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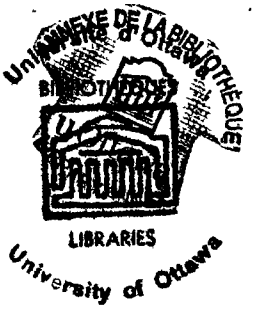
EGERTON RYERSON



By

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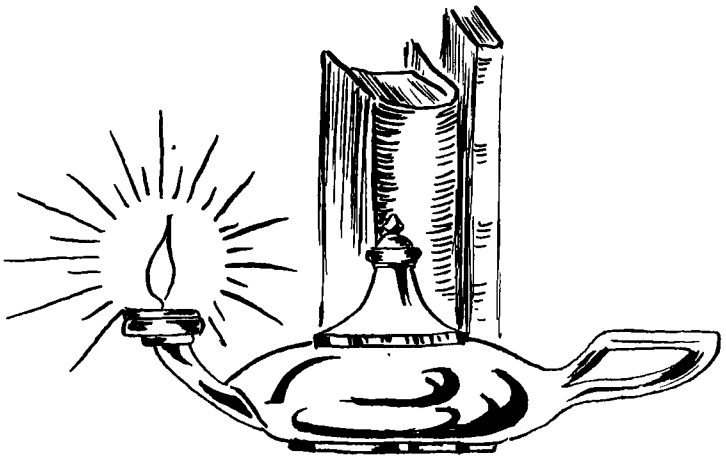

C O N T E N T S

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

Sixty years ago Dr. Egerton Ryerson relinquished his office as Superintendent of Education for Ontario. Fifty-five years have passed since he wrote with failing hand, the last of his letters and twice fifty-five years since his first published letter in the "Colonial Advocate" made him the champion of equal civil and religious rights in Upper Canada. Perhaps the march of time has now advanced far enough for us to give an adequate appraisal of his work.

Biographies of this great man are not lacking. In 1883, a short time after his death, "The Story of My Life" was published by Dr. J. George Hodgins. Ryerson himself, had commenced this work and evidently

meant to write it as an autobiography but he never found the time to do more than write the beginning and a few comments here and there. He left it to his associate and co-worker to finish and to add to it if he deemed it necessary. The book as it was published is extremely useful but the author is influenced by his affection for his chief and it is impossible for him to give an unbiased account. The books of Dr. Nathaniel Burwash written in 1901, and Dr. J. H. Putman, 1912, are mainly concerned with Ryerson's work in connection with schools and education and deal very briefly with his formal contribution to Canadian Literature. This must not be considered as a severe criticism since it is particularly difficult to divorce the name of Ryerson from the field in which he laboured for so many

years and with such success. In every book that has been written of the great men of Canada, it will be found that Ryerson's name has an honoured place beside that of Laurier or Macdonald, or Cartier or McGee. In the Handbook of Canadian Literature by Archibald MacMurchy, the author gives Ryerson the credit for being the first British writer to deal with the subject of the Loyalists of America. At a more recent date, Lorne Pierce has classified him as one of the Confederation group of Canadian writers. At all events, regardless of what other grounds there are for his greatness we must admit that he has contributed greatly to the literary and cultural life of this Dominion.

Since these works have been written a great number of public and private letters

have been unearthed and in 1936, in honour of its centennial celebrations, Victoria College arranged for their publication. The latest book entitled "Egerton Ryerson" by Prof. C. B. Sissons is an excellent biography covering the events of his life to 1841. Previous writers have been handicapped and were forced to evaluate his work by the institutions which he founded. Now, however, for the first time it is possible to make a complete study of the man in his relation to the life of the common people of his day, and to learn from his own hand, something of the early trials and struggles in the making of this young nation.

It is easy to understand why previous writers have considered him a maker of Canada because of his great work in founding an excellent school system. However, this

same work entitles him to a high place in the annals of Canadian Literature. Good schools are a necessity for the intellectual and moral advancement of any nation, and a man who was so intimately connected with educational work, as Ryerson was, must certainly be considered a contributor to the literary life of the country. His pledge when he assumed his high office was "To provide for my native country a system of education, and facilities for intellectual improvement, not second to those of any country in the world." We are convinced that, in this high resolve, he was successful and the system he provided gave every child, regardless of race, creed or nationality, the opportunity for elementary, high school and university education. Old textbooks that were antiquated and uninteresting

were discarded and suitable ones containing the gems of English poetry and prose were authorized. In order that the pupils might have access to the best and newest literature he organized the educational depository from which were distributed nearly a million dollars' worth of books. He made provision for the first circulating libraries which brought good reading material within easy reach of every member of the community. Normal Schools were founded where teachers might become qualified and he continually urged that instruction should be given in those subjects which develop aesthetic appreciation. Surely, such a man deserves our gratitude as a great contributor to the cultural life of Canada.

In the light of events that have happened in Ontario during the past year

with reference to legislation respecting Separate schools, a study of the writings of Ryerson becomes a necessity, for those who would fully understand the question. History has repeated itself and the same cry that was raised by George Brown and by William Lyon Mackenzie has again echoed and re-echoed across this country. This so-called "banner province" has not changed nor has it advanced in tolerance towards the rights of minorities. Ryerson's views of eighty years ago have been quoted, time and again, by members of the government and of the opposition. Controversial writing, of which he was a master, continues to fill the pages of our newspapers. Indeed the subject matter of to-day relating to education or to politics was not unfamiliar to the readers of a century ago.

It is generally believed that Canadian

literature should express our national consciousness, and that Canadians, regardless of the language they speak, should feel that we are one people. Even before Confederation was an accomplished fact Ryerson tried to look on Canada as a whole. The moment he was appointed as chief of the Education Department he set about learning the French language so that he would be able to converse and write with ease and accuracy. He saw that we are, and must remain a bilingual country and that the ability to use both languages was a prime necessity, if we were to have a wider knowledge of our own literature and were to profit by its unifying influence.

In view of the approaching Mackenzie celebrations in Toronto this year the literary work of Ryerson has an added significance.

Here is the man whose editorials in "The Christian Guardian" kept the majority of the inhabitants of Upper Canada loyal to British traditions and saved them from the rebellion. At the same time he was the champion of responsible government and his clash with the rebel leader had a far-reaching effect on the history of this country.

Ryerson was on familiar terms with every governor during the whole period of his public career. His advice was often sought by them in the administration of the affairs of the province. His letters to Joseph Howe and Sir John A. Macdonald show that he had no small part in moulding public opinion previous to Confederation. His pen was always at the service of his country as the exponent of pure and wholesome principles.

Dr. Ryerson's talents were remarkably

versatile. He was a successful and skilful leader; an outstanding educationist; a noted preacher and an able writer. In many respects he was the most remarkable man Canada ever produced.

WHAT IS CANADIAN LITERATURE?

CHAPTER II

In order to evaluate the work of an author in a young country such as ours it is necessary that we have a clear answer to two questions. First, Who is a Canadian author? and secondly, What is Canadian literature? In this chapter we shall endeavour to give suitable definitions with particular reference to the subject of this thesis.

Who is a Canadian author? To do full justice to this question it is essential that we know the history of Canada and especially the development from a Crown colony to a leading nation in the British Commonwealth of Nations. We must know how she progressed in material goods because

that is necessary for every type of artistic creation. Quite naturally we can expect to find a great many classes of writers according to their extent of association with our native land. First, there are those who came to Canada and remained for a very short period of time. Secondly, there are those who were born in Europe and were too developed when they came here to become converted to our view-point. Thirdly, there are those who were born in a foreign county, but who came to Canada at an early age and were reared under Canadian influences. Fourthly, those who were born here but in later life went to other countries where they would be assured of a larger reading public. Finally, those who were bred and born in this country and have continued to contribute to Canadian letters.

It is practically impossible to make a rule that will apply to everyone. We may say this, however, that if an author only lived here for a very short time and his work shows that he was not influenced by Canadian thoughts or Canadian landscape, we have no grounds for considering him a Canadian author. However, if we consider the case of some other individual who remained approximately the same period of time in Canada and whose later writings show a distinctive Canadian tinge, we must consider him a Canadian author. We have also the case of the native-born Canadian writer who has made his home in some foreign country and we must consider him a Canadian author just as much as Browning is considered an English poet although he spent many years in Italy. Thus we may consider

the work of any author who writes about Canadian subjects and we may disregard the length of time he was a resident of Canada, and again, we may give consideration the work of any author who was born in Canada, whether he remained with us or sought a wider field elsewhere.

In the case of Egerton Ryerson there is absolutely no room, for doubt. He was a son of the Canadian soil and he spent his whole life in Canada. His writings are distinctly Canadian and consequently he must be considered a Canadian author in the truest sense of the word.

The second matter for our consideration is, What is Canadian literature? It is absolutely necessary that we have a clear definition of this in order to properly valuate the work of Egerton Ryerson. There

are some who may argue that a great amount of his political writing could not be classed as literature at all, others will say that diaries, letters and editorials should not be considered as a contribution to Canadian letters.

According to the Rhodenizer the evaluation of literature must be considered from two points. First, the distinction of De Quincy between the literature of knowledge and the literature of power; secondly, the manner in which the literature of power deals with the actual facts of life itself.

The literature of knowledge may be defined as that class of writing which deals with facts. As a general rule it is written either to give the facts or to convince the reader regarding some matter. Almost invariably the style is subordinated to the matter

and there is no attempt to get literary effect. On the other hand, the literature of power has to do with the imagination and there is a conscious attempt to give pleasure to the reader. From these definitions we can see that it is possible to place a great deal of our literature in its proper class. For instance, text-books, newspapers and magazines would rightly belong to the literature of knowledge; while poetry and fiction would belong to the literature of power. However, unfortunately, it is not always so easy to make such a ready distinction and very often letters, diaries, history, travel and biography not only give us information but also some form of pleasure, and it is comparatively easy to pass from the appreciation of the literature of knowledge to a similar appreciation of the literature of power.

We are now ready to speak with some authority as to the classification of Ryerson's writings. Generally speaking, we may say that by far the largest amount of his writing belongs to the literature of knowledge. There is no doubt that he is giving us facts and his purpose in so doing is to convince. He had a mission to fulfill and it was his duty to persuade his readers and win them over to his point of view. For example, in his book entitled "The Loyalists of America and Their Times" he attempts to establish the thesis that the Declaration of Independence was a mistake and the only way this can be done is by the use of cold facts. On the other hand his account of the early pioneer settlements makes very pleasant reading and most certainly belongs to the literature of power.

And now we shall turn our attention to those influences that have most deeply affected Canadian Literature as a whole and the writings of Ryerson in particular. In the succeeding three chapters we shall note the particular effects of the Puritan, Loyalist and Methodist movements.

THE PURITAN INFLUENCE
ON CANADIAN LITERATURE

CHAPTER III

To the student of Canadian Literature the influences which had any effect on our literary history must prove interesting. We must first consider the effect of the migration of the Puritans from the New England States to Nova Scotia. It is unnecessary to recall the early history of these people who left England on account of religious persecution and founded their new homes in the vicinity of Plymouth. From very early years many of these people, especially traders and fishermen, had carried on business with the inhabitants of Nova Scotia. In the beginning there had been little desire to found permanent settlements because the majority of the Acadians were

French and Roman Catholic. However, after the expulsion in 1755 the prospects appeared to be brighter to them and especially after the form of government was changed from military to civil. In 1760 these lands were thrown open for settlement and we find numbers of the better families began to make permanent settlements. The Peace of Paris in 1763 had the effect of increasing the numbers and Nova Scotia became an offshoot of New England since they brought with them their peculiar traditions and institutions.

We are mainly interested in this movement because of the form of culture which was brought into Canada. Practically all the newcomers were members of the Congregationalists and nearly all their ministers and school masters were graduates of Harvard University. In those days New England was

much farther advanced from an educational standpoint than the Canadians. As was the general rule in pioneer settlements, the church was the centre of the community life and the interests outside were very few. At this time, however, there was a certain religious revolt of their parent church organization and the followers of Henry Alline, the new leader called themselves the "New Lights." Eventually they became the Maritime Baptists.

The contribution of these people to our literary work was very small. Alline conducted revival meetings and has left us some religious writings in his "Life and Journals" which remind us of the works of John Bunyan. The account of his conversion is interesting from a standpoint of religious psychology and also because of its similarity to that of Ryerson at a later date. He writes: "One

evening as I was taking a walk .....
all of a sudden I thought I was surrounded with an uncommon light; it seemed like a blaze of fire; I thought it outshone the sun at noon-day." Later, he says "About midnight I waked out of sleep, I was surprised by a most alarming call as with a small, still voice.....I thought I saw a small body of light as plain as possible before me."

To summarize the work of this man, I could quote no better writer than Baker, who says, "Alline's work, surpassing in human interest that of all his contemporaries, is the most vital evidence of the theological revolt that tended to unify, and also to isolate the Puritan inhabitants of Nova Scotia.

Although he did not influence Canadian literature to any great extent, his followers

founded Acadia University and did contribute something to Canadian culture through this educational institution.

Our special interest in this Puritan influence from the Maritimes lies in the fact that Ryerson's mother was a Puritan from New Brunswick. There can be little doubt that she was influenced by their teachings and she in turn nourished the emotional and religious feelings of her son. As an old man of seventy years he paid a grateful tribute to his Puritan mother in his "Story of My Life."

THE LOYALIST INFLUENCE

CHAPTER IV

The effect of Puritanism on Canadian Literature was very small, in fact some writers contend that it had a retarding effect on our literary and artistic development. However it is generally agreed that the real beginnings of English-Canadian literature began after the close of the American Revolution. At that time large numbers of United Empire Loyalists were driven from their homes in the American colonies and sought refuge in Canada where they could remain under the British flag.

The first Loyalists, and with few exceptions, the better classes went to Nova Scotia. Many of these people were graduates

of Harvard and other American Universities and they brought with them the highest traditions of their culture. Some of them had been engaged in the controversial writing which preceded the outbreak of the war with England. They were very much against revolutionary ideas and their writing is characterized by a bitter satire and ridicule. They used as models, Pope and Dryden, since they were the writers with whom they were familiar and besides they were British. They even used the heroic couplet as a medium of expression in verse.

When they first came to Canada, they had every reason to hope that they would soon be allowed to return to their native land. There is a strain of homesickness which pervades their early writings. Later this gives way to despair especially after

the passing of the Proscriptive Acts which destroyed forever any hope of their return. Now, we find a genuine hatred for the Americans and a profound love for England which became a matter of good form but lacks the sincerity to make it wholesome. Their later literature consists of letters and diaries and may be classified as the literature of knowledge.

We have seen that many of the adult members of the Loyalists had been extremely well educated. It was only natural that they would be most anxious to provide educational advantages for their children. They, therefore, set about to establish schools and it is impossible for us to properly estimate the contribution to Canadian culture that was given by these early Loyalist schoolmasters in the Maritimes. It was also largely

due to their influence that King's College and Pictou Academy were founded at such an early date. Many years later Dr. Ryerson was asked by the government to act on a commission for the improvement of this same King's College. However, we may say that these two institutions founded through the efforts of the early Loyalists have had a profound influence on the intellectual life of this Dominion.

We might note in passing that there was no printing press in Canada during the French regime but soon after the Conquest newspapers were founded in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. We shall now turn to the beginning of the Loyalist newspapers which is just another sign to show the efforts that were made to maintain a standard of culture. The Nova Scotia

Magazine was founded for the purpose "of preserving and diffusing a taste for British literature and to encourage young writers among the rising generation to try their strength." The first poetry, essays, fiction and drama appeared in the daily press, and the student of the origin of Canadian literature must go back to the fyles of many a forgotten newspaper. We must admit that many of these early writers were far from original in either their subject-matter or their style. They consciously copied the models of Addison and Steele or other English writers with whom they were familiar. However, we must not be too critical since it is impossible for people in a pioneer land to find time for developing a characteristic manner of writing. The wonder really is that they did as well as they did.

The First generation spent their lives in establishing homes and before this was properly accomplished they were forced to defend themselves in the war of 1812.

The Ryersons were actively engaged in this war. Colonel Ryerson and three of his sons saw service, and Egerton was saved from this experience because he was only nine years of age. We have little doubt that the conversation in the Ryerson home often centred around the events of the war and loyalty to Great Britain. There would seem to be no good reason why republican ideas would be cherished with any great respect. The family had been driven from their New Jersey home and had found refuge in Canada. A short quarter of a century later they were in danger of losing everything they possessed especially since they were in the

direct path of the American armies which were marching from Detroit to Niagara. Indeed, the reality of war was brought very close to them when the mill and farm buildings of a close relative of the Ryersons were burned to the ground by the enemy forces. Can we wonder that the young boy was deeply impressed by loyalist traditions, and that he grew up strongly conservative? The wonder really is that he was able to free himself of any anti-American prejudices which it would have been only natural for him to form. At least we may say with certainty that these events of his early life explain, to some extent, his conduct in mature life when he broke with the Reform party under Mackenzie in 1833 and his defence of Lord Metcalfe in 1844. It fully explains why he worked for over twenty years

in his material and data and in his old age laboured as much as fifteen hours a day in the British Museum on his greatest literary work which traced the history and gave an appraisal of the achievements of the United Empire Loyalists.

THE INFLUENCE OF METHODISM
ON ENGLISH LITERATURE

CHAPTER V

We have traced very carefully the influence of the Puritans and the Loyalists on English and Canadian Literature. Since Ryerson was a leader among the early Methodists of Upper Canada we must look for the effects of the Wesleyans.

It will be necessary to go back to what has been called the "Pre-romantic" period of English Literature which in point of time covers the last thirty years of the eighteenth century. This period was marked by a great awakening of the imagination and this showed itself particularly in the literature of the day. At the same time a new force may be seen in the religious beliefs and movements. In the beginning only

a few men at the Universities were affected, but slowly and surely the masses were reached. Eventually, the culture of the upper classes was materially changed. Methodism favoured a strict code of morals, but could hardly be called Puritanical. It was slow in exercising any great effect over literature but over a period of years it changed the ideas and beliefs of people towards the trials and sorrows of this life. There can be no doubt it stimulated the emotional side of life and prepared the ground for Wordsworth and Coleridge, and the whole mystical school of writers. Romanticism in English Literature would never have flourished when it did, if there had not been a religious awakening of the people previously. It had another effect ofawakening the Anglican Church to the necessity of greater zeal and

this is reflected in the works of several writers.

In order to understand the Methodist movement it will be necessary to review briefly, the life of the founder, John Wesley. He was born in 1703, just one hundred years before Ryerson. He attended Oxford University and later became a lecturer. He gathered a group of young men around him for the purpose of study and prayer, and because of their rigorous piety they received the nickname of Methodists. Wesley claimed that he had undergone a mystical experience which resulted in his conversion. He was a man of great energy and a skilful organizer. He had no particular desire to become a writer but felt it was necessary for the spread of his cause. The numerous works which he has left all deal with religious

topics and the propagation of the Gosepel to the masses. The hymns were translated from German and like those of all revivalists have a strong emotional appeal. He kept a diary which is particularly interesting as a record of his life. He went to great pains to enter in detail the spread of Methodism in England and along with this we learn the story of the growth of industrialism. We also get an insight into the psychology of the early revivals, much the same as those of Alline in the Maritimes and of the Methodist preachers in Upper Canada. His style is clear and direct. Irony is used to good effect at times, but as a rule it is simple and straightforward.

Methodism did exert a profound influence on the social system. It appealed

particularly to the working classes and was preached as the crusade for a higher moral culture. There was nothing radical about the doctrines--in fact it favoured the established order of things. There can be little doubt that it helped to save England from the revolutionary doctrines which were overrunning Europe at the time of the French Revolution.

The orthodox church looked down upon the work of the Methodists. By some they were considered as a new sect of religious fanatics and provided material for jokes and burlesques in both the novel and the theatre. The "Spiritual Quixote" of Graves was inspired by their activities which he considered an over-zealous and useless crusade. However, Young, the writer of

"Night Thoughts" found himself in agreement with the Wesleyans.

If we examine the effect of Methodism on Ryerson, we might point out that the diaries of Wesley were no doubt the inspiration for him to do likewise during the early years of his ministry. The same simple and direct language is evident. Wesley's rules regarding the political activities of the adherents of his church proved rather irksome to the followers in Upper Canada, and we find that Ryerson eventually gave up the editorship of the Guardian because he felt himself handicapped in this respect.

John Wesley had visited America at an early date and we find that Methodism came to Upper Canada from the United States. When the Loyalists made their homes in the northern wilderness, they were followed by

their preachers. For many years the affiliation with the parent body was continued and for this reason they were often accused by their enemies of being disloyal to the British Crown. As a matter of fact, it was largely due to these insinuations by Bishop Strachan and the members of the Anglican party that Ryerson was forced to enter the field of controversy in the defence of his people.

To these early Methodists and especially to the Ryerson brothers, we are indebted for our early accounts of the country. Certainly the many struggles that they experienced in gaining legal recognition, developed some of the strongest writers of controversial literature. The names of Carroll, Punshon and Burwash are only a few that might be mentioned. There was also another group who used their talents in the writing of hymns. However,

we have evidence to show that the conversion of James and Ephraim Evans prompted them to lay aside, as folly, two novels that had been partially written. James was appointed as editor of the Guardian at a later date but his fame must rest on the fact that he was the inventor of the Cree syllabic alphabet which brought the printed page to the Indians of the western plains. Recently, Dr. John McLean of Winnipeg has written his biography.

From this study of Ryerson's background, we see that he was subjected to all the influences that have in any way had an effect on our literature. In reading the numerous works that he prepared during his long career, we are struck by the fact that each of these influences bears its mark. However, the sum total of his works shows that he

consciously attempted to inculcate a true spirit of Canadian patriotism.

RYERSON'S EARLY LIFE AND WRITING

CHAPTER VI

Ryerson's life was of such long duration and the occasions of his writings were so intimately connected with his advancement in church and state that it seems necessary to follow his biography rather closely. Furthermore, his early home life had such a profound influence on his later life that it will be best to do like Alice in Wonderland, "begin at the beginning."

In "The Story of My Life" he tells us that he was born on March 24, 1803, in Charlotteville township, in what was then the London district now the county of Norfolk. His father, Joseph Ryerson had been born in New Jersey of Dutch and Danish stock. He had been a volunteer in the army where he

acted as despatch rider. Later he had received a promotion to a Lieutenancy in the Prince of Wales volunteers and had seen active service in six battles and was wounded. After the American Revolution, he had been forced to migrate and he went to New Brunswick as a stalwart Loyalist. Here he married a descendant of the early Puritan settlers from Massachusetts. In 1799, he followed an elder brother, Samuel, to Upper Canada where he was given a grant of 2500 acres of land and received half pay from the army as a pensioner. He was a Colonel in the war of 1812 and again saw active service with his sons.

Young Ryerson was deeply emotional and religious. He claims that his mother had a profound religious influence on him during his early life. In the following

extract he shows just how much he was affected by her early teachings:-

"That to which I am principally indebted for any studious habits, mental energy, or even capacity or decision of character, is religious instruction poured into my mind in my early childhood by a mother's counsel, and infused into my heart by a mother's prayers and tears. When very small, under six years of age, having done something naughty, my mother took me into her bedroom, told me how bad and wicked what I had done was and what pain it caused her, kneeled down, clasped me to her bosom and prayed for me. Her tears falling upon my head seemed to penetrate to my very heart. This was my first religious impression and was never effaced. Though thoughtless and full of playful

mischief, I never afterwards knowingly grieved my mother or gave other than respectful and kind words."

Ryerson was fortunate in being close to the local Grammar School, which was taught by his brother-in-law, James Mitchell. As was common with all the farm boys, he worked at farm work after school hours and on holidays, and laid an excellent foundation for the health of his later years. When he was fourteen years of age he was given the opportunity of attending classes given by two men who taught nothing but English grammar. They guaranteed to teach any good student to parse any sentence in the English language in a period of six weeks. Egerton was remarkably bright and he made excellent progress in the work; and went through Murray's "Expositions and Exercises," "Elements of Criticism," and Blair's "Lectures on Rhetoric." He made

very detailed notes and found them useful all through his life. The next year the course was given again and when one of the professors became ill, young Ryerson was asked to help in the teaching. In this way the man who was destined to become the head of the Ontario school system, became a teacher at the early age of fifteen years.

There is nothing exceptional to record during the next few years. No doubt he was becoming a practical agriculturalist and he tells us that he ploughed every acre of ground and cradled every stock of grain. Those were the days before modern machinery was invented and hard work was a necessity.

In a previous chapter we have noted the importance that was placed on the so-called conversions of the early members of different sects. We noted that of Alline and Wesley in

a previous chapter. The gospel of justification by faith as preached by the early reformers was bound to have some sort of emotional reaction especially during the period of adolescence which at best is marked by storm and stress. Ryerson appears to have been no exception and records his experience in full detail.

"My consciousness of guilt and sinfulness was humbling, oppressive and distressing; and my experience of relief after lengthened fastings, watchings and prayers was clear, refreshing and joyous. In the end I simply trusted in Christ and looked to Him for a present salvation; and as I looked up in my bed the light appeared to my mind, and, as I thought to my bodily eye also, in the form of one, white robed, and with more of the expression of the countenance of Titian's Christ than of any person

I have ever seen. I turned, rose to my knees, bowed my head and covered my face, rejoiced with trembling saying to a brother who was lying beside me that the Saviour was now near us. The change within was more marked than anything without and perhaps the inward change may have suggested what appeared an outward manifestation."

It is well to remember that the above extract was written by Ryerson when he was seventy years of age and it rather shows that he firmly believed that he had actually this mystical experience. The writings of the early Methodists are filled with similar tales of conversions but from our standpoint of Literature we might follow Burwash and give an excerpt from the "Sartor Resartus" of Carlyle. He says, "The heart within me, unvisited by an heavenly dewdrop, was

smouldering in sulphurous slow consuming fire.....I lived in a continual, indefinite, pining fear..... It seemed as if all things in the heavens above and in the earth beneath would hurt me..... When all at once there rose a thought in me, and I asked myself, What art thou afraid of? Wherefore, like a coward, dost thou forever pip and whimper and go cowering and trembling? Despicable biped! What is the sum total of the worst that lies before thee? Death? Well, death, and say the pangs of Trophet too, and all that the devil and man may will, or can do against thee! Hast thou not a heart; canst thou not suffer whatever it be; and, as a child of freedom, though outcast trample Trophet itself under thy feet, while it consumes thee?.....And as I so thought, there rushed like a stream of fire over my whole soul; and I shook

base fear away from me forever..... The everlasting no had said, "Behold thou art fatherless, outcast, and the universe is mine'(the devils); to which my whole me now made answer, 'I am not thine but free, and forever hate thee!'"

"Sartor Resartus" means "the tailor re-tailored" and is really a veiled autobiography. He said that this experience was practically the same as what the Methodists called, a conversion when their souls were saved from the devil and the pit.

Colonel Ryerson was a staunch old Anglican and he had no particular respect for the Methodists. He even refused his son the means of acquiring knowledge while he continued to visit with them. Someone lent the boy a Latin Grammar and "Watts on the Mind" and "Watts Logic." We are told

he rose at three in the morning and studied until six.

At the age of eighteen he formally joined the Methodists and met with the ultimatum that he must either leave home or leave them. The boy left home and secured a position as an usher in the Grammar School in the London district. He now had an excellent opportunity for private study and he read with intense interest "Locke, on the Human Understanding," Paley's "Moral and Political Philosophy" and "Blackstone's Commentaries." The study of the last mentioned book especially that dealing with the "Perogatures of the Crown, the Rights of the Subject and the Province of Parliament" was exceedingly useful to him in later years when he commenced his political writings. For two years he held the position

as a student-teacher and during all this time paid for a hired man to take his place on his father's farm.

However, the farm work was not progressing favourably in the eyes of Colonel Ryerson so at the end of two years he suddenly appeared at the school door and uttered one short sentence, "Egerton, you must come home," and then walked away. At first, the boy rebelled against the idea of returning to farm work but after due reflection he decided to do as his father had requested. He wanted to show that his religion was sincere and when its honour was at stake he must act in a becoming manner. In a very few days he gave up his teaching and returned to the parental roof.

His father was delighted and changed his whole attitude both to him and to the

religion. The lad worked like a slave for a year and then, having become of age decided to seek his life's work elsewhere. We have no way of knowing just what he intended to do, but we can judge by his liking for political philosophy and constitutional law, we think he was attracted to the legal profession. He felt, however, that he must have a better foundation in education and he therefore, placed himself under John Law who was a distinguished classical scholar in Hamilton. It appears that he was over-solicitous for his educational advancement and at the end of six months he became very ill with brain fever and inflammation of the lungs. Little hope was held out for his recovery, but his constitution was exceptionally strong and he recovered. At this time he commenced his

diary which gives his religious experience first place, but it also gives us an opportunity of following his other interests for the next four years. He is very severe with himself for his lapses and shortcomings in religion. A strong tinge of asceticism is evident in all his entries.

At the time of his illness he had the time and the opportunity to carefully consider his plans for his life. He seems to have experienced a second religious calling and determined that if the opportunity presented itself he would enter the ministry. After his recovery he resumed his study of Greek and Latin at the school and a short time later went to a religious meeting where his brother was expected to preach. However, on account of a severe illness his brother was unable to be present and

Egerton was asked to take his place for a year. He accepted and thus by a mere accident he ended his formal education to become a Methodist preacher at the age of twenty-two. Here was the man who was destined to become the editor of the most influential newspaper in Upper Canada; who met in controversy and vanquished the ablest men of the day; who later became Principal of the first University and the Superintendent of Education for the whole province and yet his attendance at schools had been limited to a period of a very few years.

On Easter Sunday, April 3, 1825, he preached his first sermon at Beamsville, Ontario. The text he chose, was, "They, that sow in tears shall reap in joy," and the writers of the day tell us his manner of speaking was quite in accordance with

the text, as he spoke with great trembling and fear. A study of the entries in his diary is valuable since he records the condition of the country and the habits of the people. He endured the hardships of early missionary life in travelling from place to place, over roads that were nearly impassable. He was extremely zealous and his one thought was to save souls according to his ideas of salvation. The Methodists had no churches at that time, so services were held in barns or tents and on occasion in the open air. The meetings were noisy and the whole appeal was meant to arouse the emotions to a high pitch. In fact, the success of a service was judged by the way the members of the congregation responded with pathetic sobs and tears.

Carroll has left us an excellent

description of the young preacher at this time. It is worth recording in full.

"He was then perhaps twenty years of age, fat and boyish-looking like Spurgeon when he began, only with a far more intellectual face. The physique and physiognomy of our hero, whether in youth or riper years, have been such as become our notions of a great man. Rather over than under the medium size--well proportioned--fair complexioned--with large, speaking, blue eyes--large nose, more Jewish than either Grecian or Roman--and then such a head! large, full, well balanced, without any noticeable prominences; but moderately embossed all over like a shield. The mass of brain before the eyes is greater than that of any other man we wot of. The height, breadth, and fulness of that forehead is remarked by all observers."

His diary shows that he was not particularly well pleased with the results of his missionary labours and he bemoaned the fact that his ignorance kept him from making better sermons. There is little doubt that he did his best and was continually trying to improve himself intellectually. He led a regular life, retiring at ten o'clock and rising at five for study. He kept up his study in Greek and Latin but was more interested in history and the Scriptures. At this time he made his first visit to United States and his comment that "the manners of the people are not pleasant to me" is rather amusing. In September 1825 he received the appointment as assistant preacher on the York and Yonge Street circuit with headquarters at York. We have no way of knowing just why he was sent here, but as later events proved the choice was a happy

one for the Methodists.

The town was still "muddy York" and the streets were more easily used in winter than in summer. Perhaps the most outstanding citizen was the Reverend John Strachan, Archdeacon of York. For several years he had conducted a school and the majority of the members, of what was coming to be known as "The Family Compact," had been his pupils. He was considered a man of power and decision in the government circles of the day. William Lyon Mackenzie had just recently arrived from Niagara. He did not command the respect of the people as did Strachan, but he was a hard worker and his editorials in the "Colonial Advocate" were dividing the town into two hostile camps. It was to be expected that in such a small place the new Methodist minister would receive some notice by both the editor and the Archdeacon,

but no one would have ever dreamed that before a year had rolled around, this young lad would have shared their prominence.

Ryerson's preaching soon brought him to the notice of Mackenzie, who according to a Scotch custom, attended church on the first Sunday of the new year and went to hear the young preacher in the evening. In the issue of his paper of January 12, 1826, he gave a whole column to the service of the Methodists at York. He writes: "It is of great advantage to a preacher when he has read much and studied much, not only in the sacred Scriptures, but also in that vast record of human perseverance, miscellaneous literature. And that Mr. Ryerson has not been negligent in this respect, is apparent from the tenor of his discourses--he touches every chord of the human heart, but, never forgets his index--

an hereafter."

Perhaps Mackenzie was a little too enthusiastic about Ryerson's sermon. As a matter of fact, he was never considered an outstanding preacher by the Methodists themselves. In later years he was able to draw great crowds but it was because of the message that he was expected to give, rather than his oratory. His strength lay, as we shall see, in controversial writing, and although he and Mackenzie served on early reform committees, it could be expected that their strongly opposed temperaments would eventually clash.

In March of that year Ryerson was forced into a conflict with Strachan over the Clergy Reserve's question. It seems that on the occasion of the death of Bishop Mountain of Quebec, Strachan had preached a

sermon which reviewed the progress of the Church of England in Canada. During this discourse he had gone out of his way to insinuate that the Methodist preachers were ignorant and uneducated and were strongly American in their views. He felt that it was necessary to combat their influence and in order to preserve the loyalty to the Crown, he asked for a large grant in addition to the exclusive use of the Clergy Reserves. One of the members of Ryerson's congregation secured a copy of the sermon and took it to the next social gathering of the church members. When the contents were made known there was great indignation, and it was proposed that "The Boy Preacher," as Ryerson was called, should prepare a reply. At first he was reluctant to accept the responsibility for such a task but agreed on

the understanding that his colleague, Rev. Mr. Richardson, would also prepare something. Their work was to be presented at the next meeting in four weeks, but when the time arrived Richardson had accomplished nothing but Ryerson had prepared his document. The reply met with the general approval of the members, who demanded that it should be printed. The young writer refused to allow this until he had time to re-write it, after which it was given to the press.

It can be easily seen that Ryerson was not anxious to become a participant in this controversy but did so at the request of his friends. However, we have a strong suspicion that the soldierly qualities of his old father, Colonel Ryerson, were inherited by his son and that he found some

satisfaction in a fight when he had once undertaken it. A previous writer has expressed this idea very well by saying that Ryerson seems to have been guided by the advice of the old councillor in Hamlet:--

"Beware
of entrance to a quarrel, but, being in,
Bear't that the opposed may beware of thee."

The thought of a controversy with Strachan, who was an accomplished writer, was no small matter and was not to be entered upon lightly. However, "this was the third formal attack that had been made by the Church of England clergy on the character of the Methodist brethren." The charge of disloyalty to the Crown hurt the pride of the preachers and they had good grounds for complaint. Richardson had fought in the war of 1812 and had lost an

arm at Oswego, and the Ryersons were Loyalists, who had done their share in the defence of the country. Something had to be done to stop this campaign against the followers of Wesley.

The revised letter was signed as that of "A Methodist Preacher" and Mackenzie was delighted to publish it in the "Colonial Advocate." In fact his issue of May 11th has little space for anything else, since the letter consisted of twelve thousand words. Ryerson shows the results of his classical training and comes directly to the core of his argument in true Ciceronian fashion. His style is immature and lacks polish but on the whole it was a very commendable effort. He shows a keen grasp of the situation and a wide knowledge of history. Even at this early date he is a master of argumentation

and uses satire with telling effect on his adversary.

Mackenzie was right in his estimation of the news value of the letter. Ryerson himself tells us that it created a sensation and that "before every house in Toronto might be seen groups reading and discussing the paper." The following extract from the pen of William Smith gives his valuation of the letter:--

"The pamphlet which was signed 'A Methodist Preacher' aroused much excitement and brought down upon the head of the writer a torrent of vituperation. It was, in spite of a certain immaturity of style, an astonishing performance. The pretensions of the Church of England to any peculiar spiritual authority and to a dominant position among the religious denominations were shown to

have no foundation and the refutation of the reckless charges against the Methodist preachers was vigorous and conclusive. The thirty-page pamphlet was notice to whom it may concern that that body had found a champion and that such charges could no longer be made with impunity." When Ryerson returned from his visits in the rural districts he found four replies to his "Review." Three were from members of the clergy and one was from a well-educated layman. He was forced to make a decision of flight or fight. He says, "I decided upon the latter, devoted a day to fasting and prayer and then went at my adversaries in good earnest." Time after time he returned to the battle and the controversy lasted for several weeks, until two hundred and fifty pages had been written.

Even to-day the document may be read with interest and is filled with valuable historical information.

When Ryerson visited his old home later in the year, his father was very much disturbed over the controversy which was agitating the country. After two days he suddenly turned to his son and said, "Egerton, they say you are the author of these papers which are convulsing the whole country. I want to know whether you are or not." When the young man acknowledged that he was, the old man threw up his hands and exclaimed, "My God, we are all ruined." In this the old colonel was wrong for instead of the letters ruining the Ryersons, it brought them added prestige.

HIS WORK AT THE CREDIT AND COBOURG

CHAPTER VII

At the Conference in 1825 when Ryerson had been sent to York as assistant, he was assigned the charge of the Indians at the Credit. He was young and knew the structure of language and there was a hope that he might write a grammar of the Indian dialects which would be useful in the work of Christianizing them. There may have also been the thought that there was an advantage in keeping him near York, which was the headquarters of the Family Compact.

When he took over his charge at the Credit, the Indians were still living in wigwams, although the government had built about twenty new cottages for them. Ryerson lived with them in their homes and

seems to have been very happy. His first thought, however, was to build a house which could be used as a church and a school. The Indians subscribed part of the money and he begged the rest from his friends. At the end of six weeks the building was ready for occupation and was totally paid for. His brother William paid a visit to the school later and found forty children on the roll and thirty present. Upon his arrival he found the young school-teacher busily engaged in chopping brush with a number of the little Indian boys. He explained that he was anxious to educate the Indians to manual labour and also found it beneficial for his own health. Even at that early date he was clever enough to see the type of training that is most useful in Indian Education, namely, the training of the hand

as well as the head. The academic subjects seem to have been well taught since we are told "their progress in spelling, reading and writing was astonishing."

That Ryerson was happy in his work is borne out by the entries in his diary. He was tempted to consecrate his life to the work of Indian education. It was found necessary to give less and less time to the study of the classics but he made some advancement in the language. Much to the delight of the Indians he gave a sermon in their own tongue in the spring and was given the name "Cheehock" or "bird on the wing" by the old chief.

Although he had a multitude of duties to perform he was not allowed to drop his writing in the interests of civil and religious liberty. He tells us that he was

encouraged to continue the controversy by Marshall Spring Bidwell, the Speaker of the Assembly, and by others. In a part of his diary we are told that he had written for fifteen or sixteen hours that day and that he finds controversial writing makes for "leanness of soul." On his twenty-fourth birthday the entry reads, "During the past year my principal attention has been called to controversial labours. If the Lord will, may this cup pass by in my future life." However, his prayer was not to be answered and for fifty years he was more or less continuously in some form of conflict.

In 1827 he was assigned to the Cobourg circuit which was considered the most difficult in Ontario, extending from Bowmanville to Brighton and including the Indian missions at Rice Lake.

The conflicts of the time still continued to receive his attention and he tells us he prepared his replies while riding on horseback through the back concessions of his territory. The older inhabitants of Cobourg still tell how his letters were written and we are indebted to Dr. Reynor for the following extract. He says, "The young preacher would come in at nightfall from his long ride and sit up till morning looked in upon him and saw the pile of firewood consumed on the one side and a pile of manuscript grown up on the other."

Here is a similar picture of another writer at work:-

"It was in the autumn of 1813. Though engaged in finishing his edition of Swift he set to work upon the tale. The greater part of the first volume was done during

the ensuing Christmas vacation and the evenings of three summer weeks completed the remaining two. A gay party of young men were sitting over their wine in a house in George Street upon one of those summer evenings, when the host drew attention to a window where a solitary hand appeared, working without stay or weariness at a desk, and tossing down page after page of manuscript upon a rising heap. 'It is the same every night,' said young Menzies; 'I can't stand the sight of it when I am not at my books. Still it goes on unwearied--and so it will be till candles are brought in and nobody knows how long after that'."

It was the hand of Walter Scott, writing the last volumes of "Waverley," seen as he sat in a back room of his house in Edinburgh. He was writing an historical tale.

Ryerson was making history in our own Canadian land.

While young Ryerson was studying in Hamilton he boarded at the home of Mr. Aikman and became engaged to his daughter Hannah. After his severe illness and his call to the ministry the marriage was indefinitely postponed. However, on September 10, 1828, they were married. She died in January, 1832, leaving two young children. The following year he was married to Miss Mary Armstrong of Toronto, who survived her husband.

RYERSON AS A PAMPHLETEER

CHAPTER VIII

In a previous chapter we have seen how Ryerson was called upon to use his pen in defence of his church, even before he had completed his first year in the ministry. We have also noted that it was necessary for him to continue his writing in the interest of civil and religious equality.

If we are to understand the problems of that day it will be necessary to recall the provisions of the Constitutional Act. It will be remembered that this Act was passed in 1791 and separated Upper Canada from Quebec. The whole spirit of the act shows plainly the views of the statesman of the time, that the Crown must have certain prerogatives and these must be held at all

costs. The colonists were supposed to be enjoying self-government but in reality they had nothing of the kind. Upper Canada was considered a free colony with the government vested in a Governor, a Legislative Council and a Legislative Assembly. The Governor was appointed by the Colonial office and was directly responsible to it. The members of the Legislative Council were appointed for life by the Crown. The people elected the members to the Assembly but it had very little real power in view of the prerogatives of the Governor and his Council. However, there were two other great weaknesses in the Act. The first was the provision that one-seventh of the Crown lands should be set aside for the support of the Protestant clergy. This arrangement naturally impeded settlement since six farms might be settled

and the seventh would remain vacant. The second provision was for the creation of a titled aristocracy such as we have in England, with seats in the Legislative Council.

The Anglicans under Bishop Strachan hoped to retain the exclusive rights to the Clergy Reserves and were ambitious to build up an Established Church as there was in England. Their educational scheme catered to the classes and not the masses. It was to start at the top with a college and university at the Capital, with a few grammar schools at suitable places throughout the country. Already many of the non-conformist bodies were objecting to the provisions of the Act and were demanding their share of the revenues from the Clergy Reserves.

To fully understand the feelings of

the people at that time, we must turn our attention to the effects of the War of 1812. Here was a young nation that had successfully defended itself against a foreign invader. It was only natural that the people should feel proud of their achievements which gave birth to a feeling of Canadian nationalism. Besides this the times were good and there was great material prosperity on account of the huge sums of money that had been spent by the British Government. Just as Canada since the Great War has felt that she is a nation in every sense of the word, so at that time the people felt that she was a grown up daughter and should have more to say about her own government. In this way a movement for political reform grew up with the ideal of Responsible Government as the ultimate end.

We may consider that there were three distinct phases to the movement:

(1) The ideal of responsible government although, even the leaders, had a very hazy idea as to what that really meant.

(2) The ideal of equal civil and religious rights.

(3) The ideal of adequate provision for the education of every child in the land.

Ryerson was heartily in agreement with all these ideals but the greater part of his life was given in the realization of the last two of them.

Strachan was politician enough to see that a struggle was bound to come and to realize that it would be settled in England and not in Canada. With this in view he crossed the Atlantic in the spring of 1826 and remained until the summer of 1827. As

a matter of fact, he was out of the country when the review of his sermon appeared in print. While in England, he exerted his best efforts with the government to further his educational and ecclesiastical policy. He was successful in securing a charter for a university, which was to be known as King's College and situated in the Capital. It was definitely stipulated that all the professors were to be Anglicans and the Governor was Chancellor with Strachan himself as Principal.

Soon after the granting of this charter the ministry of Lord Liverpool fell and Goderich became the new Colonial Secretary. Strachan thought it would be a good move to write to the new ministry and place his views before the members. He, therefore, wrote a long letter to the Under-Secretary, the Honourable R.W. Horton and for the second

time tried to enforce his claims by criticising other denominations and especially the Methodists. Along with the letter he sent an "Ecclesiastical Chart" which gave the number of members belonging to other churches. Much to his surprise the House of Commons ordered the letter and Chart to be printed and it was copied by the "Colonial Advocate." To add to the fire Strachan also circulated a pamphlet which again implied the disloyalty of the Methodist preachers. After his return to Canada he made a long speech to the Legislative Council of Upper Canada and outlined his whole policy. The members of the Council were all members of his own clique and he received their enthusiastic approval. The Speaker asked for his permission to publish the speech and the Bishop graciously gave it and thereby committed

another serious blunder. It seems he was becoming annoyed by the personal criticism he was receiving. Everyone knew that he had been born a Presbyterian and had left them to become an Anglican. Mackenzie had published a story in the Advocate, that Strachan had met a boyhood acquaintance who had become a Presbyterian minister, and remarked that he was wearing a very shabby coat. The reply was, "Ah weel Jock, I hae na turned it yet."

Strachan's speech was sufficient reason to bring Ryerson pouncing down upon him. He wrote a series of eight letters and published them in the "Upper Canada Herald" of Kingston. Later these were collected in the form of a pamphlet of 232 pages entitled "Claims of Churchmen."

Ryerson seems to have more confidence

this time and there is a great improvement in style over his first effort in 1826. He uses numerous quotations from outstanding authorities and his logic is much more convincing. It would appear that he has taken his brother's advice to write in a "mild and sweet" although a "candid" style. He is much more sparing in his use of satire and only when he expresses his indignation at the selfish clauses of the Charter does he rely upon it. These eight letters are perhaps the best examples of his power as a writer. Smith praises the effectiveness of Ryerson, "who by his controversial skill shattered Strachan's immediate defence, and by clinging to his flank eventually overthrew the plans of a lifetime."

Let us examine this document more closely. The first three letters are more

or less introductory and simply cover the fringes of the main issue. He even goes back as far as Salon to prove the necessity of taking up the challenge. He disassociates himself from any personal feeling in the matter and puts himself up as a public benefactor in exposing the facts. He hunts out all the contradictory statements of Strachan and uses them against him. He exposes the diplomacy of the Archdeacon and says it is as old as that used by the Persians and the Greeks.

When he considers that the ground has been sufficiently cleared he goes right to the very pith of the matter in the last four letters. He strikes at the idea of church establishment and supports his views by numerous lessons in history. He contends that the term "Protestant Clergy" as used

in the Constitutional Act, cannot be considered as referring to the Church of England only. He shows that the Anglican Church has not made progress in spite of all the endowments it has been receiving. He points out that avarice and pride are bound to undermine any favoured church. The seventh letter gives a beautiful pen picture of what Canada will become when religion really flourishes. The final letter deals with the University and the need for general education. It is his first glimpse of the field in which he was destined to excel. He claims the University could never be a successful institution because the foundation has been improperly laid, and even accuses Strachan of an attempt at proselytizing by using the University for the training of Anglican missionaries.

In view of the fact that Ryerson's skill as a controversialist is well shown in the "Claims of Churchmen" it might be well to summarize his methods. We have seen that nature endowed him with the gift of being an accurate thinker and he continually improved himself by wide reading. He carefully prepared his material and thoroughly mastered his subject before he attempted to enter a conflict. As was noted above, he picked out the weak points of his opponent's case but paid special attention to the strong points of his own. He has a readiness and command of English that was continually improved by his study of the classics and English subjects. He always acted on the defensive and did not exhaust all his ammunition on the first encounter, but kept a reserve force for his last final thrust. There is

every reason to believe that he often sensed that a struggle was coming and he prepared for it well in advance by fighting it out privately before it was committed to print.

In reading his correspondence at this date it is interesting to note that Ryerson refused to pay the full bill for the printing of these letters because of the long delay and on account of the fact that there were over two hundred mistakes in the first copies. It became necessary to give the work to Mackenzie if it was needed in a hurry and this undoubtedly had some weight in the decision of the Conference to go into the printing business.

RYERSON BECOMES AN EDITOR

CHAPTER IX

In 1829 Ryerson was ordained an elder at the age of twenty-six years. The year before the Canadian Methodist Church had been separated, by mutual consent, from the parent body in the United States. The Canadians could now form their own policies and it was decided to found a weekly newspaper to be called "The Christian Guardian." The committee that had been appointed reported that the initial expenses would amount to two thousand dollars and at the conference in 1829 it was decided to go ahead with the venture. Stock was issued in shares of twenty dollars each and was subscribed for by the preachers and their friends. The editor was to be elected annually by ballot and the results of the first vote showed that Egerton had a majority of one

over his brother George. Thus was founded the first religious weekly in Canada.

There can be little doubt that the editing of the paper during the first year was a stupendous task. Ryerson was business manager, mail clerk and press man, all in one. The immediate success of this enterprise was remarkable. In the short period of three years the subscription list increased from 500 to 3,000, and it was the most widely read weekly in Upper Canada. Of course there were no dailies in those days and many of the other weeklies, like that of Mackenzie's, were often severely handicapped for money and were not sure of publication from week to week. It is interesting to note that by the end of the first year a book was published and thus was founded the oldest publishing house in Canada, which still bears the name of Ryerson.

There is a decided contrast between the Christian Guardian and the newspapers of to-day. The eight quarto pages are crowded with news. Headlines are not in evidence and there are no illustrations. Eventually when advertisements came they were placed in an inconspicuous part of the back page. In reading the first issues of this paper we are struck with the charity and moderation of most of the articles. Ryerson consciously attempted to keep out of the controversies of the day and only once or twice got off his course. When the Marriage Bill, which would have allowed Methodist Ministers the right to perform marriages, was not sanctioned by the Governor and when it took two years in England to gain Royal assent, Ryerson made the following biting attack:

"Under such circumstances, and especially

as the Royal instructions have uniformly declared the intention of His Majesty to consult and act agreeably to the wishes of his faithful subjects in Upper Canada, I may ask whether it is not more than probable His Majesty's Royal assent would have been given to such a bill before this time, had it not unfortunately fallen in company with some ruthless vagrant (in the shape of a secret communication) who has slandered, abused, and tomahawked it at the foot of the Throne."

The policy that was set down in the first issue of the Guardian was, "The facts we may furnish; but for the interpretation, our readers must look into the resources of their own minds or to other periodicals." During the first year of its existence, it must be said that the paper kept fairly free of politics. Ryerson seems to have had a

particular liking for two topics; Indian Missions and the Temperance Movement. However, he did work hard to provide interesting and even humorous reading. Since an editor is bound to cater to the wishes of his readers a careful study of the material used at that time would give us a fairly accurate knowledge of the tastes and the customs of those early settlers. An attempt was made to have a youth's department and also one for the ladies but these were not continued in every issue. Murders and accidents were described briefly and the moral implications noted. Such homely topics as, hints to health, how to brew beer, the cure for stammering and how to destroy mice were contained in every issue. We can well imagine that the paper fulfilled a great need and was read with intense interest by the people in many rural settlements.

At the end of the first year Ryerson found himself in a peculiar predicament. The Legislature had been dissolved on the pretext of the death of George IV and the succession of William IV. The real reason was that the reformers were pressing their demands and the Governor and the Government hoped that an election would clear the air. Many candidates were anxious to obtain the support of the Guardian in their campaign and Ryerson was finding it difficult to be strictly neutral. He claimed that his interest was in issues and not in individuals and that if the questions related to education or equal civil and religious rights he would be willing to express his views. He asked each candidate to seriously consider the major issues and to meditate after this manner: "I am now about to give my name and influence towards entailing upon my posterity and country a dominant Priesthood

--a partial system of education--a monopoly in the hands of a few individuals, of one-seventh of the Province, and all the national calamities which invariably accompany such a state of things--or to confer upon the present and future generations of Canada the means and opportunities of education,--the tranquil and various advantages of equal religious freedom and privilege--and the enviable estate of general contentment and easy independence. Now to which of these will I give my voice to become my children's and country's inheritance?"

The advice given in this extract is extremely sound. He points out very clearly what the issue really is--that of the policy of the family compact or that of the advocates of responsible government. He leaves no doubt in the minds of the readers as to which side

he favours. He also becomes an adviser to his readers as to the qualities they should look for in the candidates of their choice. He says, "The most industrious, able and successful supporters of the religious rights and general interests of the people of this province for years past, are Churchmen and Presbyterians and Catholics--only let them be of the right sort, men who do not just now begin to trumpet their liberal patriotism, but men who have showed in the trying times of bygone years the integrity of their principles and the sincerity of their intentions, to do to others as they would others should do to them in like circumstances."

At the elections in October of that year a large number of his friends were defeated. He did not comment on the results but in his private letters he refers to taking "a most

decided course," and the following issues show plainly that the paper has a new life. The public was quick to see that the paper had improved and this brought more subscribers. We are told that the postage paid in the years 1830-31 was greater than that paid by thirteen other prints in Upper Canada. This does not necessarily mean that it had the greatest circulation since a large part of its readers lived in rural areas and naturally it used the mails to a greater extent than the others. It would be safe to say, however, that under Ryerson's guidance, the paper covered a wider field than any other in the province.

It may be true that this decided course he had adopted brought more readers but it also brought upon the Methodists the dislike of the Governor. Ryerson had been active in a movement by the "Friends of Religious Liberty"

and when two petitions were forwarded to the Imperial Government the Governor was very much annoyed. The Anglicans circulated a counter-petition and when Ryerson reviewed it in his paper he remarked,"we think it was not intended for the public eye in Canada." Later, when a committee of which he was a member called upon the Governor with a memorial to the King, protesting against the statements of the Anglicans, they were severely chastised in a lecture which he read and then handed it to the head of the delegation. This gave the editor an excellent opportunity to send a strong rejoinder to the Governor and when Lord Goderich heard of his lieutenant's action he reprimanded him severely. From this time forward Sir John Colborne held the Methodists in greater respect.

There can be little doubt that the Methodists

generally, and Ryerson in particular, smarted under the taunts of the Anglicans that their ministers were uneducated. At the time the Guardian had been launched, some thought had been given to the founding of an institution of higher learning. At the conference in 1830 it had been decided to proceed with the undertaking and a site was selected at Cobourg. This was the answer of the Methodists to the Anglicans, but it might also be taken as a rebuke to the Government, since nothing had been done to establish a provincial institution, although the charter had been granted in 1837. It is true that Upper Canada College was functioning but it catered to the wealthy classes only and the courses were wholly classical. We might also notice that although the new college was founded in the interests of religion yet no system of Divinity was to be taught.

RYERSON IN POLITICS

CHAPTER X

In 1832 Ryerson was relieved of the editorship and was elected as a delegate to go to England to meet with the English members and to solicit donations for the new college. It so happened that Mackenzie was also in England and was besieging the Colonial Office with literature pertaining to affairs in Upper Canada. In his work of reform he was assisted by the radical members of the House of Commons Hume, Roebuck and Cobbett. When Ryerson was given an interview with the Secretary of State he placed before him the complete case of the Clergy Reserves and of an endowed church. During his leisure hours he visited the British Houses of Parliament and became better acquainted with English politics. He formed his own opinion about Hume and protested to Mackenzie

that he was not the proper man to advance their cause especially in religion, as he was an atheist.

When Ryerson returned to Canada the Conference again elected him to the editorial chair. He decided to write something of interest for his readers and on October 30, 1833, commenced a series of articles and comments on English political life entitled, "English Impressions." We are not sure but there is a possibility he wanted to awaken the people to the facts, so that they would not be carried away by the radicals who were talking of annexation with the United States. He and Mackenzie were the two men who were most conspicuous in the cause of reform but their methods of acquiring their ends were as separated as the poles. Ryerson might be called a moderate conservative

but was a member of no political party because there was none to which he could give his whole-hearted support. He told his readers his candid opinion of the different parties in English politics, but his particular reference to Hume seems to have been the spark which ignited the already over-charged reform atmosphere. It seems peculiar that Mackenzie should have taken such offence because Ryerson had told him his impressions of Hume while they had been in England. A probable reason is that Mackenzie had lost his baby son, Joseph Hume, that very week and may have been touched in a tender spot. However, whatever the cause, his attack on Ryerson in the Advocate was fiery and violent. He wrote: "The Christian Guardian under the management of our Reverend Neighbour Egerton Ryerson has gone over to the enemy, press, types and all." He went on to accuse him

of apostasy and the final sentence of his first paragraph read, "The Americans had their Arnold and the Canadians have their Egerton Ryerson."

Ryerson answered with a stiff reply but the matter was not so easy to settle. The editor was abused by many of his closest friends. Hundreds of subscribers cancelled the paper. Hume made a personal attack on him in the House of Commons in England. It is hard to picture a more difficult position for an editor but he stood his ground well and eventually those Canadians who were not republican in their feelings saw that his observations had really been those of a prophet. Ryerson's weakness, if it may be called such, was to challenge a lie in any form but the course he took shattered friendships beyond repair and no doubt hastened Mackenzie on his way to armed rebellion. However, he

could boast in later years that no member of the Wesleyan Methodist Church was implicated in the uprising in Upper Canada.

One of the immediate results of the quarrel was that some of the members of the church seceded and that donations to the academy practically ceased. At the next conference in 1834, Ryerson was severely criticized for his action and when the election for editor took place he was defeated by Richardson, but he declined to accept the position and the following day the former editor was re-elected. Mackenzie noted this and said the times looked dark for reformers. However, it seems that Ryerson was determined to keep out of political controversies and during the year reported that six out of the seven papers that combined against "The Guardian" either changed hands or went out of existence. He described Mackenzie

as the "author of that infamous warfare against us." At the end of the year he retired from the editorial chair and was sent to take charge of the church in Kingston, but before he was settled down it was found necessary to send him to England to seek a charter for the academy and to beg for funds. After arming himself with several letters of introduction, notably one from Sir John Colborne recommending the academy to the consideration of the Government, he set sail and arrived in England after a rough passage of twenty-nine days.

It is not necessary for us to follow him closely during the long delays in his negotiations. Eventually he was successful in procuring an interview with Lord Glenelg, but found the Under-Secretary Grey much more responsive. He was introduced to the Right Honourable

Edward Ellice and it was largely due to his influence that he was given so much consideration. The legal department raised a multitude of objections and Ryerson had to do some of his most powerful writing before he overcame the obstacles. In the end he was successful and the charter was granted.

All the time he was begging but with little success. His diary records a small donation from Lord Ashourton but nothing from Sir Robert Peel. Rumours were continually reaching his ears that Canada was on the verge of becoming a republic and this annoyed him. He felt it his duty to write a series of letters to "The Times" on "The Affairs of the Canadas," in which he endeavoured to convince the British people that the Canadians were loyal and that the statements of Hume and Roebuck were utterly untrue. At the same time he dealt with the causes of unrest in the colony and advanced

his proposals with reference to the Clergy Reserves and education. These letters were later bound into a pamphlet of seventy five pages. The first six of the series are addressed to Hume and Roebuck as the men "who have kindled and blown to a flame" the republican idea in Canada. The seventh and eighth are addressed to the Secretary of State. The fourth, fifth and eighth deal entirely with the affairs in Lower Canada. Ryerson tried to refute the argument advanced by Papineau and Roebuck that the British had "pillaged" the Canadians. The seventh was a defence of the Lieutenant-Governor against the attacks of Hume.

When the Seventh Grievance report came to the notice of Glenelg he was angry and blamed Sir John Colborne for not keeping him better informed. The choice of a new governor

fell upon Edmund Head but through an error Francis Head was called. The appointment was most unfortunate since he had few qualifications for the position except that he was proficient in making reports and if he had carried out his instructions the rebellion might never have happened. Hume wrote to Mackenzie and told him that great things might be expected and the latter attempted to give the new governor a warm reception by placarding the buildings of Toronto in large letters "Sir Francis Head, a Tried Reformer." As we are aware Sir Francis did not live up to expectations and there is no doubt he would have had a minority in the House if the rebellion had not happened when it did.

When Ryerson returned to Canada in June he learned that preparations were being made for the rebellion. His brother John and

himself went to the Attorney-General, Christopher Hagerman and the Governor with their information but their advice was not taken. He believed that the Governor was not anxious to avert an armed revolt so that there might be some excuse for hanging the leaders. On December 6th Ryerson was on his way from Kingston to Toronto when news of the uprising reached him. It was reported that Mackenzie and the rebels had agreed to hang him on the nearest tree should they fall in with him, so he was advised by his friends to remain at Cobourg.

Early in 1838 Ryerson published a "Discourse on Civil Government--the late Conspiracy" in which he expressed his delight because of the overthrow of the rebellion. Near the end of the year when he had again become the editor of "The Guardian" he was accused of being an enemy of

good government and attacked by all the loyalist journals. Every possible effort was made to bring about his downfall but as usual he stood his ground and met every assault. Head's governorship was extremely brief and even when the rebellion was at its height his resignation had been accepted by the Colonial Office.

Sir George Arthur succeeded Head and arrived in Toronto in March. Ryerson was not impressed by him as he was not sure of his attitude on the Clergy Reserves Bill and even when it was passed he felt that it was necessary to write two letters to the Colonial office. We have no way of knowing just what the reaction was but we do know that the bill was not sanctioned.

When Lord Durham was appointed to visit Canada and find out the causes of the rebellion the new hope was destined to be short lived.

No sooner had he embarked than his enemies at home were doing their best to ruin him. The members of the government party of Quebec were afraid of his radical views and when he granted a general amnesty to the majority of those who had risen in rebellion, he was bitterly attacked by the Conservative press. Ryerson rose in his defence and says of these people that they are "a small class of editors who have a small class of followers with very small notions of government."

Durham saw that the question of the Clergy Reserves was really at the bottom of the trouble in Upper Canada. The heads of every denomination in the country were allowed to appear before a Commission and all with the exception of Strachan agreed that benefits should not be given exclusively to the Church of England. The Catholic view as expressed by Bishop MacDonell

was a recommendation that these lands should revert to the Crown.

LAST YEAR AS EDITOR

CHAPTER XI

The year 1839-40 was destined to be the last in which Ryerson held the editorship of the Guardian. The policy to keep clear of politics may have been irksome to him but it was being maintained. During the year he travelled extensively through the province where centenary meetings were being held, and wrote several letters to the Guardian relating to his experiences. These observations are interesting because of the clear manner in which he describes the people and the events of those years. I have selected one excerpt which will prove of interest to citizens of Ottawa.

"The scenery in the vicinity of Bytown for miles around is varied and beautiful; its natural situation is such that as a military post, it may be made nearly, if not quite as

impregnable as Quebec; building materials, both of stone and wood are inexhaustible, as are hydraulic privileges for machinery of every description. In all the surrounding country, where the roads are bad, there is an abundance of stone, so that they can be macadamized at less expense than the roads in the neighbourhood of Toronto. In case of a Union of the Provinces, Bytown, it appears to me, can scarcely fail of being the seat of government. A few miles' canal connects it with the ocean; and it is more abundantly endowed with the natural elements of greatness than any other town that I know of in the Canadas.

About an hour after the close of the Centenary Meeting in Bytown, the steamboat from L'Orignal appeared in sight, with seventeen barges in tow and bringing brother Green and my brother John from their tour to the 'far east.' After having mutually reported progress

and taken some supper at the house of a common friend, the Reverend Richard Jones, we found it to be nearly three o'clock in the morning, and time to make preparations for moving again. Mr. Wilkinson's horse having got injured so as to be unable to travel, it was agreed that he and my brother John should take the steamboat on the Rideau Canal and Brother Green and I should take passage in a birch canoe to Kemptville--a distance of forty-one miles; to which we hired a man to convey us by half-past six in the morning. By day-light we started in a birch vessel about fifteen feet in length, paddled by three men, two of whom were Frenchmen. At midship Brother Green and I were wedged together, side by side, like a pair of Siamese twins, only I have the misfortune of being the smaller of the two, and had therefore, to submit quietly to such squeezing as his broad

spread chose to inflict, and especially as a birch canoe is not the most desirable arena for the settlement of either boundary questions or matters of personal and inalienable right. We carried our vessel around the locks, and therefore, did not trouble the lock-masters to open the gates on our account. We breakfasted on the 'Hogs-Back' about ten miles from Bytown."

This is an excellent description of the vicinity of Ottawa as it was nearly a hundred years ago. It is noteworthy that even at that early date he saw the possibilities and potential advantages of the site as the capital of the future Dominion. The dry humour with which he enlivens the latter part of the extract would, no doubt, be appreciated by his readers.

As was mentioned previously Ryerson was a man of power in the country and his friendship was valued by all the leading men of the day.

The following letter from Joseph Howe was received by him about two weeks after his return from this tour. We have good reason to believe that there had been previous correspondence between them and we feel sure the request for "a line" was granted. The letter reads as follows:

"My dear Sir:-

May I beg your acceptance of a little work the object of which is to advance the good cause in which you have so heartily and with so much ability embarked. It is a great satisfaction to the friends of Responsible Government here, that the cause has been taken up in Canada by men about whose intentions and loyalty there can be no mistake. So long as we deprive the Compacts of Rebels and Sympathizers raised for them, and act together without just cause for suspicion that we mean anything but what we say, there can be little doubt of ultimate success. Should your

elections return a mojority favorable to Responsibility at the next Election and all the Colonies unite in one demand, it will be yielded. Our Legislature, and any that can be chosen here, will uphold the principle--so will the majorities in Newfoundland and Prince Edward Island. Of New Brunswick I cannot speak with certainty yet, but hope they will soon understand the question thoroughly in that Province. It may be necessary for all the Provinces to send delegates at the same time to England to claim to be heard on the subject at the Bar of the Commons and the Lords, and to diffuse through every fair channel correct views of the question. Think of this, and drop me a line at your leisure. Meanwhile I remain, with highest respect,

Yours truly,

Joseph Howe"

Indeed a word of contrast of these two great Canadians might be of value. Both men were more or less self-educated. At an early age both were editors of influential newspapers which had great political and literary influence in Canada. Howe had won the freedom of the press in his defence of "The Novascotian" and Ryerson had successfully challenged the members of the Family Compact. Their ideas relating to Responsible Government and education were nearly identical. Both were contributors to pure Canadian literature apart from their journalistic and political activities. Both were passionately fond of their native province but were broad enough to see the necessity and the advantage of a federation of all provinces in a Dominion. I think it must be admitted that neither man has been given sufficient credit for the work he accomplished in procuring the form of government

which met with the approval of the majority of Canadians.

To continue our story we must come back to the realm of politics. Lord Durham was convinced that the Orange order was a disturbing force in the political life in Upper Canada and that it was being used to interfere with the free choice of candidates at the polls. In his report he said, "It is an Irish Tory institution having not so much a religious as a political bearing." Arthur was finding it increasingly difficult to carry on the government with the antiquated machinery that he had to work with. He gave instructions that a circular letter was to be issued to all the magistrates that Orange processions were to be prohibited. In defiance of his order a large demonstration was held in Toronto. Then, as now, these gentlemen created discord throughout the province

However, Arthur was soon succeeded by the Right Honourable Charles Poulett Thomson who afterwards became Lord Sydenham.

On his arrival the new governor was warned that he should keep clear of Ryerson because he was a dangerous man. However, Thomson seems to have been quite capable of forming his own estimation of men and although he remained for less than three mohths in Toronto, he called Ryerson into consultation on numerous occasions. He felt that a magazine in the interests of the government should be published and he asked him to edit it. In fact we are led to believe that Ryerson did some writing for him because the Governor sent him a bill of exchange for a hundred pounds but it was not accepted. Both men were greatly interested in education and the appointment of Ryerson as Superintendent would undoubtedly

have been made if the Governor's death had not come so unexpectedly. At this time Ryerson went to the United States to take some lectures in particular subjects that held his interest. It is quite possible he had his eye on the principalship of the academy and was preparing himself for it. However, at the next conference he was elected again as a delegate to go to England over church matters. The day before his departure he brought out his last issue of the Guardian, and in a touching manner bid his readers farewell.

He had been editor of the paper for eight out of the eleven years of its existence and it would be extremely difficult to properly estimate the influence he exerted on the affairs of Upper Canada through his editorials. We know that it was the most widely read of any of the papers of the day and Lord Sydenham had remarked that it

was the only decent paper in the two Canadas." There can be little doubt that the paper had served a great purpose and had exerted a refining influence on the cultural life of the whole country. However, the editor felt that he had always been handicapped because the members of the conference were against politics and it was impossible to discuss the affairs of the country in a definite way. He had his mind fully made up that the restrictions imposed on the editor of a church paper were intolerable and that nothing would entice him to remain in that position. In his retirement early Canadian journalism suffered a distinct loss.

On his way to the conference Ryerson learned of the death of Lord Durham. The entry in his diary is worthy of note. In a clear and concise manner he sums up the work of the man and adds the moral at the end. This was the

distinctive touch which we find in many of his writings. The entry reads: "Heard of the death of poor Lord Durham. The attacks upon him in the House of Lords as Governor-General of Canada, the abandonment of him by the Government, the mortification experienced by him in consequence of the Royal disapprobation at his sudden return from Canada before his resignation had been accepted are said to have hastened, if not caused his death. His heart seems to have been set upon making Canada a happy and a great country, and I think he intended to rest his fame upon that achievement. He was defeated, disappointed, died! How bright the prospect two years ago--how sudden the change, how sad the termination! Oh, the vanity of earthly power, wealth and glory!"

Upon his return from England he was stationed at Toronto. There were hopes that

the academy would soon be in a position to attempt instruction in more advanced subjects. The Legislature had been asked for a charter and a substantial endowment. King's College existed on paper but no building had been erected. The Presbyterians were busy soliciting funds for a college to be built at Kingston. As early as 1837 the Roman Catholics had secured a charter for an institution to be known as Regiopolis College. However, the Methodists were pleased when the Victoria College bill made quick progress through the Legislature and one of Sydenham's last acts was to grant his assent to it. Upper Canada Academy was changed to a college with power to grant University degrees. Ryerson was chosen as the first Principal and in recognition of this honour was given the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from the Wesleyan University

at Middleton, Connecticut.

Lord Sydenham died on September 19, 1841. In accordance with his request he was buried in St. George's chapel in Kingston. Dr. Ryerson had held him in high esteem and had been intimately associated with him. No one was better fitted to write a more suitable eulogy or to acknowledge his greatness, than was Ryerson himself. To the student of Canadian history the following letter written to the Guardian is full of interest.

"Sept., 27, 1841

My dear Sir:-

I left Toronto on Monday the 20th instant, on board the Niagara Steamer. A little west of Cobourg we met the St. George Steamer from Kingston, whose flag half-mast high, told us that "a prince and a great man had fallen." It is not easy to determine which is most worthy of

admiration, the comprehensiveness and grandeur of Lord Sydenham's plans, the skill with which he overcame the obstacles that opposed their accomplishment, or the quenchless ardour and ceaseless industry with which he pursued them. To lay the foundations of public liberty, and at the same time to strengthen the prerogative; to promote vast public improvements and not increase the public burdens; to provide a comprehensive system of education upon Christian principles without interference with religious scruples; to promote the influence and security of the Government by teaching the people to govern themselves; to destroy party faction by promoting the general good; to invest a bankrupt country with both credit and resources, are conceptions and achievements which render Lord Sydenham the first benefactor of Canada and place him in the first rank of Statesmen.

His Lordship found a country divided, he left it united; he found it prostrate and paralytic, he left it erect and vigorous; he found it mantled with despair, he left it blooming with hope. Lord Sydenham has done more in two years to strengthen and consolidate British power in Canada by his matchless industry and truly liberal-conservative policy than has been done during the ten previous years by the increase of a standing army, and the erection of military fortifications. His Lordship has solved the difficult problem, that a people may be colonists and yet be free; and in the solution of that problem, he has gained a triumph less imposing, but not less sublime and scarcely less important than the victory of Waterloo; he has saved millions to England, and secured the affections of Canada.

In the way of accomplishing these splendid

results, the most formidable obstacles opposed themselves. At the foundation of these lay the hitherto defective theory and worse than defective system of Colonial Government; a system destitute of safety-valve of responsibility, of the attributes of freedom, and of the essential materials of executive power; a system which was despotic from its weakness, and arbitrary from its pretences to representation; a system inefficient in the hands of good men, and withering in the hands of mistaken or bad men. There were the wrongs and abuses, and public bankruptcy which had grown out of this system; there were the party interests and the party combinations and hostilities, which this system had fostered; there were the prejudices of one portion of the population, and the fears and suspicions of another; there were the prescriptive assumptions of long

possessed power, and the clamorous demands of long exclusion from power; and, worst of all, the conflicting claims of ecclesiastical pretensions; there was the absence of public confidence, and the absence of any one man or body of men able to command that confidence. To lay the foundation of a government adapted to the social state and character of a population thus depressed, divided, and subdivided; to provide for the efficient administration of all its departments; to create mutual confidence and induce united action among leading men of all parties without sacrifice of principle on the part of any, was a task difficult and hazardous to the last degree, and for even attempting which Lord Sydenham has been frequently ridiculed by persons of reputed knowledge and experience . . . . . .

To genius Lord Sydenham possessed no pretensions; but what has been said of Charlemagne

was true of his Lordship. He possessed 'a great understanding, a great heart, and a great soul.' His mind was eminently practical, and habitually active; he was a shrewd observer of men and things, his knowledge was various and extensive, and always ready for practical application, and he descended to the minutest details of public business with astonishing quickness and accuracy. The interests of the country which he governed engrossed all his care, and seemed to form the element of his daily being. His plans were bold, comprehensive, and energetic; and, having been deliberately adopted he would not suffer prejudice or clamour to turn him aside from the pursuit of them. He valued prerogative only as the means of protecting and promoting public liberty and happiness. His despatches to the Secretary of State for the colonies explaining

the principles and objects of his measures breathe the most ardent and generous feeling in behalf of the civil and religious freedom and growing happiness and prosperity of the people of Canada. The publication of them will furnish the best eulogium upon his motives and character, while the operation of his magnificent plans will form a lasting monument of his wisdom and patriotism.

At the commencement of His Lordship's Mission in Upper Canada, when his plans were little known, his difficulties formidable, and his Government weak, I had the pleasing satisfaction of giving him my humble and dutiful support in the promotion of his non-party and provincial objects; and now that he is beyond the reach of human praise or censure--where all earthly ranks and distinctions are lost in the sublimities of eternity--I have the melancholy

satisfaction of bearing my humble testimony to his candour, sincerity, faithfulness, kindness and liberality. A few days before the accident which terminated his life, I had the honour of spending an evening and part of a day in free conversation with His Lordship, and on that, as well as on former similar occasions, he observed the most marked reverence for the Truths of Christianity--a most earnest desire to base the civil institutions of the country upon Christian principles, with a scrupulous regard to the rights of conscience--a total absence of all animosity against any persons or parties who had opposed him--and an intense anxiety to silence dissension and discord, and render Canada contented, happy, and prosperous. I am told that, the day before his lamented death, he expressed his regret that he had not given more of his time to religion. His mind

was perfectly composed; he was in the full possession of his rational prowess until he "ceased at once to work and live." He transacted official business in the acutest agonies of suffering, even "when the hand of death was upon him;" the last hours of his life were spent in earnest supplication to that Redeemer in humble reliance upon whose atonement he yielded up the Ghost. Those who were most intimately acquainted and connected with Lord Sydenham are most warmly attached to him and most deeply deplore their loss; and few in Canada will not say, in the death of this lamented nobleman and distinguished Governor--I have lost a Friend."

Sydenham had done his work and had advanced the cause to which Ryerson had devoted the early years of his life. Ryerson's powerful pen had written a memorable eulogy which

contributes to our knowledge of this great official. He could now turn his attention to his greater work of education; first, as Principal of a young college and later as the Chief Superintendent of a system which gave equal opportunities to all children from the Primer to the University.

DR. RYERSON DEFENDS METCALFE

CHAPTER XII

Dr. Ryerson was not closely associated with Sir Charles Bagot, who succeeded Sydenham. He had moved to the College of Cobourg and was busy studying philosophy and Hebrew. The Governor saw clearly that Ryerson's appointment as Superintendent of Education would be unpopular on account of his controversies of former years so he was passed over and Reverend John Murray of Oakville was given the position.

Sir Charles Bagot died in 1843 and was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalfe. It was not long before the new governor had difficulties with the members of his council who he believed were tainted with republican ideas and were anxious to break the ties which bound them to England. The prerogatives of the Crown were almost considered sacred by him and he was

bound to retain them at all costs. The immediate cause of the trouble, which resulted in all but one of the Councillors resigning, was due to two of his acts; he appointed a young man to a position in the government without consulting them; and he reserved for Her Majesty's assent the Secret Societies Bill which was drafted with the intention of closing all juries and public offices to Orangemen, because, at that time, they gave their organized support to the Tories at elections. Again, we might remark that the history of this organization shows that it has always been a detrimental factor in free government and time has not changed its tactics. However, the trouble arose in the midst of a session of parliament and feeling ran very high throughout the province. The governor had to carry on with the help of three men whom he was able to entice to

his support, and the other positions were left vacant.

Public opinion was very much in favour of the councillors and against the governor. At first Ryerson shared this general feeling but it so happened that a member of the assembly asked him to make a review of all the papers that were about to be published and to give him a candid opinion. A deep study of the papers opened Ryerson's eyes and he decided in favour of the governor. He lost no time in preparing a defence which consisted of nine letters and extended to 182 pages. They were first published in "The British Colonist"and were afterwards collected into a pamphlet. That Ryerson loved a controversy cannot be doubted. He wrote to Sir Charles' Secretary: "Though I am no stranger to contests, I cannot divest myself of palpitations at the approach of an

engagement. When once the fire has commenced, I feel but little concern except to keep cool and good-natured, and to have an ample supply of ammunition for all exigencies." A rumour was soon spread abroad that Ryerson had been appointed Superintendent of Education. His opponents stated that he was being well rewarded for his defence of Metcalfe. He wrote a letter to the Guardian and denied that the appointment had anything to do with "the political part of the government." As a matter of fact he refused to accept the appointment until the issue was cleared up. As usual he threw his heart and soul into the conflict. If he was to accept the position as Superintendent it was absolutely essential that the electors uphold the governor. He advised him to defer the election until public opinion could be crystallized. Patriotism is always a weak spot

with the rank and file and he made a broad appeal to their loyalty. In our day it would be called "flag-waving" but since he had rather immature ideas of the implications of responsible government we may pardon him for the methods used. By many it is claimed that his argument was reactionary and Professor Kennedy calls it "puerile." At any rate it appears that he attempted to tell the councillors that they did not know their business and that all they wished was to have the patronage in their own hands to be used for their own advancement. He drove home his arguments by the use of such sentences as, "If they have their way he will be like the Grand Llama of India, who must be approached by permission of the priests who have him in custody, or like an inmate of the Kingston penitentiary, who can be communicated with only through the medium of his keepers." All through

the nine letters he harps on the plea for loyalty. He suggests that they would use the same method that had been previously used by the Family Compact. He warns them that what happened in 1837 may happen again in 1847, and that an editorial in the Globe of June 4th should have been on July 4th. By this wealth of illustration drawn from history and the classics he made his arguments count in the minds of the voters. On the whole his "Defence" was a notable piece of work both in matter and form.

The Honourable R.B. Sullivan, who had been President of the Council replied over the pen-name "Legion" and in many respects had the better of the argument. He exposed several of Ryerson's fallacies in his illustrations from history but he resorted to ridicule and sarcasm to such an extent that the cause gained few

converts. He stated: "Violent and reckless partisans--such as the Orangemen of Canada, or such as Mackenzie--threaten armed resistance to their opponents; designing ones like Ryerson talk of the strength of an Empire and of Thermopylies of death!" This was his answer to Ryerson's paragraph: "For if a Leonidas and three hundred Spartans could throw themselves into the Thermopylae of death for the salvation of their country, it would ill become one humble Canadian to hesitate at any sacrifice, or shrink from any responsibility, or even danger, in order to prevent his own countrymen from rushing into a vortex, which he is most certainly persuaded will involve many of them in calamities more serious than those which followed the events of 1837."

It is certain that Sullivan's arguments were clever and profound throughout the whole

216 pages. Dr. Ryerson replied with another sixty-three. The one thought that was uppermost in Sullivan's mind was; How could Canada have responsible government if everything was to be referred to Imperial ministers? Ryerson, on the other hand, saw many evils in partyism and claimed that people should be appointed to government positions on merit and the governor was the only impartial authority. Hincks claimed that the councillors had the better of the argument, but that Ryerson led the Methodists over to the governor. At all events, the farmers on the back concessions were the judges of the argument and at the election, the Reformers only won eight seats out of a total of forty-two. Hodgins regarded the defence of Lord Metcalfe as the most memorable act of Ryerson's career. That may be a matter of personal opinion, but he could now take over his new duties with the

full knowledge that he had the support of the people and of the government.

THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION

CHAPTER XIII

A student of Canadian literature who wishes to understand its contribution to our national greatness must know something of the history of our literary institutions.

The early history of Upper Canada from the time of Simcoe is intimately bound up with education. He outlined a comprehensive scheme, by means of which the Colonial Office could mould the destiny of all the people in the colony. It was proposed that there should be a central university for the training of leaders at the Capital and four Royal Grammar schools, situated at Kingston, Cornwall, Newark and some other place to be determined. If this policy had been carried into effect the needs of the young colony might have been

served for a short time at least. However, funds were lacking and the only institution that was erected was Upper Canada College which was in reality only a Grammar School. The greatest mistake in the whole plan was that a state church would have had the whole control. We have seen that Ryerson had successfully attacked this idea and that charters had been granted to several denominational colleges giving them the power of conferring University degrees. He had been appointed as the first Principal of Victoria College and had constructed a well-proportioned curriculum in Science, Literature and Philosophy moulded on the courses of American Universities.

We are indebted to Dr. Ormiston for the following vivid pen picture of Dr. Ryerson as a College President:

"Dr. Ryerson was at that time in the prime

of a magnificent manhood. His well-developed, finely-proportioned, firmly-knit frame, his broad lofty brow, his keen, penetrating eye, and his genial benignant face, all proclaimed him every inch a man. His mental powers vigorous and well disciplined; his attainments in literature, varied and extensive; his experience, extended and diversified; his fame as a preacher of great pathos and power, widely spread; his claims as a doughty, dauntless champion of the rights of the people to civil and religious liberty, generally acknowledged; his powers of expression, marvellous in readiness, richness and beauty; his manners affable and winning; his presence, magnetic and impressive --he stood in the eye of the youthful, ardent, aspiring student, a tower of strength, a centre of healthy, helpful influences, a man to be admired and honoured, loved and feared, imitated

and followed.

Not a few misunderstood, under-valued or misrepresented his public conduct, but it will be found that those who knew him best, loved him most, and that many who were constrained to differ from him in his management of public affairs did full justice to the purity and generosity of his motives, to the nobility, loftiness and ultimate success of his aims and to the disinterestedness of his manifold labours for the country and the church of Christ.

As a teacher he was earnest and efficient, eloquent and inspiring, but he expected and exacted too much work from the average student. His ready and affluent mind sympathized keenly with the apt, bright scholar, to whom his praise was warmly given, but he scarcely made sufficient allowance for the dullness or lack of previous preparation which failed to keep

pace with him in his long and rapid strides; hence his censures were occasionally severe. His methods of examination furnished the very best kind of mental discipline, fitted alike to cultivate the memory and to strengthen the judgment. All the students revered him, but the best of the class appreciated him most. His counsels were faithful and judicious, his admonitions paternal and discriminating, his rebukes seldom administered, but scathingly severe. No student ever left his presence without resolving to do better, to aim higher and to win his approval."

A legislative grant of £500 had been voted to Victoria and Queens, but aside from this they were dependent on students' fees and the funds of the church. Because of Ryerson's affiliation with Victoria University we have followed its history very closely. Let us now

see what had been accomplished by the other denominations. The Presbyterians had opened the doors of Queens by 1842. King's College had commenced work in October 1843, Regiopolis College had not used its charter of 1837 but owned real estate and buildings. However, for many years the university problem was a major issue in the political conflicts of Upper Canada.

We may recall that Dr. Strachan had obtained the charter for King's College and this institution was in control of the provincial endowment of nearly £39,000 and a large portion of land. All other colleges did not enjoy endowments or property except the buildings for Victoria and the real estate and buildings for Regiopolis. Queens and Victoria had been given a legislative grant of £500, but for the most part were endeavouring to get along

on student's fees and church donations.

In 1843, Honourable Robert Baldwin made an attempt to obtain a provincial university. He proposed that all the existing colleges should be in Toronto and that they should lose their degree-conferring powers. Furthermore, all students were to receive instruction from a central teaching faculty. Theology was to be taken in each of the separate institutions. Each college was represented on a central university council. Peculiarly enough this is the arrangement in the University of Toronto at the present time, but it took fifty years before this was accomplished.

The Anglicans were not in favour of this scheme because they saw that they would lose the endowment and they claimed that it had been given exclusively to King's College. They asked permission from the Legislature

to present their case at the bar of the House and in a very able address by the Honourable W. H. Draper the constitutional side of the question was laid before the members. The Presbyterians had no buildings for their university so they were quite ready to embrace the plan even though it meant they would have to move to Toronto and give up their powers. The Principal of Queens wrote several letters to Ryerson, and tried to convince him of the advantages. However, the Methodists were in a peculiar position, since they had just finished paying for their college. Ryerson himself had spent years developing his institution and now he was asked to give up the standing of a university and become head of an affiliated college. He wrote a resolution which gave approval to the project in principle but pointed out the peculiar circumstances of the

members of his church.

The most strenuous opposition to the bill was made by the Anglicans and Ryerson was soon busy writing a reply to Draper's address in Parliament. He attempted to prove that the endowment was not given for the Anglican church, but was given for the education of people and that Parliament had power to take away the charter. As usual his efforts were energetic and his arguments weighty. However, the attempt at a provincial university was unsuccessful and shortly after Baldwin and most of his colleagues were forced to resign.

In 1846 a second attempt to find a solution to the question was made by Mr. Draper himself. His bill did not differ very much from the former one and the interested parties lined up in the same way. At this time, however, Ryerson clearly defined his stand in these terms:

"(1) That there should be a provincial university furnishing the highest academical and professional education, at least in respect to law and medicine.

(2) That there should be a provincial system of common school education commensurate with the wants of the entire population.

(3) That both the university and the common school system should be established and conducted upon Christian principles, yet free from sectarian bias or ascendancy.

(4) That there should be an intermediate class of seminaries in connection with the different religious persuasions who have ability and enterprise to establish them, providing, on the one hand, a theological education for their college and, on the other hand, a thoroughly English and Scientific education and elementary classical instruction for those of the youth of

their congregations who might seek for more than a common school education, or who might wish to prepare for the university, and who, not having the experience of university students, required a parental and religious oversight in their absence from their parents.

(5) That it would be economic as well as patriotic on the part of the government to grant a liberal aid to such seminaries, as well as to provide for the endowment of a university or a common school system."

It is interesting to observe that all the religious denominations of that day held strictly to the ideal that religion was a very necessary part of all education. About this time, however, we find the first note of discord and one prominent editor voiced his feelings in this way, "I cannot, for the life of me, see what religion has to do with the department of

the university devoted to arts and sciences." This view, which is directly opposed by the teachings of the Catholic Church, has steadily progressed in Ontario with the inevitable result that our secular universities are honeycombed with the false doctrines of atheism and communism.

The bill of Mr. Draper was opposed by two forces. The church group insisted on the control of the university and the endowment, while the other party took the stand that state aid should not be given to churches even for education.

John A. Macdonald made a further attempt to settle the vexed question. His bill was extremely favourable to the churches and proposed to give King's College $12,000 as an annual income and Queens, Victoria, and Regiopolis $6,000 each. The balance of the annual funds accruing

from the endowment was to be given to the support of Grammar schools and for fostering the teaching of scientific agriculture. The proposal was opposed by the secular party on the grounds that the endowment should be left intact, while the church party held to their demands for the whole fund. In the face of the combined opposition the bill was withdrawn. Ryerson was firmly convinced, and remained so for the rest of his life, that this partition scheme would have been the solution of the whole problem. The following reasons have been given for his support:

(1) It appeared to him to meet the full extent of the needs of university education as at that time existing in the leading colleges of the English-speaking world.

(2) It coincided with his conservative instincts, which always led him to work with spontaneous historic growth rather than upon

theory.

(3) It satisfied his convictions of the need of religion as an essential part of education.

(4) He judged that the four colleges already established would afford the advantages of higher education to a larger number than would receive them in one central university.

When the conservatives were defeated at the next general election Mr. Baldwin made a second attempt to find a solution to the problem. His bill proposed that the university would be freed of all ecclesiastical control and all religious tests were done away with. He hoped that the colleges would become seminaries for training in theology only. This time he was opposed not only by the church party but by all other denominations who had founded their own institutions. Even Ryerson found himself on the side of the opposition

because of his strong belief that religion and morals were a necessary part of all instruction. Later, in 1853, Mr. Hincks introduced a more liberal bill modelled on the previous one. Dr. Ryerson took this occasion to address a series of open letters to the head of the Government outlining a plan that would have settled the question to the satisfaction of all parties but Hincks did not share his views. The Government bill that passed was a liberal one and allowed for affiliation of colleges and the support of the state college for the endowment. It appeared that a satisfactory arrangement had been reached and for a time the representatives of the colleges took their places on the senate of the provincial institution. However, the policy remained to use the funds of the endowment to rival the outlying colleges and the attempt could not succeed.

Ryerson remained a leader in the movement

believing that the partition scheme of John A. Macdonald was the best. The conflict was extreme in 1860 and for a time the state aid to denominational colleges was increased. The following letters from Mr. Macdonald show the prominent part the question of university reform played in the election and the influence Dr. Ryerson must have had with the electors.

"Quebec, Mar. 18th, 1861.

We are on the eve of an election contest which may determine the future of Canada, and whether it will be a limited constitutional monarchy or a yankee democracy.....It is for counsel and assistance that I want the benefit of your presence here. I think we can contrive to make the university matter a lever to move U. C. from its very depths.

Quebec, May 29th, 1861.

My reasons for hurrying the elections are

1st, that Brown is hors-de-combat and the Grits are disorganized, and 2nd, unless the elections come off before 12th July the Orangemen and R.C.'s will be breaking each other's heads. At present we have both these parties all right and we only want the Wesleyans to carry Upper Canada. I think you might embrace the occasion, or rather find an opportunity of giving the country one or two slashing letters.

I propose getting an O.C. passed recommending an application to Parliament next year for a grant out of the U. C. Building Fund to each of the denominational colleges in U. C. This you can mention in secret conclave at the conference, but it is for you to consider well whether it can be mentioned openly. Would it not seem too much like a bid for your support. The clergymen could be informed of it quietly, and might well say on their circuits that it was for the interests of the church to support the powers that be, etc.

Quebec, June 6th, 1861.

As I told you and Mr. Scott in all confidence, my intention is to propose that £10,000 be paid for Victoria, Queen's and Trinity, and a like sum be divided among the R. C. seminaries. This may be modified as circumstances demand, but my U. C. colleagues concur in my policy.

It will not be well to announce this. As I wrote you before, it looks too much like bargain and sale. I suppose you have some select committee of leading men who can be told all this. The rest must take it on faith. No time must be lost in calling on the W. M.'s in every constituency. The cry is, "Union," "No looking to Washington" and "University Reform." Telegraph me the news. Any hint however obscure, I will understand.

Nevertheless, at the first opportunity the state grants to the colleges were with-

drawn and their affiliation with the provincial institution was cancelled. It was hoped that they would not be able to finance themselves and would die out. On the contrary, they assumed new life when they had to rely on their own resources and have exerted a beneficial influence on the state college. Ryerson always remained their friend and his firm belief in the necessity of religion and morals, made him their champion during his whole career.

THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM

CHAPTER XIV

As we pointed out in previous chapters several governors had been deeply concerned about the improvement of education in Upper Canada. On numerous occasions the subject had been discussed, but little had been done until Sir Charles Bagot appointed Rev. Mr. Murray to the position of superintendent. Unfortunately this appointee lacked the necessary qualities and although he held office for a year, nothing was accomplished. Lord Metcalfe had conferred with Ryerson on this important matter and had offered him the position. A short time after, the trouble with his cabinet arose and Ryerson deemed it wise to refuse the appointment until the governor had been vindicated. After Metcalfe's victory at the polls in the autumn of 1844 Dr. Ryerson assumed the office of Superintendent of Education. He was determined to

provide a system of education that would be second to none in the world and was granted permission to visit the United States and Europe to study their educational methods. This tour of investigation lasted from November 1844 until early in the year 1846 and on his return he set about to make his first Report.

In order to fully understand the Common School Act of 1846, it will be necessary to get a bird's-eye view of education as it existed in Ontario previous to this date. A sort of a system had been evolved and the Government donated its share of £20,000 to the few schools that existed. There was a Provincial Superintendent and local superintendents, who were supposed to have a general oversight of educational matters. However, the good points of the system were obscure and the defects were glaring. The central authority was weak and although it had been given

the power to regulate the schools, practically nothing was demanded by way of improvements or reports. The local authorities were the essence of incompetency, possessing very wide powers but lacking interest and intelligence to use them. The local superintendents were only part-time employees and lacked the training and the initiative to do really good work. There was no uniform system of certification and, as a rule, the teachers were poorly qualified and inefficient. The trustees hired and fired the teachers and made their own rules regarding subjects and text-books. The provincial regulations were recommendatory and did not stipulate what must be done. Schools were allowed for those who were willing to pay for them and there was no thought of compulsory education.

It is hard to imagine any worse condition in a so-called civilized country. Many of the parents were illiterate and in poor circumstances so that

education was considered an unnecessary expense. The school houses were miserable buildings and no attempt was made to provide suitable equipment. In many sections, no school of any kind was provided and the children were growing up in ignorance.

Ryerson certainly faced a task that would have discouraged any weaker man. Nature had endowed him with the proper qualities and having been educated under this school system, he knew all its defects as well as its good points. His early life had been devoted to the cause of education and he knew the needs of the people as few men knew them. However, his naturally conservative instinct kept him from proposing any radical course of action to bring about reforms. In his first writings he attempted to give a clear exposition of all the existing defects along with his recommendations. The Report cannot be considered original since it contains quotations and reports from other out-

standing educationists. Nevertheless it is extremely valuable and the way he uses the illustrations of other men to make clear his own ideas shows his powers as an organizer.

From a literary standpoint, the Report is cleverly executed. He begins with an admirable definition of education. "By education I mean not the mere acquisition of certain arts or of certain branches of knowledge, but that instruction and discipline which qualify and dispose the subjects of it for their appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business, and also as members of the civil community in which we live."

He goes on to say that the system of Education in Upper Canada has not been designed to meet the needs of the masses and he wishes to see opportunities given to all. "The branches of knowledge which it is essential that all

should understand, should be provided for all and taught to all; should be brought within the reach of the most needy and forced upon the attention of the most careless." Abundant proof is given that people can rise in intelligence only as their schools rise on the ladder of efficiency. He takes great pains to show that religion and morality must be developed along with the secular branches of learning. In his estimation, the truths of Christianity must be taught in the school and that the Bible should be used as a fundamental text-book. He states: "I can aver from personal experience and practice, as well as from a very extended enquiry on this subject, that a much more comprehensive course of Biblical and Religious instruction can be given than there is likely to be opportunity for doing so in Elementary Schools, without any restraint on the one side, or any tincture of sectarianism on the other,--a course embracing

the entire history of the Bible, its institutions, cardinal doctrines and morals, together with the evidences of its authenticity." In his estimation the absence of religious teaching in the American schools was having an adverse effect on the national life and morals of the people. He tried to show by reference to the schools in Ireland, France and Germany, that religious instruction could be given satisfactorily in mixed schools.

After defining what a system of education should aim to accomplish he outlines the subjects that should be taught and gives definite methods and illustrations of how the lessons should be presented. Besides the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic, he strongly recommends an enrichment of the curriculum with music, art, hygiene and nature study. In fact, it may be said, that we in Ontario have added

nothing of importance since his memorable Report of 1846 and even in this twentieth century many of the subjects he pleaded for are still designated "frills" by a large number of our citizens.

When we read his remarks on the teaching of Civics we can almost imagine that some modern educational authority prepared these lines. "Individuals precede nations. The picture of the former is more easily comprehended than that of the latter, and is better adapted to awaken the curiosity and interest and feeling of the child. Biography should, therefore, form the principal topic of elementary history; and the great periods into which it is naturally and formally divided--and which must be distinctly marked--should be associated with the names of some distinguished individual or individuals. The

life of an individual often forms the leading feature of the age in which he lived and will form the best nucleus around which to collect in the youthful mind, the events of an age, or the history of a period..... Every pupil should know something of the Government and Institutions and Laws under which he lives, and with which his rights and interests are so closely connected. Provision should be made to teach in our common schools an outline of the principles and constitution of our Government; the nature of our institutions; the duties which they require; the manner of fulfilling them; some notions of our Civil and especially our Criminal Code."

Ryerson believed that, "as the teacher so is the school" and set about to provide opportunities for the improvement of qualifications. In his Report he gave many arguments

in favour of Normal Schools and quoted France, Germany, United States and Ireland as examples, to show the benefits of professional training. He believed the people would soon learn to appreciate the work of good teachers when they saw the progress of their children and that poor teachers would gradually disappear.

The part of the report which deals with textbooks is very interesting. Previous to this time the books to be used were selected by the local Board or the teacher and there was the greatest confusion. From reliable sources we learn that in 1846 in Upper Canada there were in use 13 Spelling, 107 Reading, 35 Arithmetic, 20 Geography, 21 History, and 16 Grammar texts, besides 53 different texts in various other subjects. Many complaints were made that the books were published by Americans and were strongly anti-British. Referring to this matter

Ryerson says: "The variety of textbooks in the schools, and the objectionable character of many of them is a subject of serious and general complaint. All classification of the pupils is thereby prevented; the exertions of the best teacher are in a great measure, paralized; the time of the scholars is almost wasted; and improper sentiments are often inculcated." He was very much impressed by the series of books that were used in Ireland and these were later authorized for use throughout the province.

Ryerson had travelled widely in quest of ideas for his system of education. It would seem that he was most deeply impressed by the systems of Prussia, Massachusetts and Ireland. In Prussia he had seen a highly developed centralized system. In Massachusetts he observed a centralized system adapted to a free people. In Ireland he found uniform texts and religious

teaching in mixed schools. However, we must not imagine that the systems of other countries were followed slavishly. He was an independent thinker and took what he found useful and recast it into a plan that suited the needs of Upper Canada. The necessity of a strong central authority was foreseen but the cooperation of the local authorities was insured by giving each body certain specific powers and duties. The Legislative grants were planned so that the progressive schools received liberal assistance while the unprogressive ones, were penalized.

The Common School Act of 1846 is really the old act with new life. The old act had allowed the local authorities to carry on as they saw fit but the new act required that every child should be given an opportunity for a thorough education. The ideas of responsible

government were new at the time and Ryerson was careful to see that the whole system was built accordingly. At the top of the system was the Parliament which received the proper reports and at the bottom the trustees who were responsible to the taxpayers of the section. Every officer in the whole system was given certain power but he was responsible to some higher authority. Peculiarly enough Ryerson believed his own position should be free from politics and on a plane with that of the judges, so that he would be free from interference in matters of organization. Many outstanding citizens thought that this was an inconsistent arrangement, but he had his way during his long tenure of office.

The plan which he introduced in 1846 became the act of 1850, but the same fundamental ideas were there from the beginning. Burwash

summarizes the system in this way:

(1) It was brought into operation in every school section in the province by an annual meeting of the freeholders and householders of the section. At this meeting school matters were reported and discussed, a trustee board formed or filled for the ensuing year, and the manner of raising school monies for the next year determined, whether by fees, by taxation, or both.

(2) The trustee board thus formed was made a body corporate, responsible for and holding all school property for the section, and with full powers to provide a schoolroom, teachers and equipment, and to appoint a secretary-treasurer and a collector or to apply to the township or municipality for the collection of all such school rates as were raised by general taxation of all taxable property in

the section. They were required to see that the school was conducted according to law, that uniform and authorized textbooks were used and to make a full annual report according to legal form to the local superintendent, which report was also read at the annual meeting, the report to show the time the school was kept open, the money expended and how raised, the number of children in the section and the number attending school, the branches of education taught and the visits of inspection, examinations and other special exercises connected with the school during the year, thus bringing the whole work of the school for the year under review.

(3) It made full provision for the proper qualifications of teachers, and made them accountable for their duties in the school to the trustees and to the local superintendent

of schools. The qualification of teachers was secured through a county board of education consisting of the grammar school trustees and the local superintendent of schools for the county.

(4) It made it the duty of municipal councils in the townships and in cities, towns and incorporated villages to levy assessments as desired by the trustees, or to authorize loans for the purchase or erection of school buildings, to form proper school sections, and to report all acts of the council affecting the schools to the local superintendent.

(5) It made it the duty of the county municipal council to appoint the local superintendents and the grammar school trustees, who formed the county board of education, and to levy, by a county school rate, a sum at least equal to the share of the parliamentary school

grant allotted to the county. The provision of public libraries was also placed in the hands of the municipal council of the county and the county board of education.

(6) It made full provision for the appointment, support and duties of the local superintendents of schools. It not only provided for thorough inspection of schools, but it placed in the hands of inspectors power to enforce the observance of the law by giving them authority to distribute the school grant under conditions of the fulfilment of all legal requirements and also power to act as arbitrators in case of dispute on school matters, subject to appeal to the Chief Superintendent. It gave also the power to cancel or suspend teachers' certificates for neglect of duty or inefficiency in its discharge or breach of law. The local superintendents thus became the

executive officers through whom the most important provisions of the law were enforced. A local visitorial power was also placed in the hands of clergymen, judges, members of parliament, magistrates and municipal councillors, by which a local interest and confidence in schools might be created in the minds of the people.

(7) At the centre of this system with adequate powers to secure energy and efficiency in its entire working was placed the Chief Superintendent of Schools, and the Council of Public Instruction.

The Chief Superintendent was invested with duties and powers for the province corresponding to those of the local superintendents in their districts. They were required to report to him, and the final executive administration of the whole system was under his supervision, with power to direct and enforce its efficient operation,

and with judicial powers either on reference or appeal. He administered the legislative grant and therefore had power to enforce regulations. If the law was not observed a warrant was not issued for grants.

This is a practical plan of education and on the whole has worked well. It is simple and at the same time efficient. Ryerson's tireless energy did much to insure the success of the system in its early stage but it must not be imagined that it was introduced without strong opposition. The one feature of it, namely, that it made everyone pay, would certainly make it unpopular with some people who had no interest in education or who wished to spend the least amount of money on it. The fact that better-trained teachers could be procured made it necessary to pay higher salaries. Those people who believed that an old broken-down soldier or anyone

incapable of other work was good enough, would certainly protest. Better buildings and equipment cost money and were grounds for complaint. However, the more progressive localities were heartily in accord with the new provisions and supported Ryerson faithfully.

Perhaps the strongest opposition was encountered in 1848 when a new administration took office. Some of the members were not in sympathy with his methods and said the system was Prussian-like and that the Chief Superintendent had too much power. A bill was passed which restored the old township superintendents gave the local authorities power to regulate textbooks and in a general way demoralized the whole system. They even cut Ryerson's salary by $320, but although the bill passed the House, Baldwin used his influence to have the governor disallow it. A new opportunity was given for

the Superintendent to frame a new act.

The Act of 1850 really laid the foundation of the school system and was a great triumph for Ryerson. Burwash says: "In contending for the victory Dr. Ryerson had exhibited all the characteristics of the true British statesman. He was courageous in the face of opposition, patient and wise in his measures in the midst of difficulties, strong and clearly defined in his convictions and policy, and not afraid to resign at once when by the passage of the bill of 1849 he seemed to be defeated, thus maintaining his manly independence and the strength and truth of his principles. The results have more than justified his course."

Not the least contribution of Ryerson to the literary life of the country was his educational depository. Permission was obtained for the free use of the Irish national series of

textbooks which he and the Council of Public Instruction resolved to adopt. The supply of these to 200,000 school children was a new venture in book-selling in Ontario, and was given to responsible dealers at a fair price. The use of apparatus and specimens was also encouraged by supplying them to schools at a reduced rate. In conjunction with the depository was his educational museum which is still in existence. In order to foster and improve the aesthetic taste of the people he imported copies of the old masters from Italy, France and Germany. These specimens are the subjects for jokes by our modern critics but it must be admitted they gave an inspiration to Canadian art.

Also, closely associated with the depository and certainly of more importance from the literary viewpoint, was the establishment of public school libraries which were designed for

the use of all members of the community. In those early days there was an appalling scarcity of good books to read and Ryerson hoped to improve the taste and raise the intelligence of the adult population. He knew that if the people were to become wise, broad-minded and patriotic they must have opportunities of meeting the best in literature. The reports of Horace Mann had impressed him greatly in this respect and at the close of his report of 1846 he showed his ideas in this paragraph:

"The advantages of the school can be but very partially enjoyed unless they are continued and extended by means of books. As the school is the pupil's first teacher, so books are his second; in the former he acquires the elements of knowledge, in the latter he acquires knowledge itself; in the former he converses with

with the schoolmaster, in the latter he holds intercourse with the greatest and wisest men in all ages and countries and professions, on all subjects and in every variety of style. But in any community few persons can be expected to possess the means necessary to procure anything like a general assortment of books--in a new and rural community perhaps none. One library for the whole community is the best substitute. Each one acquires the fruits of the united contributions of all, and the teacher and the poor man with his family participate in the common advantage."

I think he rather overstates the case in giving the school the distinction of being the child's first teacher. Parents, and especially the mothers, will always have that important privilege. Nevertheless, he points out the necessity of wide reading for our adult population

and he made it possible, and easy, for every class in the community to enjoy the best books in the land. The system that was inaugurated at that time is still in existence in Ontario to-day and his ideas are bearing fruit in the improvement of the literary taste of all Canadians.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

CHAPTER XV

The gradual development of the school system in Ontario is a subject worthy of careful study. It has been noted that, by the early acts only those people who had children to educate were contributors to the upkeep of the school. The result was that many children were not given an opportunity of attending any school and if matters had been allowed to continue our country would have had an unenviable record for illiteracy. When Ryerson took over the reins of office it has been estimated that there were 198,434 children of school age but only 55% were in attendance at school. This figure includes all those who were in attendance at any time during the year, so if we consider those who were absent we can easily

see that the standard of efficiency was very low. His first thought was to give equal opportunities to all from the age of five years to 16 years of age. This was certainly a great advance over anything that had been attempted previously.

He was convinced that if he was to succeed in his ideal there must be free schools and compulsory attendance must be insisted upon. He was wise enough, however, to make haste slowly and the first legislation was optional but was made mandatory later when public opinion was ready. In the initial school act a free school could be formed if the majority of the ratepayers desired it and he felt sure that intelligent people would see the advantages. He became an educational missionary and in every report and every public address reminded his audience that a free country requires an

intelligent people. That a common school education is the right of every child in the land; the property which is accumulated by the help of the common industry and intelligence of the people and protected as well as increased in value by the institutions of the land is justly chargeable with that which is absolutely necessary for the general welfare. These principles were allowed to pervade the minds of the people so that by 1858, 45% of the schools were wholly free and 38% were partially so. In 1865 a great advance had been made and 83% of the schools were wholly free and 85% of the school population were in attendance. In 1871 all the schools were made free by law.

We have no way of knowing the qualifications of teachers previous to 1845. The average salary was only £29 so we may judge that the requirements

were extremely low. When the first Normal School was opened in 1847 the standard was raised to a first or a second professional certificate and a specific programme of examination was prescribed for candidates who came before county boards. In 1857 the results of Ryerson's enactments were becoming apparent and there were 234 Normal School graduates whose influence was being felt in all the conventions throughout the province. It was only natural that the people who had been the bitterest opponents of the new system were now the proudest of the reputation of their schools.

At the time of his appointment many of the schools were log or frame buildings. In the course of a few years, due to the incentives he held out, these were replaced by brick or stone structures. Proper heating and ventilation was installed and the old uncomfortable benches were

replaced by comfortable seats and desks. The methods of discipline were changed and the element of interest at last found its way into the classroom.

In cities and towns it was felt that there was need of larger boards of trustees. Primary pupils might attend a school close to their homes but it was found advantageous to have the older pupils attend a more central school which was often a grammar school. Later the full control of education was given to corporate boards of trustees but the municipal authority for the collection of taxes was retained.

Ryerson was in constant touch with the educational affairs of the country. He studied carefully the Inspector's reports, and made frequent tours through the province calling conventions of trustees, teachers and municipal officers. By means of open and frank discussions

he endeavoured to remove the prejudices of the people. For example, in 1847 he chose the subject, "The Advantage of Education to an Agricultural People" and gained many warm supporters. His annual reports were excellent digests of his work and the recommendations that were contained therein usually formed the basis for a law by the Legislature.

After he made his fourth and final tour in Europe and held his fifth and last series of conventions, he set about to formulate the Acts of 1870-71. The very people who had been loudest in their accusations that a Prussian system was being introduced in 1850 were the same ones who now feared this act would be changed. However, there was nothing radical in the new legislation but the previous enactments were perfected. A mild form of compulsory education was adopted by which a child must attend school for at least four

months a year and the name "Common School" was changed to "Public School."

About this time a cry was raised that the educational depository interfered with legitimate trade. The attack was of a bitter and personal nature but the depository had served its purpose of bringing into the province the best equipment and supplying it at cost price. It was discontinued by the Legislative Assembly. At the time Confederation was accomplished, the control of education was vested in the provinces. Ryerson proposed that there should be a member of the cabinet appointed as Minister of Education so that this department would be represented on the floor of the Legislature. He voluntarily wrote a letter of resignation to the lieutenant-governor, but the government hesitated to make a change because of the fear that politics might interfere with the work of education. Accordingly

he continued in office until 1876 when he was retired on full salary and then his proposal was put into effect.

On the whole, the system has worked well. The education department has been kept fairly free of politics. The ministers have found it necessary to rely on their deputies since governments change and there must be some continuity. However, it is doubtful if we have developed as rapidly since the change has been made. Perhaps we would not have progressed as well under any other man as Superintendent of Education.

THE SEPARATE SCHOOL QUESTION

CHAPTER XVI

On account of the wide publicity that has been given to the Separate Schools of Ontario during the past two years we shall attempt to set forth the origin and development of our system and particularly the part played by Dr. Ryerson.

When the common school system was founded in Upper Canada the inhabitants were, on the whole, a religious and God-fearing people. Everyone regardless of whether they professed the faith of Anglicans or Puritans or Presbyterians or Roman Catholics was convinced that religious teaching in the schools was a necessity. The Methodists themselves under Ryerson were heartily in accord with these ideas and had built their own college with great sacrifices and at enormous cost.

Ryerson himself on countless occasions expressed his stand and in doing so was absolutely sure that he had public opinion behind him on the matter. When he assumed the task of building our educational system he went to great pains to see that there was ample opportunity for the teaching of religion. This was provided for in three ways.

(1) Any clergyman was allowed to visit a school and give instruction to the children of his denomination for an hour each week.

(2) The trustees were given power to make regulations for the teaching of religion in their schools as expressed by the desires of the parents and guardians.

(3) The authorized text_books were written so as to include several religious selections but care was taken that nothing of a contentious nature was inserted.

This was certainly a minimum but Ryerson seems to have been satisfied when the annual reports of 1859 showed that in 3,665 schools there were 4,360 visits made by clergymen. In his last report he shows that out of 4,758 schools, 4,033 were opened and closed with prayer and the Ten Commandments were taught in 3,167. His comments are interesting: "The religious instruction, reading and exercises are like religion itself, a voluntary matter with trustees, teachers, parents and guardians. The Council of Public Instruction provides facilities, even forms of prayer, and makes recommendations on the subject, but does not assume authority to enforce or compel compliance with those provisions or recommendations. As Christian principles and morals are the foundation of all that is most noble in man, and the great fulcrum and lever of public freedom and

prosperity in a country, it is gratifying to see general and avowed recognition of them in public schools."

This small amount of religious instruction might have appeared sufficient to a member of the Protestant faith but it would hardly be expected to satisfy Catholics. The Church's mission of teaching could never be fulfilled if religion was relegated to the background. Besides the proper religious environment is a most important aspect of the problem and this is an impossibility in a school where all classes and creeds are represented. On the other hand we find at this time the first seeds of the modernistic spirit which would completely separate the church from the school. Ryerson referred to this in his last report; "There are many religious persons who think that the day school, like the farm fields, the place for secular work, the religious

exercises of the workers being performed in the one case as in the other in the household and not in the field of labour." These are the people who are so anxious to abolish Separate Schools and have all children attend a strictly secular school under the supervision of the government.

It might be well to point out that the rights to Separate Schools had been granted in 1841 even before the Common School Act was introduced, and three years before Dr. Ryerson's appointment. It should also be remembered that it was the Protestants who asked for this right and not the Catholics, as is generally supposed. Out of a total of forty-one petitions presented to the Legislature in 1841, asking for the right to establish a system of religious instruction in the schools, thirty-nine came from Protestant bodies and two from Bishops of the Catholic Church.

It was only natural that Catholics would be unwilling to have the Protestant Bible used in schools where their children attended. The result was that the first Separate School legislation was passed. Ryerson was anxious to maintain the moral and Christian influence in the schools but to keep them free from sectarian teaching and at the same time to make Separate Schools as efficient as possible.

The conflict between the parties desiring Separate Schools and the opposing faction became more intense after 1852. Previous to that date the total number of Separate Schools that had been established was fifty and thirty-two of these had been discontinued in the last three years. Of the remainder, three were Protestant and two were for coloured children. Ryerson's policy seemed to be meeting the approval of the church authorities and Bishop Power was the

chairman of the Council of Public Instruction. Both men had worked hard to make the common schools successful.

When Bishop Power died and was succeeded by Bishop de Charbonnel it appeared for the first three years that the same policy would be continued. However, the bill of 1849 more or less disturbed matters because it gave the power of establishing Separate Schools to the trustees instead of allowing ten householders to demand a Separate School. The Anglicans and Roman Catholics joined forces and proposed an amendment which would allow any ten householders either Anglican or Roman Catholic to demand a denominational school. Ryerson made a slight change in the Acts of 1843 and 1846 and the Catholics were satisfied.

The whole problem from this time forward seems to have been beset with difficulties.

Toronto has always been antagonistic to Separate Schools and the trustees at that time refused to grant more than one Separate School for the whole city. They were upheld in the courts even though Ryerson used his influence to get just treatment for the Catholics. As soon as possible he provided an amendment which gave the right for a Separate School in each ward or union of wards. He believed the vast majority of Catholics were satisfied with the provisions of the law and he opposed the members of the radical Protestant party who wished to abolish Separate Schools.

The next agitation was brought about by an appeal in the towns of Belleville and Chatham where Separate School supporters demanded a share of the municipal tax in proportion to their average attendance. Ryerson was not in favour of this and the Catholics prepared a bill and were determined to pass it through Parliament. He

endeavoured to give some relief by passing the Supplemental Act of 1853 which exempted Separate School supporters from the municipal tax rate. It would seem that he had an unholy fear that common schools would be undermined and he summarized the provisions in this way:

"(1) No separate school can be established or continued otherwise than on the conditions and under the circumstances specified in the nineteenth section of the School Act of 1850.

(2) No part of the municipal assessment can be applied, and no municipal authority or officer can be employed to collect rates for the support of any Separate School.

(3) If any persons whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, demand a separate school in the circumstances which it may be allowed, they must tax themselves for its support and they must make returns of the sums they raise and

of the children they teach.

(4) All ground and semblance of complaint of injustice is taken away from the supporters of a separate school, while they no longer employ municipal authority and municipal assessments for sustaining their school.

(5) Separate schools are subject to the same inspection and visits as common schools.

(6) The supporters of Separate Schools cannot interfere in the affairs of Public Schools."

It was most unfortunate that at this time the Separate School question aroused violent discussion on the part of extremists. The anti-separate school party was led by William Lyon Mackenzie, George Brown and Malcolm Cameron. Ryerson agreed with them on principle but not on policy. In an official letter to Bishop Charbonnel he stated, "I always thought the introduction of any provision for separate schools in

a popular system of common education like that of Upper Canada was to be regretted and inexpedient; but finding such a provision in existence, and that parties concerned attached great importance to it, I have advocated its continuance, leaving separate schools to die out not by force of legislative enactment, but under the influence of increasingly enlightened and enlarged views of Christian relations, rights and duties between different classes of the community. I have at all times endeavoured to secure to parties desiring separate schools all the facilities which the law provides, though I believe the legal provision for separate schools has been and is seriously injurious rather than beneficial to the Roman Catholic portion of the community, as I know very many intelligent members of that church believe as well as myself."

Perhaps the strongest opponent of Dr. Ryerson's

policy was George Brown, editor of the Globe. He was supported by the Orange order and his policy was one of no Separate Schools. In addressing Dr. Ryerson, he says, "And did this third concession to the claimants of separate schools satisfy them? Was your oft-repeated assurance realized 'that the existence of the provision for separate schools' in the national system prevented oppositions and combinations which would otherwise be formed against it? On the contrary the separatists only advanced in the extent of their demands, and became more resolute in enforcing them."

The next year there was a general election and Bishop de Charbonnel pressed his demands and Mr. Hincks consented to bring in another act. The Catholic position was well outlined in the following extract from a letter of the Bishop to Dr. Ryerson in March 1852:-

"Therefore, since your school system is the ruin of religion, and persecution of the church; since we know, at least as well as anybody else, how to encourage, diffuse, promote education, and better than you how to teach respect toward authority, God, and His church, parents and government; since we are under the blessed principles of religious liberty and equal rights, we must have and we will have, the full management of our schools, as well as Protestants in Lower Canada; or the world of the nineteenth century will know that here, as elsewhere, Catholics, against the constitution of the country, against its best and most sacred interests, are persecuted by the most cruel hypocritical persecution."

These three extracts show better than anything that could be written the stand of all parties. Ryerson was between two fires. He

tried to reconcile two parties that are as far apart as the poles. From a literary point of view his letters, at this date are among his best as an exposition of ethical and political principles. At times his language is strong and fiery but we must admit his path was not an easy one.

It appears thatabout this time Bishop de Charbonnel was anxious to have all children in Catholic schools. Ryerson was opposed to this policy but he was careful not to do anything that would bring the matter to a head. The Bishop on his part was careful to wait for a reasonable occasion and in due course a situation arose in Toronto. One Catholic teacher was employed in one of the schools and the trustees refused the application for a Separate School. Dr. Ryerson stated that this was contrary to law. The following year some Separate School supporters

were included in the common school taxation and a refund was refused. Bishop Charbonnel made the following complaints:

"(1) That the supporters of Separate Schools were unjustly required to pay amounts equal to those required for common schools in order to secure exemption from the common school taxations and that for the same purpose the trustees were required to make returns not required of common school trustees.

(2) That the trustees of the several wards of a city or town could not act together as one board as could the trustees of the common schools.

(3) That the government grant was distributed by the city or town board, or in the townships by the local superintendent, a provision which did not secure impartiality."

To remedy these complaints Dr. Ryerson framed three clauses which would remedy the defects.

However, these were not accepted and were withdrawn.

In the following year the Bishops of Toronto, Bytown and Kingston prepared a comparative table of the Upper and Lower Canadian school laws and a draft of a bill which they wished to become law. The proposal was to repeal all previous provisions for Separate Schools; to allow any number of dissidents of any profession to form a Separate School board; to give such board all the rights and powers of common school boards; to give trustees power to claim their share of all legislative grants and all municipal and provincial school funds and of all taxes for school and library purposes in proportion to the population which they claimed to represent. Ryerson was opposed to the bill and said it meant "the complete destruction of our public school system." However, a bill very similar to this one was

introduced by Sir E. P. Tache in the Legislative Council. Dr. Ryerson telegraphed Honourable John A. Macdonald and asked that the bill be restricted to Roman Catholics, and that Separate Schools should not be admitted to the municipal council assessment. The bill as amended became the Roman Catholic Separate School law.

At this juncture we find the Separate School question had now passed into the realm of politics where it has unfortunately remained. The Liberal party were determined to abolish Separate Schools. The Roman Catholics wanted complete control of all their children and rightly contended that education must be moral and religious as well as secular. Ryerson stood in the middle way and at times fought the battles of each against the other. He himself was a deeply religious man and saw that Roman Catholics

had conscientious convictions and vested rights which he was bound to protect. Honourable John A. Macdonald held Ryerson's views but was not above other lesser politicians to use the question to his own advantage. It seems that the Roman Catholics did not gain by the Tache Bill as much as they expected. The following letter written to Dr. Ryerson by John A. Macdonald on June 8th, 1855, shows the part played by politics. "Our Separate School Bill, which is, as you know, quite harmless, passed with the approbation of our friend, Bishop de Charbonnel, who, before leaving here, formally thanked the administration for doing justice to his church.

He has, however, got a new light since his return to Toronto, and now says that the Bill won't do. I need not point out to your suggestive mind that in any article written by you

on the subject, it is politic to press two points on the attention of the public.

First: That the Bill will not injuriously affect the Common School System. (This for the people at large)

Second: That the Separate School Bill of 1855 is a substantial boon to the Roman Catholics. (This is to keep them in good humour)

You see that if the Bishop makes the Roman Catholics believe that the Separate School Bill is no use to them, there will be a renewal of the unwholesome agitation which I thought was allayed. I send you the Bill as passed."

Sir Joseph Pope in his memoirs gives Macdonald's views on this question, "Mr. Macdonald said that, he was as desirous as anyone of seeing all children going together to the Common School, and if he could have his own way there would be no Separate School. But we should

respect the opinions of others who differed from us, and they had a right to refuse such schools as they could not conscientiously approve of."

The above quotation is the one usually given by supporters of Separate Schools to show Macdonald's position. The following quotation from one of his political speeches in the campaign in which Mr. Brown had raised the cry of "no-popery" shows his views even more clearly.

"I have called the attention of the people to the fact that the 19th clause of the Common School Act became law long before I was in the Government at all; so that the merit of it, or the blame of it, is not with me but rests entirely with the Baldwin-LaFontaine Administration as it was brought in under the auspices of Mr. Baldwin particularly, that pure and honest man of whom I always love to speak, though we were

opposed in politics. And if it be asked why we did not repeal it, I answer, in the first place, that it is one thing to give a right or a franchise, and another thing to deprive people of it; and in the second place, we have the indisputable evidence of a disinterested witness --a man who cannot be suspected of any leaning towards Popery--I mean Reverend Dr. Ryerson, a Protestant clergyman himself, at the head of the common school system--a person whose whole energies have been expended in the cause of education--who states deliberately to the people of Canada, that the separate school clause does not retard the progress or the increase of common schools, but that, on the contrary, it 'widens the basis of the common school system.' If I thought that it injured that system, I must say that I would vote for its repeal to-morrow. You must remember also, that

Lower Canada is decidedly a Roman Catholic country--that the Protestant population of Lower Canada is a small minority, and if Protestant schools were not allowed there, our Protestant brethren in Lower Canada would be obliged to send their children to be educated by Roman Catholic teachers. Now, I don't know how many Protestants or how many Roman Catholics I may be at this moment addressing, but I say that as a Protestant, I should not be willing to send my son to a Roman Catholic school, while I think a Roman Catholic should not be compelled to send his to a Protestant one. In Lower Canada the teachers are generally the Roman Catholic clergy and, of course, it is their duty to teach what they consider truth; and to guard their pupils against error. But the system in vogue there is more liberal than even ours in that it not only permits the establishment of Protestant schools

for Protestant children, but allows the whole municipal machinery to be employed to collect the rates to maintain them. In discussing this subject, I have always found that when it is fairly laid before the people, they always, by their applause, signify their approbation of the consistent course of the Government in regard to it."

If we examine the growth of the Separate Schools we find that from 1852 to 1855 the number was increased from thirteen to forty-four. Under the Tache Act the number had reached one hundred by 1858. Most of the credit for this increase is due to Bishop de Charbonnel who was very active and insisted that Catholics must support their schools. His lenten pastoral of 1856 reads, "Catholic electors who do not use their electoral power on behalf of the separate schools are guilty of mortal sin. Likewise parents who do

not make the sacrifices necessary to secure such schools, or send their children to mixed schools."

In 1860 Mr. R. W. Scott the member for Ottawa introduced another school bill. His first three attempts failed but in 1863 a modified bill of which Ryerson approved was passed. It is interesting to note that Mr. Scott was a staunch Liberal in politics and a devout Roman Catholic. The Scott Act allowed: (1) the formation of Separate Schools in incorporated villages and towns; (2) the union of two or more Separate Schools; (3) It was unnecessary for a Separate School supporter to annually declare himself as such. (4) It exempted Separate School trustees from making an oath as to the correctness of their school returns.

Ryerson said of it, "Everyone who examines the bill will see that it brings back the school

system in respect to Separate Schools as near as possible to what it was before the passing of the Roman Catholic Separate School Bill of 1855.....an object I have been most anxious to accomplish. One of the great objections to it at the time was that it was being passed by a majority of Lower Canadian votes. However, it was supported by such outstanding men as John A. Macdonald, John Sandfield Macdonald and William Macdougall.

Ryerson claimed that it was agreed that this legislation should be a final settlement of the question. Surely, he must have known that no legislation in a progressive state can be final and must always remove injustices as they arise. He had tried to curb the rise of Separate Schools by making the administration of the common schools as impartial as possible. He had tried to make the Act of 1853 final,

hoping that Separate Schools would die a natural death when they did not have municipal machinery for collection of taxes. He did not realize with what benevolent care the Church watches over the education of her children. In spite of violent opposition, their numbers had increased to 120 attended by 15,859 pupils and it was clear that they were too strong to be overthrown by any policy. He was being logical and in accepting the facts was endeavouring to make the schools as efficient as possible. It was thought that Separate School supporters had been freed from all contributions to the Public Schools, but the later development of the Province has shown that this has not worked out as it was intended. The changes that have taken place in the methods of holding property and in the growth of corporations have resulted in Catholics being

taxed for the upkeep of Public Schools.

In 1865 there was an agitation for further amendments to the Separate School law. Ryerson prepared a memorandum and reviewed the whole history of Separate Schools from 1840 onward, and tried to show that no privilege had ever been granted to common school trustees which was not given to Separate Schools, with the exception that they were not allowed to use the municipal machinery. He says, "Separate Schools cannot be claimed on any ground of right, as I have often shown in discussing the subject in former years. All that a citizen can claim as a right on this subject is equal and impartial protection with every other citizen. All that can be claimed or granted beyond this must be on the ground of compact or of expediency or indulgence. I have ever regarded the existence of the

Separate School provisions of the law in the light of a compact commencing with the union of the Canadas; and, as such, in behalf of the public, I have endeavoured to maintain it faithfully and liberally."

He concludes as follows: "The fact is that the tendency of the public mind and of the institutions of Upper Canada is to Confederation and not isolation; to united effort and not divisions. The efforts to establish and extend Separate Schools, although often energetic and made at great sacrifice, are a struggle against the instincts of Canadian society, against the necessities of a sparsely populated country, against the social and political interest of the parents and youth separated from their fellow-citizens. It is not the Separate School law that renders such efforts fitful, feeble and little successful;

their paralysis is caused by a higher than human law--the law of circumstances, the law of nature, and the law of interest.

If, therefore, the present Separate School law is not be be maintained as a final settlement of the question and if the Legislature finds it necessary to legislate on the Separate School question again, I pray that it will abolish the Separate School law altogether; and to this recommendation I am forced after having long used my best efforts to maintain and give the fullest effect and the most liberal application to successive Separate School acts; and after twenty years' experience and superintendence of our common school system." I have quoted this extract because it is usually used by opponents of Separate Schools.

It should be noted that when the resolutions which were adopted at the Quebec Conference in

1864, a strong debate arose over the clause which secured for minorities in Upper and Lower Canada the right of Separate Schools. The following extract shows more of Ryerson's real feelings on the matter.

"I am second to none in promptness and determination to resist Romish aggression in any form or aspect; but when Roman Catholics desiring Separate Schools, limit their application to what the Legislature has recognized as their legal right, I think that the tolerant principle of Protestantism itself, the peace and best interests of the country, the stability and progress of the Common School system--all demand a just and generous treatment of Roman Catholics in regard to privileges which they have long enjoyed, which it is not pretended they are abusing--although not one-fourth of them care to avail themselves of these privileges--yet privileges which they all

appreciate as a protection against local insult and oppression, and which protection they freely and ungrudgingly grant to the Protestants of Lower Canada." There is a widespread but erroneous belief that the Roman Catholics of Upper and Lower Canada were responsible for the right to Separate Schools. The facts are that the Protestants of Quebec were responsible and Mr. A. T. Galt who held the position of finance minister in the Macdonald Government of 1864 was the able champion of the Protestants of Quebec. Although they enjoyed Separate Schools before Confederation they were anxious to be fully protected by law and he pledged himself, that before the union would be brought about, the school law must be perfected and the rights of minorities protected. He introduced a bill in 1866 designed to accomplish his wishes. A similar bill was presented by Mr. Bell of

Russell County for the protection of Catholics in Upper Canada. The latter bill was opposed by the majority from Upper Canada and the government withdrew the measure. Galt immediately resigned but when delegates were sent to England he was appointed a member of the commission. According to the Montreal Gazette of October 24, 1866, he accepted the appointment "for the express purpose of watching over these important interests (i.e. minority school rights) as well as of lending his aid to the consummation of the measure of Confederation." In 1867 the question was finally settled by the following provisions of the British North America Act. "In and for each province the legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:-

1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to

denominational schools which any class of persons have by law in the province at the union.

2. All the powers, privileges and duties at the Union conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.

These two fundamental provisions are followed by the right of appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council and the right of remedial legislation by the Parliament of Canada.

It should be noted that the existence of Separate Schools was not a "privilege" granted to Catholics. We have seen that in 1841 the great majority of petitions that were presented to the Government were from Protestants, praying for the

right to establish a system of religious education in the schools. Again in 1863 out of twenty similar petitions, only two were presented by Catholics. This clearly indicates that the non-Catholics of both Upper and Lower Canada saw the need for the provision and if we can judge by numbers, they were largely responsible for whatever rights were possessed by religious minorities at the time of Confederation. That Act continued these rights in perpetuity and they can never be amended to the detriment of the religious minorities.

The school Acts provided that the property of the supporters of a Separate School should be assessable for the maintenance of such schools. At that time, property usually consisted of real estate of some form, but a little later on the form of property began to change. Joint stock companies and public utilities came into existence and under the letter of the Act there was

no provision for the payment of school taxes to Separate Schools. Only two years after Confederation, Quebec saw that there was an injustice to the non-Catholic minority and made suitable laws to rectify it. In 1886 the Ontario Government recognized that Catholics were entitled to consider their investments in stock companies as Catholic property and amended the Act by providing that the directors of companies "may" allocate to the Separate Schools a proportion of their taxes paid for education. Unfortunately this provision was permissive and not mandatory and has almost completely failed to give the desired results. One reason is the inability of many companies to ascertain the religion of their stockholders.

The Act has been practically useless for all these years and succeeding Legislatures have failed to pass Legislation which would

protect religious minorities and allow them to enjoy the rights which were intended at Confederation. It seems a logical argument that since the State is responsible for the education of all citizens it should see to it that every child is given an equal chance. It has been declared by law that Separate Schools are a part of the Public School System. Both schools teach the same curriculum and are subject to the same regulations, inspection and examinations. Yet under a law that is unworkable the Separate Schools are unable to provide for their needs and the taxes on Catholic money in public utilities and stock companies goes to keep up Public Schools. Many other cases of unfairness could be enumerated; for example, a non-Catholic father whose children are Catholics is not permitted to apply his taxes to the Separate School that his children attend. In

the city of Toronto alone there are 1,100 children in this category and not one cent is given to Separate Schools. A still more extreme case is that of a Catholic woman, who is the owner in her own right, of a property occupied by herself and her husband, a non-Catholic. The taxes cannot legally be applied to support Separate Schools.

It seems incredible that such a situation has been allowed to arise and develop. The reason is that Catholics have not been organized on a political basis and politicians have listened to the noisy threats of the Orange Order. The Bishops have been writing pamphlets, and priests have been preaching sermons for the last fifty years but no remedial legislation has been passed. In fact, one prominent member of a previous government told a deputation of Bishops that there was nothing to indicate that the laymen

were behind them in their demand. A few years ago the Catholic Taxpayers Association was formed with the avowed purpose of placing the Separate School demands before the public. A real effort has been made to inform everyone, both Catholic and non-Catholic, of the justice of the claims of Separate Schools. Previous to the last general election a deputation waited upon the Prime Minister, Honourable George S. Henry and presented the daims of Separate School supporters. His answer was that their request would be referred to the Privy Council in England.

At the elections held in June, 1935, the Liberals under Mitchell F. Hepburn were elected to power by a tremendous majority. In April 1936 a bill which was designed to give Separate Schools a fair share of taxation was passed in spite of violent opposition on the part of the Conservatives. The conclusion of a speech given

by Honourable Arthur Roebuck is interesting:- "The trouble with the Honourable Gentleman (Hon. Geo. S. Henry) is that he succeeded in fooling both the Separate and Public School supporters prior to the election, and he wants to play the same game in the coming election. He's got to get on or off the band wagon. He can't drive a middle course by merely opposing what we are doing without saying what he is going to do.

I submit to this House that the one thing the people of this Province demand of a government is a clear statement of where they do stand. Our leader has not been found 'pussy-footing' upon the problem. He has grasped it and has placed before this House a definite measure to cure the situation in this Province. I invite the people of this Province to take their choice between our own courageous Prime

Minister and the Leader of the Opposition striving to face both ways. The man across the way won't say whether he will repeal the Bill if he has the power, or whether he will support it and keep it in existence. He is afraid to express himself. The people will be the judges between the forthright method of this Government and the pussy-footing and concealment across the way."

The Act was to come into force in 1937. The Orange Press has been loud in its denunciations of the Hepburn Government. At the Conservative Convention Mr. Henry was displaced as leader and Mr. Rowe was elected, with the understanding that the repeal of the Act was a plank in his platform. A by-election in North Hastings was won by the Conservative appeal to the prejudices of Protestants against Catholics. Even as I write these lines an amendment to repeal

the Act was sponsored by Mr. Henry and the Prime Minister blocked his move by using closure and repealing the Act. The Separate Schools have gained nothing. As we review this long struggle of the Separate Schools we wonder, if Ryerson were still in command, would he settle the question in a fair way. I am inclined to believe he would. There is no doubt he believed the teaching of religion was necessary but he thought it could be done outside of school hours. Experience has proved that children cannot be held after four o'clock and Sunday school classes are inadequate. Ryerson would be horrified to know that the lack of religious training in Public Schools has opened the way for the decadence of morality which is so evident to-day.

On the other hand let us review the progress of the Separate Schools which he hoped would die

out. In 1852 there were only thirteen Roman Catholic Separate Schools but in 1855 the number had increased to forty-four. By 1858 there were one hundred schools with 10,000 children in attendance. By 1860 the number had reached 120 attended by 15,859 pupils. In 1884 there were 207 Schools with 27,463 pupils; in 1894, 328 schools with 39,762 pupils; in 1906, 443 schools with 50,000 pupils, in 1917, 548 schools with 70,048 pupils, in 1927, 724 schools with 101,072 pupils, in 1934, 779 schools with 107,567 pupils.

By way of comparison it is interesting to note the progress of the Public Schools. In 1848 the enrolment was 284,000 pupils. In 1917 there were 6,103 schools with 458,436 pupils, in 1924, 6426 schools with 535,691 pupils, in 1934, 6411 schools with 465,171 pupils. In the last seventeen years the number of Public Schools has decreased by 15 and the Separate Schools have

increased by 55. The enrolment in Public Schools has decreased by 19,725 and the Separate Schools have increased by 5495 pupils. Separate Schools have progressed in spite of hardships and injustices and should assume an even larger place in the educational world as time goes on.

LATER LITERARY WORK

CHAPTER XVII

Ryerson lived a long life and near its close he was the only remaining actor of the early struggles in Upper Canada. His long experience was often of the greatest use in the solution of problems that arose from time to time. Many of his friends were anxious that he should leave a written record of his achievements, knowing that it would be interesting as a story of the early beginnings of Canadian life.

He had been such a busy man during his public career that it was not until he had passed the age of four score and ten that he found time to seriously consider writing his autobiography. He was a maker of Canada and usually such men write their history in deeds

and not in words. After his retirement from the office of Superintendent of Education in 1876 until his death in 1882 he prepared his three works of chief literary and historical interest. They are: "The Story of My Life," "Canadian Methodism, Its Epochs and Characteristics" and "The Loyalists of America and Their Times."

However, it would be quite unfair to consider Ryerson's literary contribution in the light of these three works written when his course was nearly run and the grave was so near. From the time he had taken up his pen in controversy with the great Dr. Strachan until he relinquished his post as Superintendent he had written almost unceasingly. He had contributed to pamphlets without number; he had fashioned public opinion in his editorials; he had successfully defended a governor; he

had presented innumerable reports on education; he had written eulogies of great public men--in a word he had devoted his talents to purposeful writing in the cause of Responsible Government and education. We must therefore be charitable in our criticism of his strictly formal contribution to Canadian literature since his best work was done during his public career.

In previous chapters we dealt with his method in controversial writing. In many respects his books are similar but there is no pretence at style although at times there is a certain stateliness of expression. It was the matter that counted with Ryerson and nothing else mattered. In general it may be said that his style was familiar and idiomatic of a type that becomes a fluent speaker more than an author.

"The Story of My Life" is a long book of

over six hundred pages and is only partially an autobiography. On his seventieth birthday Ryerson sat down in his Long Point cottage and wrote a brief account which ends with his first sermon in 1825. He never found time to write more than the beginning and certain other fragments. His faithful friend Hodgins, found it a pleasure to supply other interesting facts. The story is interesting and contains much useful information for those who wish to fully appreciate early Canadian life in this province. However, to those who are not particularly historically minded many of its pages would prove tiresome. Those portions which relate to his travels in Europe and his impressions of men and things are worthy of attention. The following is his description of his interview with Pope Pius IX:

"On my arrival at Rome I duly delivered

my letters of introduction, and the King of Bavaria's medal to Cardinal Antonelli who received me with the utmost courtesy, offered me every facility to get pictures copied by my own selection at Rome, and proposed, if acceptable to me, to present me to His Holiness the Pope. I readily accepted the attentions and honours offered me; but told the Cardinal that I had a young daughter, and young lady of hers, whom I should wish to accompany me; His Excellency said, 'By all means.'

On the day appointed we went to the Vatican. Several foreign dignitaries were waiting in an ante-room for an audience with the Pope, but the Methodist preacher received precedence of them all. 'Are you a clergyman?' asked the Chancellor, who conducted me to the Pope's presence; 'I am a Wesleyan minister,' I replied. 'Ah! John Wesley. I've heard of him,' said

the Chancellor, as he shrugged his shoulders in surprise that a heretic should be so honoured above orthodox sons of the church. We were then in due form introduced to the Pope, who received us most courteously, and stood up and shook hands with me and with whom I conversed (in French) for nearly a quarter of an hour; during the conversation His Holiness thanked me for the fairness and kindness with which he understood I had treated his Catholic children in Canada. Before the close of the interview, His Holiness turned to the young ladies (each of whom had a little sheet of note-paper in their hands) and said, 'my children, what is that you have in your hands?' The girls curtsied respectfully and told His Holiness that they brought these sheets of paper in hopes His Holiness would have the condescension and kindness to give them his autograph. He

smiled, and wrote in Latin the benediction: 'Grace, mercy, and peace from God our Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord,' and then kindly gave them also the pen with which it was written.

Thus ended our interview with Pope Pius IX, of whose unaffected sincerity, candor, kindness and good sense, we formed the most favourable opinion."

As another example of Dr. Ryerson's ability as a writer I have selected the last paragraphs of his address to the Canadian people which was issued in July 1867 under the title, "The New Canadian Dominion: Dangers and Duties of the People in Regard to their Government."

"It is with a view to the best interests of our whole country, that I have addressed my fellow countrymen, contributing the results of my best thoughts and experience to your beginning well, that you may do well under our new

Dominion, though I cannot expect long to enjoy it. My nearly half a century of public life is approaching its close. I am soon to account for both my words and my deeds. I have little to hope or fear from man. But I wish before I go hence, to see my fellow citizens of all sects and parties unite in commencing a new system of government for our country and posterity. That all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavours, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations."

The last selection I shall quote is in more of a romantic strain:-

"In my lonely voyage from Toronto to Port Ryerse, the scene was often enchanting, and the solitude sweet beyond expression. I have witnessed the setting sun amidst the Swiss and

Tyrolese Alps, from lofty elevations, on the plains of Lombardy, from the highest eminence of the Appenines, between Bologna and Florence, and from the crater summit of Vesuvius, but I never was more delighted and impressed (owing, perhaps, in part to the susceptible state of my feelings) with the beauty, effulgence, and even sublimity of atmospheric phenomena, and the softened magnificence of surrounding objects, than in witnessing the setting sun the 23rd of June, from the unruffled bosom of Lake Erie a few miles east of Port Dover, and about a mile from the thickly wooded shore, with its deepening and variously reflected shadows. And when the silent darkness enveloped all this beauty, and grandeur, and magnificence in undistinguishable gloom, my mind experienced that wonderful sense of freedom and relief which come from all that suggests the idea of boundlessness--the deep sky,

the dark night, the endless circle, the illimitable waters. The world with its tumult of cares seemed to have retired, and God and His works appeared all in all, suggesting the enquiry which faith and experience promptly answered in the affirmative."

The second of the three works mentioned is entitled "Canadian Methodism, its Epochs and Characteristics." We are not interested in these and shall pass them briefly. It is a collection of essays prepared at the request of the Methodist conferences and published in the Canadian Methodist Magazine. They were later collected into a volume of 440 pages.

In reviewing this book we must keep in mind that Dr. Ryerson was the militant champion of the early Wesleyans and had been called "The Pope of Methodism." We are not surprised to find his language fiery and full of warmth in

certain passages especially the essays which deal with the charge of disloyalty of his followers. The whole story of the clergy reserves is told from his point of view. All the misunderstandings and divisions of the Methodist group are fully dealt with but they have no interest to anyone except historians.

The most important of his literary work is his "Loyalists of America and their Times" The two volumes are very long and contain over a thousand pages. He tells us that he collected his material for over twenty years but even as a child he was being prepared for this great work as he listened attentively to the stories of his elders. We can almost imagine we hear the stern old Colonel Ryerson telling his story to a wide-eyed group of listeners. His career as a soldier and the stories of the battles in which he fought would be bound to create a lasting impression on

the mind of his young son. Then the tales of hardship and the experiences on the farm that was given to him for his loyalty to the British flag would inculcate patriotic feelings in the hearts of the whole family. Ryerson himself had experienced many of the early privations and was quite at home in describing them.

The story of the Loyalists is told in the same way the author heard it. It is not history as we ordinarily understand it since he was too close to the events to give the proper perspective. The reader is carried back to the actual scenes of the events but as history it suffers by comparison with that of Gibbon or Macaulay.

However, it must be said that it has some historical value in that it was an attempt to correct a prevalent opinion that the British people were all wrong in the American revolution, and the colonists were blameless. Ryerson

thought it necessary to quote long documents to prove his points and apologized to his readers for his method in this way: "The United Empire Loyalists were the losing party; their history has been written by their adversaries and strangely misrepresented. In the vindication of their character I have not offered assertion against assertion; but in correction of unjust and untrue assertions I have offered the records and documents of the actors themselves, and in their own words. To do this has rendered my history to a large extent documentary, instead of being a merely popular narrative. The many fictions of American writers will be found corrected and exposed in the following volumes, by authorities and facts which cannot be successfully denied. In thus availing myself so largely of the proclamations, messages, letters and records of the times when they occurred, I have only

followed the example of some of the best historians and biographers."

On the whole these two bulky volumes are dull although at times there is keen analysis and criticism. The task that the author set for himself atan age when most men are preparing for the grave was that the Declaration of Independence was the last of a series of grave mistakes. The vigorous thought and phrasing that we found in his Defence of Lord Metcalfe is totally lacking although loyalty to the Crown was his main point in both cases. He repeats his arguments on numerous occasions and fails to sustain interest or carry conviction. Old age had begun to tell on him and besides his own ideas had changed through the years. The tendency towards independence of which he was so frightened in 1844, no longer holds the same fear for him. He says that under certain

circumstances: "The American Colonies would have long since grown up, as Canada and Australia are now growing up, into a state of national independence, without war or bloodshed, without a single feeling other than that of filial respect and affection for the mother country."

It is gratifying to note that many of the best American historians now concur with the views expressed by Dr. Ryerson. They agree that the number of Loyalists who lost all they had in order to remain under the British flag was much larger than was formally admitted and that they ranked high in standing and character. Dr. Ryerson does not attempt to defend the actions of the British Government but condemns it in no uncertain terms. He holds that the bad policies were those of the king and the court party and that the true feelings of the English people were expressed by

Burke and Chatham. On the other hand he does not blame the colonists for rising in rebellion but he does blame them for seceding from the Empire when a little more perseverance would have gained their demands. Furthermore this would have been accomplished with the good will of the English people themselves without the help of France and her allies.

The second volume which contains accounts of pioneer days in Upper Canada has always been interesting, but since Canadian Historical Associations have become active its worth is being appreciated. There is always a danger that we may lose some of our early traditions if an effort is not made to secure the collections and recollections of our forefathers. From this point of view, Dr. Ryerson's book has a special value to Canadians.

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XVIII

The last years of Dr. Ryerson's life were spent in retirement but his literary work was continued almost to the end. He was always a man of deep and abiding faith and in his last letter written a few days before his death we find the expression of his feelings in these lines, "I am helpless myself but God has been with me, my Strength and Comforter. On Sunday, February 19, 1882, his soul peacefully took its flight.

Canada mourned the loss of one of her greatest and most-gifted sons. If Fate had so ordained it would have been easy for him to have excelled in any one sphere of greatness, but he stood high in several. He was a laborious farmer--a brilliant student--a

successful teacher--an eminent preacher--an influential editor--a most efficient principal and professor--a great educationist and a forcible writer.

Shortly after his death plans were made for the erection of a suitable monument to his memory and contributions were solicited from all the schools of the province. The old controversy with the Catholic Bishops was still fresh in the minds of many and the Separate Schools did not contribute much. However, Bishop Lynch of Toronto and others made individual contributions. On the occasion of the unveiling the representatives of Catholic Colleges declined the invitation to be represented and the following reply has been selected because of local historical interest:-

"College of Ottawa, Mar. 21, 1889.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your circular dated March

12th, with which you kindly favoured me. Please accept my best thanks for your cordial invitation to send a representative of our College to the unveiling of the Statue of the late Dr. Ryerson. I am greatly sorry to state that it will be hardly possible for anyone of us to go on the 24th of May. Please excuse us and believe me,

Yours sincerely,

(Sgd.) J. M. Feayard, O.M.I."

The statue was erected on the grounds of the Education Department and was unveiled on May 24th, 1889. The newspapers of the day carried long accounts of the ceremony and the speeches of the distinguished speakers. The following account as published in the "Irish Canadian" is interesting: "The Catholics of this Province, in the matter of education, have nothing for which they should be thankful

to the distinguished divine.. For all that, Dr. Ryerson was a man of great and good parts; and from a Common School point of view, he has left a noble heritage in a system of education that will bear favourable comparison with the best in the land."

How are we to properly sum up the literary contribution of this great Canadian? Would we have developed intellectually and historically as rapidly as we have if he had not lived? In my opinion it is doubtful.

There can be little doubt that the people of Upper Canada would have worked out a suitable system of education, without Ryerson, but the progress would have been much slower. He possessed the qualities of statesmanship which made it possible to mould public opinion to his will and to secure legislation that was designed for the benefit of the country at large. By his dogged

determination and energy he was able to provide, during the period of his Superintendency, a system of education that gave equal educational advantages to every child in the Province. His numerous reports and pamphlets on educational topics contained a wealth of information and may be read with profit even to this day. The libraries which he founded, provided an abundant supply of the best books in English literature and in no small way exerted a profound influence on the cultural life of the Dominion. Surely, his work in education entitles him to a high place as a contributor to Canadian literature.

Perhaps with the exception of Joseph Howe few men of Canada have ever exerted a greater influence on Canadian history than Ryerson. He was the foe of monopolists of any description and it was largely due to his literary efforts that the Clergy Reserves question was finally

satisfactorily settled. It was his editorials and pamphlets that kept the mass of the people from rising in the rebellion of 1837. It was his pen that so ably defended the Governor and won the election which kept us loyal to British institutions. By his writings he secured for our universities the right for a separate existence when the Government would have forced them to affiliate with the provincial institution. In 1867 when the new Dominion had been launched, he renewed his advice of 1844 in a pamphlet address, imploring the people to co-operate for the success of the larger union.

The question may be asked whether Ryerson's work had any positive effect on Canadian literature. Although his work shows that he followed the eighteenth century models in prose, he made a very original contribution to our literature. His journalistic writing during his editorship

of "The Christian Guardian" contain vivid pictures of Ontario scenes and comments on men and affairs, in a style that marks the beginning of a new era in Canadian prose. His controversial writings show that he could use the King's English with incomparable skill and when he came down like a whirlwind his antagonists were usually vanquished.

His formal contribution to literature consists of three works which were noted in a previous chapter. Although they were all written during his declining years, they show his intellectual alertness and his skill in drawing illustrations from his personal experiences. The history of Upper Canada for a period of sixty years is intimately bound out with the work of Egerton Ryerson. He has exercised an undying influence on our intellectual life and culture and has given us high ideals of national unity which has been so well expressed by one

of our early Canadian poets,

"One voice, one people, one in heart,
And soul, and feeling, and desire."

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