instructor and Master somewhat interchangeably. The Normal School was a public institution, an arm of the Education Department, and – viewed with hindsight – better resembles

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<sup>336</sup> R. D. Gidney and D. A. Lawr, “Bureaucracy vs. Community? The Origins of Bureaucratic Procedure in the Upper Canadian School System,” *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 3 (1980): 441, accessed June 9, 2021, URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3787049>.

<sup>337</sup> Ryerson, *Special Report of the Measures which have been adopted for the establishment of a Normal School*, 185.

<sup>338</sup> Gerard Fealy and Judith Harford, “‘Nervous Energy and Administrative Ability’: The Early Lady Principals and Lady Superintendents in Ireland,” *Journal of Educational Administration & History* 39, no. 3 (2007): 273, accessed October 31, 2021, doi:10.1080/00220620701535774.

<sup>339</sup> Ryerson, *Special Report of the Measures which have been adopted for the establishment of a Normal School*, 188.

<sup>340</sup> Calam, “Teaching the Teachers,” 42.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.* Certainly a rhetorically effective way of putting the idea of a differing role held by the Normal teacher in contrast to the one which their pupils would be looking toward. It felt somewhat clunky and space intensive to attempt to say “teachers of teachers” a few hundred times in this text though.

a government program than a school. Its employees were teachers by vocation but were, in the Normal context, staffers delivering a service mandated by legislation.

Certainly, the state's increasing role in the provision of schooling, particularly teacher training, was tied to (and understood by scholars as being justified by) the reconceptualization of the teacher as a 'trained public servant.'<sup>342</sup> Reform politicians with a group mind turned to responsible government set the Normal in motion. They sought to remove the colony from ingrained imperial control, and they were intimately aware that one of the most consequential locations within which this control could be localized was the installation of administrative (often mistakenly thought of as indicating non-impactful and non-controlling) officers. Strong administrative services were indispensable to a large empire. Thus, those providing them often remained in office far longer than their political counterparts, representing an opportunity to entrench an agreeable party within the system itself. One of the many avenues used to diminish imperial control was to actively and consciously seek the transfer of key administrators' duties – at the very least at the upper levels – from imperial to provincial officials.<sup>343</sup> It would seem, therefore, highly prescient that the Education Department was entirely created and controlled as an in-house unit on the provincial side of colonial governance. The Normal itself, or its staff, received instruction directly from that government through the Board of Education (the Council of Public Instruction after 1850).

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<sup>342</sup> McDonald and Chaiton, *Egerton Ryerson and his times*, 113.

<sup>343</sup> J. E. Hodgetts, "Adolescent Bureaucracy: Some Features of the Canadian Civil Service before Confederation," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science/Revue Canadienne de Economiques et Science Politique* 18, no. 4 (November 1952): 425, accessed December 7, 2021, doi: <https://doi.org/10.2307/138363>: "...Durham, Sydenham, Bagot, and Metcalfe all concurred in the opinion that the civil secretary was the hub of the whole system of colonial administration. ...[T]he British authorities thought of the civil secretary as the permanent head of the colonial public service who would hold the hands of the inexperienced governors and induct them into the mysteries of the trade. Advocates of responsible government seized upon the civil secretary as the epitome of the nagging imperial control against which they were fighting. ...In 1843, for example, an address to the Queen from the provincial Assembly requested that the office be abolished and the 'duties transferred to the Provincial Secretary responsible to Your Majesty's faithful Commons, as a member of Your Majesty's Executive Council in this province and in that quality a responsible adviser to His Excellency . . . the Governor General.'"

In 1847, the Canadian mercantile almanak reported that the Board of Education for Canada West included Rt. Rev. Michael [Power], Roman Catholic Bishop of Toronto (Chairman), Rev. Egerton Ryerson (Superintendent of Schools), and Rev. Henry James Grasett, the Hon. Samuel Bealy Harrison, Joseph Curran Morrison, Hugh Scobie (printer of the ‘almanak’), and James Scott Howard, Esq. (Board Members), with John George Hodgins as Recording Clerk.<sup>344</sup> This remained largely unchanged in 1848, reported by Scobie & Balfour’s Canadian almanac and The Family Christian Almanac. The Family Christian Almanac reported Hugh Scobie and Joseph Curran Morrison as members of a newly-formed Auditing Committee. The Bishop of Toronto had also left the Board, and His Worship the Mayor of Toronto, had joined it.<sup>345</sup> The Board of Education’s membership was, excluding this sort of minor modification, quite stable throughout the period under study. At the end of 1857, Harrison, Ryerson, Grasett, Morrison, Howard, and Hodgins remained in their 1846 appointed chairs. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Toronto, then Armand François Marie De Charbonnel, D.D., returned to the Council in 1850. In the same year, Rev. John Jennings, D.D., Rev. Adam Lillie, D.D., and Rev. John Barclay, D.D., also joined the Council. Finally, Rev. John McCaul, LL.D., President of University College, was attached to the Council in 1854 as a special “Member for Grammar School purposes.”<sup>346</sup> This Board, we can see, represented a cross-section of the educational/religious leadership of the city. Roman Catholicism (Power and later Charbonnel), Anglicanism (Harrison, Howard and Grasett), Presbyterianism (Jennings, Morrison, and Barclay), Congregationalism (Lillie), and Methodism (Ryerson and Hodgins).<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>344</sup> N.a., *The Canadian Mercantile Almanack for 1847*, 19.

<sup>345</sup> Wadsworth, *The Family Christian Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1848*, 44; N.a., *Scobie & Balfour’s Canadian Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1848*, 79.

<sup>346</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 341.

<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*

While the Board and the central authority it represented presided over the Normal itself, staff were training teachers in a world where they would need to answer to several (sometimes conflicting) sources of authority. Representing the centre outside the Normal, graduate teachers would face a growing body of School Inspectors. Several Normal staffers and graduates would later become Inspectors (including David Fotheringham, the Carlyle brothers, and Archibald McCallum). At its foundations, the Normal was influenced by Robertson's appointment as Headmaster. His long career in the Irish Inspectorate left him well-prepared to advise the teachers of Upper Canada and his Normal students on what those Inspectors might expect. In a *Journal of Education* article from May 1848, Robertson highlights the "literary progress" of the students and focuses on progress over time in students' performance under any given teacher. He also notes that Inspectors should work with an eye towards identifying training defects in the teacher and ensuring that the teacher's approach conforms with the standard system being proposed by Ryerson's administration.<sup>348</sup>

The Normal staff were also challenged to prepare their pupils for their upcoming careers. While this was not a formalized restriction in the same way pressures and regulations from the top could be, it was likely a daily concern. As evidenced by the creation of the Normal itself, the conditions of education were fundamentally changing during this period. Between 1846 and 1876, the number of children attending school more than doubled, and the length of the school year increased by over 25%.<sup>349</sup> Likewise, as school promoters advanced their program of educational expansion and development, the Normal staff would have needed to prepare their pupils to deal with students who faced rapidly changing implications for their educational status.

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<sup>348</sup> Thomas Jaffray Robertson, "On the Inspection of Common Schools," *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 1, no. 5 (1848): 131–133, accessed April 12, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06242\\_5](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06242_5).

<sup>349</sup> Prentice, *The School Promoters*, 19.

Potential increases in those being receptive to and seeking education as a benefit would come in parallel with an increasing number of students who faced school as an ever-increasing obstacle to their own access to opportunity and success.<sup>350</sup> In this vein, pressure from school promoters at the top would often be articulated in existential terms regarding the threat to Upper Canadian society in the long term: "...if Upper Canada did not move ahead, it would fall behind. ... Education, therefore, could no longer be strictly a family of church affair. The public itself was a "family" and the education of future citizens therefore required the parental interference of the state."<sup>351</sup> From the bottom, distinct pressure was present regarding the direct performance of graduates. Failures of Normal students to meet moral and performance standards and to provide the kind of flexible, original teaching to which the Normal aspired would come back to the institution as complaints. Likewise, the question of a retention rate within the profession, of the Normal masters' ability to inspire loyalty to the profession, often came into question, and has been discussed by scholars.<sup>352</sup>

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<sup>350</sup> Prentice, *The School Promoters*, 66.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, 171.

<sup>352</sup> *Ibid.*, 177.

## CHAPTER 5

## NORMAL OPPORTUNITIES AND MARGINALIZED COMMUNITIES

As outlined briefly above, Upper Canada in the 1840s and 1850s was a complex, rapidly evolving society whose intellectual and social contours presented distinct, un-simple challenges to the Normal. In the preceding decade, immigration of European settlers to North America increased by 40%,<sup>353</sup> contributing to the massive, almost immediate expansion of previously minuscule colonial centres and populations. Published in Brown's Directories, the city was claimed to host 19,706 people as of September 15, 1845, approaching 55,000 just over a decade later in 1856.<sup>354</sup> Reflecting on this, the latter Brown's notes: "...in the 33 years preceding 1850, [Toronto] increased its population 18 times, and between the years 1840 and 1850 increased 93 per cent,... Toronto thus comparing in prosperity with any city in the world..."<sup>355</sup> The actions of the figures and institutions at work in this period sought to and succeeded in enacting large-scale, meaningful social change (for better and for worse). They also faced – often quite consciously – the vast challenge of social change of which they were not themselves the authors. In Upper Canada, historians have noted "...a sophistication in social attitude..." and changes to economic realities, representing the emergence of a "middle class" with a shared social outlook. Increasingly prosperous rural citizens and increasingly numerous urban artisans and professionals looked hopefully to the Victorian ideal of "improvement" and placed the burden of delivering it

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<sup>353</sup> Canada, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Final Report, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part I Origins to 1939*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 13, accessed June 8, 2021, URL: [https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Volume\\_1\\_History\\_Part\\_1\\_English\\_Web.pdf](https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Volume_1_History_Part_1_English_Web.pdf).

<sup>354</sup> Brown, *Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory* (1846), 22; W. R. Brown, *Brown's Toronto General Directory: 1856; (Being the 20<sup>th</sup> Year of the Reign of her Majesty Victoria) Comprising Amongst Other Information, Official Governmental Directory, Alphabetical Governmental Directory, Street Directory, Commercial Directory, Trades Directory, City Directory, and Banking and Insurance Directory; with Statistical, Detail, and General Information*, (Toronto: MacLear & Co., 1856), ix, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_00013\\_1](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_00013_1).

<sup>355</sup> W. R. Brown, *Brown's Toronto General Directory* (1856), ix.

on the creation of a universal public education system.<sup>356</sup> These changes required a restructuring of colonial society which radically upended the balances of power between the colony's many demographic communities. A part of this rupture has been recognized in the emphasis placed on the role contemporary Upper Canadians saw for education in maintaining social cohesion and discouraging radicalism by controlling the minds of the youth, particularly in the hopes of tamping down revolutionary tendencies.<sup>357</sup> What is less often discussed is the role of education as a lever of power and to what extent different groups (those capable of considering the revolutionary option and those incapable of doing so) looked towards the burgeoning institutions of education as tools to promote the changes they sought to enact.

“In after years, one of these first students, Rev. E. H. Dewart, D.D., spoke thus of the opening of the school: “The establishment of a Normal School for the training of teachers for our Public Schools was the opening of a fountain at which many thirsty souls, whom circumstances had previously shut out from such a privilege, were permitted to slake their thirst for knowledge. I can testify from personal experience and observation that the students at the earlier sessions were nearly all of this class....”<sup>358</sup> – *Quote from the 1947 Normal School Centennial book relaying the words of a former pupil of the first session (1897-1848) E. H. Dewart remembering his first encounter with the Normal School.*

The above quote is conversant with ideas key to the Reform movement and its educational philosophy, addressing itself primarily to the bourgeois elements of an ‘undeveloped’ colonial society seeking to mature. The history of education in Ontario has been a sustained and longstanding subject of engagement for historians. More than that, its figures and legacies have featured in the public consciousness, historical discourse, and the everyday lives of many Canadians from that time until the present day. Moreover, one cannot help but draw certain parallels (despite the vast differences which could be martialled in response) between the current

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<sup>356</sup> Katz and Mattingly, *Education and Social Change*, 30–31.

<sup>357</sup> McDonald and Chaiton, *Egerton Ryerson and his times*, 81 & 100; Katz and Mattingly, *Education and Social Change*, 41.

<sup>358</sup> Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 23–24.

day and the founding period of the Normal School system. At both times, the societies inhabiting the territory that is now Ontario were undergoing rapid demographic change, experiencing the influence of being increasingly connected to a wider, global world by novel transportation and communication technologies, and were grappling with how to approach a new relationship with pre-existing Indigenous communities. To build a history around a current issue is often to miss the point, but to try and divorce our historical process from the dynamics of the societies in which we live is equally misguided. Histories, even at the academic level, are stories we tell ourselves about the past. Most often, about our own past, the past of our communities and nations. The story of education in Canada is, today, inseparable from the story we tell and the discussions we have surrounding the history of colonialism and systemic discrimination at the foundations of our society. “Reconciliation is not an Aboriginal problem; it is a Canadian one. Virtually all aspects of Canadian society may need to be reconsidered.”<sup>359</sup> One key part of that reconsideration is returning to key historical subjects from the colonial period in Canada with fresh eyes. In centre focus recently, the tragic legacy of residential schools and the visceral confirmation of the horrors associated with them by the discovery of numerous unmarked and mass graves.<sup>360</sup> Within the broader contemporary context of Reconciliation, Canadians at all levels of society have begun to discuss history, commemoration, and the public legacies of Canadian history’s central figures.<sup>361</sup>

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<sup>359</sup> Canada, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Summary of the Final Report, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*, 2015, accessed July 5, 2021, vi, URL: [https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Executive\\_Summary\\_English\\_Web.pdf](https://ehprnh2mwo3.exactdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Executive_Summary_English_Web.pdf).

<sup>360</sup> Globe Staff, “Kamloops, St. Eugene’s, Marieval: What we know about residential schools’ unmarked graves so far,” *The Globe and Mail*, July 16, 2021, accessed July 12, 2023, URL: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/british-columbia/article-kamloops-residential-school-mass-graves-215-children-explainer/>.

<sup>361</sup> The Canadian Press, “Charlottetown Removes Sir John A. Macdonald Statue after Kamloops Residential School Discovery,” *The Globe and Mail*, June 1, 2021, accessed July 5, 2021, URL: <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-charlottetown-to-remove-sir-john-a-macdonald-statue-after-kamloops/>; Eric Andrew-Gee, “Debate Grows Again over Sir John A. Macdonald Memorials in Wake of Kamloops Residential School Discovery,” *The Globe and Mail*, June 4, 2021, accessed July 5, 2021, URL:

In particular, Egerton Ryerson has attracted concerted attention and powerful rebuke, given his foundational role in designing the residential school system and his parallel, relatively benevolently construed legacy as a founder of public education in Canada.<sup>362</sup> Beyond the link to Ryerson, the Normal was an institution explicitly formed and directed towards the making and remaking of societal norms and opinions. It represented a mechanism of governmental power and a contact point with a community beyond the traditionally conceived academic and political elite. It is crucial to understand how different communities interacted with this institution and what that can tell us about the frameworks of power that shaped society in Canada moving into the Confederation era.

Of these groups, women have received the most focus in the historiography of education to date. There have been significant findings regarding the impact of women in managing roles in Western public education. In studying women working in Ireland's hospitals and education

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<https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-debate-grows-again-over-john-a-macdonald-memorials-in-wake-of-kamloops/>; Nick Boisvert, "Trudeau, political leaders ask Canadians to delicately balance celebration and reflection on Canada Day," *CBC News*, July 1, 2021, accessed July 5, 2021, URL: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/canada-day-political-reaction-1.6087370>; John Michael McGrath, "Residential schools are not a footnote in Canada's history. They are its past and present," *tvo today*, June 1, 2021, accessed July 5, 2021, URL: <https://www.tvo.org/article/residential-schools-are-not-a-footnote-in-canadas-history-they-are-its-past-and-present>; Bill Fortier and Nicole Bogart, "Outrage over Landmarks Named for Residential School Leaders Grows as Canada Grapples with Colonial Legacy," *CTV News*, June 1, 2021, accessed July 5, 2021, URL: <https://www.ctvnews.ca/canada/outrage-over-landmarks-named-for-residential-school-leaders-grows-as-canada-grapples-with-colonial-legacy-1.5452497>; N.a., "Statues of Queen Victoria and Queen Elizabeth II Torn down in Canada," *BBC News*, July 2, 2021, accessed July 5, 2021, URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-57693683>. The reference to 'great men' being in no way a validation or vindication of those individuals, but rather a reference to their shared status as individuals featured in the 'great man theory of history' as it has manifested itself in Canadian historical writing (and, by extension, those who are most talked about and commemorated in public memorialization and education).

<sup>362</sup> Miriam Berger and Amanda Coletta, "Activists in Canada topple statue, demand apology from pope amid reckoning over death of Indigenous children at residential schools," *The Washington Post*, June 7, 2021, accessed July 5, 2021, URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2021/06/07/canada-residential-schools-pope-francis-egerton-ryerson/>; Sebastian Leck, "The Head of the Statue of Egerton Ryerson Now on a Spike at Land Back Lane in Caledonia, Ont." *CBC News*. June 10, 2021. Accessed July 7, 2021. URL: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/hamilton/egerton-ryerson-statue-caledonia-land-back-lane-1.6059513>; Breanna Xavier-Carter and Rhythm Sachdeva, "Ryerson Students and Professors Adopt 'X University' Name to Denounce Affiliation with Architect of Residential Schools," *The Toronto Star*, June 1, 2021, accessed July 5, 2021, URL: <https://www.thestar.com/news/gta/2021/06/01/ryerson-students-and-professors-adopt-x-university-name-to-denounce-affiliation-with-architect-of-residential-schools.html>.

department, Gerard Fealy and Judith Harford note that two ideas dominated women and the view of womanhood in the nineteenth century. Firstly, women and men should occupy distinct spheres of influence in their lives and society. Secondly, the women's sphere was primarily, especially professionally, associated with the identity of wife, mother, and homemaker.<sup>363</sup> This view did not preclude women from professional employment, though it did circumscribe and prescribe the roles they could fill – teaching being one such role associated with nurturing. This lack of resistance to women's (mainly educated, middle-class women) entry into the profession was tempered by established and maintained boundaries within that role.<sup>364</sup> The nurturing female teacher, future mother as it were – thought to be training for that future – was considered best for teaching younger children. In more advanced classes with older children, male teachers were seen as more capable and preferable, preserving their status.<sup>365</sup> Female teachers were, likewise, restricted by discriminatory pay practices. In the 1850s in Quebec, female teachers' wages were \$100 a year less than male teachers' on average. Nonetheless, both male and female teaching salaries were comparable to the average industrial workers' pay.<sup>366</sup> In being open to women's participation and in providing not insignificant financial resources in return for their work, the school would become a space of contestation and a possible avenue to power for women in Victorian-era British imperial society: "Education was the most powerful means of socializing males and females into their expected roles in society and the reform of education brought with it huge potential for the transformation of women's role. Education provided women with the

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<sup>363</sup> Fealy and Harford, "'Nervous Energy and Administrative Ability,'" 272.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>365</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 48.

<sup>366</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

capacity to move from the private into the public sphere and affect a more direct public role in Irish society [and other British colonial societies].”<sup>367</sup>

One of the Normal’s students was Emily H. Stowe (née Jennings), M. D., “[t]he first female public-school principal in Ontario, the first Canadian woman openly to practise medicine, and a founding member of the Canadian Women’s Suffrage Association....”<sup>368</sup> Having applied to and been rejected by Victoria College in 1852, Emily H. Jennings instead applied, was accepted into, and subsequently graduated (first class certificate) from Toronto Normal in 1854. Joining as part of the class of the Seventh Session (August 1851 – April 1852), she would study alongside several colleagues of interest, including Samson Paul Robins and Catherine Johnson (both members of the later Normal staff and discussed in Chapter 6), one George G. German who went on to a principalship in Mount Elgin Industrial School (a residential school), and one Maria J. Adams who was later married to Archibald McCallum, Headmaster of the Boys’ Model.<sup>369</sup> Jennings studied during a period of transition and expansion for the Normal as an institution: seeing the first change of Second Masters (from Hind to Ormiston), the move of the School from Temperance Hall into the purpose-built Gould St. premises, the transition of the Model School from a co-educational approach to segregated Boys’ and Girls’ Departments, the addition of a Drawing Master and Instructor in Drill & Calisthenics (though, as well, she would see the departure of the Writing Master, not to be replaced during her tenure), and she would see her fellows Robins and Johnson both advance onto the Normal staff.

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<sup>367</sup> Fealy and Harford, “‘Nervous Energy and Administrative Ability,’” 273.

<sup>368</sup> Gina Feldberg, “JENNINGS, EMILY HOWARD (Stowe),” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 13 (1901-1910), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1994, para. 2, accessed October 26, 2021, URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/jennings\\_emily\\_howard\\_13E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/jennings_emily_howard_13E.html).

<sup>369</sup> Feldberg, “JENNINGS, EMILY HOWARD (Stowe),” para. 5; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 109–10.

Unable to attend the 1897 Jubilee celebration, Stowe wrote a letter read during the proceedings which recalled her Normal experience (possibly through the lens of nostalgia, but also possibly with a solemn sense of the opportunity presented by this platform in light of her ongoing suffrage work at the time):

“It is with much pleasure that I contemplate what the Normal School has done for the women of Canada.

She was the first to open the doors to woman’s higher education; first to recognize equality in the ability of the sexes to compete in the halls of learning, and first to establish a system of co-education. All hail to our Provincial Normal School! She had built our national education on a basis of justice and equality, silently projecting a force that has ultimately opened the higher institutions of learning – our universities, colleges and law schools.”<sup>370</sup>

Interestingly, the broader educational landscape (including John McCaul of University College, who often appears in connection to the Normal’s public activities) had strongly rejected Jennings’ attempts to enter medical school following her Normal education.<sup>371</sup> Likewise, David Ormiston also promoted the idea of the Normal as the first to accept women. His commentary attached to that assertion (reflective of nostalgia and perhaps awareness of the platform, but also of his experience as both student and Model School Teacher) is deeply intriguing: “...[M]uch of the success of the school was due to this circumstance, and great good has accrued to the country from the number of female teachers who have gone from this institution and after teaching as a profession for a while have still continued in a more limited circle the noble work they have undertaken.”<sup>372</sup> Whatever the ‘success’ Ormiston refers to means to us viewing the Normal today, it is fascinating that he would underline the participation of women in that institution as a foundation for it. Certainly, at the staff and managerial levels, the Normal would seem to have taken an explicit interest from the beginning in addressing itself to the non-dominant

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<sup>370</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 25; Feldberg, “JENNINGS, EMILY HOWARD (Stowe),” para. 18.

<sup>371</sup> Feldberg, “JENNINGS, EMILY HOWARD (Stowe),” para. 10.

<sup>372</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 30.

communities within the colony. Nor would Ryerson have had his audience believe the Normal in Toronto was alone in this. Announcing the creation of a Female Department in the March 1848 issue of the *Journal of Education*, Ryerson recounts observing female students in the Normals of Edinburgh, Dublin, and Albany, as well as mentioning the creation of a female Normal School in Massachusetts.<sup>373</sup> Certainly, this suggests that the Normal marched in step with the Victorian acceptance of women's teaching discussed above.

There were other non-dominant communities beyond women who appear to have taken a key interest in the Toronto Normal. Another such community in Upper Canada consisted of (later) African Canadians. Scobie & Balfour's 1848 *Canadian Almanac and repository of useful knowledge* cited the 1842 Census of Upper Canada, claiming a population of 4,117 "Blacks," less than 1% of the reported population for the colony.<sup>374</sup> Several institutions were established to support this community. The British-American Institute was opened by Josiah Henson, an escaped enslaved person, to educate other escapees in 1842.<sup>375</sup> Around this time, Brown's Directory for 1847 also notes the existence of key social institutions: the "African Baptist Church, Queen, corner of Victoria" and "African Methodist Church, Richmond-st. west, east of York" (two the 22 churches present in Toronto at the beginning of this study period).<sup>376</sup> Clearly, from its outset, the African-Canadian community in Ontario was keenly aware of the power of colonial social structures and sought to establish a foothold within them. This continued with the establishment soon after that of newspapers serving the community. The *British American* (now lost to the passage of time), a short-lived Toronto paper being the first in 1845 and two papers

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<sup>373</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, "Editorial Department: Female Department in the Provincial Normal School," 91.

<sup>374</sup> N.a., *Scobie & Balfour's Canadian Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1848*, 52.

<sup>375</sup> Thomas Peace, "Want to Understand Egerton Ryerson? Two School Histories Provide the Context," Active History blog, *Active History: History Matters*, July 12, 2021, Accessed October 31, 2021. URL: <http://activehistory.ca/2021/07/want-to-understand-egerton-ryerson-two-school-histories-provide-the-context/>.

<sup>376</sup> Brown, *Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory* (1846), 11.

that would take an interest in the Normal question following after. *The Voice of the Fugitive* was the next. Henry Walton Bibb, a formerly enslaved person from Kentucky who escaped to Sandwich (today Windsor) at the age of 35, began editing and publishing it the year after his arrival as an anti-slavery paper addressing itself to that issue and to the establishment and maintenance of communities of escaped enslaved people in Canada.<sup>377</sup> It would be followed two years later by the *Provincial Freeman*, another Windsor paper published by several individuals but primarily driven by one Mary Ann Shadd, a freewoman and abolitionist born in Delaware. The *Provincial Freeman* was founded to be an alternative to *The Voice of the Fugitive*. Despite many points of agreement, Shadd and Bibb were fundamentally opposed regarding the relationship between the ‘black’ community and others in Upper Canada. Bibb championed separate black settlements as a means to provide for the immediate needs of escaped enslaved people, while Shadd firmly believed in the need for integration into local society.<sup>378</sup> Despite these disagreements, both papers seemed to view the Normal as an institution of opportunity and potential benefit for their community.

Appearing as a subject in *The Voice of the Fugitive* as early as November 1851, Normal schooling was mentioned in two articles. One, “Kentucky Education,” draws the attention of readers to a convention of “...friends of Education...” called in Frankfort, Kentucky, that month discussing (among other things) the establishment of a Normal in that state.<sup>379</sup> Shortly after that, in the same column, an article entitled “Education in Canada” praises Ryerson as “...the able superintendent of education for Canada...” for the educational efforts reported that year, noting

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<sup>377</sup> “The Voice of The Fugitive (Windsor),” INK - ODW Newspaper Collection, accessed October 31, 2021, URL: <http://ink.ourontario.ca/vf>.

<sup>378</sup> “The Provincial Freeman (Windsor),” INK - ODW Newspaper Collection, accessed October 31, 2021, URL: <http://ink.ourontario.ca/pf>.

<sup>379</sup> N.a., “Kentucky Education,” *The Voice of the Fugitive*, November 19, 1851, accessed October 31, 2021, URL: <http://ink.scholarsportal.info/viewer/cecil/focus/ink/newspapers/vf/reel1/000601-x0-y0-z1-r0-0-0?q=%22Normal%20School%22>.

amongst the facts reported the amounts expended on the Normal buildings, as well as the number of Normal-trained employed teachers.<sup>380</sup> Later, in a May 1852 article entitled “From the Anti Slavery Rep. Refugee Slaves in Canada. *Communicated by Mr. Scobie*,” the publication openly solicits the creation of a Normal School specifically targeted to the African-Canadian community.

“To give an impetus to education among the colored population in West Canada, it is important to have a good normal school established in a central position; and I know of no situation better adapted for such a purpose than the Dawn Farm, on the banks of the Sydenham, to which I have, in a previous article, referred. From this school a band of trained teachers might proceed, who should impart a good, useful and scriptural education to the children at large, and thus accomplish one main object necessary to the future education of the colored race. Are there no friends who feel disposed liberally and cheerfully to contribute to such an object as this?”<sup>381</sup>

This article also claims that the African-Canadian population of the colony had grown to around 30,000. In the context of this growing community, the solicitation of a Normal School (especially as the first in a list of conditions for the improvement of these communities discussed in the article) is telling. It would not be egregious to assert that the Normal (being an institution which attempted to exert a direct, foundational influence over the teachers it trains and, therefore – it was hoped – over the youth of the colony) is being viewed here as a lever of power which the leaders of this growing community hoped to take hold of in the promotion of their own ‘improvement.’ The goal of this ‘improvement,’ according to the article, would be to lessen the discrimination with which they were approached by colonial society. That is “[t]o remove the difficulties which surround them [the refugee freemen and women in Canada West], and to

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<sup>380</sup> N.a., “Education in Canada,” *The Voice of the Fugitive*, November 19, 1851, accessed October 31, 2021, URL: <http://ink.scholarsportal.info/viewer/cecil/focus/ink/newspapers/vf/reel1/000601-x0-y0-z1-r0-0-0?q=%22Normal%20School%22>.

<sup>381</sup> Communicated by Mr. Scobie, “From the Anti-Slavery Rep. Refugee Slaves in Canada,” *The Voice of the Fugitive*, March 20, 1852, accessed March 10, 2021, URL: <http://ink.scholarsportal.info/viewer/cecil/focus/ink/newspapers/vf/reel1/000930-x0-y0-z1-r0-0-0?q=%22Normal%20School%22>.

smooth the way to a more kindly feeling and a more friendly intercourse with the white population,....”<sup>382</sup>

The *Provincial Freeman* first mentions Normal schooling in a September 1854 article, “Church of England Mission to the Colored People of Canada.” In this article, the *Freeman* discusses proposals by the Church of England to establish a Normal School addressing itself primarily to African-Canadians with the ultimate goal of raising a group of missionaries to send to Africa. The *Freeman* is critical of this potential institution because, it claims, that those proposing it did so in greatly discriminatory and patronizing terms towards the communities it sought to serve: “A greater display of haughtiness, a more thorough contempt for the opinions of the parties to be *attended* to, who after all, had the work *to do*, we do not ever remember to have seen depicted by countenance or gesture; certainly not under like circumstances.”<sup>383</sup> In this article, we observe a keen awareness of the Normal's potential (and, likely, the mission) to enact a measure of central control over the populace. The *Freeman* even concludes this article by saying: “Should the plan meet the views of our people, and, really, as we understand it, we hope it will not, keep your children and selves away from the “Colored” African School; and the plan more fully.”<sup>384</sup> However, this 1854 experience did not seem to prevent the *Freeman* from continuing interest in the Normal. In two other articles, the Normal is mentioned. “Improvement of Colored People” from August 1855 is a listing of the achievements of several individuals as proof that the “coloured man” should aspire to the same level of success as any other. The first person mentioned among these was “...Miss C. L. Forten, a young colored pupil...” who

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<sup>382</sup> Communicated by Mr. Scobie, “From the Anti-Slavery Rep. Refugee Slaves in Canada.”

<sup>383</sup> N.a., “Church of England Mission to the Colored People of Canada,” *The Provincial Freeman*, September 16, 1854, accessed March 10, 2021, URL: <http://ink.scholarsportal.info/viewer/cecil/focus/ink/newspapers/pf/reel1/000530-x0-y0-z1-r0-0-0?q=%22Normal%20School%22>.

<sup>384</sup> N.a., “Church of England Mission to the Colored People of Canada.”

produced a hymn (reproduced in detail in the article) which was sung at the semi-annual examination of “the State Normal school in Salem” (Massachusetts most likely).<sup>385</sup> A year later, there was a May 1856 article – “Normal School Teachers” – which appears to be a reprint of an Education Office notice. Though it is not marked as such, the *Freeman* chose to devote print space to the message. These included assertions regarding the vast success of Normal Schooling and the favourability of being trained as a Normal teacher in order to obtain higher salaries and greater respect.”<sup>386</sup>

Shifting views on gender roles in work and a rapidly growing population of refugees from slavery would be society-shifting changes themselves, but on top of that, the Canadian colonies and, the British Empire & North America at large were dealing with yet another fundamental restructuring of relations between communities. During this period, the relationship between the British Crown, settler populations, and Indigenous Peoples was being fundamentally restructured.

“Herman Merivale, a future British permanent undersecretary of the Colonial Office, noted in his 1840 *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* that there were four basic approaches an imperial power could take in its relations with Indigenous people. It could exterminate them, enslave them, separate them from colonial society, or assimilate them into colonial society.<sup>42</sup> At one point or another, just about every colonial power experimented with each of these alternatives.”<sup>387</sup>

While we might presume from this quote that colonial authorities in Canada were still debating how to approach Indigenous populations at the beginning of this period, it is clear that by the end of it, an approach had been chosen: “By 1857, the goal of the civilization policy had changed.

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<sup>385</sup> W. C. N., “Improvement of Colored People,” *The Provincial Freeman*, August 29, 1855, accessed March 11, 2021, URL: <http://ink.scholarsportal.info/viewer/cecil/focus/ink/newspapers/pf/reel1/001170-x0-y0-z1-r0-0-0?q=%22Normal%20School%22>.

<sup>386</sup> N.a., “Normal School Teachers,” *The Provincial Freeman*, May 12, 1856, accessed March 10, 2021, URL: <http://ink.scholarsportal.info/viewer/cecil/focus/ink/newspapers/pf/reel1/001011-x0-y0-z1-r0-0-0?q=%22Normal%20School%22>.

<sup>387</sup> Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The History, Part I Origins to 1939*, 14. Fn. 42, p.892: “42. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3818, file 57799, Hayter Reed to Superintendent General, 14 May 1889. [TAY-003820-0001].”

The government no longer sought to create separate ‘civilized’ and ‘Christian’ Aboriginal communities on reserves that were self-sufficient. It now sought to assimilate Aboriginal people into Euro-Canadian society and gradually eliminate the reserves.”<sup>388</sup> It is no mistake that these communities are included in the story I am trying to tell. The exploration in this thesis focuses on agency and the negotiations of societal balances of power reflected in the Normal. It is not the first to touch on this subject. Thomas Peace observed in a blog post discussing educational efforts in Ontario’s Black and Indigenous communities: “What is important here is the agency deployed by Black and Indigenous people like Josiah Henson and Kahkewaquonaby in seeking out, and controlling, robust systems of education for their communities.”<sup>389</sup>

In the context of this radical shift in policy and, generally, in the context of a period in which and following which the Canadian state’s colonial relationships and practices would be formed, it is important to observe the participation of Indigenous Peoples in the Normal School, and the participation of Normal teachers in the nascent residential school system. It is also extremely prescient to note that Egerton Ryerson played a key role in founding the Residential School system, as he did in founding the Normal. Public schooling and residential schooling having both been underlined as inevitable outcomes of his overall approach.<sup>390</sup>

As early as Toronto Normal’s Third Session (November 1848 – May 1849), the historical record indicates that Indigenous individuals were potentially seeking to engage with the opening the Normal offered. Two individuals are identified in the 1897 Jubilee materials: Isaac Powlass,

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<sup>388</sup> Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The History, Part I Origins to 1939*, 61.

<sup>389</sup> Peace, “Want to Understand Egerton Ryerson?”

<sup>390</sup> Hunter Knight, “Egerton Ryerson: Racist Philosophy of Residential Schools Also Shaped Public Education,” The Conversation blog, *The Conversation: Academic rigour, journalistic flair*, February 22, 2021, accessed October 31, 2021, URL: <http://theconversation.com/egerton-ryerson-racist-philosophy-of-residential-schools-also-shaped-public-education-143039>.

described as “An Indian from the Grand River Reserve; now deceased,” and Allen Salt, described as:

“An Ojibway Indian; received his early education at Grape Island in Rice Lake and at Old Credit; taught at the Alderville Mission School both before and after attending the Normal School; while teaching the Indian Mission School at St. Clair he entered the ministry of the Methodist Church in 1853; has served as a missionary among the Indians of Rainy Lake, Garden River, Christian Island, St. Clair, Muncey, and Parry Island; at the latter place he has resided for the past fifteen years”.<sup>391</sup>

The only other explicit mention of an Indigenous person undertaking Normal training in the 1897 Jubilee materials comes over a decade later in the Twenty-Third Session (January 1860 – June 1860) when one Isaac Barefoot described as “An Indian from the Mohawk Reserve; became an Anglican Missionary and Inspector of the Six Nation Schools in Brant County” is identified.<sup>392</sup> Though this is only a handful of individuals in a population of hundreds (and later thousands) of pupils over the course of the school’s history, their participation is potentially reflective of Indigenous Peoples recognizing possible advantages and attempting to make use of Normal schooling; something which calls out for further investigation. An article entitled “The Cherokee Nation” from a Boston newspaper in 1850 also describes the establishment of Normal Schools by the Cherokee Nation in the United States, highlighting as part of its review that: “ For several years the nation has sustained 22 district Schools, and propose soon to establish an orphan asylum and two Normal schools.”<sup>393</sup>

The lack of documented broader participation could be the result of several factors. It could indicate the difficulty Indigenous people would have faced attempting to access and participate in colonial programs like Normal education. It could be the result of non-reporting; not having

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<sup>391</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 104.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>393</sup> Bos. Ad., “The Cherokee Nation,” *The Globe*, February 12, 1850, accessed February 11, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1510594617/citation/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/16>. This is marked in *The Globe* as a reprint from the “Bos. Ad.”

investigated or uncovered records about all or even many of the students listed in the Jubilee materials, there could yet be unrecognized Indigenous students (or, perhaps, some who opted not to report their indigeneity to facilitate living amid settler society). Or it could be reflective of the redirection of Indigenous participation in colonial education into a growing separate system. This latter is something that Alison Norman briefly touched on in the 2017 article “‘Teachers Amongst Their Own People’: Kanyen’kehá:Ka (Mohawk) Women Teachers in Nineteenth-Century Tyendinaga and Grand River, Ontario.”<sup>394</sup> This article is a fascinating exploration of evolving gender roles and views of education within an Indigenous community. Most relevant for this study’s purposes, it makes note of the establishment of a particular location which might have drawn candidates for the Normal away:

“The Mohawk Institute at Grand River was a key location for the education and training of Indigenous teachers. It functioned as a teachers college in the 19th and early 20th centuries and was nicknamed the “Indian Normal School” in 1885.... By the 1890s, 25 female and 20 male teachers had been graduated who became classroom teachers in reserve day schools and other residential schools. Since the 1870s, periodically funding was requested from the New England Company for certain promising graduates to attend further schooling including the Toronto Normal School.”<sup>395</sup>

One must wonder whether Isaac Barefoot was associated with this institution or if his experience related at all to the requests to send students on to the Normal. The Mohawk Institute, it should be noted, was also the longest-operating residential school in Canadian history.<sup>396</sup>

In reviewing the materials for this study, the fact that the Normal also trained several non-Indigenous teachers who would participate in the residential school system and predecessor missionary schools became readily apparent. From the Seventh Session (August 1851 – April

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<sup>394</sup> Alison Norman, “‘Teachers Amongst their own People’: Kanyen’kehá:ka (Mohawk) Women Teachers in Nineteenth-Century Tyendinaga and Grand River, Ontario,” *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d’histoire de l’éducation* 29, no. 1 (2017): 32–56, accessed February 9, 2020, doi: <https://doi.org/10.32316/hse/rhe.v29i1.4497>.

<sup>395</sup> Norman, “‘Teachers Amongst their own People’” 39–40.

<sup>396</sup> Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The History, Part I Origins to 1939*, 66.

1852), there was George G. German (described in the 1897 Jubilee materials as: “Taught in Hastings County; was Principal of the Mount Elgin Industrial School for Indians, engaged in commercial business in Belleville, removed in 1866 to Strathroy, where he still resides and takes an active interest in education”).<sup>397</sup> Egerton Ryerson Young, a known historical figure who engaged in missions directed at Indigenous Peoples at Norway House in the North-West Territories (now Saskatchewan) and later Beren’s River, was also educated in the Twenty-Fourth Normal Session (August 1860 – December 1860). The 1897 Jubilee materials also highlight that following his missions, Young “...has since given up much of his time to lecturing in Canada, United States and Great Britain on behalf of the Indian missions; lives in Toronto.”<sup>398</sup> Then in the Thirty-Fifth Session (January 1866 – June 1866), Hugh McKay is noted as, sometime after his Normal studies, working as a “home missionary” at Manitoulin Island and later at the “Indian Mission at Round Lake” where he was still engaged in 1897.<sup>399</sup>

What can we conclude from all this? Certainly, we should not fail to remark that the Toronto Normal School (and I suspect, by extension, Ontario’s other Normals) represents a space where the interests and efforts of many of the colony’s (and later the Province’s) marginalized communities intersected. We also note that women’s participation in that institution and generally enjoys far more historical understanding today than that of black or Indigenous people. A question scholars would benefit greatly from asking, if we can, is what experiences did some of these students have in the Normal? How was the participation of Indigenous students viewed, if it was even remarked upon, by authorities like Ryerson? These observations also force us to recognize, if in a small way, that this colonial period in Canada’s history is complex, animated by

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<sup>397</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 109.

<sup>398</sup> *Ibid.*, 140.

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

numerous interactions and relationships between distinct demographic communities which merit renewed investigation today.

*One institution in a competitive educational market*

When it opened in 1847, the Normal School joined an active market of other educational institutions in Toronto. Brown's Directory in 1846-47 lists "King's College – at present in the Old Parliament Buildings" as a Public Institution.<sup>400</sup> Of "Public Buildings and Places" in this nascent metropolis, there were twenty listed. We know that the Old Government House was hosting the Normal and the Old Parliament Buildings were hosting King's, but King's College is also listed separately as a building at the head of College Avenue. Additionally, the Mechanics' Institute (north of the Court-House) and U. C. College (King-st., west of Simcoe-st.) are listed.<sup>401</sup> Brown's also notes 15 common schools.<sup>402</sup> Upper Canada College is described as being "(Incorporated with the University of King's College)" and having eight staff members filling nine positions. The positions were in Classics, Mathematics, French, English, Geometrical Drawing, and a Preparatory School.<sup>403</sup> King's College had by far the most extensive staff and was headed by various individuals – seemingly the centre of colonial educational collaboration as of 1846. The school's executive included, among others, the Governor-General, the Hon. Judges of the Queen's Bench, the Lord Bishop of Toronto, the Hon. Speakers of the Council and Assembly, the Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, and several professors of note – including Frederick W. Barron, Principal of Upper Canada College.<sup>404</sup> The Rev. John McCaul, LL.D., is

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<sup>400</sup> Brown, *Brown's Toronto City and Home District Directory* (1846), 10.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.*, 23–24.

<sup>403</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>404</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

listed as Vice President, a Council member and Professor of Classical Literature, Belles Lettres, Rhetoric and Logic (appointed 1843).<sup>405</sup> McCaul shared the teaching staff pool as a professor with thirteen others, including Rev. Robert Murray, Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy (appointed 1844, formerly Chief Superintendent of Education and placed there as a means to facilitate the transition of power to Ryerson under the Metcalfe ministry.)<sup>406</sup>

The Toronto Medical School (with daily lectures by a single lecturer from November to May); The Theological Seminary, an institution of the Presbyterian Church of Canada (staffing Robert Burns, D.D. as Principal and Professor of Theology, Rev. Henry Esson, A. M. Professor of Classical Literature, and Rev. William Rintoul, A. M. Professor of Hebrew, *pro tempore*); and the Congregational Academy (including Rev. Adam Lillie as Tutor) also appeared in the listings.<sup>407</sup> There was also the Toronto Athenaeum (with President Rev. H. Scadding, M. A. – also 1<sup>st</sup> Classical Master in Upper Canada College) in the North-west corner of Old Market Buildings.<sup>408</sup>

The Canadian mercantile almanak for 1847 shows continuity with the previous year, listing both King’s College and Upper Canada College along largely the same terms. Upper Canada College’s course of study was reported as: “Greek, Latin, French; Mathematics (Geometry, Algebra, Trigonometry, Logarithms, Conic Sections, &c.), Elements of Natural Philosophy; History, Geography, Use of the Globes, Arithmetic, Mensuration, Book-keeping, Geometrical Drawing, Surveying and Perspective, in addition to the ordinary branches of English; with composition in English and French, and in Greek and Latin prose and verse.”<sup>409</sup> This seemingly

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<sup>405</sup> Brown, *Brown’s Toronto City and Home District Directory* (1846), 25.

<sup>406</sup> Brown, *Brown’s Toronto City and Home District Directory* (1846), 25–26; R. D. Gidney, “MURRAY, ROBERT,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 8. (1851-1860), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1985, para. 4, accessed October 18, 2021. URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/murray\\_robert\\_1853\\_8E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/murray_robert_1853_8E.html).

<sup>407</sup> Brown, *Brown’s Toronto City and Home District Directory* (1846), 26.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, 25 & 30.

<sup>409</sup> N.a., *The Canadian Mercantile Almanack for 1847*, 22.

expanded course load was provided by the same number of staff. In addition to the institutions mentioned in the previous year, there was also Queen's College and University in Kingston, with five professors teaching eight months per year.<sup>410</sup> As well, and notably, as a source of Normal founders, the University of Victoria College in Coburg is listed with both Revs. John and Egerton Ryerson as Trustees, several notable public figures in its Senate (including the President of the Executive Council and the Speaker of the Legislative Council), and a teaching staff of seven. Two of those are Rev. Egerton Ryerson, D.D., as Principal and Professor of Theology and Moral Science and William Ormiston as Classical Tutor.<sup>411</sup> Heritor/new iteration of the Presbyterian Church's Theological Seminary, Knox's College boasted a teaching staff with five positions (four filled at that moment in the mercantile almanac, but all five filled in Montreal's Christian Family Almanac of the same year), including Rev. Alexander Gale, A. M., Professor of Classical Literature. Gale is also listed as the Headmaster of the related Toronto Academy, a much smaller school also backed by the Presbyterian Church of Canada, featuring two teachers under him.<sup>412</sup>

Interestingly, in the Canadian mercantile almanac 1847, we also see a listing for an educational institution specifically targeting women. The Burlington Ladies' Academy in Hamilton appears to have had connections to the University of Victoria College, Coburg – through Revs. Egerton and John Ryerson as part of the Visiting and Examining Committee – and the Presbyterian educational arm more generally (Knox's and Toronto Academy) – through Rev. Alexander Gale, A.M. also part of the Visiting and Examining Committee.<sup>413</sup> Its Principal was

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<sup>410</sup> N.a., *The Canadian Mercantile Almanack for 1847*, 22-23 (Appendix).

<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> N.a., *The Canadian Mercantile Almanack for 1847*, 24 (Appendix); R. D. Wadsworth, *The Family Christian Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1847. Being the Third After Bisssextile or Leap Year, and, Till the 20th Day of June, the 10th Year of the Reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria. Compiled with a View for Use both in Families and Counting-Houses* (Montreal: J. C. Beckett, 1846), 98, accessed September 15, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_00084\\_1/4](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_00084_1/4).

<sup>413</sup> *The Canadian Mercantile Almanack for 1847*, 24 (Appendix).

Rev. D. C. Van Norman, and the teaching staff included eight others, all women. Two of whom, the wife of the Principal (as Preceptress and Teacher of Drawing, Painting, Perspective, and Vocal Music) and Miss Jane Van Norman (the First Teacher of English Branches), were evidently related to the lead educator.<sup>414</sup> Based on the positions listed, this institution would appear to offer a broader course than many mentioned above, including: Drawing, Painting, Perspective, Vocal Music, English, Piano Forte and Guitar, French, German, Writing, Needle Work, and Harp. The school also appears to have hosted a “Juvenile Department.”<sup>415</sup> The Toronto Medical School, Congregational Academy, and Toronto Athenaeum were not mentioned.

The directories and almanacs published in the Province of Canada during this period allow us to follow year-to-year changes in many cases – though this often involves switching publications and, therefore, introducing some level of uncertainty regarding what is a change and what is simply an error or omission between different publishers. Moving to 1847-1848, the opening year of the Normal School, we have Scobie & Balfour’s Canadian Almanac 1848. King’s, Upper Canada, and Queen’s were all listed and displayed continuity with the previous year.<sup>416</sup> The University of Victoria College lost one member of its teaching staff, down to six. Scobie & Balfour’s sees the reappearance of the Congregational Theological Institute. Knox’s College and the associated Toronto Academy also continued operations, though the former was experiencing vacancies in the Principalship and Professorship of Systematic Theology, while the latter experienced a remarkable staff expansion from two to seven.<sup>417</sup> Scobie & Balfour’s also notes the existence of another Presbyterian educational institution, the Theological Institute of the

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<sup>414</sup> N.a., *The Canadian Mercantile Almanack for 1847*, 24 (Appendix).

<sup>415</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>416</sup> N.a., *Scobie & Balfour’s Canadian Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1848*, 83.

<sup>417</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

United Presbyterian Church in London, with only one staffer, a Superintendent.<sup>418</sup> It would seem that the Presbyterian arm was one of the stronger ones in terms of established educational approaches in these early years. Within this kind of active and established cadre of school offerings, how was the Normal to properly attract attention and interest from the community?

In the conclusion of *Building the Educational State*, Bruce Curtis notes that "...devices and practices structured into the administration of public education attempted to assure the visibility of all educational activities. Tours of inspection, annual reports, report cards, public examinations, and so forth, made visible the activities of those involved in schooling."<sup>419</sup> The public examination, in particular, has provided the rarity of a regular point of access to the staff of the Normal School. At the Toronto Normal School, semi-annual public examinations were held – often with some fanfare – at the end of each session throughout the 1847-1860 period. These exams were often attended by and featured in the reports of the colony's newspapers. Reporting on these examinations gives us a window into the public's reaction to and the fourth estate's portrayal of the staff as representatives of the Normal and its values.

These sources can be challenging to interpret. The information they include is widely varied. Little true consistency exists beyond the provision of a list of 'notable' persons attending. Featuring influential members of the colony's political and educational institutions, we must wonder about the kind of network this represented for the Normal. Were these allies, competition, potential clients, or all of the above? Moreover, what did their attendance mean for the Normal's supporters? Judgement, observation, endorsement by celebrity? Amid a wider educational 'community,' what did this participation in the performance of transparency bring the Normal? Reporting on the public examinations also typically offers qualitative commentary on the

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<sup>418</sup> N.a., *Scobie & Balfour's Canadian Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1848*, 85.

<sup>419</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*, 376.

institution and occasionally on its staff. To seek in this any kind of unbiased assessment of the institution is to fundamentally misunderstand the role of newsprint and the recurring political contest which took place through it regarding education.<sup>420</sup> Moreover, it misses the fascinating opportunity to examine the strategic value of the Normal in the political contest surrounding colonial education (a governmental undertaking whose magnitude boggles the mind even today).

The first public examination of the Normal School took place on Thursday, April 13<sup>th</sup>, 1848, five months into its operation.<sup>421</sup> Ryerson, who focused heavily in these early days on making education desirable and selling his educational ideals to the public, gave detailed coverage of the event in both the April and May issues of the new *Journal of Education*.<sup>422</sup> In the April issue, as a prelude to the more extensive May coverage, the *Journal* provided the text of an address from the student-teachers of the First Session – reportedly signed by all – to Headmaster Thomas Jaffray Robertson and Second Master Henry Youle Hind thanking them for their supervision.<sup>423</sup> Among the remarks, we detect a clear delineation between the prominent and pervasive efforts of Headmaster Robertson and Second Master Hind and the limited and technical nature of J. H. Robertson’s and J. P. Clarke’s work as music masters (their course described as providing “...a scientific knowledge of Sacred Music under the instruction of a Professor of experience and skill specially engaged...”<sup>424</sup>). While the music masters appear as a lesser element within the staff, Robertson and Hind are singled out as the source of the most significant benefits offered by attending the Normal, stating: “When we further inform them [the teachers of the Province who

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<sup>420</sup> Miller, “The Theory and Practice of Education in Ontario in the 1860’s,” 48.

<sup>421</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, “Editorial Department: First Public Examination of the Students in the Provincial Normal School,” 125.

<sup>422</sup> F. Henry Johnson, “The First Canadian Journal of Education: An Historical Review,” *McGill Journal of Education / Revue Des Sciences de l’éducation de McGill* 6, no. 2 (1971): 173, accessed July 14, 2021, URL: <https://mje.mcgill.ca/article/view/6835>.

<sup>423</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, “Editorial Department: First Public Examination of the Students in the Provincial Normal School,” 125.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

have not attended the Normal], Gentlemen, of your erudition, talent, and diligence, and of your urbanity and kind attention, which *we* have good reason, and that we hope that very many of *them* will also have good reason, ever gratefully to acknowledge, We shall utter but the language of truth and justice.”<sup>425</sup> While we should consider the potential role of sincere gratitude and good manners in this statement, educational authorities were, doubtless, painfully aware of the public nature of this event and its propaganda potential. Events at the examinations – especially this first – were likely subject to a certain careful management. The fact that Robertson and Hind were placed in the fore suggests that they had been singled out as the face of the Normal. One which, it might have been hoped, would occupy the colonists’ minds in connection with the Normal School. Moreover, it reinforces that qualification, focus, and civility were the key selling points of that institution to the public.

In the May 1848 issue, Ryerson’s Journal – perhaps seeking to emphasize the idea that approval of the Normal was widespread, genuine, and largely instantaneous – reprinted material from several different Toronto papers (namely, *The Church*, *The Patriot*, *The Christian Guardian*, *The Herald*, *The Evangelist*, *The British Colonist*, and *The Globe*) in place of making its own detailed report.<sup>426</sup> Many of the reprinted articles here have not been separately digitized and may not have been preserved in some instances. Verifying how faithfully each was reproduced here would be difficult and time-consuming; however, easy to hand was *The Globe* report, which appears to have been reprinted in good faith with omitted portions clearly noted. Using that as a baseline, I have assumed that the reprintings are reasonably accurate, if not

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<sup>425</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, “Editorial Department: First Public Examination of the Students in the Provincial Normal School,” 126.

<sup>426</sup> Egerton Ryerson and John George Hodgins, eds., “Normal School Examination. Notices from the Toronto Press,” *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* 1, no. 5 (1848): 141–142, accessed April 12, 2021, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_06242\\_5](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06242_5). Ryerson even opens this section of the May issue by stating that “The spontaneous testimony of these gentlemen to the great public importance and advantages of this invaluable Institution must be considered as impartial and conclusive....”

always complete. Each reprinting, as Ryerson noted, contains summative and general praise for the institution and the satisfactory outcome of the examination. Notably, *The Church* (a paper about which I have little information) did not attend but did share the criticism of "...a gentleman of experience in tuition..." who disliked the practice of simultaneous answering employed in the examination. Ryerson responded to this in an editor's footnote, excusing it as an error due to "...the extreme eagerness of the Students to answer..."<sup>427</sup> Of particular interest also is a specific commentary on the conduct of the instructors. In praising Robertson and Hind, *The Patriot* (a paper noted, as of 1858, as a conservative sheet which was especially loyal to the Government) notes their "...assiduity, perseverance, method, and knowledge of the subjects..."<sup>428</sup> It added after this that "Mr. Clarke, Bac. Mus. Has been unremitting in his management of this department."<sup>429</sup> *The Christian Guardian* was more specific in its commentary, stating:

"The method adopted by Mr. Robertson and Mr. Hind of imparting instruction is of the most approved kind, and is best calculated to make the scholar readily acquainted with the subjects studied. These gentlemen, while examining the Students, gave evidence of their ability to discharge their important duties, evincing not only that they possessed the necessary knowledge – but what is sometimes much more rare – a facility for readily imparting that knowledge to others."<sup>430</sup>

This paper was considered in 1858 to be non-political, largely being a platform for Wesleyan Methodism and missionary writings. An important context, though, is that Ryerson was intimately involved with the paper, being its first editor from 1829 to 1832.<sup>431</sup> This background

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<sup>427</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, "Editorial Department: First Public Examination of the Students in the Provincial Normal School," 142.

<sup>428</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, "Normal School Examination. Notices from the Toronto Press.," 142; William Meikle, *The Canadian Newspaper Directory, or Advertisers' Guide; Containing a Complete List of All the Newspapers in Canada – The Circulation of Each – And All Information in Reference Thereto* (Toronto: Blackburn's City Steam Press, 1858), 37, accessed February 25, 2021, URL: <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.43442>.

<sup>429</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, "Normal School Examination. Notices from the Toronto Press.," 143.

<sup>430</sup> Ibid.

<sup>431</sup> Meikle, *The Canadian Newspaper Directory*, 16; J. Harold Putman, *Egerton Ryerson and Education in Upper Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), 14, accessed September 6, 2021, URL: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/37739/37739-h/37739-h.htm>.

could have meant that the paper retained some loyalty to Ryerson personally. It may also have been more likely to share his views, particularly on the necessity and utility of the Normal. Finally, *The Globe* (a Reform paper well known for its particular opposition to Ryerson), vindicating his approach to education in articles throughout this same year, affirmed: “The Masters are real business men, and the creditable appearance made by the class, give proof of their unwearied attention to their duties.”<sup>432</sup> These sentiments echoed those we observed in the letter from the student-teachers. Serious attention and commitment to the work, a vaguely defined ‘talent’ for teaching, and a strong knowledge base. Likely, these were indeed sought-after qualities that met with broad approval. Still, their vague nature also suggests that, perhaps, after only five months, at the first public examination, none had yet been able to take a full and specific measure of these individuals. J. P. Clarke (Music Teacher)’s contributions are noted in a couple of reports, but what is common is that he is treated as separate from Robertson and Hind.

The second public examination in October 1848 saw continued praise for the Normal. *The Globe*’s reporting this year was particularly effusive:

“This institution marks a new era in the Educational history of the Provinces, and will give an impulse to it, never before experienced....The progress of the pupils during the short space of five months attendance at the Normal School has been very great.... From every enquiry we could make from those who attended during the great part of these examinations, we feel warranted to say, that the Normal School of Canada is no longer a matter of experiment, but has thus far been eminently successful. There seemed a life and activity in all its movements, which its visitors must have fully appreciated. To us it seemed impossible not to feel a glow of enthusiasm after entering the wall, and finding the mass of intellectual bustle, the result of which was not to terminate with the instruction of those present, but to be transferred to the most remote parts of this province.”<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, “Normal School Examination. Notices from the Toronto Press.,” 147; N.a., “The Normal School” (1848); Meikle, *The Canadian Newspaper Directory*, 24; N.a., “The School Superintendent and the Prussian System,” *The Globe*, December 9, 1848, accessed February 26, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507540901/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/8>; “Education,” *The Globe (1844-1936)*, February 26, 1848, <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1507561159/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/5>.

<sup>433</sup> N.a., “The Normal School” (1848).

*The Globe* suggests that the Normal had come to maturity as an institution in its praise (a questionable claim following barely 11 months of operation). Robertson was absent from this examination "...due to severe indisposition..." with the responsibility for leading the exercises and speaking for the staff devolving primarily on Hind (with assistance from "...the senior members of the different classes").<sup>434</sup>

*The Globe*'s report on the examination of October 1848 also gives us some insight into the workings of the Model School: "This important appendage of the Normal School Establishment is in four divisions, in which the different branches of education are taught. Ten Normal School pupils superintend the different departments during a part of each day, so that forty pupils are every day carrying their own lessons into operations..."<sup>435</sup> Additionally, *The Globe* addressed William Townsend (Music Master) with passing if complimentary credit – much in the same manner it had addressed his predecessors – concluding: "Music is certainly an important branch of education, not solely from the pleasure afforded in the performance, but from the softening and harmonizing influence it has on the mind."<sup>436</sup> Ryerson's *Journal of Education* continued reprinting notices from other Toronto newspapers for this examination as well (featuring pieces from *The British Colonist*, *The Christian Guardian*, and *The Globe*, the last of which was reproduced faithfully and in its entirety). *The British Colonist* reported that Chief Justice Robinson "...took occasion to express himself in the highest terms of praise of the Masters of the Normal School..."<sup>437</sup> *The Christian Guardian*, like *The Globe*, remarked briefly but positively on the results of Townsend's efforts, saying of the students' performance in music: "This delightful part of the exercises attracted a great many visitors, particularly Ladies, and the

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<sup>434</sup> N.a., "The Normal School" (1848).

<sup>435</sup> Ibid.

<sup>436</sup> Ibid.

<sup>437</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, eds., "Editorial Department: Normal School Examination, Second Session," 314.

Lecture Room was crowded in every part.”<sup>438</sup> Given the increased praise for the musical performance at this examination, it is tempting to suggest that Townsend was a more successful music instructor than his predecessors (additionally supported by his far longer employment term). Equally possible, however, Normal staff and students began to hit their stride as the school moved into its second session and perhaps began to find a more regular routine. Additionally, we should not discount the role of the spectacular quality inherent to musical performance relative to other subjects.

Of note, *The Globe* also criticized the Normal at this examination. Firstly, it reported that many of the answers were given simultaneously by Normal and Model students (a repeat of what Ryerson had labelled a ‘mistake’ during the first examination), and it suggested that this approach was inadequate for assessing the progress of individual pupils (echoing the previous sentiments of *The Church*).<sup>439</sup> Part of this concern might have been that such a format could potentially hide underperformers from public view. *The Globe* also expressed anxiety about the Normal’s ability to train teachers quickly enough and in large enough numbers to serve the whole colony. “Much has been done during so short a period, it is but a mere instalment of what remains. Upper Canada has 2,500 Teachers – and although 125 attended half a year, it will take ten years to pass them all through the Normal School.... Four or five Normal Schools are wanted, or a school with four or five hundred pupils instead of 126.”<sup>440</sup>

Despite *The Globe*’s known opposition to Ryerson, it took pains to underscore that its 1848 praise of the Normal was given freely. Ryerson suggested that *The Globe* had felt forced to attend that examination in a letter to which *The Globe* responded with an article noting: “...we were not

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<sup>438</sup> Ryerson and Hodgins, eds., “Editorial Department: Normal School Examination, Second Session,” 316.

<sup>439</sup> N.a., “The Normal School” (1848).

<sup>440</sup> Ibid.

*compelled* to go to the Normal School Examination, for we went cheerfully; but if the compulsory system were complete, it would not be surprising if Leonidas [Ryerson] were to issue an order to the Press, to attend on such a day, and puff the Normal School in their next numbers.”<sup>441</sup> This impassioned defence continued later in the same article:

“We have never said one word in depreciation of the Normal School, but have longed for its establishment, as an important means of improving the Common School education, and have watched its progress with interest ... We do not believe that Dr. Ryerson has either information or education sufficient to have set the Normal School in motion, or to have brought it to its present state. We believe the Head Teacher, Mr. Robertson, has been the chief means, and that he has been ably supported by Mr. Hind and the other teachers.”<sup>442</sup>

*The Globe* brings Robertson and Hind to the fore here. Whether this was a hedging tactic (to ensure that their opposition to Ryerson is not construed as opposition to the project of educational reform itself) or an unfiltered expression of *The Globe*'s genuine view of the Normal staff is unclear. The truth likely falls somewhere in between. Regardless, this displays the Normal staff occupying a fascinating position as part of their public role. They, not their superiors or their students, were the main axis upon which the Normal's quality was being judged. More interesting still, the potential therein for the Normal staff to take on a role of 'selling' the Normal and perhaps other educational ideas Ryerson wanted to promote. Embodying a palatable public face to secure and encourage positive perceptions of Ryerson's Normal initiative even when he was coming under fire in the Press.

### *Social relations in the heart of social reform*

Beyond this, some extremely human and unexpected observations were made during this study. Many were a reminder that this institution housed not just a staff but a community with its

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<sup>441</sup> N.a., “The School Superintendent and the Prussian System.”

<sup>442</sup> Ibid.

own internal relations and dynamics. One of the most interesting was that several senior Masters married more junior staff (and even one student). One of the earliest of these involves Archibald McCallum, the foundational Model Headmaster. McCallum is noted to have married one Maria J. Adams, a student of the Seventh Session (August 1851 – April 1852), while serving in his position as Headmaster. Adams apparently died shortly after that.<sup>443</sup> John Herbert Sangster, the future headmaster, McCallum’s close associate and fellow student, followed a similar trajectory and married one Caroline Elizabeth McCausland. A student of the Thirty-Fourth Session (August 1865 – December 1865), McCausland would have studied during Sangster’s time as the Second Master and shortly after that became a teacher in the Model School’s Female Department herself (being a member of the staff during Sangster’s term as Headmaster).<sup>444</sup> Listed as a “Miss” McCausland, it appears that Sangster did not marry her during her term of employment. She died in 1884.<sup>445</sup> Nonetheless, it is clear that the Normal experience, both student-teacher and staff relations, did not represent a universal barrier to interaction – despite the strict control of gender roles scholars have noted in that institution – in the minds of some of its most influential staff members.

Given these examples, it would be tempting to suppose that this had something to do with McCallum and Sangster having been the totality of the Model Staff during the majority of its brief co-educational period from 1848 to 1852. This may have reflected hold-over attitudes carried by these men despite the gender-segregated framework which dominated the Normal for the rest of the nineteenth century. This line of thinking, however, is challenged by the repeat of this pattern later on. Annie Agnes Sutherland, a student of the Thirty-Second Session (August

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<sup>443</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 109.

<sup>444</sup> *Ibid.*, 157.

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid.*

1864 – December 1864), married James Laughlin Hughes, a student of the Thirty-Fourth Session (August 1865 – December 1865).<sup>446</sup> The student biographical sketches in the 1897 Jubilee materials indicate that Sutherland taught in the Model School until 1869, after a period of teaching in a private academy. However, the staff lists in both 1897 and 1947 fail to mention her. Also, no teachers under any even remotely similar name are listed as having ended their time at the Model or Normal in 1869.<sup>447</sup> If we believe the biographical sketch, Sutherland and Hughes would have encountered each other as colleagues while Hughes was a teacher in the Boys' Model – well into the reign of the gender-segregated approach. Sutherland died in 1884.<sup>448</sup> Having only three clear examples at this time, it is too much to suggest that this was a regular part of the Normal's intriguing and only partly studied underlife. However, this does hint at a deeper complexity to gender relations in an institution whose repressiveness and preference for segregation regarding the issue of gender relations is well-documented.

Similarly, evidence of the highly personal and involved relations between students and staff, if not between the staff or between the students themselves, is also noteworthy. Writing to the 1897 Jubilee from California, Dorcas Clark remembered the deep involvement of Headmaster Robertson in students' daily lives during her 1849-1850 studies at the Normal:

“On sultry afternoons he would glance at the students, select the languid, fainthearted, homesick members, and invite them to take a sail with him after lecture hours. (Mr. Robertson was a skilful yachtsman.) On or before sunset he would land them safely, and escort them to his residence, where Mrs. Robertson would receive them with tender, motherly courtesy, and assisted by her two charming daughters, regale them with tea, cakes and exquisite music. After careful escort to their several homes, they were enjoined *not to study that evening*, but to retire at once and sleep soundly. Who can estimate the worth of such fatherly attention and protecting care?”<sup>449</sup>

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<sup>446</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 154.

<sup>447</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>448</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>449</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

Robertson would also be involved, as early as 1853, in wider circles of the teaching profession, chairing the School Convention for the United Counties of York and Peel (held in the Normal) that February.<sup>450</sup>

Influences from the broader educational community appear to have been present regularly in the life of the Normal rather than only on special occasions like the school convention. For one, the semi-annual examinations of the Normal School often implicated figures of authority from many of the city's other educational institutions. At the May 1852 Examination, examiners for the Governor General's Prize exams included not only the Normal Masters but also the President and Vice-President of the Agricultural Society of the County of York, the Professor of Chemistry from University College, and the Secretary to the Agricultural Associations of Upper Canada.<sup>451</sup> Examiners for these prize essays for the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth sessions included the same, with the exception that the Secretary to the Agricultural Associations of Upper Canada was replaced by the Professor of Agriculture from University College.<sup>452</sup> Several educational leaders beyond Ryerson also had an active role in the Normal's weekly routines. Reminiscing in 1897, David Ormiston remembered fondly receiving religious from both Henry James Grasett (a member of the Council of Public Instruction and the Home District School Board) and Robert Burns (a consistently controversial member of the Presbyterian educational arm by way of Knox College and Toronto Academy).<sup>453</sup> Likewise, the Normal's faculty patronized a variety of other educational institutions throughout the city.

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<sup>450</sup> N.a., "Article 2 -- No Title," *The Globe*, February 19, 1853, accessed February 11, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1510618468/citation/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/31>.

<sup>451</sup> N.a., "Normal and Model Schools" (1852), 158.

<sup>452</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.2, to the Thirteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1855), 374–375.

<sup>453</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 30; H. J. Bridgman, "BURNS, ROBERT," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 9 (1861-1870), University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed November 15, 2021, URL: [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/burns\\_robert\\_9E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/burns_robert_9E.html); Turner, "GRASETT, HENRY JAMES."

In a broader colonial and municipal community context, the Normal staff appear to have acted as a buffer or grounding for the broader Ryersonian project. In many contexts, the Normal and its staff were a reliable conversation piece, drawing praise and positive recognition for the educational project despite fluctuations in the popularity of political leaders. For one, the extracts of the Local Superintendents' reports in the Chief Superintendent's Annual Reports show ongoing interest in the Normal from various jurisdictions. These superintendents being themselves a linkage between the state power of the Education Department and the local power of County Boards, one might imagine that these individuals' perceptions were key to consensus building within the wider colony. Of the 140 superintendent reports featured in the Annual Report of 1855, 12 mentioned the Normal. By no means an overwhelming group, these nonetheless represented just under a tenth of the reports as excerpted. Additionally, none of these comments were critical of the Normal. The majority were pushing for or seeking to obtain additional Normal teachers for the schools in their areas.<sup>454</sup> Several also expressed admiration for the Normal masters and the Normal program. Thomas Vanston, Esq, Superintendent of Young and Esscott Front Township, County of Leeds, expressed the following:

“I cannot permit this opportunity to pass without bearing testimony to the prosperous state of the Gananoque school, under the care of the only Normal School Teacher in the township. Considering the low state of the pupils, when he first assumed the duties of teaching, the school may now be said to be second to none in the Province. This argues well that your institution is destined to be of great benefit to the Province in furnishing proper and efficient teachers, capable of communicating more instruction in a shorter period, than those teachers possibly can who have not had the opportunity of attending the Normal School or some similar institution.”<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>454</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly. *Appendix, No.2, to the Fourteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1856), 346, 349, 355, 370, 377, 383, 385, & 388. Including: Angus McDonnell, Esq., Kenyan, County of Glengarry; The Reverend Peter Lindsay, A. B., Cumberland, County of Russell; Henry P. Washburn, Esq. Leeds and Lansdown Rear, County of Leeds; Edward Scarlett (overseeing all 9 townships in the county), Esq., Superintendent of Percy Township, Northumberland County; The Reverend S. B. Ardagh, A.M., Vespra and Sunnidale, County of Simcoe; The Reverend William Belt, B.A., Scarborough, County of York.

<sup>455</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly. *Appendix, No.2, to the Fourteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1856), 356.

Several others equated Normal training to the colony's other nascent higher education institutions.<sup>456</sup> One sought to influence the Normal's curriculum,<sup>457</sup> and a few highlighted the success of Normal graduates in their jurisdictions.<sup>458</sup> One Thomas McColl, Esq. the Superintendent in Dunwich Township, County of Elgin, even highlighted the Headmaster and Second Master as key contributors to the institution's supposed quality: "It is very much regretted, that all those, engaged in the onerous, yet honourable occupation of school teaching, do not first attend, and avail themselves of the benefits and advantages of Normal school training under the able instruction of Messrs. Robertson and Ormiston."<sup>459</sup> We must remember that Ryerson chose these extracts to support his own ends (including the promotion of the Normal, one of the key institutions in his approach to educational reform). However, it is not easy to suppose that Ryerson had coercive control over the Local Superintendents to such an extent that he might puppeteer their reporting. The presence of these statements, and their availability for Ryerson to use in his reporting, suggests that as a tool of public relations and "selling" the new educational program, the Normal was gaining traction.

More immediately, we see the Normal playing a key role in divorcing criticism of educational leaders from the programs they put in place. In 1859, an extensive series of extracts from the Minutes of the Toronto Board of School Trustees were printed in *The Globe*. This publication was one portion of a public clash between the municipal educational authorities in Toronto and Ryerson over his accusation that the Toronto Board had "... 'ignored the Normal

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<sup>456</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly. *Appendix, No.2, to the Fourteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1856), 370 & 385. Including: Edward Scarlett (overseeing all 9 townships in the county), Esq., Superintendent of Percy Township, Northumberland County; and, Philip Gregory, Esq., Louth, County of Lincoln.

<sup>457</sup> *Ibid.*, 376. The Reverend William Belt, B.A., Scarborough, County of York.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*, 388 & 399. Wm. A. Routh, Esq. Stamford, County of Welland; and, Archibald Campbell, Esq., Cardo and Lobo, County of Middlesex.

<sup>459</sup> *Ibid.*, 402.

*School, though established within its limits,*’ and [he] further asserts, in unqualified terms, that ‘*not a Normal School teacher has been placed in charge of one of the Common Schools of the city; and only two or three employed in subordinate positions,*’ . . .”<sup>460</sup> Responding to this charge, the Board had Local Superintendent for the City, G. A. Barber, discuss in detail the role that the Normal had played in staffing the city’s common schools and how they had approached the presence of the Normal in their staffing considerations. One fascinating point that the Toronto Board found particularly insulting was “. . .an invidious comparison between Hamilton and Toronto, as regards their respective common school operations – praising Hamilton as ‘*an illustration of the Provincial Normal and Model School System,*’ at the expense of Toronto, whose school system is vilified and censured as being ‘*old,*’ and behind-hand, . . .”<sup>461</sup> Being somewhat outside the purview of this study, this comment has nonetheless raised my curiosity regarding how city boards reacted to the establishment of further Normals later on and how the Toronto and Hamilton Boards reacted to the establishment of the Ontario Normal College later in the century. How might authorities like Ryerson have used such seeming competitiveness between communities to encourage their goals? This could be a fascinating line of investigation for future work to pursue. Returning to the inquiry at hand, however, this report is also an example of one moment in which the Normal and its staff were able to continue garnering public praise and influence, even while Ryerson was coming under significant public attack. In closing out its extensive coverage of this dispute, *The Globe* alleged: “There is no untruth too gross for

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<sup>460</sup> N.a., “Dr. Ryerson and the Toronto Board of School Trustees: Report,” *The Globe*, January 5, 1859, accessed February 11, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1513662166/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/71>.

<sup>461</sup> *Ibid.*

him [Ryerson] when he has a purpose to serve. It is impossible to rely upon a single statement in the most formal documents which he issues.”<sup>462</sup>

One of the first points Barber made was to highlight the several Normal graduates appointed during the Normal’s first few years of operations. From July 1847 to the end of 1850, the Toronto Board reportedly made two-thirds of its appointments (six of nine) from the new pool of Normal-trained teachers.<sup>463</sup> In speaking to these appointments, Barber indicates a clear relationship with and influence from the Normal, stating any decision to appoint “...*in a great measure was based upon the recommendation of the Normal School authorities....*”<sup>464</sup> Barber then underlined appointments in Toronto during the bulk of the period under study (1851 through 1857), included thirty-six Normal graduates. Summing up the first decade of Normal operations, Barber claimed that over half of the city’s appointments (47 of 73) were Normal graduates.<sup>465</sup> Later in this report, Barber returned to the role that Normal staff played in his and other municipal school authorities’ hiring decisions:

“...I can affirm, without the possibility of contradiction, that during the whole of my Superintendentship, extending over a period of 14 years, all reasonable deference has been paid to the opinions and recommendation of the Normal School authorities. I can speak of my own knowledge with regard to many appointments to the city schools, which were made wholly upon their recommendation, and to others in which their opinion had much influence ; for instance, the 6 new appointments made from ’47 to ’50, I have already stated, were, in great measure, based upon the recommendation of the headmaster of the Normal School. Mrs. Corbett, the first female teacher employed under the elective board in 1851, and subsequently headmistress “in charge” – first, of Louiss-street and then Phoebe-street school – was appointed upon Dr. Ryerson’s own special recommendation. Miss Quinn, “in charge” of the Louiss-street school, owed her appointment to Mr. Robertson’s recommendation. Mr. Spotton, “In charge” of the Victoria-street school, was indebted to Mr. Ormiston’s recommendation. And when the Committee on Appointments had under consideration the selection of a successor to Mr. H. Brown as head-master “in charge” of the Park school, so

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<sup>462</sup> N.a., “Dr. Ryerson and the Toronto Schools,” *The Globe*, January 5, 1859, accessed February 11, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1513661953/abstract/77E8E7128C4847AFPQ/70>.

<sup>463</sup> N.a., “Dr. Ryerson and the Toronto Board of School Trustees: Report.”

<sup>464</sup> Ibid.

<sup>465</sup> Ibid.

anxious were they to ensure a good Teacher, that it was decided to accept whomsoever Mr. Robertson and the Rev. Mr. Ormiston (of the Normal School) should recommend.”<sup>466</sup>

Clearly, at least at the local level, the Normal School and its staff strongly and immediately influenced municipal power structures. If not simply by their own force of persuasion, the Normal and its public relations clearly found a foothold in Toronto, allowing Normal authorities to exert pressure on local authorities. As Barber attested: “I have on more occasions than one, been exposed to much unmerited obloquy because I was suspected of being adverse to the pretensions of Normal School Teachers;...I have no prejudices, as such, against Normal School Teachers; but I have always resisted their claim to be recognized and treated as having preferential rights over other Teachers.”<sup>467</sup>

For me, the most fascinating part of the concept of a Normal community (growing up around and being shaped by its staff) is what it can tell us about the creation of frameworks of power and practice. The Normal community gave rise to distinct and deeply personal relationships between at least some of its participants. This is not only a determining factor in the lives of individuals but also represents an important factor in understanding this institution as one that was fundamentally different from other state organizations. As well, the idea that the Normal played a distinct role in public relations for educational reform and that said the position could be even more significant in certain local contexts would appear to be an important piece to explore to understand the power relations between state and local authorities – especially in the context of a city like Toronto, where both state and local power were in close geographical proximity to one another (operating on one another and through their intermediaries in the Normal in a particularly direct manner).

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<sup>466</sup> N.a., “Dr. Ryerson and the Toronto Board of School Trustees: Report.”

<sup>467</sup> Ibid.

## CONCLUSION:

## TENSION, COMMUNITY, POWER, AND ONGOING POTENTIAL

“The image of Ontario education in the late nineteenth century and throughout much of the twentieth century is one of extreme centralization, with all-powerful ministers of education and departmental officials controlling both provincial and local developments from their offices in Queen’s Park. In reality, there existed a strong reservoir of community power that shaped local and even provincial action for the full century after Ryerson’s retirement.”<sup>468</sup> The ongoing interplay between power blocks in Queen's Park and Ontario's communities gives the ‘who’ of Normal staffing its relevance. As the Normal moved on from Ryerson, so too did its community and their role as intermediaries in the relationships between these power blocks. Moving out of its first decade, the Normal and associated Models experienced both continuities and changes in their staffing pools. In 1857 and 1858, the Normal and Boys' Model hired several fresh individuals who went on to enjoy long careers in those institutions. Records become much richer moving into the 1860s, 70s and 80s, and each of these individuals (and many others) may represent fruitful subjects of future historical study. Likewise, this study might serve as a base from which to build comparisons and analysis that may help us continue to work towards understanding the rich complexity of social relations and power dynamics in Canada’s colonial and confederation-era past.

In the closing decade of his career, Robertson’s role in Ryerson’s and the Council of Public Instruction’s approach to the schooling project evolved. One important aspect would be a reinforcement of his and others’ influence in and connections to the colony’s teaching

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<sup>468</sup> Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*, Ontario Historical Studies Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), xiii.

community. Robertson became quite active in founding the Teachers' Association of Upper Canada in 1861. As part of an examination of that founding meeting, Harry Smaller observed that Robertson took the lead during the proceedings: nominating Rev. John Jennings (a member of the Council of Public Instruction) as the meeting chair and occupying that same position himself later in the meeting.<sup>469</sup> Robertson was also elected, after considerable debate, as the first President of the Teachers' Association.<sup>470</sup> Smaller contends that Robertson's election established a pattern where government officials and other educational elites like Robertson were "...almost invariably selected as presidents for at least the ensuing forty years."<sup>471</sup> In fact, Smaller's article notes that Robertson played the exact kind of middle, power-brokering role highlighted in this study regarding his role in the campaign convincing Ryerson to establish such an association. Robertson wrote the request to Ryerson to publish (and later helped to edit) the circular for a founding meeting (Robertson, also having himself previously met with Robert Alexander and Robert Dunn, both teachers at the time, to discuss such a project).<sup>472</sup> Smaller goes so far as to suggest that Robertson may have used his role as an organizer of the founding meeting to defend the Normal program against attacks from those resisting the professionalization of teaching and those seeking alternative training regimes to the Normal School. Smaller also suggests that Robertson was conscious of his choice to use his position in the middle to exert influence in defence of his department.<sup>473</sup>

Despite the continuity embodied by Robertson, the transition out of the 1847-1857 period saw staff turnover in numerous positions moving towards the 1860s. Many of the new staff were

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<sup>469</sup> Smaller, "Gender and Status," 203 & 210.

<sup>470</sup> *Ibid.*, 204.

<sup>471</sup> *Ibid.*, 209.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, 215.

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*, 217.

sourced from the Normal's own pool of graduates. Alexander R. Campbell, for example, studied in the Normal in the mid-1850s and received a second class certificate (no.323 – as of October 15, 1855) from the Chief Superintendent during the Fourteenth Session. Campbell shared his time at the Normal with David Ormiston (also a graduate of the Fourteenth Session, receiving a first class certificate).<sup>474</sup> David Ormiston was himself the brother of Rev. William Ormiston, Second Master, during the period when David and Campbell were Normal students. Campbell pursued another year of Normal studies seeking to attain a higher certificate, during which time he would see David Ormiston join the staff of the Boy's Model as a teacher. In parallel, Helen Milliken Clark pursued her studies in the female section at the Normal School, graduating alongside Campbell when he received his upgraded First Class, 1st Division A. teaching certificate (no.435 – as of October 15, 1856) at the close of the Sixteenth Session.<sup>475</sup> Campbell appeared to leave the Normal for a time after receiving this certificate but would return as a Model School Teacher in the Boys' Model beginning in 1859. He stayed in that role for almost five years until 1864.<sup>476</sup> After his time at the Normal School, the 1897 Normal Jubilee materials indicate that he took his career international, crossing the Atlantic to France to teach English in a Parisian school.<sup>477</sup>

Campbell spent his Model career teaching alongside a man named John Clark Disher in the Boys' Model. Disher studied at the Normal after Campbell; he received his first class, grade A certificate, at the close of the Twentieth Session (no.771 – October 15, 1858) and was appointed

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<sup>474</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.10, to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1857), 177.

<sup>475</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.10, to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1857), 178.

<sup>476</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 199; Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 70.

<sup>477</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 134.

to the Model ten months ahead of Campbell.<sup>478</sup> He replaced another Normal graduate, Adam Purslow, who had received his first class certificate at the close of the Eighteenth Session (no.590 – October 15, 1897).<sup>479</sup> Purslow only occupied the position of Model Teacher for five months in the Twentieth Session. A. S. Allan remembered Disher at the 1897 Jubilee celebration: “Mr. Disher was second master, but he died, leaving pleasant memories of his short stay.”<sup>480</sup> Indeed, Disher’s Model career ended with his 1864 death (coinciding with Campbell’s departure from the school and thus triggering a complete turnover in Boys’ Model teaching staff at that time). It appears that Disher also obtained an M.D. during his life, though I do not know when or from where at this time.<sup>481</sup>

Another student of the Normal course, James Carlyle, undertook his studies slightly before Campbell. Born in Scotland, Carlyle was an immigrant who was presumably educated from a relatively young age after arriving in Canada.<sup>482</sup> Carlyle, studying in 1854, had close relations with David Ormiston, who boarded in the same house with James and his brother William (who would become an Inspector of Public Schools<sup>483</sup>) while the three were pursuing the Normal course (fascinatingly, and perhaps not coincidentally, all four men lead important careers in education). David Ormiston also spoke of Carlyle at the 1897 Jubilee celebration.<sup>484</sup>

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<sup>478</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 296.

<sup>479</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.10, to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1857), 180.

<sup>480</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 39.

<sup>481</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>482</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 20. David Ormiston describes him as “...a Scotchman, but if not born, he was at least educated and trained in Canada, hence a true Canadian,” which I take to suggest that the significant portion of Carlyle’s formative years were spent in Upper Canada.

<sup>483</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 26.

<sup>484</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 20.

Carlyle received his first class certificate (no.353) at the close of the Fifteenth Session (April 15, 1856), in the same class as David Fotheringham.<sup>485</sup> Fotheringham would enjoy relatively immediate elevation to the position of teacher in the Boys' Model in the Sixteenth Session and, following less than a year in that position, was appointed as Headmaster of the Boys' Model. Fotheringham would only hold the latter position for a period of eight months, and his resignation would be an opportunity for Carlyle. Appointed "Master of the Boys' Model School" effective 1858,<sup>486</sup> Carlyle led a distinguished and successful career within Toronto Normal. David Ormiston summarized his path during the 1897 Jubilee:

"On the resignation of Mr. Fotheringham in 1858, Mr. Carlyle was selected by the Chief Superintendent for the position, which he held for thirteen years with advantage to the school, honor to himself and satisfaction to the department, as was shown by his being placed as Mathematical Master in the Normal School. He filled this position till 1893, when, owing to failing health, he had to resign and retire to private life. He began the practice of medicine, for which he had prepared himself while performing his arduous duties in the Model School."<sup>487</sup>

As the Model Headmaster, Carlyle was remembered as "...always very kind, but very firm."<sup>488</sup> Ormiston described him as "A man of fine appearance, and for many years a faithful, painstaking teacher and educationalist."<sup>489</sup> In addition, and more a note of tangential curiosity spawned by this study, Ormiston claimed that James Carlyle was related to "...the celebrated Chelsea Seer, whose name will be honored and revered as long as the English language is read."<sup>490</sup> Who Chelsea Seer might have been and why Ormiston would underscore this lineage remains unknown to me. Is this a notable figure from the period whose story has not remained easily

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<sup>485</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.10, to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1857), 178.

<sup>486</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 342.

<sup>487</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847-1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 20.

<sup>488</sup> *Ibid.*, 39. As recalled by A. S. Allan at the 1897 Jubilee celebration.

<sup>489</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847-1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 20.

<sup>490</sup> *Ibid.*

accessible in our knowledge of the past today? James Carlyle died at 187 Gerrard Street, east, on October 13<sup>th</sup>, 1909 (a Sunday evening), having seemingly remained in Toronto throughout his professional life. He appears to have been buried in Mount Pleasant Cemetery and retained some notoriety in the former Canadas as newspapers in both Montreal and Quebec City were asked to forward the notice of his death to their readers.<sup>491</sup>

As part of the many staff transitions at the end of our period, the position of Writing Master was revived in 1858. This position had last been staffed in 1855. Hiring one Alexander Russell Strachan would mark its revival and the establishment, for the first time, of a consistent position that remained staffed for decades. So far, I have found very little about Strachan. However, he does represent yet another Normal trainee rising with success to the ranks of the school staff. He received a first class, 1<sup>st</sup> Division A certificate at the close of the Seventeenth Session under the name Alexander Strachan (no.506 – April 15, 1857).<sup>492</sup> Strachan`s position also appears to have absorbed the Teacher of Book-keeping role (previously filled in the Normal – in addition to his Model duties until that time – by McCallum, who departed shortly before Strachan`s hiring). Strachan taught not only in the Normal but also in the Boys` and Girls` Model and Model Grammar schools.<sup>493</sup> Strachan stayed in this position for a little over three years and was replaced in 1861 by “H. G. Strachan” (and one cannot help but wonder if there was any relation given the name). Little was found about Strachan`s life post-Normal. However, he is listed in the 1897

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<sup>491</sup> N.a., “Died,” *The Globe*, October 15, 1900, accessed January 4, 2021, URL:

<http://search.proquest.com/hnpglobeandmail/docview/1351833915/citation/E695A6AD60974E6EPQ/4>.

<sup>492</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.10, to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1857), 179.

<sup>493</sup> Province of Canada, Legislative Assembly, *Appendix, No.8, to the Sixteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1858), 341–342; W. C. F. Caverhill, *Caverhill's Toronto City Directory for 1859-60: Containing A Complete Alphabetical Directory of the Householders, and A Classified Business Directory of the Subscribers; with Carefully Compiled Information Relating to the Government Offices, Banks, and Other Public Institutions*, (Toronto: Lovell & Gibson, 1859/1860), 262, URL: [https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8\\_00300\\_1](https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_00300_1).

Jubilee materials as having achieved the status of M. D., suggesting further educational endeavours.<sup>494</sup>

This study demonstrates the kind of vast new opportunities – in light of the caution provided by Ian Milligan about using such a tool with care – the recent digital turn in historical research has presented to all. We will continue to profit significantly from honing and maturing our approach to digital corpora and repositories. Nonetheless, we can already profit from the powerful (if still relatively underdeveloped) ability we possess to quickly and directly query numerous digitized corpora. This means we are more empowered than ever to attempt the recovery of stories typically, like those of the many Normal staff discussed in this study, thought lost utterly to the passage of time. Typically, the disarray and disconnection of the fragments of data available regarding the Normal staff have left them a subject too labour-intensive and uncertain to approach directly. Those outside of the more prominent executive roles left fewer and less prominent marks on the historical record. Even those in upper positions only represented one small, if somewhat elite, circle within larger provincial society, making them difficult to discern in previous broader studies of community influences on education. In assembling many fragments and beginning to make these individuals discernable, this study opens the door to interrogating them as subjects and agency holders in the history of colonial governance in Canada. This study also tried to push digital methodologies forward by providing tools in its Appendices promoting the transparent and responsible use of these powerful new research tools.

Collecting these stories has revealed that Normal staff often had numerous connections to each other, to the staff of other educational and academic institutions in the city, and to those wielding political power within the colony. They seemingly formed their own professional

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<sup>494</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 201.

community as well as being one node in a wider network of educational institutions and initiatives at play in the Toronto and the transatlantic world of the first half of the nineteenth century. Through their membership in social clubs and initiatives like the Canadian and Mechanics' Institutes, through their very public – apparently, reputation bolstering – presence at and participation in the Public Examinations of the Normal and Model Schools, and through their evident professional mobility between educational institutions, we have begun to sketch out a landscape and marketplace of educational endeavours in what would become Ontario. Of further interest, the evidence gathered suggests that several of the most successful Normal staff members commonly demonstrated a keen ability to forge interpersonal connections. Part of the idea of a teacher's ability to teach, which School Promoters in Canada West were seeking to cultivate through the Normal system, was clearly the ability to navigate the different interests throughout the colony and classroom in a way which would maintain good relations with all sides (something which those at the very top of the Education Office often found difficult at that time). The best of the best of the Normal's staff formed direct, inspirational, personal connections with their student teachers. Such connections elicited both loyalty and productivity. These skills were doubtless additionally helpful when the Normal staff needed to foster connections with their fellow educational professionals. We also noted the stories of several eminently successful female teachers on the Normal staff. These individuals appear to have led successful professional lives, which likely merit further investigation. In particular, Dorcas Clark stands out as a fascinating individual. Her geographically varied and stunningly successful career in education (launched through Toronto Normal) has remained understudied for far too long.

Turning again to recent scholarly interest in the 'middle actors' of the past and the broader prescience of the role of intermediaries in the exercise of power in the modern state to our world today, this study profited greatly from the paths of thinking encouraged by spatial, Foucauldian,

and ‘middle’ oriented schools of thought. Notably, we observed that the initial trend in the Normal of hiring those with experience in Ireland quickly giving way to a pattern of internal recruitment where masters were very sourced from the ranks of the school’s own recent graduates. This seemingly highly insular pattern is of great interest. The Normal staff often, and especially as time goes on, seem to represent a group potentially lacking in experience and training (especially in light of established observations about the lesser quality of the Normal’s training compared to other institutions of higher education). Nonetheless, we observe that the Normal and its staff maintained ongoing, often cooperative relationships with these other educational interests.

This reinforces ideas raised by historical scholars of the middle who note that the power and influence of middle managers and their entrenched networks tend to grow when new recruits are found almost exclusively from inside the organization. Throughout the historiography of the History of Education and the history of the Normal Schools, there is a persistent vision among nineteenth-century school promoters of the good teacher as a totalized role model for the student. An exemplar who was to reflect what the student was to strive for throughout their lives. In the context of the idea of the teacher as an exemplar, we must recognize the reality that Ryerson could not direct and manage every phase of the day or every action of each staffer. There had to be a level of trust and freedom delegated to these individuals, and in doing so, the power to influence classrooms all over the province was diffused to these staffers. Not only that, but in stories like those of Catherine Johnson, we have uncovered claims which, boastful or not, indicate that the Normal was providing training which was perceived as a strong educational experience as well as opportunities for advancement during the study period.

In this study’s opening phase, it defined the Normal School as a unique space in the administrative grid of Upper Canadian education. By taking a view of educational legislation as

establishing a structured organization, we were able to highlight the fact that the Normal appeared to circumvent the many layers of filtration and negotiation between educational leadership at the level of Ryerson and the teacher in the field. This raises curiosities about how we understand the Normal's utility to actors like Ryerson in their well-documented contests for control with sources of community power. Given the state of digitization in terms of the scope of sources and in terms of the quality of Optical Character Recognition, the best method at this time seems to be coordinating rigorous term searching with a structure of contextually identified events and subjects that increase the likelihood and identifiability of positive results. We can only benefit from further refining this and other approaches to these sources. In particular, future studies will benefit from clarifying key dates and a narrower base of search terms to apply to databases. What strengths this study took from breadth must now be built on with attempts at further depth to strengthen our understanding of whether or not fuller stories can be recovered for most individuals. Additionally, more focused examinations of the educational network or community present in Toronto during this period will help to further evaluate much of what has been observed about the Normal's reception and reputation, as well as help to further explore the lived experience of newly urban professionals living in Toronto at that time.

Moving towards more specific investigations of the staff as a group, we identified a series of generations amongst the staff that could be indicative of different historical periods of administration, talent, or particular crystallizations of power and practice within the Normal. Of special note was the staying power of a particular 'founding' second generation at the Normal (replete with several long-career, seemingly high-impact individuals like Robertson, McCallum, Sangster, Hind, and Clark). Though this study attempted to bring into view the potential lessons and contributions to be taken from all staff members, the coming to the fore of certain individuals like this founding generation raises key questions about whether there are particular individuals

who – when placed under the lens of further study – might add a particularly useful level of nuance to existing narratives (especially given their occasional presence within them already).

Looking into the moments when Normal staff were placed in the public spotlight, we noted that these events represented moments in which the attentions of educational authorities, the public in Toronto, and the broader Provincial community were focused on the Normal and the efforts of its staff. The evidence which was uncovered on this front raised interesting questions about how the Normal and its community might have assisted a small, newly minted Education Office accomplish its goals. The Normal staff seem to have frequently succeeded in building relationships with and a positive reputation within the educational marketplace in Toronto. This may have disassociated some of the educational ideas it was promoting from the political divisiveness associated with the system's political leadership. This presents interesting possibilities to consider in evaluating the role the Normal and its staff may have played in consensus-building to support the extension of the state power by way of education throughout the colony. Furthermore, the partial recovery of numerous individuals from relative historical obscurity is, in and of itself, an exercise which – if even in just in a small way – assists in the ongoing exploration of Ontario's past. The stories of some individuals might even merit consideration for addition to important historical projects like the Dictionary of Canadian Biography, where, with luck, they might serve to support the work of other scholars exploring the lived experiences of those from Ontario's past.

Finally, this study also had the privilege to stumble into several observations about the diversity and demographic tensions present in Canada West during this period. While certainly related to the Normal, these observations brought a valuable broadening of perspective. Likely as a result of its central public and structural role in educational reforms, the Normal attracted the attention of marginalized communities within colonial society. Its role and the particular space it

occupied in the administrative grid meant that it represented a potential lever of power and point of access to participate in the drive for social change that was at the heart of the Reform program. Further study may be able to mobilize the Normal as a keen point of observation from which to examine the competing interests and aspirations of these groups. Findings regarding potential Indigenous students who attended the Normal, female students and staff members, and the existence of a least a few Normal marriages all suggest the possibility of inquiries into social and community relations that might help to grow our understanding of identity, the politics of educational opportunities, and the lived experiences of diverse groups participating in adult education in this period.

Colonial Toronto, from 1847 to 1857 and beyond, hosted a vibrant community of educators and educational institutions, including the Normal School. In the Digital Age, we once again have the opportunity to explore and gain fresh insight into that time. In exploring middle actors and their activities, this study joins several other historical scholars and scholars from other disciplines in beginning to evaluate those intermediaries at play in the exercise of power through bureaucratized organizations. Middle-oriented perspectives offer enormous opportunities to reveal typically elusive networks of collaboration and contest between and within the organizations of both the private and public sectors. This study only dealt with the very founding decade of this institution. The Normal staff lists represent a collection of individuals whose stories could likely be uncovered and whose stories would reflect experiences across more than a century of Ontario's history. Studying the lives of those in the past has its own merits, but beyond that, these individuals represent an identifiable group of 'middle' functionaries within the growing bureaucratic state in Canada. The merit in studying these individuals reaches beyond lessons that can be learned about education and, optimistically, might, under continued investigation, open a new avenue of inquiry into the diffusion of power and the role of

bureaucratic or 'middle' actors in the historical development of the confederation-era Canadian state.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Database Backgrounders<sup>495</sup>

#### *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*<sup>TM</sup>

This database was one of the first and most quantitatively important for my research. ProQuest Historical Newspapers boasts “...nearly two hundred historical titles, including local titles and collections,”<sup>496</sup> however, only a handful of these were immediately applicable to this study. Those which appeared to hold the most promise were: *The Globe and Mail* (1844-Present) and the *Ottawa Citizen* (1845-2010) from Ontario, as well as *The New York Times* (1851-2018) since their early coverage reached back into the study period of 1847-1860. The ProQuest interface organizes searches in reference to several “databases.” Rather than searching the entirety of the ProQuest collection (which includes publications addressing numerous other areas of study), the searches performed using this resource were targeted toward several of these sub-databases.

*The Globe and Mail* database houses full-text searchable articles from the Toronto newspaper *The Globe* from 1844 to 1936 and *The Globe and Mail* from 1936 until 2018.<sup>497</sup> The Ottawa Citizen database houses full-text searchable articles from thirteen different Ottawa newspapers, most notably, *The Ottawa Citizen* (1851-1871) and *The Packet* (1846-1851). The full-text search is not available for the years 1852, 1857 and 1858 for *The Ottawa Citizen* (1851-1871).<sup>498</sup> The New York Times with Index database houses full-text searchable articles from *The New York Daily Times* (1851-1857) and the *New York Times* (under two identical titles) from 1857 to 2018 combined.<sup>499</sup> This database also has pre-defined topic searches with a claimed

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<sup>495</sup> Listed in order of the quantity of applicable source material they provided for my work.

<sup>496</sup> “ProQuest Historical Newspapers<sup>TM</sup>,” ProQuest, accessed September 5, 2022, URL:

<https://about.proquest.com/en/products-services/pq-hist-news/>.

<sup>497</sup> “ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail – View title list.” ProQuest, accessed September 5, 2022, URL:

<https://tls.search.proquest.com/titlelist/ListForward?format=excel&ft=Y&citAbs=Y&other=Y&issn=Y&isbn=Y&per=Y&pubId=Y&gaps=Y&subject=Y&language=Y&changes=Y&productId=1008594&productName=ProQuest+Historical+Newspapers%3A+The+Globe+and+Mail&ftDetail=Y&citAbsDetail=Y&otherDetail=Y&accountId=14701>.

<sup>498</sup> “ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Ottawa Citizen – View title list.” ProQuest, accessed September 5, 2022, URL:

<https://tls.search.proquest.com/titlelist/ListForward?format=excel&ft=Y&citAbs=Y&other=Y&issn=Y&isbn=Y&per=Y&pubId=Y&gaps=Y&subject=Y&language=Y&changes=Y&productId=1009724&productName=ProQuest+Historical+Newspapers%3A+Ottawa+Citizen&ftDetail=Y&citAbsDetail=Y&otherDetail=Y&accountId=14701>.

<sup>499</sup> “ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index – View title list.” ProQuest, accessed September 5, 2022, URL:

<https://tls.search.proquest.com/titlelist/ListForward?format=excel&ft=Y&citAbs=Y&other=Y&issn=Y&isbn=Y&per=Y&pubId=Y&gaps=Y&subject=Y&language=Y&changes=Y&productId=1005685&productName=ProQuest+Historical+Newspapers%3A+The+New+York+Times+with+Index&ftDetail=Y&citAbsDetail=Y&otherDetail=Y&accountId=14701>.

3,202,262 topics available.<sup>500</sup> For this last periodical, which comes from outside of the country of interest in this study, this feature seemed far too expansive to explore in great detail.

*The Toronto Star* database, housing four titles dating back to 1894, and the Canadian Major Dailies database, housing thirty-five titles from across Canada which provide more modern coverage dating back to 1985, were also included in the searches.<sup>501</sup> These are Canadian papers, but their coverage being well outside the period of study meant that such sources spoke more often to the memory of the Normal rather than the school and staff themselves.

### *Canadiana*

Providing a broad aggregation of smaller newspapers and a wealth of other primary source types, Canadiana is an indispensable resource in any study of Canadian history today. Especially, for this study, because this database provides access to the *Journal of Education for the Province of Upper Canada* (later for *Ontario*), a key resource produced by Egerton Ryerson as Chief Superintendent of Schools for Upper Canada and attesting specifically to the Normal School's activities during the 1848-1860 period.

Canadiana is maintained by the Canadian Research Knowledge Network (CRKN) with which it merged in 2018. This project has been "...dedicated to the preservation and access of Canada's documentary heritage since 1978..."<sup>502</sup> Canadiana itself was the product of the merger of a number of programs for historical preservation. The Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions was established by the Canada Council for the Arts in 1978: "The Institute's key objectives were to make printed Canadiana more easily available to all Canadians, to make rare and scarce Canadiana widely available, and to ensure the preservation of Canadiana in Canada and elsewhere."<sup>503</sup> With the coming of the Digital Age, 1997 saw the establishment of the Canadian Initiative on Digital Libraries by the collaboration of Library and Archives Canada, the University of Calgary Press, l'Université Laval Library, and other member libraries to create digital archival content for Canada. As digitization efforts evolved, this project was dissolved and the Alouette Canada: Open Digitization Initiative (from the Canadian Association of Research Libraries) was endorsed as its successor. The following year, the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions and Canadian Association of Research Libraries decided to merge their efforts, creating Canadiana.<sup>504</sup>

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<sup>500</sup> "The New York Times Index Topics," ProQuest "ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times with Index," accessed July 12, 2023, URL:

[https://www.proquest.com/hnpnewyorktimes/nyticategoriesbrowse/NytiResultList\\_All\\_/1?accountid=14701](https://www.proquest.com/hnpnewyorktimes/nyticategoriesbrowse/NytiResultList_All_/1?accountid=14701).

<sup>501</sup> "ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Toronto Star – View title list." ProQuest, accessed September 5, 2022, URL: <https://tls.search.proquest.com/titlelist/ListForward?format=excel&ft=Y&citAbs=Y&other=Y&issn=Y&isbn=Y&peer=Y&pubId=Y&gaps=Y&subject=Y&language=Y&changes=Y&productId=1008718&productName=ProQuest+Historical+Newspapers%3A+Toronto+Star&ftDetail=Y&citAbsDetail=Y&otherDetail=Y&accountid=14701>.

<sup>502</sup> "Heritage Content," Canadian Research Knowledge Network, accessed September 5, 2022, URL: <https://www.crkn-rcdr.ca/en/heritage-content>.

<sup>503</sup> "History of Canadiana," Canadian Research Knowledge Network, accessed September 5, 2022, URL: <https://www.crkn-rcdr.ca/en/history-canadiana>.

<sup>504</sup> "History of Canadiana."

The CRKN is a Trustworthy Digital Repository whose policy specifications include that all materials eligible for inclusion in the Canadiana Collection are of “known provenance” and are understood to be a digital surrogate for the analog material.<sup>505</sup> Of particular note, the CRKN states that: “All OCR is “dirty OCR” meaning it is not manually corrected or post-processed and does not have to meet any particular quality requirement. While CRKN monitors the overall confidence results of the OCR process for the purposes of ongoing evaluation and fine-tuning of OCR software and methods, it does not keep records or metrics for individual documents or pages.”<sup>506</sup>

### *INK – Our Digital World (ODW) Newspaper Collection*

This website hosts INK, “...a pilot project of *OurOntario*, one of the subprojects of *Knowledge Ontario*....”<sup>507</sup> Our Digital World is a not-for-profit organization that is meant to be the successor to the OurOntario project by Knowledge Ontario, which ceased operations in 2012. OurOntario “...was the result of widespread consultations between the Ontario Library Association (OLA) and provincial stakeholders representing Ontario’s public libraries, colleges, universities, public schools, and government ministries.”<sup>508</sup> Within its collections, “...52 community newspapers are presented, representing over 100,000 complete issues, and over 1 million full pages of English and French content.”<sup>509</sup> Notable newspapers which can be accessed through it include early Kingston publications such as *The British Whig*, *The Kingston Chronicle*, and *The Kingston Gazette*, as well as “...two abolitionist newspapers from Southern Ontario (*The Provincial Freeman* and *The Voice of the Fugitive*)....”<sup>510</sup> From the outset, the project notes there are significant variations in the quality of the digitizations it assembles, suggesting that any such deficiency nonetheless does not detract from its functionality for microfilm-style browsing.<sup>511</sup> INK’s online interface is in the process of seeking a new server host for its content. The website has experienced outages and is scheduled to undergo a renewal in 2023.<sup>512</sup>

The website allows common Boolean searching and date filtration – like many other databases – but also allows those using the Advanced Search to choose Fuzzy and Proximity settings for their search. The Fuzzy search setting can be set in 0.1 increments on a scale from 0 (lenient) to 1 (strict) to determine the level of similarity to each search term required from the

<sup>505</sup> “Trustworthy Digital Repository – Trustworthy Digital repository Policy,” Canadian Research Knowledge Network, July 26, 2021, accessed September 5, 2022, URL: <https://www.crkn-rcdr.ca/sites/crkn/files/2021-09/Trustworthy%20Digital%20Repository%20Policy.pdf>.

<sup>506</sup> “Trustworthy Digital Repository – Digitization Standards and Procedures,” Canadian Research Knowledge Network, July 30, 2021, accessed September 5, 2022, URL: [https://docs.google.com/a/c7a.ca/document/d/10Q03FCFJpzWjLg\\_HM2fFaAkCdJBaKWyvqC\\_L1qthbRA/edit?usp=sharing](https://docs.google.com/a/c7a.ca/document/d/10Q03FCFJpzWjLg_HM2fFaAkCdJBaKWyvqC_L1qthbRA/edit?usp=sharing).

<sup>507</sup> “Welcome to INK,” INK - ODW Newspaper Collection, para. 1, accessed March 14, 2023, URL: <http://ink.ourontario.ca/>.

<sup>508</sup> “History,” OurDigitalWorld, accessed September 5, 2021, URL: <https://ourdigitalworld.net/about/history/>.

<sup>509</sup> “Welcome to INK,” para. 1.

<sup>510</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 3.

<sup>511</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 1.

<sup>512</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 2.

results (i.e., if searches will be allowed to return words spelled similarly or misspelled, or if it will only return exact matches). This feature can be of great assistance in instances where there may be multiple alternate spellings of the term within the documentary record. In my searches, however, I did not make use of the Fuzzy Search Settings, leaving those values at 0 or having no fuzziness. This was done because I preferred to have a broader variety of results and because I was certain of the spelling of my search terms. The Proximity search setting can be in whole number increments from 0 (close) to 100 (far), specifying the maximum number of words which can separate your search terms (when multiple terms are used) in the results. I kept this setting at 0 in my searches as I was seeking individuals by their names, making intervening words in valid results uncommon. The search interface provides full-text search of articles and provides a helpful preview which attempts to show the search results in context by providing a snippet image of the few lines of text surrounding the term found. Unfortunately, for some articles, this did not work well (often because the word position on the page had not been properly recorded).

### *Toronto Public Library Digital Archive*

This specific collection is provided as part of the Toronto Public Library's online presence (specifically within its Digital Archive). Using that repository's online search function, one finds numerous records attributed to the "Toronto Mechanics' Institute." The Toronto Public Library has helpfully grouped records related to the Mechanics' Institute under this subject heading, which can be selected to allow researchers to browse only those records.<sup>513</sup>

The Toronto Public Library is a longstanding and respected municipal library which traces its own history back to 1883 and which views itself as the successor to and inheritor of the legacy of the Toronto (and before that York) Mechanics' Institute before it, tracing its roots back more than 190 years.<sup>514</sup> This institution evinces a strong, publicly stated commitment to ethical, accountable, and transparent practice in its efforts to provide "...universal access to a broad range of human knowledge, experience, information and ideas..."<sup>515</sup> These commitments are reinforced by the Library's publication of Intellectual Freedom and Equity Statements on its website, which elaborate the institution's vision and goals for itself as an accessible, free, and public service.<sup>516</sup>

The "Toronto Mechanics' Institute" subject collection's digitized records are from a date range from 1840 to 1883. Particularly useful were several digitized copies of the Institute's annual reports. Unfortunately, given the time period of interest for this study, no reports were

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<sup>513</sup> "Toronto Mechanics' Institute," Toronto Public Library, Digital Archive, accessed April 5, 2023, URL: <https://digitalarchive.tpl.ca/people/65499/toronto-mechanics-institute/objects>.

<sup>514</sup> "History of Toronto Public Library," Toronto Public Library, accessed March 14, 2023, URL: <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/about-the-library/library-history/>.

<sup>515</sup> "Vision, Mission & Values," Toronto Public Library, accessed April 5, 2023, URL: <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/about-the-library/mission-vision-values/>.

<sup>516</sup> "Intellectual Freedom Statement," Toronto Public Library, December 5, 2022, accessed April 5, 2023, URL: <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/terms-of-use/library-policies/intellectual-freedom-statement.jsp>; "Equity Statement," Toronto Public Library, December 5, 2022, accessed April 5, 2023, URL: <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/terms-of-use/library-policies/equity-statement.jsp>.

identified for 1847 or 1848. It is clear that the Institute was active during these years and there is evidence that the institution began holding public exhibitions (a point of interest given this study's observations about the Normal's Public Examinations) in 1848.<sup>517</sup> Unfortunately, it is likely that any records pertaining to those years have not yet been digitized as part of this Digital Archive (if they are available in the Toronto Public Library's collections), so this study did not pursue them. They remain a point of interest for follow-up for inquiries about the educational community in Toronto, which could follow from this study.

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<sup>517</sup> Toronto Mechanics' Institute, "Second Annual Exhibition, Commencing Sep. 25th, 1849," n.p., n.d., accessed March 10, 2021, URL: <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMD-1849-ANNUAL-VS&R=DC-1849-ANNUAL-VS>. This is a ticket stub to the Toronto Mechanics' Institute's Second Annual Exhibition. This implies that the first would have taken place in 1848. The cost of admission in 1849 was 7 ½ d.

## Appendix B: Annotated Record of Searches Conducted

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail

*Coverage: 1844-2018*

*Searches conducted in February 2021* (I am unable to provide exact dates for this preliminary search as I was still thinking out my approach to digital transparency at this point. While I did write down the information necessary to make this listing, I did not keep a clear track of dates other than that these were made subsequently to a February 2, 2021 meeting with my supervising Professor).

Filters – Date Range: January 1, 1846 – December 31, 1848 (within this date range, the database claims there are 7, 218 distinct articles).

Notes: This search was conducted as a trial run. Its primary objective was to find evidence relating to staff employed on the Normal Campus during this date range, as listed in the 1897 and 1947 commemorative materials.<sup>518</sup> Overall while reviewing the PDFs, my sense was that the OCR in this date range is poorer before 1848 and improves afterwards. Anecdotally then, the possibility of false negatives in this portion of the corpus is likely to be much higher.

Individual Boolean Searches within this:

- “Robertson” – 48 results – seeking to find evidence relating to Thomas Jaffray Robertson, First Headmaster
  - His first appearance returned through the keyword search was on April 15, 1848. This seemed odd since I knew from secondary materials written on Robertson that he had arrived in Toronto in September 1848 and that it had been a newsworthy event.<sup>519</sup> So, I performed a quality check of this search by skimming issue by issue in September 1848 for applicable articles. This turned up two articles that had been missed by the keyword search. Likely due to noise in the scanned images.
- “hind” – 46 results – seeking to find evidence relating to Henry Youle Hind, First Second Master
  - Hind’s first appearance in the keyword search was in a November 6, 1847 article.
  - Within the results I found another article about Thomas Jaffray Robertson that had been missed by the “Robertson” search. I thought it was probably missed because the scan of the article was quite blurry and difficult to read.
  - This search turned up numerous false positives when articles included words like hand, fund, kind, and land.
  - I completed a complimentary search for “Youle” which returned 0 results.
- “bell” – 200 results – seeking to find evidence relating to Robert Bell, Model School Teacher

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<sup>518</sup> Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 199–201; Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 70–76.

<sup>519</sup> Wilson, “ROBERTSON, THOMAS JAFFRAY,” para.3.

- None of these results seemed to relate to the Robert Bell, Model Teacher. It is difficult to identify him unless the article associates him with the institution explicitly because I have little identifying information beyond his name and position.
- Some of these referred to a Toronto City Alderman of the same name, but I have assumed this is not the same man because I have no evidence to connect the two.

After these three initial searches, I decided to refine my technique to be more targeted. I crafted searches moving forward with more specificity and with a view towards completing more general overlapping searches beyond those for individual staffers.

- “Normal School” OR “Model School” – 30 results – an overlapping search designed to catch any articles where the staffer is not clearly named or where the singular listing of the name is invisible to OCR.
- “J. P. Clarke” OR “Clarke” – 107 results – seeking evidence relating to J. P. Clarke, Music Teacher
  - Four of these results were clearly related to the staffer concerned.
- “Charles Lowey” – 0 results – seeking evidence relating to Charles Lowey, First Headmaster, Model School
  - “Lowey” also returned 0 results.
- “Archibald McCallum” OR “McCallum” – 0 results – seeking evidence of Archibald McCallum, Second Headmaster, Model School/Boys’ Model School
- “J. H. Robertson” OR “J.H. Robertson” – 0 results – seeking evidence of J. H. Robertson, Music Master
- “William Townsend” OR “W. Townsend” OR “Townsend” – 37 results – seeking evidence of William Townsend, Music Master
  - None of these articles clearly related to the person in question.
- “John Herbert Sangster” OR “John Sangster” OR “J. H. Sangster” OR “J.H.Sangster” OR “Sangster” – 0 results – seeking evidence of John Herbert Sangster, Model School Teacher (later to hold several other positions)
- “J. Samuel Stacey” OR “J.S. Stacey” or “Stacey” – 0 results – seeking evidence of J. Samuel Stacey, Writing Master
- “Model School” – 5 results – to double check that the previous search including this term had caught all the results for the keyword. It had.
- “Principal” OR “Headmaster” OR “Head Master” OR “Head Teacher” OR “First Master” – 315 results – seeking evidence of Thomas Jaffray Robertson
  - A large number of false positives were related to the term “Principal” due to its alternate employment as an adjective denoting importance/precedence and its use in discussions of financial management.
- “Second Master” OR “Lecturer” – 32 results – seeking evidence of Henry Youle Hind, First Second Master
  - This search introduced me to the connection between the Normal School and the Mechanics’ Institute. The term Lecturer broadened the search more than intended.
- “Music Master” OR “Music Teacher” – 0 results – seeking evidence of J. H. Robertson and William Townsend

- “Writing Master” OR “Writing Teacher” – 0 results – seeking evidence of J. Samuel Stacey.
- “Drawing Master” OR “Drawing Teacher” OR “Art Teacher” OR “Art Master” – 0 results – though there was no Drawing Master employed at Toronto Normal during this period, I wanted to see if this search would turn up results from other institutions. This was part of my information gathering on potential overlap with other schools (colleges, etc.) when using position names instead of naming individuals.
- “Instructor” or “Teacher” – 94 results – another instance of an overlapping search designed to turn up results where other terms might have been unreadable.

### INK – Our Digital World (ODW) Newspaper Collection

*Coverage: “The Acton Free Press (5,574 issues/55,577 pages) - Jul. 2, 1875 to Dec. 26, 1984, The Acton Tanner (182 issues/3,154 pages) - May. 26, 1992 to Aug. 9, 2001, The Amherstburg Courier (44 issues/183 pages) - Mar. 10, 1849 to Feb. 9, 1850, The Amherstburg Echo (4,722 issues/45,744 pages) - Nov. 20, 1874 to Dec. 29, 1982, The Barrie Examiner (2,847 issues/27,438 pages) - Feb. 19, 1864 to Jan. 25, 1952, The Border Cities Star (5,106 issues/144,965 pages) - Sep. 3, 1918 to Jun. 29, 1935, The Bowmanville Merchant (268 issues/1,064 pages) - Mar. 24, 1871 to Sep. 8, 1876, The British Whig (13,539 issues/60,058 pages) - Feb. 11, 1834 to Dec. 31, 1901, Canadian Emigrant And Western District Advertiser (147 issues/581 pages) - Dec. 1, 1831 to Sep. 26, 1836, The Canadian Illustrated News (13 issues/156 pages) - Oct. 8, 1862 to Jan. 31, 1863, The Canadian Statesman (3,956 issues/51,496 pages) - Jan. 3, 1894 to Dec. 26, 1979, Le Canadien (1 issue/4 pages) - Jul. 25, 1891 to Jul. 25, 1891, The Chatham Daily News (201 issues/3,060 pages) - Mar. 1, 1934 to Oct. 31, 1934, The Comber Herald (1,042 issues/8,579 pages) - Jan. 7, 1892 to Dec. 27, 1917, Le Courier and Le Courier De L'Ouest (9 issues/52 pages) - Jun. 27, 1885 to Jan. 7, 1909, Courier D'Essex (2 issues/16 pages) - Aug. 8, 1884 to Jan. 17, 1885, La Defense (1 issue/8 pages) - Mar. 7, 1918 to Mar. 7, 1918, The Essex Free Press (5,949 issues/71,885 pages) - Jan. 4, 1895 to Mar. 30, 2011, Essex Record (484 issues/1,946 pages) - Nov. 16, 1871 to Nov. 9, 1882, The Flesherton Advance (2612 issues/19,945 pages) - Dec. 20, 1883 to Sep. 6, 1950, The Georgetown Herald (4,319 issues/71,922 pages) - Mar. 14, 1867 to Feb. 19, 1992, The Halton Compass (69 issues/1,517 pages) - Aug. 6, 2004 to Nov. 25, 2005, Halton Hills This Week (51 issues/1,307 pages) - Jun. 24, 1992 to Dec. 26, 1992, Halton Hills Weekend (75 issues/2,719 pages) - Jan. 1, 1995 to Jun. 16, 1996, L'Independent Du Canada (1 issue/4 pages) - Mar. 25, 1892 to Mar. 25, 1892, The Independent & Free Press (339 issues/15,095 pages) - Sep. 1, 1996 to Nov. 30, 2005, Kingston Chronicle (245 issues/963 pages) - Jul. 7, 1826 to Jun. 23, 1832, Kingston Chronicle and Gazette (443 issues/1,754 pages) - Jul. 1, 1835 to May. 8, 1847, Kingston Gazette (347 issues/1,404 pages) - Nov. 27, 1810 to Sept. 17, 1887, The Kingston News (2,211 issues/8,402 pages) - Jan. 2, 1868 to Dec. 29, 1820, The Kingsville Reporter (5,408 issues/55,209 pages) - Jun. 23, 1893 to Dec. 18, 2001, The LaSalle Silhouette (500 issues/8,406 pages) - Aug. 11, 1990 to Dec. 15, 2011, The Leamington Post (4,147 issues/100,476 pages) - Jan. 8, 1875 to Dec. 27, 1995, The Marine Record (1,286 issues/15,530 pages) - Feb. 17, 1883 to Dec. 4, 1902, The Markdale Standard*

(3,640 issues/24,915 pages) - Sep. 17, 1880 to Mar. 16, 1950, *The Newmarket Era* (4,380 issues/48,883 pages) - Jan. 2, 1863 to Apr. 29, 2010, *The Northern Advance* (3,646 issues/25,992 pages) - Aug. 16, 1855 to Feb. 22, 1940, *The Orono Weekly Times* (1,739 issues/14,492 pages) - Jan. 15, 1942 to Dec. 23, 1985, *The Provincial Freeman* (136 issues/540 pages) - Mar. 24, 1853 to Jan. 3, 1876, *The Stouffville Sun-Tribune* (6,412 issues/130,164 pages) - Nov. 16, 1888 to Dec. 31, 2014, *The Tecumseh Maple Leaf* (1,370 issues/10,685 pages) - Jan. 29, 1931 to Jan. 23, 1958, *The Tecumseh Tribune* (700 issues/11,127 pages) - Jan. 30, 1959 to Nov. 11, 2010, *True Royalist* (2 issues/6 pages) - May. 10, 1860 to Jun. 21, 1861, *The Voice of The Fugitive* (51 issues/205 pages) - Jan. 1, 1851 to Dec. 16, 1852, *The Walkerville Mercury* (52 issues/217 pages) - Apr. 19, 1890 to Apr. 11, 1891, *The Walkerville News* (110 issues/930 pages) - Dec. 6, 1934 to Dec. 31, 1936, *The Walkerville Times* (60 issues/1613 pages) - Mar. 1, 1999 to Dec. 1, 2016, *The Western Herald* (180 issues/1,123 pages) - Jan. 3, 1838 to Oct. 6, 1842, *The Whitby Free Press* (1314 issues/34,422 pages) - Jun. 30, 1971 to Dec. 18, 1996, *The Whitby Gazette and Chronicle* (343 issues/2,795 pages) - Apr. 4, 1912 to Dec. 4, 1941, *The Windsor Evening Record* (7,747 issues/64,054 pages) - Jan. 3, 1893 to Aug. 31, 1918, *The Windsor Herald* (103 issues/414 pages) - Jan. 6, 1855 to Dec. 26, 1856, *The York Commonwealth* (251 issues/997 pages) - Dec. 3, 1858 to Sep. 4, 1863.”<sup>520</sup>

#### Search Conducted February 10, 2021

Filters – Fuzzy “0”, Proximity “0”, All Newspapers, Date Range: 1847-1858

- “Normal School” – 29 Results – A general search to see what evidence this collection has related directly to my subject institution.

#### Search Conducted May 26, 2021

Filters – Fuzzy “0”, Proximity “0”, All Newspapers, Date Range: 1818-1848

- “Charles Lowey” – 13 results – No apparent matches

#### Search Conducted May 27, 2021

Filters – Fuzzy “0”, Proximity “0”, All Newspapers, Date Range: 1835-1880 [Containing the words “music”]

- “J.P.Clarke” OR “J. P. Clarke” OR “Clarke” – 12,173 results – filtered for relevancy. Too many non-relevant results. I do not think this search engine allows for phrase searching within quotations.
- “Clarke” containing “music”, “Clarke” containing “music” not “Clark”, and “Clarke” containing “music and Clarke” all tried to no real improvement.
- “Hind”, Date Range: 1845-1908 (End of his education in France to his death) – 23,999 results – seems to have lots of mistakes with “kind”, “hand”, “had”, “Sale”, etc.
- “T. J. Robertson”, Date Range : 1846-1866 (His time in Canada until his death) – 244 results

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<sup>520</sup> “List of Titles,” INK - ODW Newspaper Collection, accessed March 14, 2023, URL: <http://ink.ourontario.ca/titles>.

Toronto Public Library Digital Archive

Coverage: 46 Records from 1840 to 1883

Search Conducted March 10, 2021

Filters – Subject: “Toronto Mechanics’ Institute”

Notes: The various records digitized herein were reviewed using a browsing approach and no detailed approach beyond those which appeared applicable and of interest to the researcher was applied in making selections. This database did, however, yield several useful sources which did contribute to the analysis in this study. Particularly, as regards early participation of Normal staff in the broader community of educational projects in Toronto. The Mechanics’ Institute’s status as one of the older and longer standing educational endeavours in the city is what spawned the researcher’s initial interest in records related to it (which led, through a preliminary google search, to the Toronto Public Library’s collection).

Canadiana by CRKN – Journal of education for Upper Canada series

Coverage: 235 Issues from January 1848 – July 1867

Search Conducted March 23, 2021

Filters – Search in “Everything”, Sort Order “Sequence”, Date Range: 1848-1860

Notes: Given the size of this periodical’s corpus and its detailed coverage, issue to issue reviewing was also applied to this source. Given the discovery of a highly detailed article referring to the first Public Examination of the Normal School in March 1848, a full issue to issue review of that year was conducted.

- “Robertson” – 63 results – seeking evidence of Thomas Jaffray Robertson, First Headmaster
  - I did not formally review and compile information from these results right away. Instead, I transferred my efforts, given the likelihood of applicable content in this particular periodical, to a full microfilm-style scan of all issues for 1848 (that being Volume 1 of the Journal).

Search Conducted June 14, 2021

Filters – Search in “Everything”, Sort Order “Sequence”, Date Range: 1848-1867

Notes:

- “Clarke” – 71 results – seeking evidence of J. P. Clarke, Music Teacher
  - Mentioned in the May 1848.
  - There are a large number of false positives. I am uncertain of the potential cause. The majority relate to the commonality of this name.
  - Found one from March 1851 about William Ormiston.

- There was lots of good material from this search, however a large portion of it did not have to do with J. P. Clarke. This caught Dorcas Clark, plus a number of other interesting entries for other staff figures though.

#### Search Conducted June 15, 2021

Filters – Search in “Everything”, Sort Order “Sequence”, Date Range: 1848-1867

Notes:

- “Townsend” – 27 results – seeking evidence of William Townsend, Music Master
  - It appears the database is confusing Townsend with Township in blurry scans.
  - Also, there is the Township of Townsend – like the Township of Clarke.
  - There are also false positives related to one Dr. Townsend, Bishop of Meath in England, who I do not anticipate will be related.

#### Search Conducted June 17, 2021

Filters – Search in “Everything”, Sort Order “Sequence”, Date Range: 1848-1867

Notes:

- “Robert Bell” – 3 results – seeking evidence of Model Teacher Robert Bell, a normal graduate.
  - One textbook author, but they are Esq. Not sure it is the same person. This search also returned false positives related to a civil engineer of the same name.
- “Lowey” – 1 result – seeking evidence of Charles Lowey, First Model Headmaster
  - Result returned is likely the correct person.
- “McCallum” – 32 results – seeking Archibald McCallum, Second Model Headmaster
  - Several results are likely false positives relating to Finlay McCallum, a teacher of minor note in the Gore District (Milton as of 1850)
  - The name McClelland may also be creating a false positive.

#### Search Conducted June 19, 2021

Filters – Search in “Everything”, Sort Order “Sequence”, Date Range: 1848-1867

Notes:

- “Robertson” – 106 results – covers T. J. and J. H. Robertson
  - There are a few false positives related to William Robertson, D.D. (history writer), John Beverly Robertson (Chief Justice), Andrew Robertson (McGill) and several others.
  - There are several students’ named Robertson and a Miss Robertson – do not know if there is any relation.

#### Search Conducted June 20, 2021

Filters – Search in “Everything”, Sort Order “Sequence”, Date Range: 1848-1867

Notes:

- “Stacey” – 2 results – looking for Writing Master J. Samuel Stacey
  - 1 maybe but I am fairly sure neither of these are related.
- “Walsh” – 16 results – looking for Patrick Walsh, Music Master

- OCR may have confused World for Walsh at least once.
- Mr. Walsh – dead 1851 of Queen’s College. Dismissed as not the person we are looking for (in this case, who the 1897 did not list him as dead by that celebration).
- Just found one Stacey spelled “Stacy”, will be inputting a new search with this spelling after this.
- Several false positives related to Thomas Walsh, Esq.
- Found one false negative related to Robertson. Fairly high-quality scan so I do not know why. Maybe because “Robertson” did not have the comma: “Robertson,”.
- Seemingly very few direct results from this search.

### Search Conducted June 21, 2021

Filters – Search in “Everything”, Sort Order “Sequence”, Date Range: 1848-1867

Notes:

- “Stacy” – 1 result – the same one I found by chance earlier for Writing Master J. Samuel Stacey.
- “Hind” – 55 results – expect this to turn up results for both William and Henry Hind
  - Similar to the Globe search, some errors related to “kind”, etc.
  - British astronomer J. R. Hind is another false positive.
- “Dorcas” – 4 results – looking for Dorcas Clark, Headmistress, Model School
- “Fripp” – 1 result – looking for H. G. R. Fripp, got some good information.
- “Goodwin” – 22 results – looking for Major H. Goodwin
  - There is a Christopher Goodwin who is a Local Superintendent and may be a false positive.

### Search Conducted June 26 and 28, 2021

- Review by date of the last 2-3 pages of all issues from 1848-1857 seeking Wanted ads for staff positions at the Normal
  - Only found 1 – which bolsters the ideas that does that suggest that the staffing of this institution was almost entirely sourced internally after the first few years.

ProQuest Historical Newspapers:

Canadian Major Dailies (1985-current), The Globe and Mail (1844-2017), The New York Times with Index (1851-2017), Ottawa Citizen (1845-2010), Toronto Star (1894-2018)

### Search Conducted June 6, 2021

- “Thomas Jaffray Robertson” OR “Thomas J. Robertson” OR “T.J.Robertson” OR “T. J. Robertson” – All dates – Source Type (excludes Blogs, Podcasts, & Websites) Historical Newspapers, Newspapers, Reports – All Document Types – Both English & French – 116 results
  - All reviewed for relevance – known repeats were ignored.
  - About a dozen relevant results. Some gold mines, others just a note.

- “Henry Youle Hind” OR “Henry Y. Hind.” OR “Henry Hind” OR “H. Youle Hind” OR “H. Y. Hind” OR “H.Y. Hind” OR “H.Y.Hind” OR “Youle Hind” – All dates – Source Type (excludes Blogs, Podcasts, & Websites) Historical Newspapers, Newspapers, Reports – All Document Types – Both English & French – 95 results
  - The majority were relevant and most of those were taken for use.

Search Conducted January 12, 2022

- "Henry Youle Hind" OR "H. Y. Hind" OR "H. Youle Hind" OR "Henry Hind"– 89 results; many relevant.
- Document Type: Obituary
  - "Henry Youle Hind" OR "H. Y. Hind" OR "H. Youle Hind" OR "Henry Hind"– Date Limits 1908-1909 – 0 results
  - "Henry Youle Hind" OR "H. Y. Hind" OR "H. Youle Hind" OR "Henry Hind" OR "Hind" – Date Limits 1908-1909 – 8 results; 0 relevant.
  - "Thomas Jaffray Robertson" OR "T. J. Robertson" OR "Thomas Robertson" OR "Thomas J. Robertson" – Date Limits 1860-1861 – 0 results
  - "Henry Youle Hind" OR "H. Y. Hind" OR "H. Youle Hind" OR "Henry Hind"– 1 result; not relevant
  - “Robert Bell” – 209 results – a couple possibles saved but no clear ties. Stopped at result 42 (by 1930 he would be getting very) sorted by oldest.

Search Conducted January 18, 2022

- Document Type: Obituary
  - “J. P. Clarke” – 0 results
  - “Clarke” - 14,442 results; nothing jumped out as likely in the first two pages. This search abandoned for efficiency.
  - “Clarke” AND “music” OR “orchestra” OR “philharmonic” – 9,901 results; nothing jumped out after reviewing the first 5 pages.
  - “Charles Lowey” – 0 results
  - “Archibald McCallum” OR “A. McCallum” – 13 results; nothing relevant
  - “J. H. Robertson” – 0 results
  - “William Townsend” – 61 results; nothing relevant, stopped at result 16, 1933 (he would be pretty old by then)
  - "John Herbert Sangster" OR "J. H. Sangster" OR "John. H. Sangster" OR "J. Herbert Sangster" – 2 results; both relevant and taken
  - “J. Samuel Stacey” OR “J. S. Stacey” – 0 results
  - “J. Samuel Stacy” OR “J. S. Stacy” – 0 results
  - “Patrick Walsh” – 83 results; nothing relevant, stopped at result 19 for efficiency.
  - “William Hind” – 9 results; none deemed relevant
  - “Hind” – Date Limit: 1889-1890 – 2 results; nothing relevant
  - “Dorcas Clark” OR “Dorcas Clarke” – 2 results

Search Conducted January 31, 2022

- Document Type: Obituary
  - “H.G.R.Fripp” – 0 results

Canadiana by CRKN

Coverage: N/A

Search Conducted July 8, 9, & 12, 2021

Filters – Search in: “Everything” (“include results from Individual Issues”), Sort Order: “Oldest”, Date Range: 1840-1860.

Notes:

“Fripp” – 32 results – seeking H. G. R. Fripp, Teacher

- Several false positives for “fripped” and “frapped” in the French Language sources
- Three confirmed OCR errors (one for “prof”, one for “ a last”, and one for “friends” on a badly scuffed page – no proof of regularity at this time)
- False positives also for “Tripp”
- *Fripp v. The Chard Railway Company* – Do not seem to be finding the original case, but it does seem to be precedent used several times in the Reports of cases adjudged in the Court of Chancery of Upper Canada source.

Search Conducted July 15 & 19, 2021

Filters – Search in: “Everything” (“include results from Individual Issues”), Sort Order: “Oldest”, Date Range: 1840-1860.

Notes:

- ““Patrick Walsh”” – 96 results – seeking Patrick Walsh, Music Master
  - One Patrick Walsh, very active in Temperance in Halifax in the early 1840s.
  - Ignoring the Newfoundland and Halifax references to move faster. If there is a connection revealed later, I will return.
  - Numerous ‘Patrick Walsh’s’ in the Province of Canada too. One was murdered in Toronto. Another was a constable in Quebec City accused of perjury. Another still was an early settler in the 1820s in Newcastle and is listed as having moved to the States by the 1840s.

Search Conducted July 19, 2021

Filters – Search in: “Everything” (“include results from Individual Issues”), Sort Order: “Oldest”, Date Range: 1840-1860.

- “Normal School” – 952 results – A broad spectrum search experiment to see what I can garner to provide greater clarity on these individuals before trying to dig them out of elsewhere.
  - After a few from the early 1840s and the unknown decades, I skipped ahead to 1847.
  - Got to start of 12<sup>th</sup> search page today.

Search Conducted July 21, 2021

Filters – Search in: “Everything” (“include results from Individual Issues”), Sort Order: “Oldest”, Date Range: 1840-1860.

- ““Walter Watts”” – 2 results – Seeking Walter A. Watts (Second Master)
  - No relevant results – might be because he is right at the end in terms of being employed in the date range.
- ““MacMurchy”” – 13 results – seeking A. MacMurchy
  - All were false positives for John MacMurchy of Eldon, an active member of the Presbyterian Church.
- ““Samuel Hickok”” – 0 results
- “Hickok” – 36 results – seeking Samuel S. Hickok, Music Master
  - Two relevant results
- ““J\* Bentley”” – 14 results – seeking J. Bentley, Drawing Master
  - Only one seemed possibly related (though it was quite hard to tell with many others – lots of J. Bentley’s. I do not know enough about him to identify. No proof though.
- ““Frederick W\* Barron”” – 5 results – seeking Frederick W. Barron, temporary second master.
  - Highly useful results.
- [Subject category: “Education -- Canada – Directories”]
  - Two highly useful specialized directories, one within the study period, uncovered.
- [Subject category: “Schools -- Canada -- Directories.”, “Universities and colleges -- Canada -- Directories.”, “Education -- Canada -- Répertoires.”, “Ecoles -- Canada -- Répertoires.”, “ Universités -- Canada -- Répertoires.”]
- [Subject category: “Toronto (Ont.)--Appropriations and expenditures”]
  - An interesting set of early financial documents, but nothing relevant was apparent upon a quick term scan of each (common terms like teacher, headmaster, school, and normal used).

Search Conducted September 13, 2021

Filters – Search in: “Everything” (“include results from Individual Issues”), Sort Order: “Oldest”, Date Range: 1840-1860.

- “David Fotheringham” – 9 results – seeking David Fotheringham, Model Teacher & Normal Headmaster
  - Numerous good results, including some Annual Reports that have been difficult to acquire. Several results also overlapped with sources I already have, which shows that the search strategy is working.
- “Thomas Cooper” – 110 results – seeking Thomas Cooper, Music Teacher.
  - This name is very common.
  - In Newfoundland in 1845 there is one that is a teacher, but I have no draw a connection.

- Lots of false positives for Thomas [the] cooper (i.e., professional cooper's named Thomas.
- “Henrietta Shenick” – 11 results – seeking Henrietta Shenick, Girls’ Model Teacher
  - This search yielded several good sources for the wider study. It has not provided very much new information about the subject at hand though.

#### Search Conducted September 14, 2021

Filters – Search in: “Everything” (“include results from Individual Issues”), Sort Order: “Oldest”, Date Range: 1840-1860.

- “David Ormiston” – 8 results – seeking David Ormiston, Model Teacher.
  - The majority of results were in publications that had come up in other searches.
  - This search did clue me in to the fact that Scobie’s (and later MacLear’s) Canadian Almanac and Repository of useful knowledge was published consistently throughout the study period.
- “John Livingstone” – 22 results – seeking John Livingstone, Boys’ Model Teacher.
  - Ran into a few possibles and tied in again to useful education sources. Overall, though, I found very little to tell me about this person biographically.
- “Helen M\* Clark” – 0 results
- “Helen Clark” – 15 results – seeking Helen Milliken Clark, Girls’ Model Teacher
  - Found some good information here, but very little biographical.
- “Warren Rock” – 7 results – seeking Warren Rock, Boys’ Model Teacher
  - Ran into one maybe here. Had all the other relevant results already (demonstrating great overlap/coverage of searches).
- “Robert G\* Paige” – 0 results – seeking Robert George Paige, Music Master
- “Robert Paige” – 0 results
- “Francis J\* Craig” – 1 result – seeking F. J. Craig, Writing Master
- “Elon Tupper” – 1 result – seeking Elon Tupper, Music Master

#### Search Conducted September 15, 2021

Filters – Search in: “Everything” (“include results from Individual Issues”), Sort Order: “Oldest”, Date Range: 1840-1860.

- “William Ormiston” – 46 results – seeking Rev. William Ormiston, Second Master.

#### Search Conducted September 21, 2021

Filters – Search in: “Everything” (“include results from Individual Issues”), Sort Order: “Oldest”, Date Range: 1840-1860.

- “William Ormiston” – 46 results – seeking Rev. William Ormiston, Second Master.
  - Continued from September 15, 2021

#### Search Conducted September 23, 2021

Filters – Search in: “Everything” (“include results from Individual Issues”), Sort Order: “Oldest”, Date Range: 1840-1860.

- “S\* P\* Robins” – 6 results – seeking S. P. Robins, Model Teacher and later McGill Normal
- “Catherine Johnston” – 16 results – seeking Catherine Johnson, Model School Teacher
  - Two likely false positives related to Prince Edward Island Another is someone on a list of Paupers seeking relief.
- “Henry Goodwin” – 24 results – seeking Major Henry Goodwin, Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics in the Normal School
  - There is a Henry Goodwin in Nova Scotia, I have no indication that there is any linkage at this time. Likely a false positive.

Search Conducted September 24, 2021

- “Henry Goodwin” – 24 results – seeking Major Henry Goodwin, Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics in the Normal School.

## Appendix C: Timelines

Diagrams 3 through 6<sup>521</sup> provide a detailed timeline of employment during the study period and incorporate many of this study's observations including the initial employment of John Rintoul and the existence of a cadre of support staff in addition to the teaching staff. These are provided in the hopes of providing further assistance to the reader in situating the staff members discussed and the development of the Normal campus in time and in relation to each other.

Diagrams 7 through 11 (Normal School), 12 through 16 (Model School(s)), and 17 through 19 (Kindergarten)<sup>522</sup> provide a less detailed but much broader timeline of the employment of the teaching staff alone over a 71-year period from 1847–1917 (and a 33-year period from 1885–1917 in the case of the Kindergarten department which was only founded in 1885). To note, for simplicity and given the breadth of these timelines, all terms of employment less than one year were rounded up to one year and all employment periods were rounded to the end of the last year of employment. These are provided in the hopes of helping the reader to situate the period under study in the context of an institution which continued to grow and evolve after 1860. These simpler timelines were created early in my research and helped me to select my period of study as well as supporting my thinking when examining the 'generations' of employment across the Normal's history. They were constructed from a small handful of sources which provided data onwards to 1947, however, as my thinking evolved in the early days of research (and once the decision was made to focus on the earlier period), I decided to cut them at 1917 and move to other research activities. Colours in these timelines are provided simply to assist in differentiating each staff member's entry and do not communicate any additional information.

*Note for Readers:* Due to page size limitations, these timelines could not be reproduced seamlessly within this thesis. Therefore, these diagrams have been carefully formatted and sized so that, should the reader be using a print copy of this thesis, the diagrams of each group (3–6, 7–11, 12–16, and 17–19) can be overlapped to allow the reader to review the full, unbroken timeline.

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<sup>521</sup> Sources compiled to create a detailed staff employment timeline covering 1847-1860: *Appendix, No.2, to the Sixth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada* (1847),162; Mackay, *The Canada Directory*, 421; Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 199-201; Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 70-76; W. R. Brown, *Brown's Toronto General Directory* (1856), I.; Thomas Hodgins, *The Canada Educational Directory and Calendar for 1857-8 : Containing an Account of the Schools, Colleges, and Universities; the Professions; Scientific and Literary Institutions; Decisions of the Courts on School Questions, &c., &c.* (Toronto: Maclear, 1857), 18, accessed July 21, 2021, URL: <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.22636>; N.a., "Editorial Article 1 -- No Title," *The Globe*, September 4, 1847, accessed February 25, 2021, URL: <http://search.proquest.com/hmpglobeandmail/docview/1507538488/citation/EC1F983D22B740DFPQ/15>; Ure, *The Hand-Book of Toronto*, 115–116; N.a., "Normal and Model Schools" (1856); Caverhill, *Toronto City Directory for 1859-60*, 262.

<sup>522</sup> Sources compiled to create staff timelines in Diagrams 7–16: Toronto Normal School, *1847–1897 Toronto Normal School Jubilee Celebration*, 199-201 & Boylen et al., *Toronto Normal School, 1847-1947*, 70-76.

Diagram 3: The Normal Campus Timeline (1): 1847-1850

The Normal Campus Timeline (1): 1847-1850	Year:	1847												1848												1849												1850																																			
	Month:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12																								
	Session:	1st												2nd												3rd												4th												5th												6th											
	Building:													Government House																								Temperance Hall																																			
Normal School Department	Headmaster	John Rintoul																								Thomas Jaffray Robertson																																															
	Second Master	Henry Youle Hind																																																																							
	Music Master	J. H. Robertson																								William Townsend																								Patrick Walsh																							
		J. P. Clarke																																																																							
	Writing Master	James Samuel Stacey																																																																							
	Teacher of Book-keeping																																																																								
	Drawing Master																																																																								
	Teacher																																																																								
	Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics																																																																								
	Support Staff	Superintendent of Normal School Grounds																																																																							
	Janitor of Normal and Model Schools	John Murphy																																																																							
	Messenger																																																																								
	Gardener																																																																								
	Furnaceman																																																																								
Model School Department	Boys' Model Department	Charles Lowey																								Archibald McCallum																																															
	Teacher	Robert Bell																								John Herbert Sangster																																															
	Teacher of Music																									Patrick Walsh																																															
	Teacher of Writing																									James Samuel Stacey																																															
	Teacher of Drawing																																																																								
	Teacher of Gymnastics and Calisthenics																																																																								
	Girls' Model Department	Headmistress																																																																							
Teacher																																																																									
Legend		Known Employment Period																																																																							
		Employment Known, Extent Unclear																																																																							
		Normal School Term in Session																																																																							
		Term Gap less than one month																																																																							
		Co-Educational Approach In Model School in Effect																																																																							

Diagram 4: The Normal Campus Timeline (2): 1851-1854

The Normal Campus Timeline (2): 1851-1854	Year:	1851							1852							1853							1854																																		
	Month:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12																				
	Session:	6th							7th							8th							9th							10th							11th							12th							13th						
	Building:	Temperance Hall														Gould St. Campus																																									
Normal School Department	Headmaster	Thomas Jaffray Robertson																																																							
	Second Master	Henry Youle Hind														Reverend William Orniston																																									
	Music Master	Patrick Walsh														Elon Tupper																																									
	Writing Master	James Samuel Stacey														Robert George Paige F. J. Craig																																									
	Teacher of Book-keeping	Archibald McCallum																																																							
	Drawing Master	William Hind																																																							
	Teacher	Herbert G. R. Fripp																																																							
	Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics	Major Henry Goodwin																																																							
	Superintendent of Normal School Grounds	Patrick Scully														William Mundie																																									
	Janitor of Normal and Model Schools	John Murphy																																																							
Support Staff	Messenger	Thomas Johnston																																																							
	Gardener	John Murphy																																																							
	Furnaceman	James Ryan																																																							
Model School Department	Headmaster	Archibald McCallum																																																							
	Teacher	John Herbert Sangster														Sampson P. Robins														Warren Rock																											
	Teacher of Music	Patrick Walsh																																																							
	Teacher of Writing	James Samuel Stacey																																																							
	Teacher of Drawing	William Hind																																																							
	Teacher of Gymnastics and Calisthenics	Major Henry Goodwin																																																							
	Girls' Model Department	Headmistress	Doreas Clark (Mrs.)																																																						
		Teacher	Catherine Johnson (Miss)																																																						
	<b>Legend</b>		<i>Co-Educational Approach In Model School in Effect</i>																																																						
	Known Employment Period																																																								
Employment Known, Extent Unclear																																																									
Normal School Term in Session																																																									
Term Gap less than one month																																																									

Diagram 5: The Normal Campus Timeline (3): 1855-1858

The Normal Campus Timeline (3): 1855-1858	Year:	1855												1856												1857												1858															
	Month:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12				
	Session:	13th				14th				15th				16th				17th				18th				19th				20th																							
	Building:	Gould St. Campus																																																			
Normal School Department	Headmaster:	Thomas Jaffray Robertson																																																			
	Second Master:	Reverend William Ormiston																								Frederick W. Barron												Walter A. Watts															
	Music Master:	Robert George Paige								Thomas Cooper																								Samuel S. Hickok								Henry Francis Seflon											
	Writing Master:	F. J. Craig				Alexander Russell Strachan																																															
	Teacher of Book-keeping:	Archibald McCallum																																												Alexander Russell Strachan							
	Drawing Master:	William Hind																																				John Bentley															
	Teacher:	Archibald MacMurchy																																																			
	Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics:	Major Henry Goodwin																																																			
	Support Staff	Superintendent of Normal School Grounds:	William Munde																																																		
		Janitor of Normal and Model Schools:	John Murphy																																																		
		Messenger:																																																			
		Gardener:	James Forsyth																																																		
		Furnaceman:	James Ryan																								Thomas Grey																										
	Boys' Model Department	Headmaster:	Archibald McCallum																																												James Carlyle				James Carlyle		
Teacher:		Warren Rock												David Fotheringham												Adam Purslow								John C. Disher																			
Teacher of Music:		John Livingstone								David Ormiston																								R. Moore								James Morris											
Teacher of Writing:																																																					
Teacher of Drawing:		William Hind																																																			
Teacher of Gymnastics and Calisthenics:		Major Henry Goodwin																																																			
Girls' Model Department		Headmistress:	Dorcas Clark (Mrs.)																																																		
		Teacher:	Catherine Johnson (Miss)				Helen M. Clark (Miss)																																														
		Teacher:	Henrietta Schenick (Miss)																																																		
<b>Legend</b>		<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Known Employment Period</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Employment Known, Extent Unclear</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Normal School Term in Session</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Term Gap less than one month</td> </tr> </table>																																																Known Employment Period	Employment Known, Extent Unclear	Normal School Term in Session	Term Gap less than one month
Known Employment Period																																																					
Employment Known, Extent Unclear																																																					
Normal School Term in Session																																																					
Term Gap less than one month																																																					

Diagram 6: The Normal Campus Timeline (4): 1859-1860

The Normal Campus Timeline (4): 1859-1860	Year:	1859												1860															
	Month:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12				
	Session:	21st						22nd						23rd						24th									
	Building:	Gould St. Campus																											
Normal School Department	Headmaster	Thomas Jaffray Robertson																											
	Second Master	John Herbert Sangster																											
	Music Master	Henry Francis Seilon																											
	Writing Master	Alexander Russell Strachan																											
	Teacher of Book-keeping	Alexander Russell Strachan																											
	Drawing Master	John Bentley						Alphonse Coulon																					
	Teacher																												
	Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics	Major Henry Goodwin																											
	Support Staff	Superintendent of Normal School Grounds																											
		Janitor of Normal and Model Schools																											
		Messenger																											
		Gardener																											
		Furnaceman	James Ryan						Thomas Grey																				
	Model School Department	Boys' Model Department	Headmaster	James Carlyle																									
Teacher			James Morris						Alex R. Campbell																				
Teacher			John C. Disher																										
Model School Department		Teacher of Music																											
		Teacher of Writing																											
		Teacher of Drawing																											
		Teacher of Gymnastics and Calisthenics	Major Henry Goodwin																										
		Girls' Model Department	Headmistress	Dorcas Clark (Mrs.)																									
Teacher			Helen M. Clark (Miss)																										
			Henrietta Schenick (Miss)																										
<b>Legend</b>		<table border="1"> <tr> <td>Known Employment Period</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Employment Known, Extent Unclear</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Normal School Term in Session</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Term Gap less than one month</td> </tr> </table>																								Known Employment Period	Employment Known, Extent Unclear	Normal School Term in Session	Term Gap less than one month
Known Employment Period																													
Employment Known, Extent Unclear																													
Normal School Term in Session																													
Term Gap less than one month																													

Diagram 7: Normal School (1): 1847-1860

<i>Normal School (1): 1847-1860</i>	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	
Principal	T. Jaffray Robertson, M.A. *First*														
Second Master	H. Youle Hind				Rev. William Ormiston, B.A., D.D.				John Herbert Sangster, M.A.,						
Vice-Principal											F. W. Barron, M.A.	Walter A. Watts			
Music Master				Patrick Walsh		Elon Tupper					Samuel S. Hickok				
Writing Master	William Townsend		J. Samuel Stacey				F. J. Craig		Robert George		H. F. Sefton				
Drawing Master						William Hind							Alphonse Coulon		
Teacher						H. G. R. Fripp							A. MacMurphy		
Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics						Major H. Goodwin		Major H. Goodwin							
Mathematical Master															
Science Master															
Master															

Diagram 8: Normal School (2): 1861-1874

<i>Normal School (2): 1861-1874</i>	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	
Principal	T. Jaffray Robertson, M.A. *First*											Rev. H. W. Davies, D.D. *Third*			
							John Herbert Sangster, M.A., M.D. *Second*								
Second Master	John Herbert Sangster, M.A., M.D.														
							Rev. H. W. Davies, D.D.								
Vice-Principal															
Music Master	Alexander R. or D. Strachan														
	H. F. Sefton														
Writing Master	Alexander R. or D.														
							Samuel Clare								
Drawing Master	Alphonse Coulon						William Armstrong								
Teacher															
Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics	Major H. Goodwin														
Mathematical Master											James Carlyle, M.D.				
Science Master											Thomas A. Kirkland, M.A.				
Master															

Diagram 9: Normal School (3): 1875-1888

<i>Normal School (3): 1875-1888</i>	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888
Principal	Rev. H. W. Davies, D.D. *Third*										Thomas A. Kirkland, M.A. *Fourth*			
Second Master														
Vice-Principal														
Music Master									S. H. Preston					
	H. F. Sefton													
Writing Master	Samuel Clare													
Drawing Master	William Armstrong													
									J. H. McFaul					
Teacher														
Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics	Major H. Goodwin									T. Parr				
				C. R. Dearnlay										
Mathematical Master	James Carlyle, M.D.													
Science Master	Thomas A. Kirkland, M.A.													
Master														

Diagram 10: Normal School (4): 1889-1902

<i>Normal School (4): 1889-1902</i>	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
Principal	Thomas A. Kirkland, M.A. *Fourth*										William Scott, B.A. *Fifth*			
Second Master														
Vice-Principal											William Scott, B.A.			
											W. H. Elliot, B.A.			
Music Master	S. H. Preston													
Writing Master														
Drawing Master	J. H. McFaul				A. C. Casselman									
Teacher														
Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics	T. Parr													
Mathematical Master	James Carlyle, M.D.													
Science Master														
Master														

Diagram 11: Normal School (5): 1903-1917

Normal School (5): 1903-1917	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917
Principal	William Scott, B.A. *Fifth*														
Second Master															
Vice-Principal	W. H. Elliot, B.A.														
Music Master															
Writing Master															
Drawing Master	A. C. Casselman														
Teacher															
Instructor in Drill and Calisthenics															
Mathematical Master															
Science Master															
Master							D. D. Moshier, B.A., B.Paed.						S. J. Keyes, B.A.,		
	S. Silcox, B.A.		A. C. Casselman						R. H. Walks, B.A.						
												William Prendergast, B.A., D.Paed.			
												David Whyte, B.A.			
												R. W. Murray,		O. J. Stevenson, M.A.,	

Diagram 12: Model School (1): 1847-1860

<i>Model School (1): 1847-1860</i>	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
Headmaster	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center;"> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">Charles Lowey *First*</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px;">David Fotheringham</div> </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 5px; text-align: center;">Archibald McCallum, M.A. (Starts in 1848, ends in 1858) *Second*</div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; margin: 2px; text-align: right;">James Carlyle, M.D. (starts 1858) *Fourth*</div>													
	Headmistress	Mrs. Dorcas Clark *First*												
		Teacher	Robert Bell	John Herbert Sangster, M.A., M.D.			John Livingstone		John C. Disher, M.D.			David Fotheringham	Alex R. Campbell	
Teacher						S. P. Robins, M.A., LL. D.								
								Warren Rock (starts 1854)				R. Moore		
									David Ormiston, M.A. (starts in 1855)			James Morris		
												Adam Purslow, B.A.		
							Mrs. Catherine Johnston					Miss Helen M. Clark (starts 1855)		
											Mrs. Henrietta Shenick			
Teacher of Domestic														
Model School assistant														

Diagram 13: Model School (2): 1861-1874

<i>Model School (2): 1861-1874</i>	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874
Headmaster											William Scott, B.A.		William Scott, B.A.	
											James L. Hughes *Fifth*			
Headmistress					Miss M. Adams									
	Mrs. Dorcas Clark *First*				Mrs. Martha Cullen *Third*									
Teacher	John C. Disher, M.D.								James L. Hughes				John L. Davison, B.A.	
	Alex R. Campbell (starts in 1859)								William Scott, B.A.					
					J. C. Glashan		Charles Archibald, M.D.		A. McPhedran, M.D.					
					Charles H. Lusk, M.D.									
									Miss C. E. McCausland		Miss Mary Carter			
	Miss Helen M. Clark (starts 1855)													
	Mrs. Henrietta Shenick		Miss. M. Adams						Miss Annie Adams					
					Miss Clara J. Clark				Miss Christina Whismer					
					Miss Jessie Turnbull		Miss L. H. Jones							
	Teacher of Domestic													
Model School assistant														

Diagram 14: Model School (3): 1875-1888

<i>Model School (3): 1875-1888</i>	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	
Headmaster	William Scott, B.A. *Sixth*								Charles Clarkson, B.A. *Seventh*		Angus McIntosh *Eighth*				
											Miss Margaret T. Scott *Fourth*				
Headmistress	Mrs. Martha Cullen *Third*														
	John L. Davison, B.A.								Solomon M. Dorland, M.D.		R. W. Murray		Arthur H. Sinclair, B.A.		
Teacher	A. McPhedran, M.D.		W. H. G. Colles		P. N. Davey, M.D.						Thomas M. Porter				
	M. J. Fletcher										Angus McIntosh				
									James McLurg, M.D.						
	Miss Mary Carter		Miss J. Meneilley	Miss M. E. Hunt				Miss M. Meehan							
	Miss Annie Adams					Miss J. Meneilley								Miss Ada E. Rose	
	Miss Kate F. Hagarty														
				Miss Emma Carter										Miss Hattie McLellan	Miss Martha Rose
													Miss May K. Caulfield		
	Teacher of Domestic														
	Model School assistant														

Diagram 15: Model School (4): 1889-1902

<i>Model School (4): 1889-1902</i>	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
Headmaster														
	Angus McIntosh *Eighth*													
Headmistress														
	Miss Margaret T. Scott *Fourth*													
Teacher	R. W. Murray													
	Thomas M. Porter													
	Miss M. Meehan												Miss F. M. Taylor	
	Miss Ada E. Rose								Miss C. F. Sutherland		Miss E. M. Hill			
	Miss Kate F. Hagarty		Miss Nellie Russel	Miss Sara M. Ross										
	Miss Martha Rose									Miss Hattie B. Mills, B.A.			Miss A. F. Laven	
	Miss May K. Caulfield													
	Miss Jeannie Wood													
		Miss Alice Stuart												
Teacher of Domestic											Miss L. H. Baldwin			
Model School assistant														

Diagram 16: Model School (5): 1903-1917

<i>Model School (5): 1903-1917</i>	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	
Headmaster												R. W. Murray, B.A.		Milton A. Sorsoleil		
	Angus McIntosh *Eighth*															
Headmistress																
Teacher	R. W. Murray															
	Milton A. Sorsoleil															
	Thomas M. Porter								J. Mustard Thronton, M.A., B.Paed.							
	Miss F. M. Taylor						Miss Lillian Davey				Mrs. L. Spence (formerly Lillian Davey)					
	Miss A. E. G. Wilson							Miss Jessie I. Cross, B.A.								Miss Jessie
	Miss Hope Merritt															
	Miss A. F. Laven															
Miss May K. Caulfield																
Miss Jeannie Wood		Miss C. E. Kniseley														
Teacher of Domestic															John E. Montgomery, B.A.	
Model School assistant										F. M. McCordic						
											Miss Alice A. Harding					
												Miss Isabella Richardson				

Diagram 17: Kindergarten (1): 1885-1895

<i>Kindergarten (1): 1885-1895</i>	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895
Director	Miss Bessie E. Hailman *First*							Miss Mary E. Macintyre *Third*			
			Miss C. M. C. Hart *Second*								
Kindergarten Assistant				Miss Emma Johnson	Miss L. P. McKenzie	Miss Jean R. Laidlaw				Miss Helen or Ellen Cody	
				Miss Mary M. Ross	Miss Mary E. Macintyre	Miss Mary Adair					
Instructor, Kindergarten principles											
Kindergarten Primary teacher											

Diagram 18: Kindergarten (2): 1896-1906

<i>Kindergarten (2): 1896-1906</i>	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906
Director	Miss Mary E. Macintyre *Third*										
Kindergarten Assistant	Miss Helen or Ellen Cody										
Instructor, Kindergarten principles											
Kindergarten Primary teacher											

Diagram 19: Kindergarten (3): 1907-1917

<i>Kindergarten (3): 1907-1917</i>	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	
Director	Miss Mary E. Macintyre *Third*											
Kindergarten Assistant	Miss Helen or Ellen Cody											
Instructor, Kindergarten principles								Miss Helen or Ellen Cody				
Kindergarten Primary teacher										Miss Clara Brenton	Miss Lilian B. Harding	

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